The Code of Conduct on Prevention of School-Related Gender-Based Violence: A study of policy enactment in Ethiopia

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<td>Full Form</td>
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<td>DHS</td>
<td>Demographic and Health Survey</td>
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<td>EGVS</td>
<td>End Gender Violence in Schools</td>
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<td>EI</td>
<td>Education International</td>
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<td>EMIS</td>
<td>Education Management Information System</td>
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<td>FDRE</td>
<td>Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia</td>
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<td>FGD</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussion</td>
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<td>GEQIP</td>
<td>General Education Quality Improvement Project</td>
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<td>GFP</td>
<td>Gender Focal Person</td>
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<td>Gender Focal Teacher</td>
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<td>IPV</td>
<td>Intimate Partner Violence</td>
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<td>MoE</td>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
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<td>MOCWA</td>
<td>Ministry of Children and Women’s Affairs.</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organisation</td>
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<td>Parent Teacher and Student Association</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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<td>VRT</td>
<td>Violence Reporting Template</td>
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<td>SRGBV</td>
<td>School-related gender-based violence</td>
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<td>TVET</td>
<td>Technical and vocational education and training</td>
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Executive Summary

There has been very little research globally on the implementation of national policy interventions to address School-Related Gender-Based Violence (SRGBV). SRGBV describes physical, sexual and psychological acts of violence in and around schools, underpinned by unequal access to resources and power, and inequitable norms and stereotypes based on gender. A key intervention of governments around the world has been to develop Codes of Conduct for school communities, that set professional standards and hold staff and students accountable for SRGBV and other forms of misconduct. Yet there are few studies that look in depth at how these codes have been implemented in schools. In Ethiopia, a Code of Conduct on Prevention of SRGBV in Schools was introduced in 2014 and has been rolled out in all regions across Ethiopia. In addition, a Violence Reporting Tool (VRT) was developed to gather data on incidents of violence in schools. In 2017, the Ministry of Education (MoE) and UNICEF Ethiopia prioritised a study to look in depth at how the Code was understood and used at national, regional, district and in particular at school levels. The findings from the study will help to inform the MoE’s review of the Code and the reporting tools, thus having potential to make an important contribution to improving the safety of girls and boys in and around schools in Ethiopia. The study will also help to build knowledge globally about the challenges and potential for Codes of Conduct, and related work to prevent and respond to violence in schools.

Methodology

This study employed a descriptive qualitative research method. It is part of the End Gender Violence in Schools (EGVS) initiative, a three year (2014-17) collaborative, action research project involving UNICEF, the UCL Institute of Education, and the Governments of Côte d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, Togo and Zambia, with support from the Global Partnership for Education and the UN Girls Education Initiative. EGVS aims to build evidence to better understand, inform and strengthen the process of policy enactment on school-related gender-based violence. Following a scoping study of policy and practice on SRGBV in Ethiopia, the Ministry of Education and UNICEF prioritised further research on the Code of Conduct. The research design was developed by UCL Institute of Education, in collaboration with UNICEF and the Ministry of Education.

The aim of the study is to investigate how the Code of Conduct has been enacted in Ethiopia to prevent and respond to SRGBV in general and to find out how school members, including teachers and students, understand, interpret and enact the Code in particular. Data was collected from six schools in Addis Ababa and Amhara, to provide evidence from rural and urban settings and from schools at different levels of enacting the Code. In-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted with purposively sampled students, school personnel, community and local government stakeholders. In addition, national and regional level data was gathered through key informant interviews with national and regional governmental and non-governmental stakeholders, and the Code of Conduct and Violence Reporting Template documents were reviewed. Overall, 108 school students and 34 adult key informants participated in the study.

Key findings

SRGBV in the six schools: Girls and boys at the six schools described commonplace experiences of corporal punishment and bullying, often taking gendered forms, and rarely reported as students do not think their concerns will be taken seriously, or are afraid of repercussions. Sexual harassment was also extensive and an everyday feature of girls’ lives in schools and communities, particularly among the girls in Addis. Schools are also addressing forms of violence experienced by students outside school, such as sexual or extreme physical violence at home or in the community. The social stigma
around teenage sex generated assumptions that all sexual encounters involving young people were coercive and unwanted, rather than consensual, and inhibited reporting. Outside school in Addis, girls working as domestic workers were at high risk of exploitation, while in Amhara child marriage was still commonplace although reducing. In both sites, the high levels of poverty exacerbated the risks of SRGBV for girls and boys.

**Development and roll-out of the Code:** The roll-out of the code has begun in all regions of the country, including modification and translation in some cases to ensure its relevance and applicability. The main modes of this involved the distribution of printed copies of the code itself, and the delivery of training that should be cascaded down from regional to school level via the relevant actors at woreda or sub-city level. However, the consistency of this was not uniform, and there were some concerns that the Gender Focal Persons tasked at each level with responsibility for training, dissemination and support for those at the next level in additional to main workload lacked status, resources and time for this work.

**Knowledge of the Code in schools:** Data from interviews with school directors, gender focal teachers and SRGBV committee members and FGDs with students show that there was some awareness of the Code in most of the schools, but the level of knowledge varied between and within schools, often according to the way information was being shared by School Directors, Gender Focal Teachers and gender clubs. Some felt that the growing awareness enabled students to speak out about such violence, and acted as a deterrent for perpetrators, thus improving the safety of the school environment. Initial training introducing the Code needed to be regularly repeated to embed work on SRGBV within institutional cultures of schools. Views varied on the scope of the Code, with narrow interpretations sometimes excluding corporal punishment and bullying, and violence against boys.

**SRGBV Committees in schools:** SRGBV Committees had been established in all the schools, and the breadth, with seven members including students, administrative and teaching staff, representatives of Ethiopian Teachers associations and Parent Teacher Student Associations (PTSA), has good potential for buy in from across the school community. Though committees are established in all schools, in some schools the establishment is very recent with the committee not yet fully functioning, which made it difficult for the researchers to assess the implementation of the Code. In most of the schools, the SRGBV Committees were contributing to building awareness about SRGBV in the school community. However, much violence experienced by students was not reported and few reports of violence were reaching Committees for investigation. Where Committees were well established they were often used for the more serious forms of violence in communities. Students were reluctant to report because they doubted they would be supported, or lacked confidence that their cases would be kept confidential; staff sometimes minimised or were unaware of the amount of violence that was taking place. It may be particularly difficult for a student to report violence by teachers to a committee comprised only of members of the school community. While the brevity and clarity of the Code was praised, some questioned whether the sanctions were fair or would be effective, for example in ensuring a teacher who has been dismissed is not able to teach in another zone. Safety of Committee members was a concern where they may face reprisals for intervening, and some felt they needed extra support, especially from the law enforcement bodies.

**Role of the Gender Focal Teacher and Gender Clubs:** In schools where awareness about the Code was strong, the Gender Focal Teacher played a key role – in supporting students, running the Gender Clubs, training around SRGBV, and driving the work of the SRGBV Committee. Recognition for this skilled work, ongoing support and short-term trainings are important for enabling these teachers to strengthen the SRGBV work in schools. In addition, these teachers need to be supported in terms of reducing their teaching load, which all raised as a challenge, so that they can effectively perform the
work of gender club and SRGBV committee. Student participation in school-based work on SRGBV was good, with gender clubs well established in most schools. Gender clubs contributed to awareness building, and in some cases provided safe spaces for encouraging reporting, as well as engaging in a wide range of activities to support equity and inclusion. Adequate funding is needed to support this valuable preventive work in schools, and additional training guidance would help this work address the roots of SRGBV.

School links with communities and services: Sometimes school members intervened on incidents taking place outside school, including child marriage, physical or sexual violence, raising the question of whether the Code should be broadened to address community-based violence. While the Gender Focal Points in the Woreda Education Offices in some cases provided valuable support for complex cases, there were mixed views on the support of hospitals, police and justice systems, with concerns raised about cases being dropped and perpetrators released on bail because of corruption, or victims’ inability to pay hospital fees. More preventive work in communities, including improving dialogue on addressing norms, risks, and gender-based violence, and drawing on professional expertise to support school-based training would support schools’ efforts to combat SRGBV.

Monitoring SRGBV, the Code of Conduct and informing policy: In all six schools there was some familiarity with the Violence Reporting Tool (VRT), which is a monitoring tool collecting data on violence in schools. However, there was inconsistency in how the tool is understood and used, some concerns over lack of alignment with the Code of Conduct, and many participants – particularly at school and woreda level - were unclear about its purpose. With much underreporting, the VRT as currently used cannot provide accurate data to inform policy. There are plans to strengthen the way such data can be used after it is incorporated in the education management information system (EMIS) but in order to be effective, some rethinking of key indicators is needed.

Recommendations for the Code of Conduct in Ethiopia

- Consider a two-tier committee at the school level – one which addresses more everyday forms of violence, especially between students, in a more informal way and plans prevention work on school safety and equity, and one – including representatives from the local administration and other ministries/services – which looks at the more serious cases of violence for referral pathways and services.
- Include bullying, corporal punishment and child marriage in the Code, and ensure that unequal power relations are central to defining forms of and sanctions for SRGBV. Consider staged sanctions for repeated mild offences.
- Consider developing high quality training guides to help different groups (e.g. teachers, students, school leadership, communities) reflect on and discuss the underlying causes of violence (e.g. gender norms and stigma) and what can be changed, acknowledging the difficult position those taking action on violence are often put in, leading to achievable action planning.
- Train and support Gender Focal Teachers and school leaders to embed work on SRGBV in structures, processes and cultures at schools.
- Clarify links, roles and responsibilities of the school and other authorities in different cases of violence, and work to improve services (e.g. police) to ensure they are fit for purpose.
- Ensure that professional psychological support is available for victims, that confidentiality of cases is safeguarded and that social protection support system is able to look after children who have no safe home care.
• Ensure the Code addresses protection of victims and the SRGBV committee after reporting and sanctions for threats against them. Ensure that sanctions are enacted, for example a database to ensure sacked teachers are not employed elsewhere.
• Consider a more holistic but simplified monitoring tool to improve accuracy and usefulness in informing policy and practice at different levels. Consider integrating a few indicators on school efforts on SRGBV with a reflective summary to help integrate reporting and support requirements. Consider feasibility of harmonising these indicators with those for Child Protection.
• Include SRGBV prevention and monitoring as one of the inspection criteria for safer learning environments
• Ensure that plans are adequately costed and schools have sufficient funds to implement the Code of Conduct and supporting activities, such as the Gender Clubs. Build into existing school planning and grant systems where possible, such as school grants through GEQIP.

Global Recommendations:

• Development of Codes of Conduct will be more effective if they draw on:
  o detailed contextual evidence on SRGBV and underpinning norms and inequalities
  o a review of current policies, structures and approaches and their effectiveness in the country
  o global best practice in effectively addressing SRGBV
  o broad participation from multiple organisations and constituencies at different levels, including school students and staff
• Careful balancing of top-down policy guidance and local ownership is important: in this sense a flexible code accompanied by guides for reflection and action planning at local level could be the most useful.
• Political commitment and strong structures (such as the gender focal persons and gender clubs in Ethiopia) are valuable in supporting enactment of a Code of Conduct.
• Significant resources are required to do this effectively, and partnerships with organisations with expertise in these areas could be beneficial.
• Finally, Codes of Conduct should go beyond punishment, to supporting the expertise of school communities, including adults and students, in preventing violence and helping to create safer, more equitable sites for learning.
1. Introduction

School-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) is a growing concern in Ethiopia and globally, with increasing efforts being made to collect evidence and take action to make schools safer places (Parkes et al., 2016, Parkes et al., 2017b). In recognition of this, UNICEF and the government of Ethiopia engaged in the End Gender Violence in Schools (EGVS) initiative, a collaborative, action research project involving UNICEF, the UCL Institute of Education, and the Governments of Côte d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, Togo and Zambia, with funding support from the Global Partnership for Education. EGVS aims to build evidence to better understand, inform and strengthen the process of policy enactment on school-related gender-based violence in each of the four countries. Findings from the initiative will also contribute to global debates on understanding and tackling SRGBV.

As part of this initiative, a Scoping Study was undertaken in 2016 (Parkes et al., 2017b) which reviewed the evidence on and efforts to curb and monitor SRGBV in Ethiopia. The study identified a range of initiatives undertaken by the Government of Ethiopia. In particular, the Code of Conduct was identified as a key strategy to address SRGBV, supporting aims to ensure safe schools and mainstream gender in education in Ethiopia’s Education Sector Development Plan (ESDP V). The Code defines forms of SRGBV and sets out sanctions for students or teachers who perpetrate violence. It also describes structures and procedures at school level for addressing SRGBV (FDRE MoE, 2014). The Code was introduced in 2014 and has been rolled out in all regions across Ethiopia, although it is not yet fully operational in all schools. It has potential to fill an important gap in responding to SRGBV and providing evidence on a large scale. Initial findings in the Scoping Study identified opportunities, challenges and gaps where more focused research would be beneficial to evaluate the Code of Conduct’s implementation, which is still in its pilot phase. The MoE prioritised this work for further investigation.

Hence this research aims to investigate the enactment of the Code of Conduct. The term ‘enactment’ understands policy making and implementation as a continuous, interactive, and often ‘messy’ process involving a wide range of actors at multiple levels and shaped by ideas, institutions and power relations (Ball et al., 2012). It is a valuable framing for analysing the Code in Ethiopia because it recognises the complexity of how policies are interpreted, translated and put into practice at many different levels. The study investigated the development and roll-out of the Code of Conduct; how SRGBV is experienced and responded to; how the Code has been understood and used in the schools; how the Code has been monitored (including the Violence Reporting Template, a tool accompanying the Code) and how it informs policy and practice. This qualitative study involving 142 participants from national to school level was a collaboration between the Government of Ethiopia, UNICEF, and researchers at the UCL Institute of Education working alongside a local consultant. There are very few national systems addressing SRGBV globally, and even fewer that have been researched or evaluated. These findings will be of interest to the Ethiopian Ministry of Education, other government ministries and cooperating partners. They will also be of interest to those working at sub-national level on implementing the Code of Conduct in Ethiopia, and to international audiences looking to develop approaches to combat SRGBV in other countries.

The report is organised into eight main sections. Following this introduction, section two details background for the study, drawing on national and global literature. In particular, it looks firstly at how we conceptualise SRGBV and how it is manifested in Ethiopia, drawing from existing studies, and secondly draws together the evidence and learning available on Codes of Conduct across the world. The third section describes the study methodology, including how ethical issues were addressed. Sections four to seven set out the analysis and findings of the study. These include how SRGBV is experienced and responded to in the study schools (section 4), how the Code was introduced and rolled out (section 5), how the Code has been enacted in schools (section 6), and how the Code has been monitored and informs practice (section 7). The eighth and final section draws conclusions and provides recommendations for the Government of Ethiopia and other cooperating partners and the wider development community.
2. A brief review of concepts and literature

2.1 School-related gender-based violence: evidence from previous studies in Ethiopia

School-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) describes physical, sexual and psychological acts of gender driven violence in and around schools, underpinned by unequal access to resources and power, and inequitable norms and stereotypes according to gender. For EGVS, UCL Institute of Education in partnership with UNICEF undertook scoping studies in Côte d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, Togo and Zambia on policy, practice and evidence on SRGBV in 2016 (Parkes et al., 2017). Drawing on these four studies, a conceptual framework of SRGBV was developed, portraying a range of acts of violence experienced by girls and boys that have their roots in inequalities, norms, exclusions and stigma within everyday interactions and in institutions and structures of society. This multi-dimensional model highlights a complex interplay between structures, relationships and action driving violence.

![Diagram of SRGVB]

**Figure 1 - A multi-dimensional framing of SRGBV**

The scoping study undertaken in Ethiopia identified multiple forms of SRGBV experienced across the country. Similar to other countries, patterns of violence are related to current and historic political and economic conditions, institutional structures, and socio-cultural factors – as depicted in the outer layer of the diagram. Gender inequalities disadvantaging women and girls are extensive and persistent. Acts of violence take place within everyday interactions in children’s lives. For example, the scoping study found that some forms of violence (such as sexual harassment and corporal punishment) were commonplace and taken for granted as normal within everyday relationships in classrooms, homes and communities (Parkes et al., 2017b).

**Corporal punishment** persists in schools, despite legal bans (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 1995). A recent study in five provinces in Ethiopia found that corporal punishment in schools was commonplace for girls and boys (it had been experienced in the past week by 31% of the 8 year old girls surveyed and 44% of the boys), with girls and boys often punished for different reasons and with different levels of severity (Pankhurst et al., 2016). Outlawing corporal punishment on its own does not appear to be effective in eradicating this form of violence, and points to the need to address the
school environment and relationships, including addressing teachers’ gender stereotypes as well as teacher training in alternative classroom management and discipline methods.

Studies also show how stereotypes and prejudice are evident in practices of bullying between students. Bullying includes repeated aggressive behaviour with imbalance of power and intent to hurt, and can be physical or verbal, as well as online. A mixed methodology study in Ethiopia found that boys, as well as out of school children, were at particular risk of physical and verbal bullying, while girls tended to be bullied in indirect ways (Pells et al., 2016). This study showed how bullying was used to reproduce hierarchies of power, and to reinforce gender norms, with for example, girls being intimidated by boys harassing them at the school toilets and on the journey to school. Another study found that girls and boys were discriminated against because of poverty; for example, one 14 year old girl told researchers that she was insulted and bullied by girls and boys because her family was poor and she was from a minority ethnic group (Pankhurst et al., 2016).

The evidence from Ethiopia as elsewhere indicates that girls are more likely than boys to experience all forms of sexual violence. One study of violence against girls in primary and secondary schools in nine regions of Ethiopia found that 46% of students spoke of sexual harassment, degrading treatment and sexual attacks, most frequently on the journey to and from school, but also in school compounds, with perpetrators including male students and older men (Save the Children et al., 2008).

It is important to unpack these different, though overlapping, forms of sexual violence, as differing forms of intervention may be needed. Child sex abuse, for example, is illegal, yet few cases of sexual abuse reach the police or justice system (Hailemariam, 2015, MENET-UNICEF, 2015). Girls may be deterred from speaking out for a range of reasons, including fear of stigma and punishment (Erulkar, 2013), shame and self-blame, or not even recognising harmful acts as violations (Kebede et al., 2014). One study in a secondary school in Addis Ababa found that girls often did not report sexual violence because of lack of systems in school to support them after disclosure (Le Mat, 2016). Reporting and referral systems are therefore important for interventions. At the same time, child protection referrals are not always the most appropriate intervention in cases of more mild forms of sexual harassment. For example, sexual teasing in school may be better managed through preventive approaches like working with girls and boys on life skills and relationships education, to reflect on and challenge gender norms (Le Mat, 2016).

Reviewing a large number of different studies relating to young people’s experience of violence in Ethiopia, Emebet Mulugeta (2016) traced how dimensions of poverty impacted on young women’s experiences of sexual violence. She found that vulnerability to sexual violence was particularly high for young women living away from families, engaged in domestic labour, commercial sex work, or living on the streets. Other studies show girls may be coerced into sex with teachers or older men, in exchange for food or grades (Hailemariam, 2015). There is a clear link here between the acts of violence, and the intersecting gendered and socio-economic inequalities that create the conditions for this to happen. Intergenerational and transactional sexual relationships reflect an overlap and blurring between child sexual abuse and intimate partner violence.

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) includes any behaviour in an intimate relationship that causes sexual, physical or psychological harm between intimate partners of a similar age when under 18 (for the purposes of work on SRGBV). It includes controlling behaviour, where for example a boyfriend controls his girlfriend’s movements, or her access to resources, and coerced and forced sex. IPV is sometimes not seen as school related, but it is in and around schools that boys and girls often learn about how to conduct such relationships, and relationships at this age can impact on educational experience. Much of the research in this area is with adult women, but a number of studies have found that it is
commonplace for girls’ first experiences of sex to have been forced – girls married under the age of 15 were particularly vulnerable to forced marital sex and IPV, based on a sample of 1,671 women (Erulkar, 2013). Child marriage, female genital mutilation, and abduction/ “telefa” (Dito, 2015) are reducing though still commonplace, particularly in rural areas (DHS, 2016). But IPV is not limited to married adolescent girls, with 23% of male secondary school students in a study in Eastern Ethiopia saying that they had physically forced sexual intercourse (Bekele, 2012). Often women blame themselves for the violence they experience, with 63% of 15-49 year olds agreeing that it is justified for a man to beat his wife in some cases, compared to only 28% of men who agreed with the practice (DHS, 2016). These beliefs of men’s rights to control women reflect the internalisation of violence and acceptance of submissive cultural norms by many women. However, these aggregate proportions mask considerable variation among women with acceptance of wife beating much more common in rural areas, amongst women with lower levels of education, and in some regions. Similar patterns exist for whether women believe they have a right to refuse sex or feel able to negotiate sex in some circumstances (DHS, 2016). There is evidence that attitudes are changing, with acceptance of wife beating steadily reducing since 2000 (DHS, 2016).

Evidence in Ethiopia and elsewhere highlights how taboos and norms can prevent children from reporting violence. For example, taboos on sexuality can lead to victims of sexual violence being blamed or feeling shamed about their experience, constraining their ability to take action (Kebede et al., 2014, Heslop et al., 2015). One study in Ethiopia identified how silences about sexuality underpin much of sexual violence, and highlighted the importance of non-judgemental spaces for girls and boys to discuss their concerns about sexual violence and relationships (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2017).

This brief discussion of research shows how different forms of violence affect children’s lives in Ethiopia, shaped within relationships in and out of school where acts of violence serve to discriminate against and stigmatise particular children, reinforce inequitable norms, and reproduce inequalities. The studies show that different locations and relationships have a bearing on prevalence of experiences of forms of SRGBV. We now turn to the international literature on how education systems take action on SRGBV.

2.2 Literature on enacting Codes of Conduct to address violence in schools
As part of the End Gender Violence in School initiative, in 2015 the UCL Institute of Education undertook a rigorous literature review of evidence on effort to address SRGBV globally (Parkes et al., 2016). It identified that whilst there is increasing evidence globally on understanding how SRGBV is manifest, there is limited evidence on which interventions in which contexts are effective in addressing SRGBV. Many of the most rigorously evaluated interventions consist of externally funded, short term, standalone programmes taking place either in or outside of schools – often on preventing violence through raising awareness and dialogue – but do not work with multiple groups, locations or levels. The review identified that few studies examined interventions implemented across levels of the education system to tackle SRGBV. It highlighted the need to strengthen accountability of schools through codes of conduct being implemented and evaluated (Parkes et al., 2016). However, a few studies have investigated school-based approaches to implementing codes of conduct and provide useful insights for this study. These include those evaluating development and implementation of policies and systems for managing both student behaviour and teacher conduct, as well as for educating school communities and wider communities about forms of SRGBV. Learnings from these studies are discussed in this section.

Some of these have been oriented towards managing student violent behaviour. One study looked at the introduction of a safe schools code of conduct in one state in Canada and one in the US (Winton, 2011). The interpretation in the US schools and district authorities amounted to a zero tolerance approach to any form of actual or potentially violent behaviour, which resulted in extremely high
levels of expulsions from schools, particularly targeting black and economically disadvantaged boys, even when offences were not serious. This was despite the fact that this punitive approach was not integral to the content of the code. Meanwhile, the Canadian education authorities developed a more inclusive and less punitive interpretation of the code, facilitated by their partnership with the Human Rights Commission on the initiative. Another US study examined whether and how districts and schools developed and enacted a code of conduct responding to teen dating violence, as mandated by new state legislation (Jackson et al., 2014). The codes were expected to address response (such as protection orders), as well as victim support, teacher training and student awareness raising. The study found that in the vast majority of cases across the state, the emphasis was on distributing the code, highlighting definitions and consequences to students and parents in written form. Little attention was paid to raising awareness among school communities or providing victim support, which limited the impact of the introduction of the code. These studies highlight how well-meaning policy initiatives can be interpreted narrowly, emphasising information giving and punitive approaches that do not address the roots of the problem. They also highlight that partnerships between education authorities and rights-based organisations can add value in helping create a holistic response.

A number of global reviews and guidance documents have advocated ‘whole school approaches’ for improving school safety. These address multiple areas including: leadership, policy development, curriculum planning, school ethos, student voice and partnerships with parents and local communities (Mitchell et al., 2014, Fancy and McAslan Fraser, 2014, Fancy and McAslan Fraser, 2014b). Some of the most effective approaches to addressing violence in schools involve multiple members of the school community, such as leaders, teachers, students and parents. There can be tensions between top-down versus bottom up approaches. Broad participation in the development and management of codes of conduct have been found to be important for school level ownership and commitment to creating safer schools and ensuring that codes are contextually relevant (Mestry and Khumalo, 2012, Levinsky, 2016, Hong, 2008). At the same time, other studies, such as those above in the US and others in South Africa have highlighted the risks of poor quality local implementation when training or support or monitoring for schools is not in place (Winton, 2011, Jackson et al., 2014, Jansen, 2004).

Some research suggests that a process supporting schools to develop their own code can be highly effective if supported by a carefully developed programme with step-by-step guidance and skilled facilitators. The Good Schools Toolkit in Uganda – developed by Ugandan NGO Raising Voices - has six steps that take schools through a process of change. This includes developing an action plan following initial information gathering with the school community (including teachers, parents and students), and activity guides related to creating a better learning environment, respecting each other, understanding power relationships, using non-violent discipline, and how to improve teaching techniques. NGO staff members provide one-to-one support to two teachers and at least two students who take on a leading role in each school. A Randomised Control Trial demonstrated that the intervention reduced violence considerably (Devries et al., 2015). However, there may be limits to the sustainability of such a programme that requires such intensive external intervention, and consideration of if and how such a programme could be integrated more widely into an education system is needed.

Some research has addressed teacher codes of conduct specifically. One study investigated different Australian states’ teachers’ codes of conduct/ethics (Forster, 2012). The author highlights two trends in the codes, tending towards either ‘aspirational’ or ‘procedural/regulatory’ policies. ‘Aspirational’ policies aim to inspire and promote particular values among teachers, performing a non-disciplinary role. ‘Regulatory’ policies aim to ensure professionalism according to a strict set of moral codes and enforce disciplinary action. Currently, Australian policies are moving towards ‘aspirational’ policies, and there is a focus on promoting teacher competencies, and ‘autonomous ethical judgment’, rather than stipulating necessary action. In South Africa, studies have highlighted how implementation of a code for teachers has been hampered in disadvantaged areas because of the sub-optimal conditions teachers were working in, and their sense of alienation from central policy makers. For example, many
teachers said they had had insufficient training, their class sizes were too large and living conditions poor, and that they did not feel able to control student behaviours without using corporal punishment (Mestry and Khumalo, 2012). Some have pointed to different expectations and support around teacher ethics, professionalism and commitment linked to teacher status and training and wider social norms in different contexts, which influence how effective policies are (Anangisye, 2011). For example, introducing an empowering approach could be more challenging if basic conditions supporting effective teaching are not in place. This points to the importance of looking at how wider school and policy conditions affect violence, work with teachers and school leadership on support with alternative approaches to discipline. It highlights the importance of approaches being carefully tailored to context. A current initiative by UNGEI and Education International (EI) is addressing these issues through working with teacher unions in multiple countries on approaches to SRGBV.

As discussed in the previous section, norms and values about gender, sexuality, childhood and discipline are powerful in preventing students reporting and others taking action on violence. Studies in sub-Saharan Africa have highlighted how teachers have struggled to use empowering and non-judgemental approaches when teaching about gender violence and sexual relationships (McLaughlin et al., 2015, Heslop et al., 2015). Codes of conduct that have effectively addressed norms underlying violence have tended to use reflective approaches that help teachers or school leaders to consider their own values, understandings and experience of violence and gender (Daluxolo and Moletsane, 2015, McLaughlin et al., 2015, Heslop et al., 2015). Rather than treating training as transference of knowledge (for example about types, causes, consequences and support available for violence), the act of considering personal and emotional underpinnings and repercussions of violence can have a powerful transformative effect in actors thinking differently about violence and moving towards taking effective action (Reid, 2009). These training approaches have enabled teachers to make work with students, such as life skills lessons, more relevant to student concerns (Daluxolo and Moletsane, 2015, McLaughlin et al., 2015, Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2017, Le Mat, 2016). This kind of work addressing norms with school staff and students is important in supporting the effective implementation of Codes of Conduct.

Whether interventions have focused on working with teachers or the whole school community, evidence from across different countries highlights that any training is most effective when dialogic and reflective approaches are used (as opposed to purely fact-based or regulatory), and when a broad range of participants are involved. For example, a study in Spain found that bringing in different perspectives at school level (including students, parents, teachers and experts) through a task group on SRGBV challenged negative normalised practices (Oliver et al., 2009). Rather than dismissing a case perceived as minor sexual harassment, teachers in the task team were more likely to intervene and develop strategies following discussions that enabled them to see how others felt. Collaboration and solidarity contributed to strengthening the capacity of school members to intervene on SRGBV.

Studies have tended to focus on the school level and not look closely at the role of ongoing monitoring and support, particularly through the education system. Whilst some studies have involved external non-governmental organisations providing training and support for schools, evidence has highlighted that ongoing support for changing practice rather than one off training workshops is important (Oliver et al., 2009, Reid, 2009).

This review of global evidence on approaches to addressing SRGBV in schools raises a number of pertinent questions for the analysis of Ethiopia’s Code of Conduct, concerning whether and how the Code:

- Addresses violence holistically, including prevention, response and support for victims;
- Identifies and addresses barriers to taking action on violence, such as poor law enforcement, impunity for perpetrators, inadequate reporting mechanisms, fear of repercussions, stigma, lack of support for victims, lack of female or sympathetic teachers;
Engages the whole school community (including parents) in reflecting on violence and its causes;
Aims for empowering rather than regulatory or punitive approaches;
Ensures that schools are supported with reflective training to help address norms that underpin violence;
Ensures ongoing support, monitoring and evaluation of the code;
Is informed by contextual analysis.

These questions are addressed further in our discussion of the study findings below.
3. Methodology

3.1 Research design

This study employed a qualitative cross-sectional research design - conducted in a single period in time and allowing us to examine questions in detail (Neuman and Robson, 2007) The main aim of the study is to examine how the Code of Conduct to prevent SRGBV has been implemented in Ethiopia. In particular, the study aims to understand how school members, including teachers and students, interpret and enact the Code in Addis Ababa and Amhara. A total of 142 school, woreda, regional and national level participants took part in the study. The overall research design was developed by UCL Institute of Education, in collaboration with UNICEF, Ethiopia Ministry of Education and UNICEF, and addresses the following research questions:

1. What is the level of enactment of the SRGBV Code of Conduct in Ethiopia? In particular, which regions have adapted, disseminated and rolled out the Code, and what is the coverage across the regions?
2. How is SRGBV understood, experienced and shaped in six schools in Amhara and Addis Ababa regions? How does this link to the Code of Conduct?
3. How is the Code of Conduct being used in these schools? Is it being used as was intended? If not, why not? How does the Code relate to other school policies, protocols and initiatives?
4. How is the Violence Reporting Tool understood and used, and how does it link to the Code of Conduct? How else is the Code monitored, and how does learning feed in to policy and practice?
5. How can the Code of Conduct and its implementation be improved?

Thus, investigating policy enactment is at the heart of this study. The term ‘enactment’ understands policy making and implementation as a continuous, interactive, and often ‘messy’ process involving a wide range of actors at multiple levels and shaped by ideas, institutions and power relations (Ball et al., 2012). It is a valuable framing for analysing the Code in Ethiopia because it recognises the complexity of how policies are interpreted, translated and put into practice at many different levels. This framing meant that a qualitative study would be appropriate, in order to examine in depth how the Code was interpreted and acted upon by a range of different actors, including students, in different contexts. We were also interested in how more everyday and accepted forms of violence can reinforce gender inequalities and underlie more serious or extreme forms of violence. Hence, we attempted to understand the dynamics, sensitivities and taboos around SRGBV, which can influence the use of the Code of Conduct.

The research design incorporated two levels.

Level 1: National and regional assessment

The national assessment aimed to provide an overview of the Code of Conduct’s development and implementation across the regions, as well as insights from non-governmental partners with in-depth experience of developing, using or evaluating the Code. Nine individuals were interviewed:

- Interview with 2 representatives from Federal Ministry of Education – Gender Unit (RQ 1, 3, 5 & 6)
- Interview with EMIS representative with knowledge of Violence Reporting Tool (RQ 4)
- Interview with 2 non-governmental national representatives RQ 1, 3, 4, 5 & 6)
• Interviews with 4 representatives from regional education bureaux (whilst there are 11 education bureaux it was not possible to interview all the regional representatives in the timeframe) (to answer RQ 1, 5 & 6).
• Review of Code of Conduct and Violence Reporting Template and other relevant documents made available to the researchers.

Level 2: School level enactment

The second and main stage involved qualitative interviews and focus groups in six schools. This was to gain a deeper, fuller understanding of the Code in use.

The six schools were selected to address a variety of settings (regions, urban, rural), levels of implementation of the Code of Conduct and levels of support from UNICEF. Schools selected were government primary schools, where the roll-out of the Code of Conduct is more established.

• Three schools were selected in Amhara region (all rural, some more remote than others) and three schools in Addis Ababa city administration (all urban, with two near the city centre and one on the outskirts).
• In each of these regions, three schools were selected, viewed as having implemented the Code of Conduct to a high, medium or low level of effectiveness. This selection was made by the Ministry of Education with UNICEF, who had knowledge of the schools. We made sure that all schools had at least previously received copies and had some awareness of the Code of Conduct and Violence Reporting Template through government roll-out processes.

The contexts of the six schools are briefly described in section 4.1. In each school the following were interviewed:

| Young people: | • 1 focus group discussion (FGD) with girl students leading or highly active in the gender club if there is an active gender club, including the female student member of the SRGBV committee (aim for Grade 8 students as much as possible) (RQs 2-3)  
| | • 1 FGD with Grade 8 girl students who are not in/not active in the gender club  
| | • 1 FGD with Grade 8 boy students not active in the gender club (RQs 2-3) |
| School stakeholders: | • Interview with gender club mentor/Gender Focal Teacher (RQs 2-4)  
| | • Interview with school director (RQs 2-4)  
| | • Interview with SRGBV committee leader (only if different/added value to above two interviews) (RQs 2-4) |
| Community stakeholders | • 1-2 local organisation representatives - one could be Parent Teacher and Student Association (PTSA) rep, one an external CBO/NGO working on related issues/with good knowledge of relevant local issues where relevant (RQs 2 & 5) |
| Government stakeholders | • 1 Woreda Gender Focal Person (Amhara) (RQs 1-6)  
| | • 1 Sub-city Gender Focal Person (Addis Ababa) (RQs 1-6) |
| Collection of documentation: | • Completed reports of violence (anonymised), VRT and related documentation, copies of key school policies and records (RQs 3-4) |
In total from the six schools 25 adult key informants were interviewed through semi-structured interviews and 108 students participated in focus groups (72 girls and 36 boys).

3.2 The research process and ethical issues
Conducting research addressing gender inequalities and violence, particularly when involving young people, is fraught with methodological and ethical difficulties (Leach, 2015). The team based at UCL Institute of Education have extensive experience and expertise in conducting research with children on SRGBV. A skilled researcher from Ethiopia was also recruited with experience in research on these issues, and she worked with an assistant. All researchers were female – important when discussing sensitive issues particularly with girls. UNICEF provided logistical support and local contextual knowledge. This full research team fed into the development of the draft research instruments, which were then translated into Amharic.

As is the norm in qualitative research using semi-structured interviews and focus groups, the research instruments were intended to be used flexibly in a way that responded to issues emerging in the field. A research protocol was developed and used with the team to address conduct, potential dilemmas in the field and agreed approaches and conduct, in particular to make the research as ethically sound and rigorous as possible and the team reflected on gender and SRGVB to ensure a common understanding, including a multidimensional conceptualisation that situated SRGBV within norms, identities and inequalities. The team conducted research together in the first school, with a careful staged approach to conducting each research activity involving 1) planning, 2) undertaking interview/FGD, 3) reflecting on both the conduct and content of the interviews/FGDs and 4) implementing learning and making adaptations for the following interviews/FGDs.

Once these stages had been completed satisfactorily, team members undertook interviews alone as needed for subsequent schools. The team undertook regular support and debrief meetings during fieldwork to share and iron out any challenges and provide support for team members, whilst there were also regular check-ins by telephone between UCL and the lead researcher for the same purpose.

The overall timeline was as follows:
- Jul-Sept 2017: Research design, planning, ethical review
- Oct-Dec 2017: Data collection
- Nov-Feb 2018: Transcription
- Jan-May 2018: Data analysis and report production

3.3 Approvals, permissions and consent
The study was given formal ethical approved by the UCL Institute of Education through their ethical review process. The study was approved in Ethiopia by UNICEF and the Ministry of Education, who then facilitated access to the regions and helped to identify and brief schools. Schools agreed to participate through the school director. For each of these levels information about the study was shared.

All adult interviewees were given information sheets about the study, and its purpose was also explained verbally. Participants were asked if they were happy to participate and for the interview to be recorded, any questions were answered, and participants’ rights to stop the interview or not answer certain questions were clearly explained. For the student focus groups, researchers consulted schools and followed their procedures on informing or asking for consent from parents in advance of
the focus groups. If more students were available and interested that met the criteria for the focus groups they were randomly selected. Often children, under the authority of school or teachers, may automatically consent or not be aware they have a choice in participating. We took great care to create a conducive atmosphere in focus groups and explain the study and what the FGDs would entail in ways that young people would understand. We ensured there was time to discuss questions and that students were genuinely happy to participate. All students signed consent forms.

**Power in the research process**

We sought to minimise power imbalances and social distance between researchers and participants through appearance, language and so on, aiming to create a friendly and informal atmosphere for all interviews and focus groups. When working with children this is particularly important. Focus groups were felt to be a more comfortable setting than individual interviews, where children could sit with their friends as well as an unfamiliar researcher. Researchers dedicated time for getting to know the students and usually asked the group to teach them a song or dance as an icebreaker. Participatory and visual activities were used as much as possible in the FGDs, which involved drawing maps of the school and community to highlight safe and unsafe places and brainstorms, for example of violence occurring locally. Students were recruited from Grade 8 and were aged 14 and over.

**Confidentiality, disclosure and child protection**

All interviews and focus groups were held in spaces that could not be overheard, such as a school office or empty classroom after school hours. We tried to make sure we were not interrupted but paused research activities if there were interruptions until confidentiality could be assured again. All participants were assured of anonymity - that is researchers did not share specific information outside the research team. Data was anonymised and care has been taken to protect the identities of the individuals and schools engaged in the research in the report.

In FGDs there was a discussion on ground rules, and when discussing confidentiality students were asked not to share specifics of discussions outside the group to maintain confidentiality. Whilst we did not ask students about their own experiences of violence, there was potential for cases to be disclosed. The research team worked with UNICEF to map support available locally and we ensured there was adequate local support available in case of disclosure issues before finalising research sites. Young people were told about support available at the end of the focus group, and were invited to talk to researchers after the FGD if they had any concerns (where they would be further directed to support services as needed).

**Documenting, recording and analysis**

Most research activities took place in Amharic, with a few at the national level in English for fluent speakers. All interviews and focus groups were audio recorded and fully transcribed with simultaneous translation back to English. Photographs were taken of visual outputs (e.g. maps drawn in FGDs) and any documentation collected. Data was analysed thematically by researchers at the UCL Institute of Education using NVivo (software for qualitative analysis), guided by the specific research questions. Coding and reflective notes on the data were also used in order to identify emerging issues or themes which had not been previously anticipated.
Limitations

Because of resource constraints it was not possible to collect data in a full cross section of schools - or regions - so findings may not be fully representative of the national picture. However, we were able to gain a snapshot of implementation of the Code across regions through the national and regional interviews. We sampled schools purposively to understand the dynamics occurring in schools that were implementing the Code with different levels of activity. However, these selected schools might not reflect a true representation of all schools in the two focus regions. In fact, in Amhara it was quite difficult to identify schools where the Code was being implemented (as many were not at all), and so the schools selected for the study may reflect a more favourable picture than exists across the region. However, the in depth data collection and analysis in the six schools allow the study to contribute to understanding what features of schools and contexts may be helping or hindering the implementation of the Code, and this learning can be applied to schools across Ethiopia.
4. Findings: School-related gender-based violence in the study schools

This section briefly describes the study settings and then goes on to examine how SRGBV is understood, experienced and responded to in the six study schools.

4.1 The study schools

Two of the three primary schools included in the study are located in a low income high density informal settlement area close to the centre of Addis Ababa. Meanwhile the third school in Addis is on the outskirts of the city. Formal employment is low despite their urban locations, and living conditions are poor and cramped, with large families sharing one roomed homes. Whilst sharing many common features with the other two more central schools the suburban area is more mixed economically (although the study school includes the neighbourhood’s poorest children as others go to private schools). Since much of the housing is poor quality in the two sites, the government has cleared some areas for demolition and redevelopment, leaving many construction sites. In all three schools there are large numbers of girls who have moved from rural areas for domestic work, and are not under the care of immediate family. Many of these girls have come ostensibly for education whilst being financially supported and accommodated by relatives. Some other schoolchildren are involved in begging or selling goods at night, and working as daily labourers to earn money alongside studying. Video houses where young and older people can access porn films and chew ‘chat’ can also be found in the area. High levels of HIV, including some HIV positive and orphaned students was mentioned by a community representative at one of the central schools (HIV prevalence is 4 times higher in Addis Ababa than the national average (DHS, 2016)). Child marriage and FGM were not said to be common in the two central schools, but child marriage was perceived to occur in the suburban school due to the area’s proximity to Oromia state.

The three schools in Amhara are rural but also face high levels of poverty. Farming is the main source of livelihood. The schools have slightly different settings, with one school near a main road and small urban centre/village whilst the other two are far from the villages. Early marriage is seen to be a key problem affecting schoolgirls. FGM is also practiced. Low access to secondary schools and long journeys – typically of over one hour - to schools are key concerns affecting girls’ education.

Girls, boys and other school stakeholders talked about multiple forms of violence affecting both girls and boys in the study schools. In our discussion of the data below we see how these experiences and the way they are responded to are shaped by norms and institutions. Gender inequalities run throughout, underpinning these forms of SRBVG, as one stakeholder explained:

_There are numerous types of school related gender-based violence but it is very difficult to pinpoint one special cause for all. But, one could be because of the prevalence of traditions or norms that discriminate against children based on their sex...the society sees male students as good performers and like that, prioritizing males in everything._ (Local government representative, Amhara)

4.2 Corporal punishment

Corporal punishment by teachers was reported by students as commonplace across the schools, despite being illegal in Ethiopia (Criminal Code, 2005). Students distinguished between teachers who they saw as supportive if they faced problems and those who were not supportive. Punishments ranged from severe beatings to humiliating treatment, and students were open in their critiques and suggestions for alternative approaches:
Punishment may be necessary but it also needs to be proportionate. For example, when we come to the morning class we may be late sometimes because as females we may be supposed to do different things at home like washing dishes before we get out of home. So, when we get late to school, the punishment we receive is very painful. The rubber stick in particular is very painful and I would say if they do not punish us with that. In the classroom also, even if it is our duty to do homework, it would be proper if the focus is on solving the problem of the student who failed to do his homework. During test time also there is punishment by some teachers which makes us scared. For example, there are teachers who hit you the same number you got wrong in the test. That means if, for instance, you got 10 wrongs you will be hit 10 times. (Focus group discussion, girls’ club members, Addis)

Some students also noted some teachers behaving unprofessionally in class, including drinking areke\(^1\), chewing chat\(^2\), playing and talking on their phones, running lessons into break time, and punishing children for misdemeanours such as chewing gum or drinking water in class.

Corporal punishment could be seen to both reflect and reinforce gender norms. For example, some said that boys were particularly vulnerable to physical beating ‘on the assumption that they can better handle the punishment’ (Focus group discussion, girls’ club members, Addis), reinforcing ideas about male toughness. Meanwhile some said that girls were more likely to be humiliated and undermined in their treatment, reinforcing their inferior status: ‘when students score a low grade or fail to give the right answer when a teacher asks a question, the teacher may say different words against the students “you are lazy and the like.” Especially, to demoralize girls.’ Poverty can intersect with gender increasing risk of physical mistreatment, which can further exacerbate inequalities, as with girls working as housemaids and living with relatives:

For instance, a student may be staying with her relatives and after school they may give her no time where she can do her homework. As a result, she will show up to class not having done her homework and therefore, may be punished. So, in fear of the punishment, they sometimes prefer to miss the class and spend their time outside (Girls’ focus group discussion, Addis)

Whilst young people were clear in their criticisms of corporal punishment and how it affected their wellbeing, it was rarely reported to school authorities. This was because students feared further victimisation from their teacher or they believed little action would be taken against teachers. Students did talk about reporting a case in an Addis school where no action was taken.

Corporal punishment was usually denied by school staff in interviews, or only seen to be violence if seen as severe or resulting in physical injury. It is embedded in the fabric of society, making it particularly difficult to shift despite its ban in schools, and many teachers feel unable to maintain discipline without using threats and punishments.

Corporal punishment does not have prominence in the Code of Conduct, and some government stakeholders explained that this is because it is not considered to fall into ‘gender-based’ violence. However, accounts above demonstrated how punishments are used to reinforce gender norms and inequalities and there currently does not seem to be a process to support implementation of the ban. Some explained that they would be better able to address corporal punishment if there were clearer

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1 Areke is a traditional alcoholic drink
2 Chat is a plant whose leaves are often chewed as a drug. It is a stimulant, causing excitement and euphoria.
It is better if the code of conduct pay due attention to corporal punishment, teachers beating students for example. If the action of beating students and its legal consequences are clearly outlined in the code, the teachers will get better direction and caution on the action. (School director, Addis)

I mean when the teacher punishes the student he was just thinking that is for the better of the student and is not from the thinking of inflicting violence on him/her. The same with insults and there are some other things that I think shall be included. It will be good if reconsidered [in the Code]. (Boys’ focus group discussion, Addis)

4.3 Bullying

Girls and boys also talked about bullying as being an everyday feature of their lives. This took place both inside and outside of schools and was often gender-based. Boys often bullied girls – sometimes to demonstrate their dominant position, and this was often intrinsically linked with sexual harassment, linked with rejection from girls to their advances, or spreading rumours about girls’ sexual behavior (which is further discussed below):

Male students also insult female students and they say shameful things against females like ‘you think you are beautiful’ but not..... (Boys’ focus group discussion, Addis)

It is always there. Sometimes we quarrel with students inside classroom, for example, sometimes the boys take our good chair and give the bad chair for us. Then we ask them [the boys] saying this is our chair, they said to us “this chair is not yours. Take care! Who you are? These days you girls are going to beat us!” Saying these things, the boys insult us. (Girls’ focus group discussion, Amhara)

Bullying also took place between boys and between girls, although was a little less talked about. We see again how poverty also shapes bullying, with orphans or those with difficult home circumstances particularly targeted. Newcomers, younger children, and children with certain physical features were also at risk. Boys also fought with each other over girls.

As with corporal punishment, this was very rarely reported. Some who did report faced physical abuse from peers. Bullying was widely talked about by students and occasionally by school staff. Bullying and fighting were generally not reported through the Code as it was not seen as gender-based, although staff in one school in Amhara claimed it was the type of violence most often coming to the attention of the SRGBV committee. When teachers knew about bullying behaviour they usually dealt with it directly by punishing perpetrators.

4.4 Sexual harassment and coercive sex and relationships

Girls talked about sexual harassment extensively, ranging from sexual comments and intimidation, to grabbing and coerced or forced sex. It was discussed across all schools but more frequently in the Addis schools. Girls described harassment as an everyday feature of their lives, occurring both within and outside schools. Girls adopted strategies to try to avoid harassment in their communities, in particular by avoiding places considered to be risky because men gathered, such as chat houses, construction sites, garages and car parts shops in Addis. In Amhara girls considered the often long journeys to school, football fields, liquor houses and urban areas as the most risky and risk heightened at cultural ceremonies and holidays, whilst schools were seen to be somewhat protective spaces.
Girls and boys in focus groups spoke of how sexual harassment was caused by an inability of men and boys to control sexual desire, often exacerbated by alcohol or chat use. Whilst these are common beliefs but are socially learned features of masculinity, they were not necessarily recognised as such and accepted as ‘how men and boys are’. Thus it was not apparent to most people how these concerns could be changed (for example through gender transformative learning approaches). Whilst boys can be socially rewarded for having sexual relationships, girls are expected to stay away and are socially punished for getting involved. There were examples of girls being forced into relationships with boys, keen to impress their friends:

D2. There is this thing, for instance, where male students took the female forcefully and introduce her to their friends as girlfriend. If she refused to go or resist their proposal they will hurt her.

D3. Sometimes they also took the female students to other places and make them spend the whole day with them

D4. They also take condoms in their hands

(Boys’ focus group discussion, Addis)

The social stigma around sex created a lack of awareness about how power and lack of consent are the key factors determining violence rather than merely sexual interest. In this way adolescent relationships, kissing, discussion about sex and attractive or revealing dressing were seen to be violence:

D5: Less severe gender based violence include touching body parts and kissing.
D2: Foolish practices means, for example, some individuals have the practices of behaving towards gender based violence or sexual harassment. Because, some people always act in a decorative way in their hair style, wearing improper clothes that shows their thigh and the like. We take this as a foolish practice.
D3: They are practicing these to have sexual intercourse. This happens because of people being illiterate otherwise we all know that this sexual related things have no advantage. But, because of lack of knowledge people are practicing sexual harassment.
(Boys’ focus group discussion, Amhara)

Having interest in sex and pursuing relationships is common in adolescence, and did occur, as one girl explained: ‘It is common to have girlfriend and boyfriend in our school, especially on grade seven and eight. At grade eight....sexual intercourse....or kissing is common’ (Focus group discussion, girls’ club members, Addis). But young people lacked understanding of how to distinguish and understand what constitutes violence. For example it was evident from their responses that they could not distinguish unwanted, coercive or intimidating approaches from those that were more consensual or respectful. This shame and blame linked to girls and sexuality constrained reporting:

What makes reporting difficult? I think it is all about fearing of the hearsay around the school. Though it may be a case of forced rape, the victim might think that people will be talking about her and they may think that as her own fault. So, she may think they will say ‘why did she go into this place if she is not into it’. Hence, she will fail to report fearing hearsay. (Focus group discussion, girls’ club members, Addis)

It also made it difficult for girls to make non-sexual, platonic friendships with boys in school:

Some of the boys will take some of your relation with other boys differently if you happen to giggle with them and then based on that they might write something that defame you
and it will be spread throughout the school and sometimes goes to home where bigger problems will happen as a result of that. So sometimes creating a brotherly-sisterly relation in school can be very difficult. (Girls' focus group discussion, Addis)

Students said that school uniforms helped protect them from sexual harassment linked to dressing, but mentioned that girls who attended extra tutorials at school on the weekend (where uniform is not required) were particularly at risk on the journey to school. There were some pressures for girls to look ‘modern’ which symbolised increased wealth and status, so this caused dilemmas for girls:

In our community adolescents are exposed to such violence due to economic insufficiency. Children from poor families are more at risk for sexual violence. And on the other hand girls from rich families dress relatively well and boys are easily attracted towards them and these girls are also exposed to violence. (Community representative, Amhara)

Money, gifts or grades were used to persuade girls into sexual relationships, making girls living in extreme poverty particularly vulnerable. Sometimes parents were complicit in silently encouraging these relationships if they meant bringing in much needed family income, as illustrated by these extracts from discussions with girls in schools in Addis and Amhara:

There was one boy who always follows my footsteps in order to rape me by using money for his deception. Although one day he jumped and tried to catch me when I was taking maize from the maize field, I shouted aloud and escaped from him. At that time I told my family, but they said to me “it is up to you; you yourself have interest” and they [parents] insulted me in such way...... If I tell to my family, they say to me “it is your behaviour” and I stay silent about it. (Focus group discussion, girls’ club members, Amhara)

In my neighbourhood there was this girl who had many people staying in her house. That is because they rent their house. And at that time they may touch her improperly or kiss her lips. When she tells her mother about it the mother looks the money she gets out of it and therefore, fail to help the girl. She'd rather keep silent, despite that the girl is subjected to violence and can even get pregnant. (Focus group discussion, girls’ club members, Addis)

As well as lack of support from parents, girls also usually did not report these experiences due to fear of retribution from perpetrators. Girls faced dilemmas in how to respond, with some saying that they might manage to avoid retribution if the boy had harassed many girls and might not know who had reported, and a few saying that talking back angrily was necessary so boys knew they were not afraid of them. Occasionally harassment was reported and effectively stopped by school authorities:

There is this student who used to inappropriately touch different body parts of female students. I mean used to squeeze our breast and hit our buttock. He also had a fight with me as a result. We finally reported to our school where he had been given a warning in the presence of our parents. Thereafter he improved and stopped doing such things. (Focus group discussion, girls’ club members, Addis)

4.5 Child abuse
More extreme examples of sexual or physical abuse committed by adults, often by those within or close to the family, were also discussed. There was a tendency to discuss the most extreme or shocking
cases repeatedly. Schools seemed to be sympathetic and responsive to these, perhaps because schools themselves were not implicated in the violence and because of their broad disapproval. Taking action sometimes just involved calling the perpetrators in to ‘advise’ (especially for physical abuse), which may not be effective and could put the child at increased risk, but sometimes cases were investigated and/or reported to the police. There were stories of students being withdrawn from school by the family if the school started asking too many questions.

The girl was raped by her grandfather with whom she used to live. At first, as her grandfather was very old (65-70 years of age) and respected one in the community, it was not easy for her to tell her story. It was only because of her teacher’s insistence, who observed the changes in the girl, that she finally able to tell what happened stating that it was her grandfather who did such thing on her. (Community representative, Addis)

Students spoke of occasional incidents of a girl committing suicide following sexual abuse, due to the stigma she faced and the lack of support she was given.

Girls’ vulnerability at home was linked to poverty. Many girls and boys worked as domestic workers or labourers and were subject to labour exploitation. Girls working as maids with extended families, and girls whose mothers had migrated to the Middle East in search of work were at increased risk of abuse from fathers, uncles and other male family members. Fear of losing their income or home support was reported by some stakeholders as a barrier to reporting, but there were accounts of teachers providing support especially if it linked to their risk of dropping out from school, for example helping housemaids find another local employer. This explanation from a local government official illustrates how reporting does not always resolve girls’ vulnerability to violence:

These times I even come to an agreement with myself that I should not take the case to that extent. For that matter, we had come up with two situations where, after the arrest of their guilty father, we were finally devoid of options as to where to take them next. Because taking them to other relatives may be again exposing them for other violence. There was a case of this girl, for example, where, after we made the guilty father imprisoned, a hotel owner took her to raise and educate her. But what she faced in her new place was also something very challenging….Then she managed to escape and left the place. Then after, we took her to her relatives, but there also her uncle could not leave her alone. He began to continuously harass her where she again made to leave her uncle’s place also. (Local government representative, Addis)

These examples highlight the dilemmas faced when social support systems are not in place that can protect and if necessary take on care of children at risk of abuse in the home.

Boys were also mentioned as being at risk from sexual violence, but these cases are less reported as boys face even more stigma as victims of sexual violence. The central sub-city reported that 19 out of 47 reported rapes were of boys, whilst the sub-city on Addis’ outskirts reported 2 out of 17 cases targeted boys (this data was not provided for Amhara).

Whilst young people were perceived to be more at risk of sexual abuse outside school (of 15 reported rape cases, 2 were inside the school and 13 inside homes in one sub-city) (Local government representative, Addis), there was one high profile case in an Addis school of a teacher who sexually molested nine girls in exchange for grades. The case was reported and dealt with through the Code of Conduct and teacher was sacked (School director, Addis). This seems to be the only case of abuse by a teacher that has been effectively addressed through the Code in the six schools.
4.6 Child marriage

Although the legal age of marriage is 18 (Revised Family Code 2000), child marriage was said to be common in Amhara and to occur in the community on the outskirts of Addis, where its proximity to Oromia state meant that girls were often taken for marriage. Girls working as maids were particularly at risk – for these girls marriage was seen as a route to escape servitude or disagreement with their employer, and some girls were abducted for marriage. Child marriage was seen as a way for families to heal conflicts and restore peace with opponents. They were also seen as an important opportunity for poor families to accumulate wealth if marrying a wealthy man, to ensure virginity of daughters would be maintained until marriage, and to make sure daughters were not perceived as the last to marry or thus seen as less interested or desirable.

Instances of child marriage were reported to be reducing, and this is an area where there were high levels of activism by school authorities and girls’ clubs and other external authorities:

But early child marriage and socioeconomic issues that I told you previously have been reported to us. Child marriage specially will be reported to other concerned institutions also such women and children affairs office, court, police and finally to health centres like it can be taken to hospitals. (Local government representative, Amhara)

Girls starting from their eighth birthday used to get married. But now such cases are not common. Even some students write and alert us when their parents like their fathers try to get them married. We have managed to stop such marriages. This practice is very rare now. Most families want their children to get education and live a bigger dream. The community is considering early marriage as inappropriate character. They want their children to go to school. (Community representative, Amhara)

Whilst the Code was used to support action on child marriage in most schools, it is not formally covered by the Code, and this was used as a reason for inaction in one school:

Last year, around Easter, there were students who got married without our knowledge. Even if we knew this truth and even if we know the Code of Conduct, we did not know whom we should hold accountable. The parents were the ones who made the girl marry and the code of conduct cannot apply to them and therefore, we could not do anything about it. (School director, Amhara)

Other schools used several different strategies to stop child marriages going ahead, including through the work of the Girls’ Club:

If a girl hasn’t heard about her own arranged marriage, we will inform her saying “this problem is coming to you.” If she is willing to get married, we will convince her [not to marry] first. Then after we convince her, we will go to her home in order to convince her mother and father. Then after we come to school, and if her parents say “ok, we don’t marry off her”, we made her to continue attending her education. (Girls’ focus group discussion, Amhara)

The concerted efforts may be linked to broad efforts to encourage gender parity at school and prevent girls’ dropping out, rather than being specifically linked to the introduction of the Code of Conduct. It was also mentioned by some stakeholders in one location that if a girl states that the marriage is her free will she is allowed to continue the union (even if below legal age).
This analysis has emphasized how all forms of SRGBV highlighted in the conceptual diagram on page 6 (figure 1) are reflected in the schools participating in this study. We have also identified how violence is shaped by norms and institutions which affect how different forms are responded to. We shall now move on to look at how the Code of Conduct has been able to address these forms of SRGBV.
5. Introduction and roll-out of the code: the national and regional perspective

5.1 Development of the Code
The development of the code was led by the Ministry of Education (MoE) and UNICEF. The Ethiopian Teachers Association also reported advocating for its development, because of the complaints they had received from teachers and students, as well as reports of violence in the media. Several interviewees mentioned the relationship the code had with pre-existing policies or structures that had sought to address gender inequality or violence, pointing to the way in which the code built on these.

To develop and coordinate the work on the code, the MoE assigned a coordinator and together with UNICEF devised an initial draft. Following this they created a committee, and drew on expertise from a wide range of state and non-state stakeholders (such as teaching organisations and relevant NGO partners in the area) who worked to revise this in multiple rounds using workshops as a method to do this. Stakeholders at national and regional levels gave input, as well as from different sectors – including education, gender, justice and police, as one participant explained:

> There was a contribution of many people from different areas. Education bureau, legal representatives of higher institutions, justice department, and federal police were represented. The main idea was to use the input of every sector to identify the gaps in the law and discuss on how to fill it. (National non-governmental representative)

The resulting Code of Conduct on Prevention of School Related Gender Based Violence in Schools was introduced in 2014 and has been rolled out across Ethiopia. The Code addresses gender-based violence by school staff or students, including light (e.g. verbal gender discrimination, or sexually provocative behaviours) and grave forms (e.g. coercive sex for grades or money, attempted rape) and sets out penalties (see Appendix 1 for full Code). For example, a light form of punishment includes an oral or written warning (both to be recorded on a form); a severe form of punishment of a student includes suspension for a specified period, and for a staff member, includes demotion or dismissal. It supplements the administrative disciplinary guidelines in schools, which lacked guidance on areas like sexual harassment. The code specifies that seven-member committees are to be put in place in each school, representing gender clubs, other students (Grade 5 and above), teaching, parents, administration and leadership, to review, investigate and take action on reports of violence in line with the guidelines. The committees are expected to meet twice a month and review reports, which must be submitted in writing according to a template detailing people involved and witnesses, place and description of event and evidence available. The code also sets out that Gender Clubs should be established in every school, and that Committees should raise awareness about the Code of Conduct.

5.2 Debates around the Code of Conduct
During this process interviewees highlighted areas which had led to particular debate between stakeholders. These were:

The scope and content of the code – particularly around the question of violence that takes place outside of school, and for example issues such as child labour and corporal punishment, as one participant reflected:

> You know, we benefitted from the validation workshop, because there are a lot of debates, some of the people request us... the function of code of conduct is limited at school level because it is the mandate of education bureau in the school compound. Some
said how can we manage if the violence occurs out of the school compound? In relation to that why just include child labour; many problems of child labour and may be a violence happen at home level, home based violence (National government representative).

The question of seriousness and types of violence that also constitute legal offences and would require referral beyond any educational processes put in place were also debated. A further area of debate was whether the code should itself be defined around SRGBV or around sexual harassment. Some felt that certain types of violence, such as corporal punishment and bullying/fighting are not gender-based so should not be covered by the Code, whilst internationally agreed definitions include these types of violence as they often have a gender dimension, as discussed in section 2.

Having implemented the code, national and regional level stakeholders again reflected on its strengths and weaknesses. Positive mention was made in terms of its function as a tool for awareness raising around the issue of violence, among a range of different stakeholders. It was praised for being designed to include different levels and structures involved in the issues at hand. There were also examples reported of it having had a positive reception and visible impact – for example in relation to offensive graffiti and how this was dealt with.

However, interviewees also highlighted a selection of areas where they felt the code had gaps or areas to improve on. Firstly, multiple interviewees raised the question of violence categorisation, and what was or was not included. It was pointed out that the more psychological dimensions of SRGVBV, for example bullying and corporal punishment, were not included:

*I agree on the fact that all violence cases are not addressed in the Code of Conduct. For example, besides physical punishment, taking students’ material, giving nicknames for students, etc. are not addressed. (National non-governmental representative)*

*In the Constitution corporal punishment is illegal. And then coming to the Guideline developed for Schools in 2000 it is clearly mentioned that corporal punishment is abolished – that it is not legal in our schools. That is the provision we have. But when it comes to the issues of taking action if corporal punishment has happened, that’s the missing link now. That’s something that in the future we need to focus on with the MOE to overcome this problem of corporal punishment. We can see that many schools have overcome this problem of corporal punishment. In other schools we still have the problem of corporal punishment, which is a very serious problem in many schools. (National non-governmental representative)*

More generally it was pointed out that overall the Code’s emphasis on sanctions following violence meant there was a lack of attention given both to preventive measures, and also to the support and provision for victims. One participant reflected on this saying:

*It has listed types of offenses, measures that should be taken, and how the committee should handle such cases, but has given little attention to preventing it and who should do the prevention task. …. However, when you look at to the trainings that we offered it has preventive nature. We organized trainings so that such kind of offenses won’t happen. I agree that there is a gap in the content of the Code of Conduct when it comes to preventing violence. (National non-governmental representative)*

Lastly, multiple interviewees highlighted the need for clearer and tighter links specifically on the relationship between the code of conduct and the justice sector, but also more generally on the
linkages and coordination between different actors and departments of relevance. This also included discussion of the need to ensure that monitoring and evaluation were undertaken in collaboration with, for example, both gender and the EMIS directorate involved.

5.3 Roll-out of the code

5.3.1 National level

At national level, interviewees stressed the importance of regional adoption and coordination of policy including modifications and translation into different languages in the process of roll-out. However, in the case of the Code, it was suggested that only Tigray and Oromia had made substantive changes to the content of the code – in relation to the categories of violence, or adapting and extending for use in colleges. National level interviewees suggested that the distribution of the Code had been supported by UNICEF in all regions, and that this had been followed up with support including training. Training has been delivered to key actors in each region (Gender Focal Persons, Plan and resource mobilization experts and others). Following this the Regional Gender Focal Person was tasked with carrying out regionally tailored training for woredas/sub-cities, who were then to provide training for school level gender focal teachers, who in turn were to work with school communities.

Despite this cascading model in principle, national level actors were aware of limitations and problems that could arise – highlighting the lack of human resources provided for gender work, with gender tacked on to already busy workloads and it being marked, and less well remunerated, as low status. This was clearly explained by one national level participant who reflected on the grading and structuring of roles, and the low status of gender as an area of work within the education sector then impacting on the experience level of who would apply for roles.

It was also pointed out that with a high turnover in roles, the value of training which was received could be lost when people moved, and not replenished. Although aware of some issues, the national level interviewees stressed that they did not have a clear picture of school-level implementation as this responsibility lay primarily at regional level with the Education Bureaux and Gender Focal Persons.

Another issue highlighted was that the Code of Conduct roll-out was focused on public schools. Whilst these are the majority of schools in Ethiopia and it was felt that private schools were more likely to have effective systems of their own to address violence, it was acknowledged that there is a lack of knowledge or monitoring of violence and approaches to addressing it in private schools (national government representative). This was also pointed out by interviewees at regional level, who suggested that although they had wanted to engage with private schools, a combination of these schools’ focus on teaching (as opposed to extracurricular activities or clubs) as well as limited funding, forced them to focus only on public schools.

5.3.2 Regional level

At regional level, interviewees from Oromia, Amhara, Addis and Dire Dawa reflected on the process of dissemination they had undertaken to roll out the code, which appeared to predominantly focus on distributing copies of the code (including its translation into different languages), and carrying out training. In Oromia, the regional bureau had carried this out at zonal level, which are in turn responsible for carrying this out at woreda level (of which there are 365 in the region). It was suggested that an allocation of 10 copies of the code per school was made. In seeking to assess the comprehensiveness of the implementation a mixed picture emerged – on the one hand it was stressed that the regional office was not the best placed to assess school-level implementation or resistance to it (as they are primarily responsible for the woreda level, the woreda then for the school level). However, they did point to certain issues which had been fed up to them – which also reflected the
insights of national level actors. For example, it was pointed out that too much responsibility was placed with usually low-status and over-stretched Gender Focal Persons, when for example management bodies needed to understand and own such work to make it stronger. For example, one regional level actor explained that based on their experience, and feedback from schools, they felt committee leadership had to be in a stronger position for them to be more impactful:

But the comment they mainly raise on the committee is that, since the girl’s club focal person is the one who mostly chair the committee it make the committee to be weak (that is as she has got not much power). So, they recommend by saying it would be good if those persons at leadership level, like the directors, PTSA representatives or so, chair the committee and if she acts as a secretary. The re-structure of the committee is, therefore, the main suggestion forwarded by those who contact us. (Regional Education Bureau representative, Oromia)

However, as we discuss further below, the Gender Focal Teachers at school level play a critical role in schools that are implementing the Code effectively, and it is important to support their leadership in this area, and to ensure they are not marginalised. It was also pointed out that not all schools had established some of the key requirements. For example, around 60% of schools were reported as having established the stipulated committee in Addis region, though all the schools in Dire Dawa had set up committees.

In Amhara, distribution of copies of the code, coupled with training had been the focus for implementation. It was reported that the region had received around 10,600 copies of the code – to distribute among the 9000 primary and 400 secondary schools. However, it appeared that there was a two tier system taking place for implementation with more intensive training having been carried out in 200 priority primary schools with support from UNICEF. These schools have been selected based on UNICEF’s knowledge of the woredas with higher levels of inequality. Similarly to Oromia, the Amhara regional participant suggested that issues with senior level understanding and leadership, as opposed to being led solely by gender focal points, would be beneficial, as well as the need for more training, awareness raising and refresher training.
6. Enactment of the Code of Conduct in schools

6.1 Knowledge and awareness of the Code in schools

Data from interviews with school directors, gender focal teachers and SRGBV Committee members and FGDs with students demonstrated that awareness of the Code was fair in most of the schools participating in the research, and indeed one of the key strengths of the Code’s implementation has been its effect on raising awareness about SRGBV in schools. In most cases, the Gender Focal Teachers (GFT) cascaded training they had received at the woreda level. In one school, however, the GFT only became aware of the Code following a reported case of violence. Information was then disseminated in schools through a variety of routes, as we discuss further below, with the GFT and school management, including the School Director, playing a key role in sharing information. Among the students interviewed, some had quite detailed knowledge about the Code, particularly those girls and boys who were in gender clubs; some had a general idea that there was a Code but lacked specific knowledge about its content; while some claimed not to have heard about it. Thus, dissemination about the Code within schools appears quite variable, and needs to be planned and supported to reach the full school community. In some of the schools, where the Code has only recently been introduced, interviewees commented that the training needs to be regularly repeated to embed work on SRGBV into school institutional cultures. Suggestions included using model schools as role models, and using creative ways to disseminate the findings of this study, through for example drama.

Research participants reported on a number of strengths of the Code. Several participants praised the **clarity and brevity** of the Code itself:

The code of conduct is the document that highlights all the various SRGBV committed against students in a very brief manner. Therefore, all the school community either an academic or administrative or a student can easily read and understand. Because it explains what is psychological violence, how sexual harassment can be defined and the less severe and the grave violence and like that in a detailed manner. It enables you understand easily. Secondly, as stated by [participant name] earlier, there are some occasions where the guilty can be punished, so it tells the steps on how to go from the school to the surroundings. So whoever is a perpetrator, the code of conduct has stated everything. I could say it is a very important document. (SRGBV committee member, Addis)

Some felt that the awareness generated through training and awareness raising on the Code was improving the school environment:

This year the condition is very much improved in our school as opposed to last year or the year before. There is also regular training, so things have improved this year (Boys’ focus group discussion, Addis)

I do appreciate the government for taking the initiative to work emphasizing on gender-based violence happening both on boys and girls. The trainings and awareness creation seminars are really making us alert about the issue. (School director, Amhara)

Some participants felt that the Code was helping to reduce violence through acting as a **deterrent** – perpetrators fearing that they would be held accountable for committing violence:
After the [Code’s] implementation no one had ever tried to harass us because they have heard all about the consequences. They are afraid of the school detention and the court orders. (Girl’s focus group discussion, Addis)

Others felt that the Code could help to enable students to speak out about violence, reducing the shame or stigma associated with reporting. Though praised for its clarity, there were some variations between schools and interviewees in the ways the code was interpreted. For example, while in most schools staff understood SRGBV as affecting both girls and boys, in one school the code was viewed/used more narrowly to address violence against girls.

Those schools with the highest levels of awareness relating to the Code shared two key characteristics. Firstly, they had committed individual staff, in particular the Gender Focal Teachers, with support from school managers. Second, they attempted to integrate the Code into existing school structures, systems and processes, such as the work of gender clubs and parent-teacher associations, as we discuss further below.

6.2 SRGBV Committees

In developing their SRGBV Committees, the schools carefully followed the Code’s guidance on organisation, with seven members, including two students (one from Gender Club and one student representative), chairs of the PTSA and for the Teachers’ Association (TA), a member of administrative/support staff, gender representative of the TA, and the vice principal. The breadth of the membership, representing key constituencies of the broad school community, was heralded as a strength:

One of the strengths could be the ability to include different groups of the school community to take part and participate (Gender Focal Teacher, Addis)

The participation of students as well as adults, and administrative as well as teaching staff, and PTSA, has potential for buy in from across the school community.

However, we found that the work of the Committee, as described by interviewees, varied somewhat from that described in the Code. The title in the Code of ‘SRGBV Complaint Investigation and Decisions Recommending Committee’ signals that the main purpose is to investigate reported violence and to make decisions on sanctions. Cases may be reported to the SRGBV Committee in various ways – through self-reporting to teachers, committee members (whose contact details in some schools are posted for this purpose) or via the information boxes, or through students or teachers reporting concerns about a student. However, in most of the schools interviewees from the SRGBV Committees explained that, although cases come to their attention, rarely is a formal report being made, or a case formally investigated by the Committee. In all the schools, much of the Committees’ work is concerned with awareness building and violence prevention work. While the Code itself focuses mainly on responses following violence, and only briefly alludes to preventative work, in practice it appears that SRGBV Committees are paying attention to both. These twin dimensions of the Committees’ work in prevention as well as response were explained by a Committee member in one of the Addis schools:

The major role of the committee would be in creating a secure school environment for students free from any kind of violence, threats or harassment and to prevent such things from happening. Secondly if there are some victim students, the committee is supposed to help investigate what happened, make follow ups, and if there are things beyond the capacity of the committee report to the concerned and even go to those areas to follow the case there. (SRGBV committee member, Addis)
There appear to be several reasons why few cases are being reported to the Committees. In two of the schools, the Committee has only recently been established, and so is concentrating on awareness raising in order to increase reporting. In schools where the Committee is more established, ‘light’ forms of violence may be handled through routine practice in schools, without needing Committee input. One Gender Focal Teacher, for example, explained that she encourages teachers to resolve minor incidents of violence between students themselves. Sometimes more ‘severe’ forms are also resolved in the process of gathering information for the SRGBV Committee report. A Gender Focal Teacher, for example, recounted that a peer or teacher may report a bruise, changes in mood, or absence from school of a student, leading to a home visit:

*So we used to go their home through the information we got from their friends. Then we began to investigate the issues based on the initial information we have. If it is beating for instance, we start to check the body, and who was involved and the like. So it is after going through such thorough analyses of the issue then we bring the issue to the committee. If we thought it is too simple, we call up on the family and make them aware about the issue that they should not have to do it that way and might resolve it there without further ado. (Gender Focal Teacher, Addis)*

Other complex cases may be referred on to other agencies, such as hospitals or police. It is important that these kinds of severe violence do not bypass the SRGBV Committees.

Few reports of violence by teachers reached the SRGBV Committees, perhaps, as suggested by a community member (*Amhara*), because students are afraid of possible repercussions, or doubtful that their concerns will be taken seriously, or because teachers may be reluctant to adjudicate on their colleagues. One local government official suggested this as a reason to alter the leadership of the SRGBV Committee from the GFT to a woreda/sub-city official (*local government representative, Addis*). However, the advantages of the GFT chairing the Committee include being able to take on the spot action, the wider role and authority schools have on their members than the woreda, and importantly the need to strengthen based decentralisation and decision-making on school/learning matters.

While some of the different courses of action in and out of school are appropriate responses to different types and levels of violence, and not all cases of violence need to reach the SRGBV Committee, it is concerning that this sometimes appears to lead school staff to minimise the violence that is taking place within their schools. If not handled through the committee, written records may not be kept, yet this clearly does not mean that violence is not happening. This was evident in the discrepancies between the accounts of students and teachers, with students’ accounts suggesting that violence remains commonplace in their schools (as discussed in section 4 above), but is often not reported through the official channels.

Another reason for lack of reporting may be concerns about confidentiality. In most schools, the information boxes set up to encourage violence reporting were rarely used by students. This may be because of lack of clarity about confidentiality. Information boxes tend to be carefully located in relatively private spaces, so that students can report violence without being witnessed by others, thus avoiding gossip and at times enabling them to report violence affecting someone else without revealing their own identity. However, they need to be confident that their reports will not leak out. While some committee members interviewed were clearly aware of the importance of maintaining confidentiality outside the committee, in practice cases of violence were often known about by students interviewed in focus groups. The guidance in the Code indicates that reports to be investigated are confidential but not anonymous – complaints are to be put in writing with names and
details about the violence. It may be valuable to reconsider the requirement of the Code to have this formal report in all cases. Alternatively, students could be encouraged to report in a variety of child friendly ways, leading to a range of responses – these could include preventive work by a teacher with a whole class, for example, addressing bullying without naming or identifying any individuals; or through the teacher discussing an informal report (e.g. given verbally or through the information box) with the child concerned, before helping him/her to decide whether to make the report more formal, with the teacher’s help.

We found that when cases were more serious and formally investigated, confidentiality was not always maintained. For example, in one Addis school a case of nine students who were sexually abused by a teacher became very public. Announcements were made and the girls themselves felt shamed and victimised and received no psychosocial support. This also reflects a further important reason for underreporting: the weak support offered to victims. The Code emphasises penalties, but not how young people should be supported. Students spoke about how they could be stigmatised for speaking out about violence:

D1. From the side of the students they may stigmatise the victim of violence. They do not want to be friends with her anymore and as a result she may commit suicide or get in to different unnecessary actions.

D2. She may also be stigmatised by her family and as a result may drop out from school. She may be expelled from her house and may be left all alone where she would be tempted to kill herself or do some other things on her life (Girls’ focus group discussion, Addis)

While some spoke of support provided through guidance and counselling centres or the gender clubs at school, and clearly the Gender Focal Teachers play an important role in supporting students, professional psycho-social support is lacking.

These issues concerning reports to the SRGBV Committee have a number of implications. Firstly, it is concerning that some staff appear to be interpreting low levels of formal reporting to the Committee as indicating low levels of violence. Secondly, it raises questions about whether there are forms of violence, such as corporal punishment, that are being missed by the Code, and leaving young people unsupported in such cases. Thirdly, it underlines the importance of integrating the Committee’s work with the broader approaches to prevent and respond to violence that are taking place in and around the schools, and of working with other stakeholders like Women and Children Affairs office, police, and the Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association.

Once cases are reported to the SRGBV Committees, they are mandated to make recommendations on sanctions. Concerns were expressed by some members about the risks they face in undertaking this work:

They fear that they might be attacked by the perpetrator (Local government representative, Amhara).

Fear of reprisals aimed at committee members is a considerable risk, and some participants were concerned that the Code does not give guidance on how reprisals or threats to committee members would be handled. There is however a section in the Code (section 12) on legitimate protection for members of the school community who need protection, which specifies ensuring safety of staff through securing a signed commitment of restraint from harm by the perpetrator. It would be valuable to review whether this is adequate to protect committee members. Some interviewees were also concerned that the Code does not prescribe sanctions for those who protect perpetrators.
Another way in which the Committee varies from that described in the Code is in the **frequency of meetings**, specified in the Code to be every two weeks. While some schools do appear to be following this guidance, others suggest this is too frequent, and justify a flexible approach. If the role of the Committee is only to adjudicate on cases formally reported, then meetings every fortnight of the full committee may not be warranted or sustainable. Responding quickly to reports of violence may at times require faster action, by those members able to convene at short notice. If the Committee is also working preventively, then it may be valuable to meet, perhaps monthly/termly, to plan their work, including how they can work with other school structures, such as the gender clubs, discipline committees, school management and curriculum, to ensure that all forms of violence are addressed, students supported, and to plan preventive work in classrooms, clubs and flag ceremonies to promote safety, inclusion and equity.

Additionally, there was reported to be an issue relating to the **sanctions for perpetrators** of violence (whether students, teachers or other staff). The Code stipulates suspension for up to 5 years for a student perpetrator, depending on the case, with denial for enrolling in another school. Some respondents critiqued this, highlighting how denial of education would not be effective in addressing violence and could violate rights to education. This may particularly be the case for cases that are more everyday than extreme, such as showing pornographic pictures or initiating sex, even if consensual, where there may be more appropriate sanctions:

> What I wish could be included to discipline a student is not to ban a student from coming to school but find other ways like gardening job, cleaning the compound and other kinds of disciplinary actions were to be included. If a student is caught stealing and the punishment was to ban him for a year from school, he/she would become a problem to society and continue the act of stealing but if the student is guided and punished accordingly the student will learn from their mistake and be a productive member of the society. (School director, Amhara)

A further criticism of denying enrolment to another school was the difficulty of enforcing the sanction, since, in practice a student might enrol in a school far from his previous school without having a transcript.

Sanctions in the Code for teachers or other school staff include dismissal for the most serious cases, and this was agreed to be appropriate for those who are in a position of trust and authority. However, the systems in place to enforce this were reported to not be effective. Circulars are sent within the woreda, zone or region, but a teacher could still attain employment outside of that zone, even if the circular reached all the schools in the area.

The Code provides guidance on sanctions for very severe and mild violence, but does not currently provide guidance on sanctions for the range of violence that occurs between these poles. Reviewing the sanctions/punishments could enable more nuanced professional judgements to be made. For example punishments for students could include shorter suspension periods (hours/days) or school detentions. Meanwhile sanctions for teachers using corporal punishment could follow a staged procedure (depending on severity of cases) such as warning for first reported offence, a requirement to attend a training course on alternative forms of discipline for a second offence, and suspension and then sacking and/or legal proceedings for third or serious offences. In judging sanctions for sexual activity between students, an assessment of whether these are consensual should be taken into account, with punishments reflecting the level of coercion. It would also be helpful for sanctions to be check and aligned with legal provisions.
6.3 Teaching on SRGBV and the Code, and the Gender Focal Teacher

In the schools working most effectively with the Code, the Gender Focal Teacher (GFT) plays a key role:

*Most of the time the violence reports are addressed to teacher [name of Gender Focal Teacher], since she always encourages students about such gender issues. She used to tell students that if anything happened, 'I want each and every one of you to tell me about it without any fear, and do not try to hide it from me'. (Focus group discussion, girls’ club members, Addis)*

As well as running the Gender Club, the GFT is often a driving force within the SRGBV Committee. This role is multi-faceted – requiring strong organisational and coordination skills, expertise on gender and violence, as well as personal qualities in establishing trusting relationships with school and students. It is also time consuming, with responsibilities that may be on top of busy teaching loads, as they are given the same teaching load as other teachers. Some felt that the responsibility for training in schools should be shared, with outside professionals supporting the work of the GFT by visiting to share their expertise:

*The focal persons are simply teachers and hence, their main job is on the teaching-learning activity. It is only as a volunteer that they work on the club and there is no time deducted from their main teaching hours, because of their work in the clubs. This means that they are working in parallel to their main task without any payment and in doing so; they have shortage of time. So, it is burdensome to regularly report their activity for the different offices. (Local government representative, Addis)*

While some GFTs appeared to be well supported, with GFTs in Addis schools having undergone repeated training, others felt the training they had received was insufficient, as in the case of the GFT in one of the Amhara schools which had only very recently started to implement the Code:

*The training that I got is not adequate. We took the training only one day; the training was on sanitation, toilet, water development and the third one is about SRGBV. The training was only for one day. The training is not that much. (Gender Focal Teacher, Amhara)*

In one of the low implementing schools where the SRGBV Committee was not functional, the Gender Focal Teacher explained that only she and one other member were active, and the school principal complained that there is ‘no sense of ownership at every level’. In this case, the school principal was new, with little knowledge of the Code, demonstrating the importance of repeating training and ongoing support for schools to address the effects of staff turnover. This case also illustrates that, for a GFT to effectively drive forward this work, she needs support and commitment from other staff members. Training, ongoing support, and recognition are very important, given the critical role this person has in driving forward the Code in schools. At the same time, successful policy enactment also depends on the commitment of the woreda, whole school management, and the school principal to propel work on SRGBV and enforcement of the Code.

For other teachers in the school, information about the Code was shared by the GFT or the School Principal, or they learned at the same time as their students during flag ceremonies. Some teachers covered topics relating to gender and SRGBV in Civics and Ethical Education or other lessons. The
amount of training and support varied between schools, and teaching materials to support this work across schools would be valuable.

UNICEF is considering its support to the Ministry of Education and Regional Education Bureaux in the development and delivery of a life skills manual for primary schools, and this could be a very valuable resource:

*With primary schools we have learned that there are some haphazard life skill materials, and in our current support to the MoE and REBs we have included developing this in a comprehensive way for upper primary school (ages 10 to 14/15) which is inclusive of psychosocial and other thematic areas. We want to focus on personal, inter-personal, cognitive, psychosocial skills that are covered in thematic areas of gender-based violence including child marriage, menstrual hygiene management, health education, sexual and reproductive health and adolescent nutrition. (National non-governmental representative)*

Young people said that training involving the school as well as community would be important to develop dialogue, raise awareness and develop strategies to address underlying causes of SRGBV, in particular sexual harassment and coercive relationships. In this sense it will be important for teaching materials to support deeper discussion about gender norms, power and consent.

### 6.4 Student participation and gender clubs

A strength of the school-based work on SRGBV in Ethiopia is the high level of student engagement. There are well-established structures in many schools for student participation, with Student Parliaments, 1 to 5, school mini-media and a range of clubs. Student Parliaments, for example, involve students assigned roles such as ‘scout’ or ‘police’ ruling on ‘simple’ cases like theft or breakage of student property. While there is some potential for overlap or confusion between the responsibilities of different groups, in general the range of spaces for students to contribute to work in this area was positive. Schools actively encouraged gender balance in roles and responsibilities of students:

*Girls are represented well in the parliament. During election, half of the seats are allocated for girls and the other half for boys. Sometimes there is a case where more girls are represented in the students’ parliament than boys. The same is when class monitors are elected. Both girls and boys are represented equally. The same with “one to five” arrangement, girls are well represented here as well. For your information, in our school, girls perform better academically than boys. So girls’ representation helps them to handle sexual cases well. (School director, Addis)*

Gender clubs were well established in most of the schools. In most schools, membership was open to girls and boys, though one school restricted membership to girls only. Another, with sensitivity to the need for single sex spaces for open discussion on gender, sex and violence, had a mixed club along with separate sessions for girls only:

*As a focal person for the club I lead the activities implemented by the club. I categorized the club in to girls club and gender club. In the gender club boys can also participate. But in girls club only girls are members. I have done this because there might be issues girls are comfortable to share with girls only. The agendas and number of members for both clubs are different. But both clubs commonly work on prevention of gender based violence*
like early marriage, harmful traditional practices, rape and abduction. (Gender Focal Teacher, Amhara)

In some schools, the numbers of students able to be club members were limited and controlled in order to facilitate the management of the club. In other schools, membership was voluntary, with very large numbers of students.

The gender clubs have a key role in building awareness about the Code, and complementing the work of the SRGBV Committee. With the Gender Focal Teacher leading both structures, and with a female student also a member of both, there is much scope for supporting each other’s work. One girl in the gender club who is also a committee member in a school in Amhara, explained that the committee meets monthly, while in most schools the gender club meets every week:

We also meet every week on Sundays for 2 hours. We are solving so many problems. For example, whenever we hear about early marriage to be held in the community we report to the gender club focal teacher and the girl would be saved. We have also built a room with partitions that would help girls in the school to come wash and change their clothes when they are on their menstruation. We are not scared now. (Focus group discussion, girls’ club members, Amhara)

Sometimes members are also actively encouraging reporting. Some of the clubs were involved in fundraising for this work, with for example the gender club in one school raising funds through a tombola to build a gender library, where students could meet in a safe space, borrow books, and where the information box was housed.

In the gender library, there are books that talk about issues related to violence and how to protect violence, as well as there are also inspirational books that talk about the life of some successful women. (Focus group discussion, girls’ club members, Addis)

At this school, the gender club raised funds to provide material support for students, including sanitary pads, soap and books; they recycle uniform and school equipment to supply students in need, and they organise tutorial classes for girls who need to be supported. A number of interviewees were concerned that awareness raising work is costly, and that more funds need to be prioritised for supporting the work of gender clubs and for SRGBV more broadly, including for example, costs of emergency treatment, and refreshments during training sessions.

6.5 Schools working on SRGBV with community members and services

While the Code specifies that it applies to violence in the school setting, many of the research participants in schools described how they dealt with incidents taking place outside school, as discussed in section 2.1. In one of the urban schools, for example, a community member explained that men coming to work on construction sites posed a risk to female students of gender-based violence on the way to school: ‘At some point we also intervened and confronted those construction workers about the issue and warned them if they happen to do it again they will be liable’ (community representative, Addis). A student in the gender club suggested targeting the men who ‘sit there in gambling houses and bully girls, to concentrate on their jobs and warn them there will be consequences for doing such bullying’ (focus group discussion, girls’ club members, Addis). In the city, participants spoke about supporting young people on issues like street safety or labour exploitation:

Moreover, there are evening school students in our school - who take class after 5:30pm - who are mainly maids from the surrounding community and therefore, we do our best
to raise awareness among these groups of the community on gender based violence through different trainings. We have given them detailed training, for example, on their rights, on what to do and not to do, for example, on clothes not to wash - under wears, for instance, how to become systematic in handling cases of violence and even how to save their life for that matter (School director, Addis)

In more rural Amhara and to a lesser extent in Addis, participants spoke often of addressing harmful practices, in particular child marriage, including through work in the gender clubs:

In all cases, we have been orienting them about what is early marriage; how to prevent early marriage. If they find out that there is an arranged marriage by the parents, members should come and tell us secretly and we intervene to stop the early marriage. We have been doing awareness creation with them. (Gender Focal Teacher, Addis)

Incidents of violence taking place in homes or communities clearly have an impact on students’ well-being in schools, and it was impressive how school staff and sometimes students were willing to intervene at community level to support vulnerable students – though it is important to recognise the risks this may incur to their own safety.

In complex cases, the SRGBV Committee would refer a case to other agencies, including police stations and hospitals. Often they began by reporting such cases to the Gender focal points in the Woreda Education Offices, or sometimes the Office of Women and Children’s Affairs, who then follow up with other agencies. Views about the Police varied, with some interviewees finding them helpful:

I have also experienced a case where a man tried to coax me with a candy. But when I refused to accept his offer he grabbed my arm, then I shouted and a police officer came to help. I told the policeman about it and he made me calm. (Girls’ focus group discussion, Addis)

Others were concerned that cases were too often dropped, that justice was obstructed for example through bribery, and that there was not enough community policing. Some suggested that the police trainings conducted in schools on road safety could be extended to address GBV. Interviewees were also critical of the support provided by hospitals, where students and their families were unable to pay the required fees. It was critiqued by local and national stakeholders that cases could not be prosecuted without a high bar for evidence such as medical certificates and witness reports, and DNA testing was not available in Ethiopia. However, virginity testing was mentioned as taking place as evidence for rape cases, which is not an accurate measure of sexual activity, cannot prove rape and can cause harm to victims (Olson and García-Moreno, 2017). The case of a teacher sexually abusing nine girls in one Addis school was successfully reported by the school to police but the perpetrator was released on bail and was reported to be threatening the victims and those SRGBV committee members who took action against him. Such challenges clearly have an impact on the successful implementation of the Code of Conduct in schools.

There are school committees that have a role in working with communities on issues relating to school safety and violence, and this may have potential for some confusion, but also has good potential for strengthening the collaborations with services. For example, one school principal (Amhara) spoke of a School Disciplinary Committee and a School Consulting Committee, involving police, school managers, teachers and the PTSA Chair, which is responsible ‘To make the school and the outside environment safe for students and children’. Reviewing the roles and responsibilities of the various committees will be valuable to ensure a coordinated response without duplication.
One participant suggested that the SRGBV committee composition should be expanded to include community members:

In addition to what is mentioned in the code, we also include the kebele administrator, the kebele police and the chairman of the kebele as external members of the committee. I think it would improve the implementation of the code if these bodies are originally included as members of the SRGBV committee. (Gender Focal Teacher, Amhara)

Others felt that the Code itself should be extended to include community violence:

I see the code as an excellent document of its kind. I recommend that if the Code is introduced for the community as a whole, I think it will be implemented with higher scope of practice. (Gender Focal Teacher, Amhara)

Interviewees also spoke about the value of engaging communities in preventive work as well as support for victims: ‘For instance, for those who have suffered physical injuries, medical support must be provided. If economic problems have contributed to the problem, working to solve their economic problems etc.’ (Community representative, Addis).

Recognising that the causes of violence are often multi-faceted, they referred to the importance of addressing the economic constraints that can create the conditions for violence; or for working with men on awareness building. Another school used a school mapping technique, to help plan how to ensure safety for students on the journey to school:

This means their map traces from which distance does the student travel to school and the map also identifies which are safe ways and which are not safe. For example if there is a church in the map and the church strongly assists in fighting GBV, the area of the church will be painted green or safe mark. In the meantime, if the church has a forest area or the church doesn’t assist, it will be marked red or indicate the area needs intervention. (Local government representative, Amhara)

Key collaborators on SRGBV in the community mentioned by interviewees were church leaders and edir3. Communal meetings like edir and parent-teacher meetings can be used as a platform to create awareness. Publicizing it over media like TV and Radio is also important. At the schools, things are getting better. Students are aware of sexual violence related issues. Teaching students is also teaching the society. (School director, Addis)

However, this was not necessarily the case and in some communities there seemed to be no community awareness work taking place, or awareness raising was superficial and information-focused rather than involving dialogue on addressing norms, risks and problem solving. Young people recommended more of this in particular to address community sexual harassment and coercion.

Participants also spoke of the value of specialist community based organisations working on gender and violence, but although there were some humanitarian organisations providing support for basic

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3 Edirs are traditional informal organisations providing assistance for local community
needs, there was a lack of specialist support in these school communities from NGOs on gender based violence. Often school students themselves played a role in awareness building in communities:

*Our drama club plays a vital role in creating awareness to the community by performing school plays and presenting poems by working with teachers. This has direct impact since parents are presented with effects of early marriage and gender abuses.... The play will be directed by our teachers and most of the participants are female students; they will perform the play as boys and girls since most boys don’t like to participate.* (School director, Amhara)
7. Monitoring the Code and informing policy

This section looks at if and how the Code of Conduct is monitored. In particular it addresses how the Violence Reporting Template and data collected through it is understood and used. It looks at the processes for feeding back data or learning from the Code of Conduct to inform decision making at different levels.

7.1 Development and roll-out of the Violence Reporting Template

The Violence Reporting Template (VRT) was introduced alongside the Code of Conduct in 2014 as a system to understand what kind of violence is happening in schools in Ethiopia and how it is being addressed. The template is designed to collect data from schools on the number of incidents of different forms of SRGBV, perpetrators, details of actions taken and survivor wellbeing (see sample in Appendix 2). The VRT was drafted by the MOE Gender Unit and UNICEF and shared with Regional Education Bureaux in 2014 with a letter containing instructions on how to complete. This was rolled out in regions through distribution of the template and letter to zones/subcities/woredas and then on to schools. One region reported that they adapted the template, broadening its scope to incorporate information they felt was needed (Regional Education Bureau representative, Oromia).

In all of the six schools at least one participant (usually the director or Gender Focal Teacher) had some level of familiarity with the VRT and said it had been introduced to them between 2015 and 2017. In some schools Gender Focal Teachers or Girls’ Clubs had attended a briefing or training by the sub-city or woreda, whilst others had just been given or sent the documents and asked to complete.

However, there seemed to be inconsistency in understanding reporting processes within each school and between schools. The VRT is a tool that compiles data by counting numbers of cases of different types in a school over a period of time. In this sense it is really a ‘second level’ tool and requires a first level tool as a data source where information about individual cases are recorded. However, there was no official format for this. Most schools were using their own versions of these, many of which they had been using before the VRT, which helped schools ensure they had details of each case reported through the Code. In some schools there was confusion between this report and the VRT, and it appeared that some schools submitted these first level forms to woredas rather than the VRT. Some schools also confused the VRT with other reporting requirements on girls’ clubs, harmful traditional practices and early marriage.

There was also variability in regularity of reporting, with many schools only sending in completed VRTs when there were cases to report. Returns of VRTs were also variable, with woreda and sub city officials reports varying from 8 to 100% of schools, whilst one regional education bureau stated that one-third of woredas sent data.

Some respondents felt that the VRT was straightforward to use, feeling it linked well with the Code of Conduct, whilst others identified challenges. These included that the forms of violence included are not consistent with those covered by the Code, including not being split into the same categories of light and severe; that there were additional violent acts on the VRT not addressed by the Code, such as corporal punishment, domestic violence, forced and child marriage, other GBV and non-gender-based violence; and that neither violence against school staff nor student bullying/fighting were specifically included in the VRT. The template was also often only partially completed by schools, with for example number of cases of a certain type of violence recorded, but not subsequent questions about victims, perpetrators or outcomes. Local government representatives stated that the VRT would
be better completed with increased support from woredas, which were providing support but with limited means.

The problems of VRT completion may also be because the purpose of the data collected in the VRT is not easily understood by schools. Their priority has understandably been on trying to address cases, and often they saw reporting to the woreda as a way of seeking support to address individual cases rather than as a standard reporting/evidence requirement. For example, one school had only been reporting unsolved cases that were beyond their capacity 'because no need to report once the problem is solved’. The woredas often did play a role in helping to solve difficult cases.

Participants were sceptical about the quality and hence usefulness of the data collected. Under-reporting was widely acknowledged:

> Among the 55 woredas who sent back the data, 44 of them have reported the presence of violence in their woreda whereas the rest 11 woredas sent us a blank paper. It was not the absence of violence in these 11 woredas that made them sent blank paper, rather was a problem of compiling the data properly. Even with regard to the 44 woredas who sent us reports of violence, the extent to which they reported the level of violence in their woreda does not match the reality. Through time it has become clear that the intensity is beyond the level they actually reported. When the reporting started at first, the report we used to receive was very low. But, with time it is beginning to show the real intensity and level. (Regional Education Bureau representative, Amhara)

As discussed earlier, underreporting happens for a number of reasons. Formal reports received by the SRGBV committee are a fraction of violence occurring, with some forms of violence more likely to be under-reported than others. This can make the consolidated level data extremely difficult to interpret:

> There are two contradicting scenarios. The record somehow shows an increased number of rapes. But when we ask for the real reason behind that, the number has increased just because we were not recording it in the past. But, as we can see from the figure, the number shows very large number of cases. (Regional Education Bureau representative, Amhara)

### 7.2 Interpreting and using data from the VRT

These challenges understandably limit the extent that data collected through the VRT system can be used at different levels to inform planning and policy. Although our evidence shows that the data is not an accurate representation of violence, many stakeholders still use the data to assess the prevalence of SRGBV in schools. However, with much underreporting, caution is needed in interpreting this data. For example, increased cases reported are likely to be more reflective of increased openness and engagement in tackling violence rather than an increase in violence occurring.

Some local government Gender Focal Persons recognised that high levels of school reporting signalled that these schools were implementing the Code well: 'Those who send reports every month can be ranked as high, not just in terms of reporting but also in other activities in general. They have the information, work in coordination with the school community at various levels and hence, I will give high rank for the school’ (Local government representative, Addis). Another agreed that there was no system for rewarding schools that implemented the Code and reported violence, but thought it was a good idea and ought to be done.
There were a variety of responses in how local government used the data, with many saying that they used the data for decision making. These included looking at the previous year’s data when making annual plans, for example planning training events addressing violence that was highly reported, and using to advocate for funds.

7.3 Additional monitoring of the Code of Conduct

Although some schools and local government officials used this data alone to make decisions on strategies to address violence, it seems that many supplemented violence data captured through the VRT with other forms of monitoring linked to SRGBV and used a more holistic analysis to inform decisions. One PTA chairperson discussed how informal observations in school helped with this:

*It is through observation and making an assessment as well as in-depth study on it besides the information we gathered from students. We observe their seating arrangements, the way they hang out, with whom they hang out, in the classroom we also check whether they are from the same section and even further to that when someone asks to be assigned in a class with someone, we curiously used to study such claims by saying by what bases and so on....so we do not only depend on the information we collected from the students and I am telling you what we actually do.* (Community representative, Addis)

Meanwhile many Gender Focal Persons at woreda or sub city level undertook school visits and had more general conversations about what violence had come to their attention, how they had responded and prevention strategies, in addition to using reports and monitoring in other related areas, such as girls clubs:

*Other than the report we receive from the schools, there is a checklist where we supervise the activities of the clubs as part of our oversight, and also give them feedback. The checklist normally includes the activities accomplished in the given month. Apart from that, there might be discussions the clubs hold during the month, meetings, etc on how to prevent gender based violence and how to handle cases of gender based violence. So, they shall include their activities in their report and we do the checking accordingly. Yes, it is a national system and comes to us from the sub-city. But we may contextualize it so that it suits our context.* (Local government representative, Addis)

Regional Education Bureaux receive information collected through the VRT in an even more condensed form (with each layer of local government compiling totals). Whilst one regional office admitted just filing the report, others discussed using different methods to monitor SRGBV and the Code of Conduct. One mentioned quarterly visits to local government using a questionnaire which identified progress in implementing the Code of Conduct, such as how well-established the SRGBV committees were (Regional Education Bureau representative, Addis) and another explained looking further at the roots of violence:

*It is not just collecting violence reports. Rather, it is also about doing analyses on why violence is committed. We shall call persons from different sectors and discuss the reasons for violence being committed, how we can prevent and solve the problem and so on. That is why the Ending Child Marriage (ECM) strategy has been developed.* (Regional Education Bureau representative, Oromia)

Whilst it seems that some regions make quite an effort in monitoring and evaluating, it is not clear what evidence or processes they are using to make planning decisions.
Data collected through the VRT is only consolidated up to REB level and not passed up to the national level. The MOE Gender Directorate explained a ‘gender report is what we actually receive from regions and in the report there is nothing that details the number of cases happened or other details. Rather, it generally states the things they have done with regard to a given violence’. (National government representative). Some participants discussed the national girls’ education forum as holding a central monitoring function on efforts to address SRGBV across the country, where relevant research is shared and evaluation and planning cycles to organise and prioritise work:

On the other hand we have a forum.... research studies are conducted... some discussions are also raised so that through that process, there is opportunity to address the issue of school related gender based violence. Each year, we have a planning meeting with gender focal person working at regional bureau, TVET as well as higher education, a mid-term review and a final review so that one of the areas of planning and evaluation is school related gender based violence. In black and white, school related gender based violence is one of the critical areas that need special attention in our strategy. (National government representative)

However, it is not clear what evidence the forum is able to draw on to help in planning work.

7.4 Violence data and EMIS

In 2017 some data collected through the VRT was incorporated into the national education management information system (EMIS). The Annual School Census (ASC) now requests some of the data collected through the VRT, in particular number of cases of violence against girls and boys, by type, and number of boys and girls dropping out as a result of the violence. It does not include data on perpetrators or actions taken as does the VRT as some of this data is not in numerical form. However, it is too early to get a full picture of how this is being implemented so far. A national representative explained that data was to be transferred from the VRT to ASC at school level, checked and compiled at each higher level and entered into a database at regional level. However, there was some confusion: at the same time one representative at woreda level claimed to have the software, and many participants at school, woreda/sub city and regional level believed there to be no violence data collected in EMIS.

The Annual School Census is completed in December – its main aim is to collect school data on enrolment and so on for the school year starting in September. However, a few respondents explained that it did not capture most cases of early marriage, which mostly happen at around Easter time. This suggests that the data captured is partial, only relating to violence reported in late September to early December, hence it is not surprising that many schools did not report violence. It was suggested that the most cost effective way to address this would be for schools to add violence data from the previous school year.

The violence data collected through EMIS has not yet been analysed at national level and has not been included in the ‘annual abstract’, where education data is published and shared with decision makers. EMIS explained that analysis would be possible if the Gender Directorate would provide expertise to analyse this data. The EMIS representative also explained that they would not accept partial data – their minimum is for 85% school coverage for a region to collect that data, and it is currently 99.6%. However, as has been discussed, many schools that completed the ASC did not complete the questions on violence, hence the rate for completion of violence questions will be much lower. Since the data is summed as total cases in a school/woreda/region and missing data not accounted for, this reduces
any meaning from the data, as figures are likely to reflect completion rates more than violence occurring.

Hence there seems to be a vicious circle, where problems in recording the data contribute to poor data quality, and its limited usefulness thus further undermines efforts to implement the data collection processes. EMIS were very open to including further variables on violence if needed. However, there may be a need for a more fundamental review on what data would be most useful, meaningful and possible to collect with accuracy.

Despite the VRT having potential to encourage schools to address SRGBV, at present the data collected plays a limited role in informing policy and practice. Thinking about a multidimensional framing of violence, as discussed in section 2.1, may help, for example assessing norms and inequalities that underpin violence. The VRT focuses on counting acts of violence, and it may be that some of the supplementary unofficial monitoring processes provide better insights into the contexts and causes of violence and the role of institutions in challenging violence. It would be helpful to consider developing guidelines for more holistic monitoring and evaluation involving collecting some basic data on these other dimensions (for example, what prevention and response efforts are in place), drawing on best practice from those that are doing this informally.
8. Conclusion and Recommendations

The report concludes by returning to the five research questions set out for this study, and includes recommendations for Ethiopia and beyond.

1. What is the level of enactment of the SRGBV Code of Conduct in Ethiopia? In particular, which regions have adapted, disseminated and rolled out the Code, and what is the coverage across the regions?

Roll-out of the code has begun in all regions of the country, including modification and translation in some cases to ensure its relevance and applicability. The main modes of this involved the distribution of printed copies of the code itself, and the delivery of training that should be cascaded down from regional to school level via the relevant actors at zone, woreda or sub-city level. However, the consistency of this was not uniform, with distribution and levels of training variable. At woreda and sub-city level, staff turnover and time pressures could mean that those in key posts had not received the training needed to support the effective enactment of the code.

2. How is SRGBV understood, experienced and shaped in six schools in Amhara and Addis Ababa regions? How does this link to the Code of Conduct?

SRGBV is commonplace in all the schools in the research and takes many forms. Schools are also addressing forms of violence experienced by students outside school, such as sexual or extreme physical abuse at home or child marriage. Others, such as sexual or physical violence in the school are sometimes reported and addressed using the Code. However, the data showed that corporal punishment and bullying are frequently related to gender, and girls and boys feel that their concerns about these forms of violence are not addressed. Corporal punishment by teachers is common and rarely reported as students do not think their concerns will be taken seriously, or are afraid of repercussions. Sexual harassment and coercive sex is commonly experienced and rarely reported, underpinned by gender norms, shame and stigma about sex and by a lack of understanding of the role of power and consent in determining violence. Most SRGBV is thus not reported for a number of reasons, and for the Code to become more effective in this area there needs to be work that goes beyond raising awareness about forms and consequences of SRGBV to addressing the roots of the problem, for example addressing gender norms, and what makes a respectful relationship.

3. How is the Code of Conduct being used in these schools? Is it being used as was intended? If not, why not? How does the Code relate to other school policies, protocols and initiatives?

The Code of Conduct is familiar to most of the school staff interviewed, including Gender Focal Teachers, school principals and SRGBV Committee members, although depth of understanding was variable. Among students, knowledge was variable though some students, particularly in gender clubs or SRGBV Committee members, had good levels of knowledge. All the schools had set up structures, like the SRGBV Committee, and the Gender Focal Teachers had undergone some training, though the amount of training varied, influencing their capacity to cascade training in schools. Few cases of violence are being reported to SRGBV Committees, which currently seem often to be more effective for awareness raising about SRGBV than for following up cases. Where SRGBV committees are more established, the Committee is being used for dealing with serious cases and particularly those located outside the school, such as child marriage and abuse in the home. However, in these six schools few cases of violence by teachers (both sexual violence, and corporal punishment) reached the Committees, nor cases of more everyday sexual harassment, bullying and violence by students. While some of these forms of everyday violence may be addressed through parallel structures and protocol,
such as the school’s disciplinary system, it is important to streamline systems in school so that all forms of violence are addressed. In addition, work needs to focus on how to address norms and stigma that underlie lack of action on some forms of violence. When cases are followed up concerns were sometimes raised concerning lack of confidentiality, protection, psychosocial and practical support for victims, who sometimes risked being shamed and further victimised on reporting cases. SRGBV committee members could also be at risk of reprisals from perpetrators.

There are examples of some excellent work by Gender Focal Teachers, particularly where these teachers are supported by focal persons at woreda/sub-city level and by school directors. There are good linkages with gender clubs. Careful coordination between different school policies and initiatives is also needed to ensure complementarity. Awareness raising work with students and teachers within the school would benefit from support materials and lessons that address deeper underlying roots of SRGBV will be important to develop further.

In some cases, schools take supportive action against some forms of violence taking place in the community, sometimes with support from kebele and woreda level officials. However, in the communities where the research took place there are few collaborations in place with community organisations like edirs, religious organizations, women and youth associations and NGOs to develop preventive approaches to violence in the wider community, and ensure broad support for stopping SRGBV in schools. This is severely limiting the effectiveness of the Code of Conduct in SRGBV prevention, since community norms and practices underpin and cannot be separated from school practices. There are concerns about how police, justice and health services address SRGBV and this report highlights the importance of greater collaboration to build a strong holistic response.

4. How is the VRT understood and used, and how does it link to the Code of Conduct? How else is the Code of Conduct monitored, and how does learning feed into policy and practice?

The Violence Reporting Template was rolled out alongside the Code of Conduct, aiming to understand what type of violence is occurring in schools and how it is being addressed. There is some familiarity in the schools, and the reporting requirement is helping schools to take some action on SRGBV, but the VRT is inconsistently understood and used, contributing to inaccurate data. Under reporting of violence by students to schools and by schools to woredas also contribute to high levels of data inaccuracy, and there are no simple solutions to this as the reasons are multi-faceted. Data captured through the VRT appears to have very limited use in feeding into on policy and practice, ostensibly because it is difficult to interpret the data, but there are also risks where data is used for decision making when it is inaccurate. A monitoring tool that places less emphasis on counting cases of violence and more on monitoring efforts and successes in addressing violence could provide a more useful and accurate basis for monitoring and evaluating the Code’s implementation.

5. How can the Code of Conduct and its implementation be improved?

Based on these findings, there are a number of areas where the Code of Conduct could be improved to enhance its implementation and achieve its aims of curbing SRGBV.

Structures

To help address some of the challenges around different types of cases not being addressed though the Code or being addressed in sub-optimal ways, a two-level structure and process could be considered.

The first level could deal with the more ‘everyday’ forms of violence that currently do not appear to be reported or addressed through the Code of Conduct in practice, such as mild forms of bullying,
sexual harassment or discrimination by students or peers. Often teachers will deal with these in less formal ways, thus bypassing the Code. Students and teachers could be encouraged to feedback to the Gender Focal Teachers, on the incidents, how they have managed them and any further help they would value. The Gender Focal Person could then keep a brief record of these incidences and responses for monitoring purposes (without a requirement for a formal report by the victim). In addition, these incidents could be discussed at regular SRGBV Committee meetings (perhaps monthly), where the role of the Committee would be to consider how best to prevent these forms of violence, for example how they could work with other schools structures, such as the gender clubs, discipline committees, school management and curriculum, to ensure that all forms of violence are addressed, students supported, and to plan preventive work in classrooms, clubs and flag ceremonies to promote safety, inclusion and equity. Reviewing the roles and responsibilities of the various committees that take place within schools will be valuable to ensure a coordinated response without duplication.

The second layer of work for the committee would be more formal, dealing with more serious cases such as sexual assault, violence by teachers including sexual harassment and corporal punishment and forms of child abuse, including rape, inside or outside the school. The committee would focus on addressing individual cases including liaison with services and organisations working together to investigate cases, hold perpetrators accountable, support victims and consider broad prevention strategies to reduce risk of violence. For these cases, committee members would be expanded to include the woreda GFP and other relevant officials outside the school community could be invited to contribute. Where cases of violence involve school staff it is particularly important to include representatives from outside the school. For these cases formal reports would be made. This committee could meet termly and whenever a case is reported requiring attention.

Scope and content of Code

The scope of the Code could be expanded to include bullying, corporal punishment and child marriage, describing their forms and ensuring alignment with other policy or legal documents (and all forms of violence in the Code can be checked for alignment in this way). It could include forms of violence that affect schoolchildren outside of school. Including forms of violence where it may not be clear how or if they are gender-based, will help to ensure that these cases are not ignored.

The Code provides guidance on sanctions for very severe and mild violence, but does not currently provide guidance on sanctions for the range of violence that occurs between these poles. Reviewing the sanctions/punishments could enable more nuanced professional judgements to be made. For example punishments for students could include school detentions, whilst sanctions for teachers using corporal punishment could include warnings and requirement to attend training. A staged process would be helpful to set out in milder cases, encouraging warning and education/support before mild and then severe punishments. In judging sanctions for sexual activity between students, an assessment of whether these are consensual should be taken into account, with punishments reflecting the level of coercion.

Training, support and resources

Since structures are broadly in place to support the work of the Code of Conduct, more emphasis on supporting the effectiveness of those structures in addressing SRGBV would be helpful. Developing and providing some high quality training guides aimed at or adaptable for different groups (e.g. teachers, students, school leadership, communities) would help to build a deeper understanding of the causes of SRGBV and what can be done to address them, leading to effective action planning to
create safer schools and communities. In particular, understanding how harmful gender norms, poverty and inequalities, and shame and stigma about sex underpin SRGBV, and how to address these barriers and work towards more equal and respectful relationships will be critical in effective implementation of the Code of Conduct. This would also include discussions about alternative respectful forms of discipline for work with teachers. Materials can guide action planning in schools and communities. A life skills manual for primary schools is being developed by UNICEF, and this could be a very valuable resource with inclusion of SRGBV. Content could be reviewed to assess to what extent issues identified here are addressed and consider how best to address gaps. There may also be other organisations with expertise in these areas that could support this work.

Ongoing training and support is needed to support the valuable work of Gender Focal Teachers. Training or briefing also needs to be aimed at school leaders to enable their full understanding, support and leadership for the important work being driven by GFTs in schools.

Ongoing support from woreda GFPs will be important for supporting schools to embed this work into structures, processes and cultures of schools. Some possible initiatives to support this include using model schools as role models, and using creative ways to disseminate the findings of this study at local level, through for example drama.

**Accountability and services**

Since there are many services and organisations involved in addressing violence the Code needs to clarify links, roles and responsibilities of the school and other authorities in different cases of violence. Many cases that are reported through the Code of Conduct are not resolved successfully due to challenges with provisions of services outside the school, such as police and health services. There is thus a need for work with these services to ensure they are fit for purpose. Possible ideas include bringing in gender-friendly/GBV desks at police stations and/or expanding one-stop centres, work to ensure DNA testing is available to gather evidence for sexual assault cases and consider how evidence requirements for rape could be made more realistic or in line with international best practice. Free provision of services for victims is important.

The Code also needs to better address support and provision for victims who may face trauma, stigma and discrimination. Consideration of optimal and realistic approaches is needed. Students should have access to professional psychological counselling support – as well as sexual health services if relevant – and these are imperative for the most serious cases. It may be more practical for a member of staff, such as the Gender Focal Teacher to be trained and supported to provide psychosocial support within the school for mild cases, and for specially trained health extension workers to provide support in more remote rural areas where there are no accessible professional services such as in One Stop Centres.

The Code of Conduct implementation would also be enhanced by having social support in place, for example to care for vulnerable children at risk of violence and with no other means of safe support.

The Code should address more fully protection of victims and the SRGBV committee members after reporting, and sanctions for threats or harm to victims or to those handling cases. The feasibility of introducing a database to monitor teachers who have been sacked from profession to ensure they are not employed elsewhere should also be considered.

**Monitoring and reporting**

A more holistic but simplified monitoring tool could collect more accurate data that is also more useful in informing policy and practice at different levels. This could include monitoring initiatives and
structures embedded in the school to address SRGBV, and numbers of cases reported to committees could be one or two of these indicators (perhaps 1. number of mild cases reported to the GFT and 2. number of serious cases reported to the SRGBV Committee). For example, a quarterly report including few key quantitative indicators complemented by qualitative reflective comments on successes, opportunities and challenges could provide the basis for supportive monitoring visits by woreda Gender Focal Persons to schools, and quantitative data could be fed into EMIS at the school level. Harmonising these indicators with those for Child Protection would also be valuable.

Specific training and support and a clearer format and guidance would help schools to record cases of violence. A template for a first level tool, which gathers information about individual cases – would be useful for schools. It would also be valuable to include SRGBV prevention and monitoring as one of the inspection criteria for safer learning environments.

Resources

Significant funds are needed to support the areas outlined here, and for related supportive activities such as the work of the Girls Clubs, and ongoing training and support for schools. With increased collaboration with other government departments and non-governmental organisations it may be possible to share resources. For example, certain organisations or authorities may be well placed to provide community training or help to work with victim support services, but these will need careful mapping.

Global Recommendations

There is much that other countries can learn from this work on policy enactment on SRGBV in Ethiopia, including the engagement of multiple stakeholders in the initial development of the Code of Practice, and the development of gender structures at national, regional, local and school levels to support work on SRGBV. Gender focal teachers in schools and student participation of girls and boys are also important protagonists in work to prevent and respond to SRGBV. The Government’s prioritisation of research has also been valuable, both to review current policies, structures and approaches to addressing SRGBV, and to examine how the Code of Practice has been enacted within school communities, in order to inform further refining of the use of the Code.

In developing their own codes of conduct, other countries will benefit from drawing on detailed contextual evidence on SRGBV and its roots in norms and inequalities, and from reviews of current policies, structures and approaches and their effectiveness in the country, and global best practice in effectively addressing SRGBV. Code development needs broad participation from multiple organisations and constituencies and different levels. Careful balancing of top-down policy guidance and local ownership and problem solving is important: in this sense a skeleton Code with perhaps essential content and suggestions for additional areas could be helpful, accompanied by training or reflective guides for working at local level to address SRGBV. Significant resources are required to do this effectively, and partnerships with organisations with expertise in these areas could be beneficial. Finally, codes of practice should go beyond punishment, to supporting the expertise of school communities, including adults and students, in preventing violence and in helping to create safer, more equitable schools.
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Appendices

Appendix 1 - Code of Conduct on Prevention of SRGBV in Schools, MoE, 2014
Code of Conduct on Prevention of School Related Gender Based Violence in Schools

2006

Ministry of Education

2014
WHEREAS it is mandatory to respect rights of equality, dignity and freedom of humanity according to the constitution of FDRE, International Human Rights Agreements and declarations, all children have the right to learn freely within friendly and conducive learning environment;

WHEREAS gender based violence is also violence of human rights. Gender based violence that is happening around schools is becoming a great obstacle against healthy and smooth teaching learning process;

WHEREAS both women and men are victims of school related gender based violence, females are more vulnerable. This makes it difficult for girls to attend their schooling at equal footing with boys and hence hinders their attendance, Academic performance and efficiency;

WHEREAS it is crucial to create a teaching-learning environment that is free from gender based
Part One: General
violence; to prevent, minimize and eventually eliminate acts of gender based violence at pre-school, primary school (1st to 8th grades) as well as secondary school (9th to 12th grades) levels.

This code of conduct is issued by the Federal Ministry of Education with its mandate given to it by Proclamation number 691/2010, to regulate the power and responsibility of its executive bodies.

Code of Conduct on Prevention of School Related Gender Based Violence in Schools
Part One: General

1. Shorter Title

This regulation can be referred to as “Code of Conduct on Prevention of School Related Gender Based Violence in Schools, shortly SRGBV.”

2. Definitions

Unless and otherwise the terminologies implied another definition, under this regulation:

2.1. “Gender Based Violence”: includes any form of sexual, physical, psychological, social as well as economical violence based on sex or gender that results in harming psychological, physical wellbeing and, growth and personality of an individual.

2.1.1. “Sexual Violence”: includes sexual harassment, sexual exploitation, rape, trafficking/ forcing for commercial sex work.
2.1.2. "Physical Violence": includes gender based beating, physical punishment at school, robbery, labor exploitation.

2.1.3. "Psychological Violence": includes gender based harassment, name-calling, threatening, bullying, negative psychological influence.

2.1.4. "Social and Economic Violence": gender based denial of social and economic services as well as benefits.

2.2. "School Society": includes regular and extension students, teachers, principals and support staff in pre-school, primary school (1st to 8th grades) as well as secondary school (9th to 12th grades).

2.3. "Principals": one who is entrusted to manage a school which also includes the vice
2.4. "Administration and Support staff": includes staff of a school that is engaged in administration, business management, Finance and Accounting, Maintenance, Security and other similar activities.

2.5. "Teacher": a staff that is engaged in teaching or facilitating regular, part-time as well as extension class sessions.

2.6. "Student": includes a person who is attending formal, non-formal and/or extension class sessions.

2.7. "Parent Teacher Student Association": an association in a school that is established to create and follow-up healthy relationship and conducive teaching-learning environment amongst parents, students and teachers which is entrusted with the responsibilities as indicated in the school management guide line of the MoE.

2.8. "Education Bureau": regional office that is established to guide and lead the academia (teaching and training) in a region.
2.9. “School”: a private, governmental or non-governmental institution that provides education at pre-school, primary school (1st to 8th grades) as well as secondary school (9th to 12th grades) levels.

2.10. “Regional Government”: regional governments that are listed in the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Article 47(1) including the federal city administrations of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa.

2.11. “School Related Gender Based Violence Complaints Investigation and Decisions Recommending Committee”: a committee established by the school principal to hear complaints of gender based violence, clarify the complaints and provides decisions.

2.12. “Legitimate Protection”: a protection from negative influences provided for those who make complaints of gender based violence, the members of Gender Based Violence Complaints investigation and Decisions Recommending Committee, those who testify to/against these cases, decision makers who conduct according to this regulation.

2.13. “Discipline Committee”: 

Code of Conduct on Prevention of School Related Gender Based Violence in Schools
a committee established according to Federal Public Servants Complaints Reporting Execution regulation number 77/2011

3. Limit of Application

3.1. This code of conduct is applicable on whoever commits acts of school related gender based violence in pre-school, primary school (1st to 8th grades) as well as secondary school (9th to 12th grades) setting.

3.2. This code of conduct is also applicable in pre-schools, primary schools (1st to 8th grades) as well as secondary schools (9th to 12th grades) within city administrations of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa

3.3. The regional education bureaus may contextualize without suppressing the purpose for which the code of conduct is issued, or may put into effect this regulation as it is.
Part Two: Types of School Related Gender Based Violence
Part Two: Types of School Related Gender Based Violence

4. Light and Grave forms of School Related Gender Based Violence

The definitions listed under number 2 of this code of conduct are applicable while acts of SRGBV include the following:

4.1. Less Severe forms of School Related Gender Based Violence

4.1.1. Exposing sexual/body parts and showing movements/dancing in a way that is sexually provocative,

4.1.2. Revealing the body in an immodest way that is sexually provocative in school hours against the regulations and Code of Conducts of the school by not wearing uniforms (for the school community that has uniforms like teachers and students) or dressing up in a way that provokes others sexually (for the school community that does not have uniforms)
4.1.3. Bringing to school, showing or posting writings, magazines or pictures that discriminate a specific gender.

4.1.4. Gender discrimination, blackmailing, belittling, telling and communicating erotic jokes, comments, questions, encounters or other similar activities done against the will of the other,

4.1.5. Using negative comments, discriminations, name calling, belittling explanations while talking/speaking about a person’s gender, physique or way of dressing

4.1.6. Showing or passing sexually provocative pictures, gender discriminating pictures and photographs and text messages via electronic devices such as mobile phones, computers and websites for a person who has not openly expressed willingness to watch or receive them,
4.1.7. Deliberate showing of body gestures/movements that imply sexual harassment during practical academic sessions (physical education or laboratory sessions).

4.1.8. Drawing pictures or writing texts that are sexually provocative in nature or devalue a specific gender on work uniforms, walls of laboratories, class and training rooms, toilets, dormitories as well as other areas of the school.

4.1.9. Wearing tattoos that are sexually provocative in a way that they are revealed to others while in the school compound.

4.2. Grave forms of Gender Based Violence

4.2.1. Showing or passing erotic/pornographic pictures, photos or texts that are in print or digitalized (on mobile phones, computers and websites).
4.2.2 Communicating messages that reveal sexual personality or devalue gender using electronic devices (mobile phones, computers), school mini-media, web-pages or other similar methods and making use of pictures or imitations of any member of the school community, families and relatives for such purposes.

4.2.3 Making physical contact, caressing, petting or kissing the bodies of others in a way for sexual initiation.

4.2.4 Persuading or involving any member of the school community for sexual activities.

4.2.5 Making use of learning assessment grading or marking for the sake of sexual exploitation or persuading with the use of money, shelter, food or other necessities in an attempt to have sex with the other person or actually engaging in sexual activity.
4.2.6. Jeopardizing test and learning assessment grades such as giving incomplete results or imposing negative influences based on denial of sexual advances or rejection of initiation for sexual activity.

4.2.7. Denying freedom of movement or following up and tagging along in a way that results in psychological influence on any member of the school community based on gender whether inside or outside the school compound, dismissing from class or training rooms without adequate and appropriate reason,

4.2.8. Putting sexual relationship as a pre-requisite for recognizing or grading as good performance, results of trainings, job promotions, opportunities for further academia and trainings and imposing other negative influences,

4.2.9. Denying appropriate performance evaluation results, results of trainings, job promotions, opportunities for further academia and trainings and imposing other negative influences based on a person’s rejection of request for sexual intimacy.
4.2.10. Imposing negative influences on third parties that are related to the person who was asked for sexual intimacy or a person who is a victim of gender based violence

4.2.11. Robbing, hiding, or snatching academic materials or valuables as a means of persuading in the intention of obtaining sexual gratification,

4.2.12. Any form of gender based violence committed on pre-school, primary school or secondary school students by teachers, administration, deputy directors or support staff

4.2.13. Committing gender based favor,

4.2.14. Having sexual intimacy inside the school,

4.2.15. Attempt of rape or committing rape

4.2.16. Not learning from previous disciplines for Common forms of gender based violence and committing them repeatedly,
4.2.17. Any Common forms of gender based violence that are committed against persons with disability are considered as a Grave form of gender based violence.

4.2.18. Any member of the school community who cooperated or participated in committing any of the Common or Grave forms of violence listed in this code of conduct will be subjected to punishment which is explained in number 5 of the third part of this code of conduct.
Part Three: Types of Punishments
Part Three: Types of Punishments

5. Types of Punishments

If any member of the school community commits any one of the gender based violence listed under number 4 of part two of this regulation, the following punishments are applicable in addition to the punishments stipulated in other parts of the law with the punishment determined according to the severity of the violence.

5.1. Light form of Punishment applicable on a student

a) Oral warning which is put on recording in writing

b) Written warning

5.2. Severe form of Punishment applicable on student

a) suspension from education for a year and denying a formal withdrawal to prohibit transfer to another school
a. Suspension from education for three years and denying a formal withdrawal to prohibit transfer to another school.

c. If s/he is sitting for national exam (8th, 10th or 12th grader) prohibiting from attending the exam for a year or two depending on the severity of the violence, if the violence is committed after sitting for national exams denying certificates and clearance for a year or two depending on the severity of the violence.

d. Prohibiting from attending in any of the schools in the country for 5 years.

5.3. Light form of Punishment applicable on teachers, school administration and support staff.

a. Oral warning put on recording in a written form.

b. Written warning.

c. Salary up to 1 month.

5.4. Severe form of Punishment applicable on teachers, school administration and support staff.
5.5. Light form of Punishment applicable on the school Principal

- Penalty of 3 months’ salary
- Lowering the salary to two scales, if it’s a junior keeping the scale the same for a certain period of time
- Dismissal from work

5.6. Severe form of Punishment applicable the school Principal

- Suspension from work for three years starting from the date the decision of punishment is rendered and passing a circular letter that
suspends the principal for three years from being hired for the same post in other schools

b) Suspending the Job permit for five years

c) Dismissal from work, passing circular letter to prohibit from working at a similar post or responsibility
Part Four: Concerning School Related Gender Based Violence Complaint Investigation and decisions recommending committee
Part Four: Concerning School Related Gender Based Violence Complaint Investigation and decisions recommending committee

6. Organization of the School Related Gender Based Violence Complaint Investigation and decisions recommending committee

6.1. The School Related Gender Based Violence Complaint Investigation and decisions recommending committee has 7 members constituted of both sexes

6.2. The following are the members of School Related Gender Based Violence Complaint Investigation and decisions recommending committee

a) A student who is the school’s Gender Club representative

b) A representative who is elected by the students

c) Chairperson of the Parent Teacher Student Association

d) Chairperson of the school’s Teachers’ Association

e) A representative elected by the...
administration and support staff

f) A gender representative for the school's Teachers Association and

g) The school's teaching-learning process vice principal as a committee member and secretary

6.3. Since the members listed under 6.2. a and b cannot be members at pre-school and primary school (1st grade - 4th grade) levels, the issue is to be investigated by the rest of the committee members

6.4. The gender representative for the school's Teachers Association becomes the chairperson for the committee

6.5. The deputy chairperson of the committee is elected by the members of the committee

6.6. The term of service of the committee is two years while the members of the committee who are known for better accomplishments could be elected to serve for one more additional term
7. Criteria for choosing members SRGBV Complaint Investigation and decisions recommending committee

Any one of the members of SRGBV Complaint Investigation and decisions providing committee should be:

7.1. Exemplary in good discipline

7.2. Never been accused and punished for gender based violence or other crimes

7.3. Have been in the school for at least a year

8. The Authority and job descriptions of the SRGBV Complaint Investigation and decisions providing committee

8.1. Introducing the code of conduct and creating awareness to the community of the institution

8.2. The SRGBV Complaint Investigation and decisions providing committee prepares forms that contain the lists under
8.3. When complaint informing that gender-based violence has occurred in the school and is received, the committee investigates and provides decisions.

8.4. Whenever complaints are investigated, the committee calls for the person who filed the complaint, the person who is accused of violence or witnesses to listen to the testimony; requests for documents (be it written or digital evidences) that are related to the matter under investigation, be present physically to look through the documents if they are not presented to them and performs other activities necessary for the investigation.

8.5. Whenever complaints of school-related gender-based violence are received against the school director or deputy director, the committee investigates the matter and passes the decisions to the next upper hierarchy in the education structure for its decision.

8.6. The committee should inform the person who is accused...
8.7 The committee passes temporary orders that prevent the gender based violence from happening before decisions are provided on the complaints of violence.

9. Meetings

9.1. The committee holds meetings once in 15 days and also when complaints of violence are received by the SRGBV Complaint Investigation and decisions providing committee.

9.2. The decision provided by the committee passes when voted by the majority. If equal numbers of the committee are for it and against it, decision is passed based on which decision the Chair person has voted for.

9.3. The committee is said to be able to undergo a meeting when more than half of the members are present.

9.4. Whenever complaints are received in the absence of the chair person for the committee the vice-chair leads the meetings of violence 10 days prior to the appointment.
10. Principles of discipline followed by the Committee Members

10.1. Confidentiality should be maintained concerning any complaints and issues handled by the committee.

10.2. Any member of the committee should not take part in the investigation and decision making of complaint when the complaint is related to her/himself, a close friend or relative or will not be allowed to take part when witnesses, information or evidence is presented about it.

10.3. Any member of the committee should not favor based on gender, race, religion, political stands, disability or any other reason while working on complaint reports.

10.4. Any member of the committee who conducts against the principles listed above or hindered the work of the committee in anyway is removed from

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Code of Conduct on Prevention of School Related Gender Based Violence in Schools
11. Formalities to be fulfilled while making a Complaint

11.1. Anyone who complains that a less severe form of SRGBV has been committed on her/him, family memeeber or care giver or any party whom the issue concerns should report within the next 10 working days since the violence was committed or was known to be committed in written form to the chair person or the secretary of the committee.

11.2. Anyone who complains that a severe form of SRGBV has been committed on her/him, family or care giver or any party whom the issue concerns, it should be reported within the next 30 working days since the violence was committed or was known to be committed in written form to the chairs person or the secretary of the committee.

11.3. While 11.1 of the code of conduct is applicable if the person reporting the violence explains that...
s/he could not report in the dates specified due to impossibilities the reporting time begins from the day where the reasons for impossibilities is solved or is no more hindrance to report the violence

11.4. Details to be included in the Report of Complaint

Every report of complaint should include the following:

a) Full name of the person reporting the complaint

b) The classroom s/he attends in, the department s/he teaches in or the department s/he works in

c) The date, place and time of the committed violence

d) The type of the school related gender based violence/expressions of the act

e) The name, classroom, teaching or work department or any form of identification of the person who is accused of committing the violence (if known)

f) The name and address of the witness (if there is/are witness/es)
12. Legitimate Protection for the member/s of the School Community who needs Protection

a) When it is a student that needs protection, safeguard her/his classroom attendance and ensure legitimate learning assessment results

b) When a teacher, administration staff or support staff needs protection, ensure her/his safety, or secure a signature of restraint form any attempt to harm the compliant

c) When the school principal needs legitimate protection make the person who is accused of committing the violence sign commitment of restraint from any harm
13. Conditions where Complaints are not to be Reported

13.1. If the time limited specified in 11.1 and 11.2 has passed and if in any way one year has passed since the SRGBV has been committed

13.2. If the issue has already been investigated by the committee and the final decision has been made by the appropriate authority in the academic structure

14. The right of the accused

Anyone who is accused of committing gender-based violence has the right to know the complaints reported against them, defend themselves and to be listened to of any possible explanations.

15. Formalities of recommending and making decisions

15.1. SRGBV Complaint Investigation and decisions providing committee investigates the complaint in not more than
15.2 The school director clarifies the issue in not more than 5 days since the reception of the proposed decision by the committee and endorses the decision in writing.

15.3 When complaints are reported of the school director committing gender based violence the committee investigates the issue in not more than 15 days and passes the proposed decisions to the Woreda's education bureau.

15.4 The respective academic structure investigates the issue in not more than 30 days after the reception of the provided decisions by the committee and makes final verdict.

15.5 The decisions made should be announced for the person who has reported the complaint as well as to the school community.

15.6 Any verdict passed according to this code of conduct would not hold the person reporting the complaint or the member of school community accused for
16. Appeal

16.1. Any party that is dissatisfied with the final verdict can appeal to the next ladder in the education hierarchy within 30 working days from the date the decision is announced.

16.2. The respective body in the academic structure should investigate appeals and pass a decision within not more than a month.

17. The Time Limit of the Punishment Records

17.1. Decision passed on less severe form of SRGBV will be documented in perpetrator’s personal file for one year.

17.2. Verdicts made for commitment of severe form of SRGBV will be documented in perpetrator’s file for two years after punishment is concluded.
Part Five: Other Regulations
Part Five: Other Regulations

18. Establishing Gender Based Violence Complaint Investigation and decisions Recommending committee

Every school establishes a committee that investigates cases of school related gender based violence committed amongst the school community.

19. Third Party

19.1. The declarations specified in this Code of Conduct should also be observed in case of any work agreement the school has made and engaged any individual or group that may have used accessing the school as an opportunity of committing gender based violence on any of the school community member.

19.2. If students tour for academic reasons, sport related activities, festivals and other programs due to the agreements the school has with different
20. Establishment of Gender Club

For the sake of the implementation of the code of conduct and addressing other gender related issues, every school should establish gender club and assign a representative for it.

21. Obligation to Cooperate

Every member of the school community should report, cooperate to testify, pass on any information and evidence that is available at one's disposal related to work responsibilities or other reasons known to her/him, to SRGBV complaint investigation and decision recommending committee.

22. Reluctance of any School to Enforce this SRGBV Code of Conduct

Every school has the duty of enforcing the decisions passed according to this code of conduct. The respective government body takes appropriate measures on the schools that do not oblige.
23. Transitional stipulation

Any case of SRGBV that has been investigated before the launching of this code of conduct will be handled according to pervious regulation of the school.

24. Inapplicability of the regulation

Any regulation or practice that has been applicable in the institution contrary to this code of conduct is not applicable since the day this code of conduct came in to force.

25. Entry in to force

This code of conduct is applicable starting from the day it is issued by the Ministry of Education which is 2007 E.C.
Appendix 2 - SRGBV reporting template

**SCHOOL RELATED GENDER BASED VIOLENCE REPORTING TEMPLATE**

Name of the Region _______ Zone _______ Woreda _______ School _______

School Level: Primary _______ Secondary _______

Reporting Period: Month _______ Year _______

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GBV Monitoring and Reporting Template</th>
<th>How many children are affected in each case</th>
<th>Type of Perpetrators/actors of the violence</th>
<th>Action taken against each case</th>
<th>Organization/individuals involved in taking actions</th>
<th>Survivor’s aftermath situation</th>
<th>Major challenges in the process</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Sexual violence</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.1. Rape</td>
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<td>1.2. Attempted Rape</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.3. Sexual Harassment</td>
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<td>1.4. Forced Marriage</td>
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<td>1.5. Early Marriage</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2. Physical violence</strong></td>
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<td>2.1. Corporal punishment</td>
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<td>2.2. Domestic Violence</td>
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<td><strong>3. Psychological violence</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>3.1. Abuse/humiliation</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>4. Other Gender-Based Violence</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>5. Non-Gender-Based Violence</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL (ALL TYPES)</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**SUPPORTS GIVEN TO THE VICTIMS OF VIOLENT INCIDET**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF INCIDENT</th>
<th>Number of students affected</th>
<th>Number of students provided with support</th>
<th>Type of support given</th>
<th>Who provided the support</th>
<th>Condition of the survivor after the incident</th>
<th>Remark</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>Boys</td>
<td>Total</td>
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Appendix

School Related Gender-Based Violence (SRGBV)

Definition

SRGBV includes any form of violence or abuse that is based on gender stereotypes or that targets students on the basis of their sex. SRGBV can take place in school buildings, school grounds, or going to and from school, and may be perpetrated by teachers, students or community members. Girl and boy students can be victims or perpetrators.

Forms of Violence included in the reporting templates

SRGBVs are multifaceted and take different forms. Only the most common SRGBVs are included in the reporting templates and by no means are exhaustive. For practical terms, they are grouped into four categories:

1. Sexual Violence
   Sexual violence could take different forms, as follows:
   1.1. **Rape**- The invasion of any part of the body of the victim or of the perpetrator with a sexual organ, or of the anal or genital opening of the victim with any object or any other part of the body by force, threat of force, coercion, taking advantage of a coercive environment, or against a person incapable of giving genuine consent (International Criminal Court)
   1.2. **Attempted rape**- attempted forced/ coerced intercourse;
   1.3. **Sexual harassment**- Any unwelcome, usually repeated and unreturned sexual advance, unsolicited sexual attention, demand for sexual access or favors, sexual innuendo or other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature, display of pornographic material, when it interferes with work, is made a condition of employment or creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment.
   1.4. **Early marriage**- Arranged marriage under the age of legal consent (sexual intercourse in such relationships constitutes, as the girls are not legally competent to agree to such unions). Please include school girls and even boys married before completing their school-age especially if they are in the school age.
   1.5. **Forced marriage**- Arranged marriage against the victim’s/survivor’s wishes; often a dowry is paid to the family; when refused, there are violent and/or abusive consequences.

2. Physical Violence
   2.1. **Corporal punishment**- boys and girls may face gender based corporal punishment, forced labor, fighting, and bullying. It involves any gender based punishment in which physical force is used to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however minimal. This type of violence involves hitting children with the
SCHOOL RELATED GENDER BASED VIOLENCE REPORTING TEMPLATE

hand or an implement (e.g., whip, stick, belt, and shoe). It can also involve kicking, shaking, scratching, pinching, biting, pulling hair, boxing ears, burning, scalding, forced ingestion of soap or hot spices, throwing children, or forcing children to stay in uncomfortable positions.

2.2 Domestic Violence - excessive load of household chores and any other physical punishment at home due to gender stereotyping that negatively affects student learning and health.

3. Psychological and Emotional Violence

3.1 Abuse/Humiliation - Non-sexual verbal abuse that entails harassment or exploitation with the intent to degrade or demoralize student on the basis of her/his sex. It is compelling the victim/survivor to engage in humiliating acts, whether in public or private, in the classroom or out of class. This can be perpetrated by teachers, fellow children, or families; it could happen through verbal harassment, bullying, teasing, or degrading and cruel punishment. Teachers may use non-physical punishment that humiliates, defames, threatens, scares, or ridicules children.

4. Other Gender Based Violence - includes all SRGBV not included in the aforementioned three major categories.

5. Non-Gender Based Violence - includes any violence against the child student irrespective of their sex. For example, corporal punishments against both girls and boys indiscriminately falls under non-gender based violence

Purpose

While gender-based violence has a devastating impact on the lives of women and girls who are the majority of victims/survivors, it also hinders the development of men and boys. SRGBV hampers the right to access quality education that ultimately results in creating obstacle to efforts of realizing gender equality in education. Eliminating gender-based violence and gender inequalities helps to strengthen entire communities. Although the efforts have shown promising progress towards reducing SRGBV, there is little monitoring and reporting actions for further movements for mitigating the problem it is exerting on enrollment, performance and completion of children especially girls education.