Addressing School-Related Gender-Based Violence in Côte d'Ivoire, Togo, Zambia and Ethiopia: A Cross-country Report

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Executive Summary

Growing global evidence indicates that on a daily basis large numbers of girls and boys face school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV), yet more evidence is needed on how to intervene to ensure schools are safe, equitable spaces for learning. SRGBV is multi-dimensional, and includes physical, sexual and psychological acts of violence in and around schools that have their roots in inequalities, norms, exclusions and stigma within everyday interactions, and in institutions and structures of society. This report synthesises findings from four scoping studies of policy, practice and evidence on SRGBV in Zambia, Togo, Ethiopia and Côte d'Ivoire carried out in 2016-2017 – with insights of relevance for any country seeking to strengthen their work to address SRGBV. This work forms part of End Gender Violence in Schools (EGVS), an initiative led by UNICEF, with support from Global Partnership for Education (GPE) and UNGEI, which aims to strengthen the production and use of high quality evidence in order to build effective approaches to address SRGBV. Data were collected through stakeholder interviews, workshops and analyses of research, policy and programme texts. The research design offers a valuable framework through which to evaluate and strengthen national action on SRGBV through collecting evidence on: prevalence and patterns of SRGBV; laws, policies and plans; structures and partnerships; responses in and around schools; prevention through teaching and learning; and systems for data collection.

***Prevalence and patterns of SRGBV*:** Across the four countries, there was evidence from quantitative and qualitative studies of commonplace corporal punishment, sexual harassment, bullying, intimate partner violence, and child abuse. These practices were shaped by contextual features within countries, including social, economic, political and educational structures, relationships and norms. For example, many studies found particular groups of children were particularly vulnerable, such as the poorest girls being exposed to sexual coercion, or poor boys to harsh physical punishments. The variability in patterns of SRGBV and the complex ways these were enmeshed in contextual features and inequalities mean that a one size fits all model to addressing SRGBV will not be successful, and approaches need to be carefully tailored for particular locations and relationships.

Laws, policies and plans: In recent years, all four countries have strengthened legislation and policy linked to SRGBV, with their frameworks including adoption of international conventions, national constitutions, laws spanning sectors including education, gender equality, health and justice, and policies and plans at national, mid and local levels. Reviews of laws, policies and education sector plans should ensure that they address the multi-dimensional features of SRGBV, and include indicators on SRGBV within the monitoring frameworks. Legal and policy frameworks need to be comprehensive and cross-sectoral, while avoiding duplication and overlap. The studies found frequent disjunctures between what is written into legal and policy frameworks, and the understanding and enactment of these at national, district and local levels. This means governments seeking to address SRGBV need to take action to support and resource the process of enacting law and policy, and the actors involved in this at different levels.

***Structures and partnerships**:* In the four EGVS countries, administrative structures at national, mid and local levels have been created to enable effective implementation of laws

and policies, through for example mainstreamed gender units and focal points at all levels. There are also national cross-sectoral and thematic working groups on SRGBV, local platforms for child protection or gender equality, and initiatives seeking to bring together community actors and young people with government or NGO systems. However, in order to work effectively, the need for prioritising work on gender and SRGBV and for committing resources – including time, funding and expertise – were repeatedly highlighted. Without this we found that structures and partnerships were limited in what they could achieve, hindering attempts to address SRGBV.

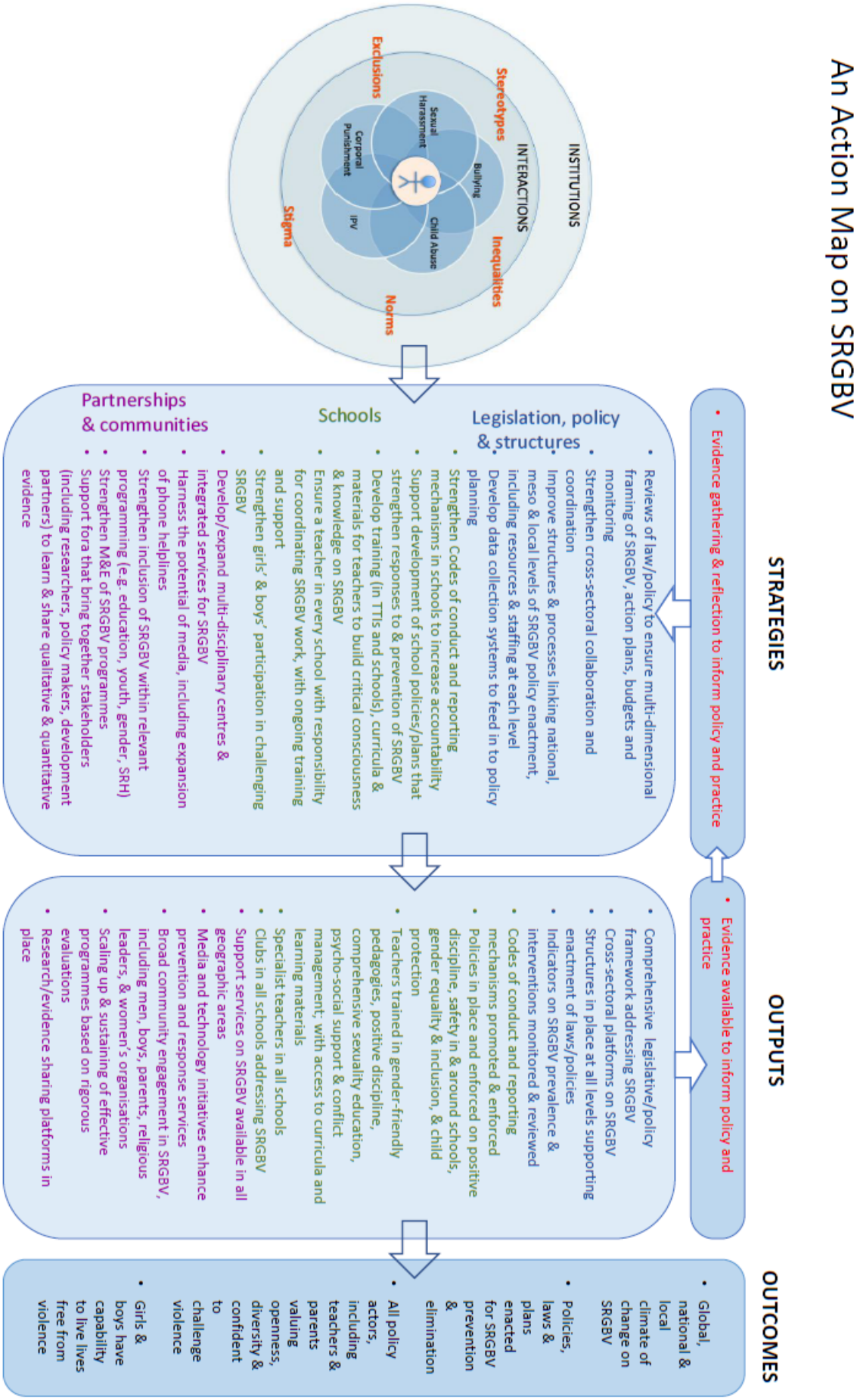
***Responses to SRGBV in and around school**:* The four countries have focused on strengthening reporting and responses to cases of SRGBV, particularly child sex abuse. They have developed professional codes of conduct for schools, and school-based reporting systems. Support for schools is needed to strengthen these systems with clear guidance for all members of school communities on responsibilities and actions to take following SRGBV. Promising approaches outside school include multi-disciplinary centres that bring together psycho-social, health, justice and welfare support to provide gender- and child-friendly services. Barriers to reporting include lack of follow up, uneven provision of services in rural areas, and stigma and inequalities leading to the normalisation of violence and impunity for perpetrators. There is much scope for strengthening more comprehensive reporting and response systems, with contextually sensitive, well resourced and sustainable initiatives, such as phone reporting lines, integrated support centres and well trained and supported community health workers.

Preventing SRGBV through teaching and learning: An array of promising initiatives have been implemented in schools in the four countries, often through collaborations between governments, development partners and NGOs. These include training to develop teachers' skills in non-violent pedagogies; improving the ways in which the curriculum addresses gender, sex and relationships; and initiatives with young people, to provide safe spaces and clubs. Broader initiatives to improve child- and girl-friendly schools or community based girls' empowerment programmes can help prevent SRGBV. However, to sustain and develop effective interventions on a larger scale requires careful coordination, participation of school and community members in programme design and implementation, and long term funding.

***Data to inform policy and practice**:* Although some of the interventions to prevent and respond to SRGBV in the four countries have been evaluated, many do not routinely collect monitoring data or evaluate effectiveness, resulting in governments, NGOs and schools having insufficient evidence to make decisions relating to SRGBV. There have been a number of robust surveys and qualitative studies providing data on SRGBV, but more work is needed to develop a survey that can measure multi-dimensional SRGBV at regular intervals, including patterns across demographic groups and locations. Some promising collaborations have developed to engage policy makers, researchers and development partners in sharing research evidence, and there is much scope to expand these at national, mid and local levels in order to strengthen the capacity to interpret, evaluate and use data and research to ensure evidence-informed approaches to action on SRGBV.

Overall, these findings point to the need for using an evidence-based, multi-dimensional approach when analysing, developing and enacting policy and practice on SRGBV. The

diagram below distils the implications for actions on SRGBV through legislation, policy and structures; work in schools; and through partnerships and communities.



List of Acronyms

ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CEDAW	UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
COGEP	*Comités de Gestion des Ecoles Primaires* (Primary school management committees)
CRC	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
DHS	Demographic and Household Survey
EGVS	End Gender Violence in Schools
EFA	Education for All
EMIS	Education Management Information Systems
ESDP	Education Sector Development Programme
FAWEZA	Forum for African Women Educationalists Zambia
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
IPV	Intimate partner violence
IRC	International Rescue Committee
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEN	*Ministère de l'Education Nationale* (Ministry of National Education)
MEPSFP	*Ministère des Enseignements primaire et secondaire et la formation professionelle* (Ministry of primary and secondary teaching and professional training)
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
ROCARE	*Réseau Ouest et Centre Africain de Recherche en Education* (West and Central African Education Research Network)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNGEI	United Nations Gender Education Initiative
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region
SRGBV	School-related gender-based violence
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association of Zambia

1. Introduction

In recent years, recognition of the extent and multiplicity of forms of violence experienced by many girls and boys, and their devastating impact has grown. A growing body of data indicates that on a daily basis in virtually every country of the world, large numbers of girls and boys face physical, sexual and psychological acts of violence in and around schools. Analysis of this school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) indicates occurrences are generally underpinned by unequal access to economic, social, cultural and political resources and the power to deploy these. Inequitable gender norms and stereotypes, based on hierarchies and forms of subordination, amplify these injustices and contribute to SRGBV. Yet, while the volume of data around violence against children is gradually increasing, more robust evidence is needed to enable countries to develop effective interventions to address SRGBV (Covell & Becker, 2011; Leach et al., 2014; Leach et al., 2012). The main objective of this report is to synthesise some discussions of evidence in four countries on how to address SRGBV through policy and practice. It reviews findings from four scoping studies carried out in 2016-2017 of existing research, policy and practices in Zambia, Ethiopia, Togo and Côte d'Ivoire. The report considers the challenges these governments and other stakeholders in each country have faced, and how they have addressed these challenges through legislative and policy frameworks, structures to implement policy at national, meso and local levels, and through responsive and preventive programmes and interventions. A major challenge in each country has been how to use national and international data and research evidence more effectively to inform policy and practice. Through documenting cross-cutting issues apparent in all four countries, and highlighting examples of promising practice, the report aims to consider both locally based challenges and wider lessons and implications.

The report stems from *End Gender Violence in Schools (EGVS*), a three year initiative (2014-2017) led by UNICEF with support from the Global Partnership for Education (GPE), that combines research, capacity building and knowledge exchange to generate evidence to foster effective policies and actions around SRGBV. The *End Gender Violence in Schools* initiative has partnered with UCL Institute of Education, the UN Girl's Education Initiative (UNGEI) and governments and partners in Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Togo, and Zambia. The first phase involved a rigorous review of global evidence (Parkes et al., 2016), followed by a scoping study in each of the four participating countries. Building on analysis of this data, phase two will entail local stakeholders devising and implementing bespoke plans in each national setting.

The global literature review provided a valuable stock-take of existing knowledge in this area. The review found that research efforts around SRGBV to date have tended to focus on short-term, local level interventions with limited attention to policies and policy implementation processes (Parkes et al., 2016). The most promising interventions, the review found, are multi-layered and address the links between violence, identities, social and cultural norms and intersecting structural inequalities. However, how to institutionalize and sustain work on gender inequalities and violence in schools and communities is less well researched. Promising interventions which attempt to do this, identified through the review, combine critical reflection and knowledge building, and work to create inclusive, participatory learning environments. Most importantly, the review found resources and efforts are needed to build a robust evidence base that supports policy, practice, monitoring and evaluation at all levels.

Synthesising from this analysis of evidence we devised a cross-cutting framework for identifying areas of work in policy and practice on SRGBV – capturing the multiple and interconnected nature of best-practice work in this area:

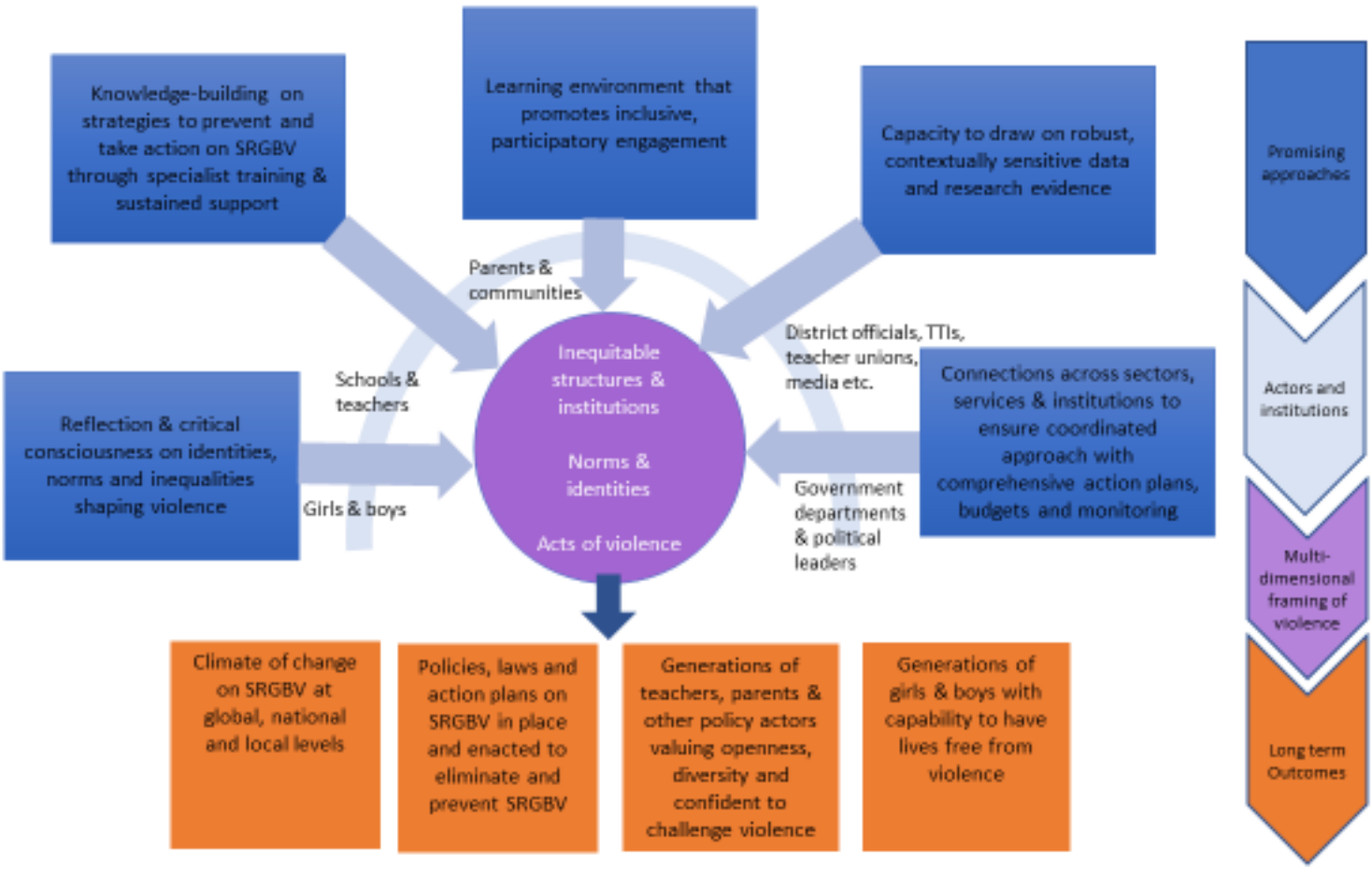


Figure 1 - Key elements of a cross-cutting approach to policy and practice on SRGBV

In this report we revisit this framework – considering it in light of the new empirical data gathered during the scoping studies carried out in 2016.

The research methodology employed for the initiative as a whole is drawn from action research approaches (McNiff & Whitehead, 2011). This means research developed through a staged reflective process of problem solving among a team to achieve a longer term goal (in this case to strengthen the process of policy enactment by different practitioners to address SRGBV). The approach to action research we have used in this project involves researchers and other stakeholders actively participating in a change situation, and documenting reflections on this as part of a process of engaged research. Thus the scoping studies sought to map and analyse policy, practice and evidence on SRGBV. In each country a range of methods for data collection were employed:

- An interactive two-day workshop aimed to gather and share information and promote dialogue on SRGBV and the initiative in each country. Stakeholders

participating comprised a range of actors from across sectors of relevance such as education, justice and gender.

- Literature review and documentary analysis of a) Contemporary legislative and policy texts concerned with SRGBV in each country; b) Research reports and datasets on SRGBV in each country; c) Documents describing programmes or interventions addressing SRGBV in each country.
- 20 to 30 in-depth interviews carried out with key stakeholders in each country.
- Further workshops in each country reviewed draft findings, and began to develop action plans

In each country, the scoping study sought information from documentary and interview sources about patterns of SRGBV; how SRGBV is addressed in law and policy; how laws and policies are enacted, that is interpreted and negotiated at macro (national), meso (provincial) and local (district/school/community) levels; and the programmes in place to address SRGBV. It analysed the sources of evidence used to inform SRGBV policy and practice.

The following section of our report presents the multi-dimensional definition of SRGBV which has been being developed through the initiative, and examines research evidence in the four countries on patterns of SRGBV. This is followed by an analysis of laws, policies and plans, and relevant structures and partnerships to take policies into action. The next two sections of the report focus on action to address SRGBV. We first consider approaches and mechanisms for responding to SRGBV. We then look at a range of, preventative measures including work with young people and adults. The report discusses a number of issues relating to data and evidence to inform SRGBV work in terms of policy, reporting, and prevention. The final section of the report draws together conclusions and makes recommendations for policy and practice going forward in each country and for cross national collaborations.

2. SRGBV and context

The four scoping studies reviewed existing research literature in the four countries to find out about patterns of SRGBV, and how the patterns are shaped by contextual features, including social, economic, political and educational structures, relationships and norms, in varying contexts within each country. This proved a complex question to address because of the diversity of country contexts, the limited research undertaken thus far, and because of the multi-dimensional nature of SRGBV, as illustrated in figure 2.

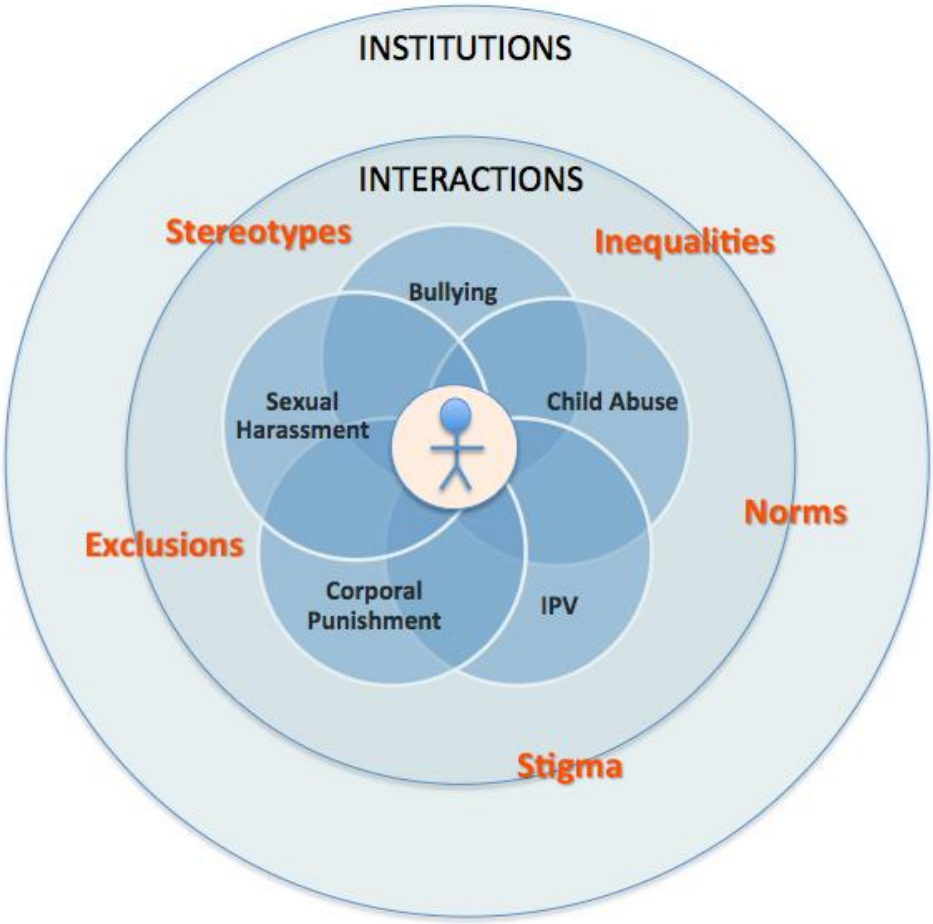


Figure 2 – A multi-dimensional framing of SRGBV

The figure shows how the model of SRGBV we have developed includes 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, which has developed from our previous work (Parkes and Heslop, 2013), as well as ongoing work by the Global SRGBV Working Group, highlights a complex interplay between structures, relationships and action driving violence. Many of the studies reviewed illustrate this interplay.

Forms of SRGBV have been documented in all countries around the globe, though inflected differently within and between countries (Leach et al, 2014). Patterns of violence are related

to the varying histories, political economies, socio-cultural conditions and institutional frameworks – as depicted in the outer layer of the diagram (Johnson Ross et al., 2017; Parkes et al., 2017c; Parkes et al., 2017b; Westerveld et al., 2017). Levels of sexual violence in and around schools, for example, are often heightened during or in the aftermath of war and conflict (Kirk, 2007). In the four countries this report focuses on, gender inequalities disadvantaging women have been extensive and persistent. Thus for example DHS data on child marriage range from 32% of girls under 18 in Togo, 36% in Côte d'Ivoire, 45% in Zambia, and 63% in Ethiopia; and approximately 1 in 3 teenage girls have given birth in Côte d'Ivoire, Togo and Zambia, with teenage child bearing much more common in rural areas in all four countries (DHS, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2016). Socio-cultural practices are, however, changing, with for example, reductions in child marriage and teenage births in recent decades in Ethiopia (Psaki, 2016), and the most recent district health surveys have traced reductions in practices of FGM in Togo (DHS, 2015) and Ethiopia (DHS, 2016). Historically, in all four countries, girls have been less likely to be educated than boys, but there have been marked changes in attitudes to girls' education in the last decade, as demonstrated by the increasing access of girls to education. Gender parity in enrolment to primary schools has been achieved in Zambia, and has markedly improved in recent years in the other three countries, though girls are still disadvantaged (GPI 0.91 in Ethiopia and Togo in 2011, 0.87 in Côte d'Ivoire 2012). At lower secondary level, only two thirds of children are enrolled in Zambia and Togo, and fewer than half in Ethiopia and Côte d'Ivoire, with girls markedly less likely than boys to have access to secondary schooling in all four countries (UNESCO, 2015). For those children in schools, the quality of schooling has been a major concern, with, for example, average class sizes of 56 at primary level in Zambia (MESVTEE, 2015), and with shortages of qualified teachers, and women teachers – in Togo only 27% of teachers have received basic professional training, and only 15% of primary teachers are female (Devers, 2015) (37% in Ethiopia). Gendered, educational and socio-economic inequalities, norms about what girls and boys can and should be and do, and material hardships, create the conditions in which SRGBV has been shown to manifest and hamper a climate of change, as we discuss further below.

Moving towards the centre of the diagram, at the level of interactions between people, the scoping studies found that some forms of violence (such as sexual harassment) were commonplace and taken for granted as normal within everyday relationships in classrooms, homes and communities. The vulnerability of children to particular forms of violence, however, varies within each country. Often, poverty and location, as well as disability and other forms of inequality/marginalisation, intersect with gender in increasing vulnerability to violence (Devries et al., 2014). For example, girls with disabilities have faced increased risks of sexual abuse in some contexts, or long journeys to school for rural young people without the means to travel safely could be a site of violence.

Studies in all four countries found that ***corporal punishment*** in schools persisted, despite legal bans, with a widespread belief that if a child misbehaves then it is the duty of an adult to beat them (BORNEfonden, 2012; CDC, 2017; Dassa et al., 2005; MENET-UNICEF, 2015; MICS, 2010). A recent study in five provinces in Ethiopia found that although corporal punishment in schools was commonplace for girls and boys (it had been experienced in the past weeks by 31% of the 8 year old girls surveyed and 44% of the boys), in some provinces (Tigray, SNNPR and Addis Ababa) it was the poorest boys who were most likely to be physically punished by

teachers (Pankhurst et al., 2016). While teachers may be aware of and accept the principle of the ban, lack of knowledge or support in implementing alternative discipline approaches, particularly in large classes, hindered teachers' capabilities to implement the ban. Girls and boys may be punished for different reasons and with different levels of severity e.g. at home girls may be punished for avoiding housework, while boys for letting cattle stray when they are herding (Pankhurst et al., 2016). A challenge for all the countries is how to create the conditions for child-friendly, non-violent pedagogies to be used in schools with alternative forms of punishment and classroom management. Outlawing corporal punishment on its own does not appear to be effective in eradicating this form of SRGBV. This points to the need to address the school environment and relationships, including addressing stereotypes and prejudices of teachers regarding particular groups, such as poor boys, as well as providing training for teachers in alternative classroom management and discipline methods.

Studies also show stereotypes and prejudice are evident in practices of ***bullying*** between pupils. Bullying includes repeated aggressive behaviour with imbalance of power and intent to hurt, and can be physical, insults or name calling, as well as cyber-bullying. Two thirds of girls and boys reported experiencing bullying in the past month in a Zambian study (WHO, 2004). Frequently bullying has gendered dimensions, with boys engaging in fighting and bullying to demonstrate socially ascribed expressions of masculine toughness, strength and dominance. Boys seen as not living up to these social norms about masculinity or who do not subscribe to heteronormative values or behaviours or 'comply' with socially accepted sexualities might be bullied, as may girls who do not act in line with normative femininities of compliance or domesticity. 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. A study from Togo revealed how teachers used insults, intimidation or mockery to belittle girls, thereby reinforcing social norms and stereotypes about their skills and their roles. The study found that such behaviour from the teachers was a direct trigger for girls' drop out (Devers, 2015). Another Ethiopian 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).

Many studies reviewed combine ***child sex abuse***, ***sexual harassment*** and ***intimate partner violence (IPV)***, categorising these together as sexual violence. This term includes more extreme forms of abuse, in which sexual activities are imposed by adults on a child, including rape and coerced sexual acts, as well as more mild forms of harassment, including unwelcome sexual advances, comments or jokes, and inappropriate touching. 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, and includes controlling behaviour, where for example a boyfriend controls his girlfriend's movements, or her access to resources, and coerced and forced sex. The evidence from the four countries indicates that girls are more likely than boys to experience all forms of sexual violence. The Togo DHS (2015)showed 5.6% of girls surveyed (aged 15-19) had experienced sexual violence, figures are not available for boys. Among 13-17 year olds in a study in Zambia (1,819 completed interviews, 891 females

and 928 males), 17% of girls and 6% of boys had experienced some form of sexual violence in the past 12 months (CDC, 2017). Evidence from Côte d'Ivoire (DHS, 2012) found that 4.7% of 15-19 year old women (sample of 279 women) had experienced some form of sexual violence in the past 12 years.

However, 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 in all four countries, yet one finding across the countries is that few cases of sexual abuse reach the police or justice system (CDC, 2017; Dassa et al., 2005; Hailemariam, 2015; MENET-UNICEF, 2015). Girls may be deterred from speaking out for a range of reasons, including fear of stigma and punishment, as a study in Ethiopia concluded (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). A study on SRGBV in Togo outlined the key reasons for the underreporting of violence were ignorance of the legal framework/mechanisms, lack of trust in police or judicial services, and lack of recognition of what constitutes violence (Devers, 2015). In a study in Côte d'Ivoire, 56.3% of child victims had not reported sexual violence, mainly because of not knowing who to go to, for fear of punishment, abandonment, or because of shame (MENET-UNICEF, 2015). 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 SRHE, 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 Ethiopa, 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; Women and Law in Southern Africa Trust - Zambia et al., 2012). The scoping study in Zambia identified that girls living in private rented accommodation in order to attend secondary schools far from their homes, were particularly vulnerable to abuse, with adult men making sexual advances or coaxing them into transactional sex (Women and Law in Southern Africa Trust - Zambia et al., 2012). The lack of schools close to their homes, or supervisory support protecting the girls living in hostels allows men to exploit their vulnerability. Further research is planned in Zambia to find out more about this, but 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.

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. 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 – 14.8% of women reported this type of experience in a study in Côte d'Ivoire based on a sample of 1,423 women aged 15-49 (Hossain et al.,

2014); nearly a third of girls in a Zambian study based on a sample of 891 girls (CDC, 2017); and a study in Ethiopia found that 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). Often women blame themselves for the violence they experience, with 51% of 15-19 year old women in Côte d'Ivoire surveyed as part of the DHS (DHS, 2012), and 47% of women aged 15-49 in Zambia (DHS, 2014) agreeing that it is justified for a man to beat his wife in some cases. This reflects the internalisation of violence and acceptance of submissive cultural norms by some women. However, these aggregate proportions mask considerable variation between regions amongst populations surveyed for the DHS with acceptance of wife beating much more common in rural than in urban settings in both countries. There is evidence that attitudes are changing; for example, data from household surveys in Togo showed that in 2008, 42.0% of women aged 15-19 agreed that a husband was justified in beating his wife in some circumstances (MICS, 2010), compared to 26% of women aged 15-19 surveyed in 2013-14 (DHS, 2015).

School girls can be held responsible for the violence they experience, particularly in relation to sexual harassment. For example, a study based on desk research and interviews with 105 schoolgirls and other stakeholders from urban, peri-urban and rural schools in Lusaka province in Zambia found that school staff advised girls to stay away from boys and not to wear sexy dresses (Women and Law in Southern Africa Trust - Zambia et al., 2012). While boys' sexual harassment was taken for granted, the onus was put on girls to take preventive action. Though the evidence is slim, there are indications that attitudes among young people are changing. A study in one secondary school in Addis Ababa for example, found that most girls and boys interviewed were highly critical of sexual violence, and wanted more teaching on sexuality-related topics, including sexual violence (Le Mat, 2016).

Different forms of violence affect children's lives in the four countries, 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 present study has focused primarily on gender, although norms and inequalities of income, disability, and religion (among others) also have a bearing on the experience of violence and warrant investigation. The studies show that different locations and relationships have a bearing on prevalence of experiences of forms of SRGBV. Given this variation, one size fits all interventions are clearly unable on their own to address these complex and varying relationships. The next section looks at how laws and policies in the four countries aim to address these many dimensions of SRGBV and considers some of the relationships and practices that help make these laws more effective.

3. Laws, Policies and Plans

The four countries have all adopted legislation and policy linked to SRGBV in recent years. They have all ratified international human rights treaties, including the *Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC),* and the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).* They have all adopted the *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC)*. At national levels, the Constitutions of each state enjoin actions to advance and protect children's and women's rights (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 1995; République de Côte d'Ivoire, 2000; Togolaise, 1992; Zambia, 1996). Since the 1990s, legislation in areas related to SRGBV in the four countries has spanned several different sectors of government – education, justice, gender, and youth/child development health and social protection. The four countries all have legislation against child abuse, including child sex abuse, with penalties specified in criminal codes. They have laws banning forced and child marriage, harmful cultural practices including FGM, forms of domestic violence, and prohibiting child trafficking and hazardous child labour. However, valuable as this is, the presence of legislation alone is not sufficient to ensure it is carried out in practice, and this was evident in our studies.

Corporal punishment in schools is prohibited in all four countries, though in Côte d'Ivoire the Ministerial Order of 2009 has not yet been confirmed through legislation. Laws adopted in Togo in 2007 and Zambia in 2011 replaced earlier Ministerial decrees, and in Ethiopia corporal punishment is school was explicitly prohibited within the 1995 Constitution. Sexual violence by teachers, including sexual relations between teachers and pupils, is also banned in all the countries. In three of the countries, codes of conduct or ethics for teaching staff have been introduced very recently – 2014 in Côte d'Ivoire and Ethiopia, 2016 in Zambia – and the work to implement them is underway and discussed further below. Thus a reasonable legal framework exists on paper to outlaw form of SRGBV. However, there is still a challenge to make these laws shape interactions at school level, as for example, evidence suggests that corporal punishment remains widespread, as discussed in the previous section.

Given the multi-dimensional nature of SRGBV, it is necessary that a comprehensive legislative and policy framework around it spans different sectors such as education and justice. However, in reflecting on how this is created, operationalised and strengthened there are several points which need to be considered. Firstly, the normative implications of law and policy in relation to gender and violence matter – i.e. do laws and policies support or undermine equality between men and women. For example, do existing laws about rape respect the rights of married women to bodily integrity and property? Do policies about harassment or bullying place the responsibility on the perpetrator or the victim and how do practices at school level enact this? At different levels and across social development sectors, reflecting on this is necessary to ensure that the legal and policy framework contributes to a positive socio-cultural and politico-economic environment in relation to women's rights and gender equality – essential to creating and sustaining change in relation to SRGBV. Secondly, given that addressing SRGBV entails a spread of sectors and administrative levels, it is essential to attend to the coordination and sharing of practice to make laws affect practice. As interviews and textual analysis from our studies confirmed, there is great potential for fragmentation, duplication and blockages in relation to working to put legal and policy

frameworks into practice. This requires well thought out and co-ordinated structures and adequate resources to ensure collaboration and coordination. Space for reflection on norms and values, and discussion of these between different constituencies is also needed. Thus a thorough and comprehensive approach to addressing SRGBV that takes in aspects of women's rights and gender equality is needed in any specific country context.

Education sector policies and plans in each country articulate concerns about girls' access to, retention and performance in school. In line with the EFA and MDGs, gender strategies have largely been concerned with girls, which is perhaps unsurprising in view of the continuing gender disparities in accessing and progressing through school in each country (Johnson Ross et al., 2017; Parkes et al., 2017c; Parkes et al., 2017b; Westerveld et al., 2017). Violence is mentioned sporadically in Education Sector Plans, mainly as a barrier to schooling. For example, the main thrust of Zambia's Education Sector 3rd National Implementation Framework 2011-2016 (Zambia, 2010) is access, efficiency and equity for quality education, with SRGBV mentioned in one chapter on equity:

> "Another factor impeding gender equality in education, which does not receive appropriate attention, is the lack of safety of learners in institutions of learning, leading to sexual and other forms of abuse of children; particularly females" (Zambia, 2010, p. 91).

The plan proposes to develop child protection policies in schools with the establishment and use of policies the target to be achieved. Ethiopia's ESDP V (2015) and Gender Strategy for the Education and Training Sector (MOE, 2015) emphasise female access, competitiveness and competency in all phases of education, with a plan to address barriers to girls' participation in education, including accessible, safe and healthy school environments, and implementation of the code of conduct on prevention of SRGBV (which sets out sanctions against different forms of violence). Côte d'Ivoire's Education Sector Plan for the 2016-2025 period (currently being finalised by the ministries involved in the education sector) refers to the improvement of access to and equity in education as well as quality and efficiency of education. There is reference to SRGBV through the implementation of a primary retention policy addressing the provision of safer and healthier schooling for pupils through infrastructural interventions (i.e. provision of furniture, water supplies, canteen, and latrines), and strengthening child protection within schools and safety during the travel to and from school. Togo's Education Sector Plan for the 2014-2025 period focuses on improving education access, equity and quality by putting quality and equality at the centre of the educational landscape whilst stressing the use of non-violent pedagogies and gender equality. However, as we discuss further below (section 7), none of the plans include SRGBV indicators in their monitoring frameworks.

While it is commendable that some dimensions of SRGBV are included within the education policies and plans of all four countries, other key components of a comprehensive and multidimensional approach to addressing SRGBV are absent from these plans. The emphasis on reporting and referral systems in all countries signals that responding to abuse is being prioritised, while strategies to prevent sexual harassment, consider the gender dynamics of bullying, coercive sexual relations among teenage young people, and links to gender power inequalities and intersecting inequalities, are not canvassed in the plans. There is some

attention to gender inequalities outside school, for example in relation to practices of child marriage/pregnancy mentioned in Education Sector Plans, but little attention is given to the gender dynamics in school between children, and between members of school communities (teachers, drafters of learning materials, other school employees, members of management committees etc.), that may create the conditions for violence.

Many education sector plans establish monitoring and evaluation frameworks associated with the MDG and now SDG indicator frameworks. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) may provide a stimulus to help policy makers to engage with SRGBV in a more multi-dimensional way. While gender parity in schooling remains a central concern of the education goal, there is also reference to education's role in teaching about gender equality:

4.7 *By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development*.

While the SDGs call for monitoring of teaching around gender equality (SDG 4.7) the indicator for this is currently limited to girls' and boys' attainments in literacy and numeracy. More comprehensive indicators of gender equality in education have been called for and there is a need to trial these at national level as recommended in the UNESCO GEM Gender report (UNESCO, 2016).

Three of the goals – gender, education, and peace – refer explicitly to violence. Target 5.2 is to 'eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls in public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation'. Target 16.2 is to 'end abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children'. Within the education goal, target 4.a is to 'provide safe, non-violent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all' and reference to bullying, corporal punishment, harassment, violence, sexual discrimination and abuse in a thematic indicator (discussed further in section 7 below). There is therefore an intention to address many of the forms of violence in the multi-dimensional model, and to do this through working at the interactional level in schools. However, our scoping studies highlighted the frequent disjunctures between what is written into legal and policy frameworks, and the understanding and enactment of this at national, district and local levels. In the following sections we discuss the central elements which require attention in order to strengthen this process: structures and partnerships, responses and prevention initiatives, and data and evidence.

4. Structures and partnerships for enacting policy

Our analysis concludes that legislative frameworks and Education Sector Plans are necessary but not sufficient to put in place the kinds of comprehensive, multi-sectoral initiatives needed to address the many facets of SRGBV. As the literature review highlighted, there is relatively little evidence around the world examining the processes and structures of policy enactment in relation to SRGBV (Parkes et al., 2016), for example, how policy makers commission, understand or use evidence, or what the most effective channels and methods for implementation are. However, our scoping studies in each country suggest this is an area deserving of attention. Attending to the connections between social development sectors, services and institutions to ensure a coordinated, comprehensive, supported and sustainable approach to addressing SRGBV is vital. To this end, considering the ways in which different countries have sought within and between institutions and organisations to create structures to support policy enactment was investigated.

Thinking about how legislation and policy is enacted from the national, through district or mid-level administration, to the local level, we found several positive examples bringing together actors at the national level to consider issues of SRGBV in different administrative settings. These took different forms, were situated in different institutional locations, and were constituted and managed in different ways, including working groups and committees. The multi-faceted and complex nature of SRGBV necessitates working across sectors and agencies to address the issue, which is inherently challenging. However, in the most promising cases we found structures which enabled state and non-state actors to come together on shared issues, as well as bringing together different government agencies and ministries (including health, justice, education, and gender). In some cases, such as in Togo, this work explicitly took place under the rubric of addressing SRGBV, while in others such as Côte d'Ivoire it was situated under a broader agenda of child protection or gender. Arguably, this titling is not the key factor however, with the space and functionality to address the issue of SRGBV what really matters.

Work in Togo is ongoing following from the 2015 creation of the Sectoral Thematic Group on SRGBV (led by MEPSFP with support from UNICEF) that offers a discussion platform for actors working on SRGBV-related themes. This includes members from the ministry as well as a wide range of NGO partners at national level. According to a number of interviewees this has provided a constructive forum to date for actors to share information, yet work is ongoing to develop it in several important ways. It's proposed that the participant group be widened to include other relevant sectors and ministries such as justice and health. Relatedly, to strengthen the groups' work the need to ensure members can consistently attend and commit time was flagged by interviewees during the scoping study. In part this relates to the formalisation and recognition of the groups' significance – something which is anticipated in 2017 as its current participants develop their terms of reference, organization and a strategic work plan.

During the 2016 scoping studies we found relationships between government and non-government actors, as well as between government ministries to be important. For example, in Zambia stakeholder interviews reported positively that open collaboration between the government and cooperating partners supported better integration and planning of work on education and equalities, including SRGBV. In Togo, overcoming community and religious leaders' resistances addressing harmful practices has been addressed by inviting them to play a major role in societal awareness and the transformation of such practices and traditions. The 2013 *Declaration de Notsè* from the Togolese Forum of Traditional and Religious Leaders is a significant development in this area. This commitment of a wide range of national community actors to tackling harmful sociocultural practices against children led to the stakeholders collaborating in the production of a short document and follow-up local targeted actions. The text was also updated in 2016, illustrating the current concern around violence against children and the role of the community in preventing it.

This example from Togo also illustrates the move downwards to consider the mid and local level of policy enactment. We also found evidence of different structures which could be used to connect and coordinate work on SRGBV. For example, in Ethiopia administrative tiers, which connect federal, regional and local woreda level structures connect the government's attempts to mainstream gender. At national level, responsibility for work on SRGBV within the Ministry of Education rests with their Gender Units; these map on to gender units in Regional Education Bureaux; and at local levels woreda education bureaux have staff designated to be gender focal points. In Côte d'Ivoire regional platforms are spread across the country working on a range of themes, including gender-based violence. This is discussed in more detail in the country scoping studies.

However, these promising beginnings pointed to the need to strengthen such structures. There is a need for resources – of time, funding, and expertise - to make these emergent structures meaningful and sustained. Across the four countries the scoping studies suggest that there is a lack of resources and extra work is being allocated to already stretched specialist as well as non-specialist staff as concern with SRGBV grows. This lack of staff could limit the functionality of such structures, despite their valuable potential in relation to policy enactment and forms of practice. The fact that this was a recurrent issue raised in the interviews and discussions for the scoping studies in all four countries further supports the idea that resources, including staffing, is a valuable area for investment to strengthen policy enactment (Johnson Ross et al., 2017; Parkes et al., 2017c; Parkes et al., 2017b; Westerveld et al., 2017).

Overall, the interviews and discussions within the four scoping studies repeatedly encountered the idea that although there is a rich array of policies, often they are not being enacted consistently at middle or local levels. Addressing this requires attending to the structures, processes and resources in place at national, provincial and local levels – and that these have capacity and resources to draw on insights and appropriate practice across all sectors and actors of relevance. Evidence from the scoping studies suggests there are interesting and positive developments taking place in this area (such as groups bringing together stakeholders on this topic) but that it also requires considerable attention to capitalise on this potential. This will require institutional spaces for focused collaboration on the topic; attention to the connections between ministries and sectors (which can be

particularly challenging); information, resources and training for staff at different levels including the provincial and local. Strategically, it may not require creating new structures or processes – but attending to how and where SRGBV can be folded within what is existing and functional, and strengthening the staff deployment, training, reporting and reflecting processes associated with this. We now turn to consider a closely connected area, the practical initiatives and approaches which have been employed to address SRGBV.

5. Responses: in and around school

The definition of SRGBV this initiative has worked with highlights how it entails attention both to policies and practices in school and around school. As section 3 outlines, a key feature of policy development in the four countries has focused on improving responses of schools and child protection agencies to SRGBV, and more specifically to child sex abuse. Prioritising these interventions is important in view of the silences that still surround violence, particularly sexual violence, as articulated by many interviewees across the four countries (Johnson Ross et al., 2017; Parkes et al., 2017c; Parkes et al., 2017b; Westerveld et al., 2017). The scoping studies identified how girls and boys were reluctant to report violence for fear of repercussions, or because of lack of knowledge about or access to support services. Some interviewees told of cases where reports were not followed up because violence was seen as a private family matter, or because school staff colluded with violence perpetrated by colleagues by staying silent, or that local political leaders may be implicated and make arbitrary decisions on dropping cases (Johnson Ross et al., 2017; Parkes et al., 2017c; Parkes et al., 2017b; Westerveld et al., 2017). Underlying many of the concerns was that routine acts of harassment were taken for granted and viewed as acceptable. Work on strengthening reporting and responses following violence has therefore been underway in schools and communities in the four countries.

At school level, a key intervention in Ethiopia, Côte d'Ivoire and Zambia has been the development of codes of conduct for school staff.

Ethiopia's Code of Conduct on Prevention of School-Related Gender-Based Violence in Schools was developed by the MOE with UNICEF's technical and financial support in 2014, and is now in its pilot phase. A booklet for schools defines SRGBV by school staff or pupils, provides guidance on appropriate sanctions for 'light' and 'grave' gender-based violence, and on school based procedures, including the establishment of SRGBV Committees comprised of pupils (including gender club members), teachers, parents, administration and leadership. The code was developed through a consultative process, and has been adapted and translated into several local languages, and begun to be operationalised in three provinces. There has also been work to build awareness of the code through the media, and through school based 'mini-media' (when children share information with peers through theatre, poems, posters etc.). Implementation has, however, been patchy, with by 2016 uneven distribution of the booklets to schools, some school staff and parents reportedly lacking commitment or a sense of 'ownership', and a need to tie the code more closely to other disciplinary procedures in schools and referral systems outside schools. Reviewing the pilot will help UNICEF and the MOE to build on this promising approach to a school based intervention.

While in Ethiopia, the code of conduct focuses specifically on SRGBV by teachers as well as pupils, in Zambia the Code of Ethics for the Teaching Profession (2016), which has been developed in close collaboration with teacher unions, addresses child abuse by teachers.

Information about procedures for responding to abuse are conveyed to schools through guidelines on guidance and counselling. In Côte d'Ivoire, the *Arrêté n° 0111111 MEN/CAB du 24/12/2014, concernant le code de conduite des personnels des structures publiques et privées relevant du MEN* (MEN's 'Code of Conduct for staff in public and private structures') stipulates sanctions in the cases of corporal or psychological punishment, alongside forbidding sexual relations and harassment, fondling, corruption towards students' progression and physical assaults. There have not yet been evaluations of the implementation of these codes.

The provision of services outside school to deal with SRGBV was a concern in all four countries, and a range of initiatives have been implemented to strengthen community-based responses. In Togo, centres of support for victims of violence have been set up in some parts of the country, at different points in time, led by NGOs and government actors. In Côte d'Ivoire, multi-sectoral community and listening centres have been established by both state and non-state organisations to support victims, offering support for psycho-social, health, welfare and justice concerns. In Zambia, victim support units in major police stations have been established since 1999, including officers with special training in gender, rights and law. One stop centres in Zambia and Ethiopia also provide multi-disciplinary services to victims of violence, and have been evaluated and praised for their comprehensive provision of support (UN Women, 2016; USAID, 2010).

One stop centres provide integrated, multi-disciplinary services to survivors of GBV, offering medical, legal and mental health services within one location – usually in or near a public health facility. In Zambia, there have been some positive evaluations of their effectiveness. One study compared three delivery models– those based in and run by hospitals, those based in health facilities but as separate centres run by NGOs, and those run by NGOs as stand-alone facilities (Keesbury et al., 2012). The study found that the hospital 'owned' facilities offered the broadest range of health and legal outcomes for survivors. The study found that though many GBV cases reached these one stop centres, few were processed through the criminal justice system, and better integration of medico-legal and police services was recommended, including child-friendly, child protective services for children. Interviewees in Zambia's scoping study praised the timely assistance to survivors provided by some of these coordinated, integrated services, particularly in urban areas. However, with only 28 one stop centres across the county, many people are unable to access them because of the distance from their homes, particularly in rural areas. With outreach funded by UN bodies and NGOs, there remain questions about their long term sustainability once funding ceases.

Shortages of budgets, uneven provision of services particularly in rural areas, and diversity of service providers, was an issue across the four countries. The need to develop well-coordinated low cost interventions at community level, for example through strengthened training and support for community based health workers, remains a major challenge.

Another approach used in all four countries to increasing violence reporting is call lines. In Togo UNICEF staff reported that the 'Allo 1011' national help line since 2009 has enabled young people and adults to call anonymously to report abuse, receiving an average of 8,000

calls per month. In 2016 it helped identify and assist 1,191 child victims of violence and abuse in Lomé and its surroundings, of whom 2/3 were girls. Côte d'Ivoire's national help line, '*Allo 116 Enfants en détresse*' was set up in 2013 to reach children for gender based violence. Zambia's Childline/Lifeline received 137,000 calls on gender-based violence and violence against children on their toll free line in 2015. Interviewees in Zambia reported that the service also involves visiting schools to promote the service, but that the extent of outreach is constrained by donor requirements and funding limitations. The volume of calls suggests that the confidentiality of these helplines is supporting many young people to speak about violence. However, coverage tends to be better in urban areas, with lack of access to electricity restricting many people's access in rural areas.

Use of technology in interventions such as these lend themselves readily to monitoring and evaluation, and the call lines routinely analyse data about their calls, and use this to inform their planning. U-Report is another intervention in Zambia, established in 2012, that uses phones, supported by UNICEF working with several NGOs. This is a mobile phone service with adolescents, and involves sending messages by texts on sexual reproductive health, or HIV prevention. As well as messaging, this provides an excellent information gathering tool, as polls are carried out using texting.

These initiatives indicate the considerable efforts underway in the four countries to improve reporting, referral systems, and responses to SRGBV. Their key concerns are to ensure that individual cases of child abuse are followed up. They do little, however, to prevent violence through addressing the roots in inequalities, norms, exclusion and stigma. There are however, many initiatives in the four countries that do focus on prevention, to which we now turn.

6. Prevention: Safe, gender equitable schools through curriculum, teaching and learning

Improving referral and responses following violence is important for addressing serious incidents of violence, and crucial in relation to child sex abuse. As discussed in section 2, other approaches may be needed to address other everyday practices of violence, for example, focusing on preventing sexual harassment or bullying between children through work at the interactional level to generate more equitable, inclusive relationships, or preventing corporal punishment through work with teachers or parents on positive discipline. The global literature review identified effective preventive work in schools as characterised by some distinctive elements: they enabled the participants, whether children or adults, to reflect on and build critical consciousness on identities, norms and inequalities shaping violence; they also helped to build practical knowledge about actions to prevent SRGBV; and they included participatory processes of reflection on the learning environment, including monitoring and reviewing interventions (Parkes et al., 2016). In this section, we consider how these elements were combined in preventive interventions in the four countries, and how they operated to prevent the multiple forms of violence.

Examination of the preventive work taking place on some facet of SRGBV across the four countries found a wide and varied range of actors, approaches and topics being addressed in different contexts. This included work with teacher training and new pedagogies, work focused on young people such as safe spaces and clubs, and work seeking to simultaneously combine multiple approaches and actors. This was heartening to see, and reflected considerable positive attention being focused on SRGBV prevention. However, we found a marked lack of related evidence or research on these initiatives which makes it difficult to evaluate and compare the efficacy of much of what has and is being carried out. Relatedly, the question of consistency and sustainability of programmatic work over the longer term is another key area requiring attention.

Teachers are central actors in producing and sustaining safe and gender equitable learning environments, and we found promising examples of work being undertaken in this area – for example specialist training in relation to non-violent or gender sensitive pedagogies in Togo, or in relation to specific curriculum areas addressing SRGBV such as Comprehensive Sexuality Education, and Guidance and Counselling in Zambia. In Togo, work has taken place to develop a training module and guidance for teachers on SRGBV:

> *The Ministère des Enseignements primaire et secondaire et la formation professionelle* (MEPSFP) in collaboration with UNICEF and other organisations has devised and implemented a training module and guidance for teachers specifically on SRGBV, '*Protection des enfants contre les violences en milieu scolaire y compris celles basées sur le genre: Manuel harmonisé de formation des enseignants*'. This collaboration reviewed existing modules and trainings to bring together existing resources and learning from both NGOs and government. Trainings on the harmonised module were initiated in 2016 throughout the country's 6 regions but our scoping study research suggests the coverage does not yet reach all regions. A discussion is currently taking place (2017) on how to deliver this training across the country to maximise information sharing and training across school staff, as well as plans to adapt it to parents and communities (through CBOs, COGEP, cultural, traditional and religious leaders, and parents' associations). This is a live development in the work of the Sectoral Thematic Group on SRGBV, and has the potential to connect training (across sectors) on SRGBV within a broader child protection framework.

The majority of initiatives examined within the four scoping studies focused on *working with young people* in some capacity – providing them with skills, information and support. This included a range of different types of clubs (for girls, mothers or girls, boys, and different topics including gender and peace). Other approaches include the creation of safe spaces for young people, who may or may not be particularly at risk, and work to create media outputs related to the topics at hand. Particularly interesting work has been developed in Zambia by FAWEZA working with boys and girls in different capacities:

> The Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) works across several countries in Africa, including Togo, Ethiopia and Zambia. In Zambia FAWEZA has developed interesting work with boys, which is relatively unusual in this area. Their Boys' Forums work with groups to change their attitudes in relation to women. Boys meet together to undertake fun and informative activities, including topics such as hygiene, relationships and sexuality. However, this is a relatively recent development for FAWEZA, so more information is needed to evaluate and understand the effectiveness of this initiative. However, it represents a valuable strand of such work, recognising the multifaceted and relational nature of gender and SRGBV.
>
> FAWEZA has also developed pioneering work with girls, including their Safe Spaces programme. This involves groups of girls meeting weekly with 'mother mentors' who support them to discuss issues and responses in relation to GBV, but also to have fun and undertake constructive activities. They employ innovative methodologies that have promise in relation to SRGBV, such as working with the young people to map out their physical environment in relation to safety, and develop action plans to improve this, used as the basis to lobby for change at the school and community level. This sort of approach illustrates several important strands from the cross-cutting framework: involving critical reflection and consciousness, and facilitating an inclusive and participatory approach in change-making towards creating and sustaining a GBV free environment.

Another area in which we found significant work of relevance taking place was programmes seeking to engage with *whole schools or multiple audiences, locations and methods* simultaneously. This included initiatives like the implementation of 150 Child Friendly Schools in Côte d'Ivoire which aims to support safe, violence free schools and includes measures relating to gender and SRGBV within this. Child friendly school initiatives work at the interactional level to build relationships in school that are inclusive, effective for learning, healthy and protective, gender-sensitive and involved with children, their families and communities. Related work has taken place in other countries including Togo, with Plan implementing Girl Friendly Schools and BØRNEfonden's work *Promotion d'un environnement épanouissant pour l'éducation et l'apprentissage des enfants et jeunes.* The evaluation of this multifaceted initiative found a significant reduction in violence across the three areas engaged with - school, apprenticeship centres, and the community. There is a range of broader gender empowerment initiatives, which include safe spaces as part of a broader programme. For example, the Population Council, in partnership with the Young Women's

Christian Association of Zambia (YWCA-Zambia), implemented an Adolescent Girls Empowerment Programme with 10,000 girls in rural and urban Zambia between 2013 and 2016. The programme was designed to find the best way to improve girls' social, health and economic resources so that they can stay in school longer, avoid early marriages and delay sexual activities to prevent unintended pregnancy, HIV/AIDS and other STIs, and included weekly 'safe space' girls group meetings led by young women from the community. The full impact of the programme will be better understood when the final evaluation is completed in 2017. IRC in Côte d'Ivoire has been developing an interesting pilot in three high schools specifically focused on SRGBV prevention and reporting, that works with pupils, teachers and communities – evidence on how this develops will add usefully to our understanding of initiatives of this type. This speaks to the value highlighted in the global literature review – of the need for multi-faceted and connected approaches to addressing SRGBV in order to create sustainable change.

These initiatives connect with our cross-cutting framework for approaches to practice on SRGBV. In relation to the different *actors and levels* involved, it is positive that different strata are being engaged with – ranging from girls and boys to teachers, the wider community, and district and national actors. However, the distribution amongst these is not even, and there are areas (such as the level of provincial and national level actors) where more attention could be valuably channelled in order to ensure the efficacy of enactment more widely. The notion of programmes involving *reflection and critical consciousness* on identities, norms and inequalities seemed to be evident to some extent in initiatives – for example with clubs enabling girls and boys to reflect on gender and relationships. However, the efficacy of such work is highly dependent on its facilitation and delivery – and thus in many cases, evaluation of such work is required to assess and build on this positive potential, as we discuss further below in section 7.3. In terms of the *coordination and connections* between sectors, services and institutions – there is again a mixed picture with some examples of state and non-state actors from different areas working together. However, this was evidently not always the case, and it was often hard for example to gain a clear picture of what exactly was being delivered and where by different actors – suggesting scope for duplication – and also a need for greater attention to consistency and sustainability, for example in expanding on the work of a successful NGO pilot or progamme such as those highlighted above. The question of how to ensure learning and positive developments from successful work is rolled out or folded into existing national institutions is of central importance here.

7. Data and evidence

The Global Literature Review highlighted the conceptual, methodological and ethical challenges in researching SRGBV, which has limited policy enactment globally. Linked to this is an absence of global and national SRGBV monitoring frameworks (Parkes, 2016). The SDG indicator framework is likely to influence national work on tracking SRGBV in the coming years, with a thematic global indicator on the "percentage of students experiencing bullying, corporal punishment, harassment, violence, sexual discrimination and abuse", and a Global Working Group led by UNGEI is looking to develop measurement approaches to SRGBV (see for example USAID (2016). There is still considerable work to be done in enabling policy actors to draw from robust evidence from a range of sources that reflect multidimensional framing of SRGBV, linking violent acts with the norms and inequalities surrounding these acts across a range of settings, and how policy and programmes are addressing violence. There is scope to develop monitoring frameworks that aim to capture this multidimensional framing. There are similar challenges across the four countries. Education Sector Plans and related action plans sometimes discuss SRGBV, but there are no related indicators to monitor performance. But there are some interesting initiatives and examples of promising practice in evidence creation and use that merit further investigation and development.

There are three types of evidence that are particularly useful for governments to make decisions on SRGBV. Firstly, evidence is needed that can help understand the nature of SRGBV and how it is shaped by national and local norms, and by structural conditions and relationships. Secondly, monitoring data is needed to inform government of the existence and functioning of planned initiatives, such as programmes in schools (e.g. girls clubs, sex education) or response and reporting systems. Thirdly, evaluations or impact assessments of interventions (by government, NGOs and partnerships) are needed to understand their effectiveness and help with future planning. There are some challenges – and opportunities – in both the existence and quality of data available in these three areas, and in structures and capacity to use data to inform decision making at multiple levels.

7.1 Research evidence on understanding patterns, manifestations and contexts of SRGBV

Evidence is needed that can help understand what SRGBV is occurring, where, to whom, by whom and how SRGBV is shaped by norms around gender, sexuality and childhood, and by structural and local conditions such as poverty and conflict. These can help understand the nature of SRGBV, what root causes are important to address and how to target interventions or shape policy. Research studies/surveys are the key sources of this evidence. The evidence base across the 5 domains of SRGBV presented in our model of SRGBV (figure 2 in section 2 above) is uneven, with for example more studies available on intimate partner violence (although usually not linked to younger girls or schooling) than in other areas, such as bullying and sexual harassment.

There are a few examples of **quantitative surveys** undertaken, which are important for monitoring trends and patterns in SRGBV, and especially useful for identifying **acts of violence**. However, many of the surveys (e.g. Save the Children & ACPF, 2005; BORNEfonden, 2012; Topp et al., 2012) tend to frame prevalence questions around physical, sexual or psychological violence, which do not map well onto forms of SRGBV depicted in figure 2 (see section 2 above). It is useful to identify the 5 forms separately as they have different underpinnings, perpetrators and prevention and response strategies.

The survey earmarked to measure the SDG indicator on safe schools globally is the Global School-based Health Survey, but this has not been undertaken in any of the countries except Zambia, and this was in 2004 and contained some methodological difficulties. Demographic Health Surveys are the only source of comparable evidence across the four countries, and one of the few that monitor violence periodically. Although the surveys are rigorous and representative of the national population, questions are oriented towards IPV, and mostly on violence experienced after the age of 15, and not linked to schooling. The related Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) (in Togo and Côte d'Ivoire) captures some data on physical discipline against children at home, but this is collected from the perspective of mothers.

Other surveys oriented more towards SRGBV in the four countries have been standalone studies, so will not monitor trends, or changes in children's lives. They tend to be either located in one area, so not nationally representative, or use samples not large enough to allow much disaggregation, as for example in the H-Well survey. DHS and other data sources sometimes find large variances between demographic groups, for example by region, urban/rural location, religion, wealth and education, and it is very important to be able to disaggregate data on SRGBV in order to inform and develop targeted interventions.

The H-well (Health and Wellbeing) survey in Zambia (Together for Girls, 2014) is a robust example of survey data, in terms of gathering relevant data on SRGBV and using a rigorous methodology. It captures some aspects of norms surrounding violence as well as violence prevalence. However, the survey could increase its usefulness for work on SRGBV by tailoring some questions to the school context and expanding the sample to allow disaggregation. It is not clear if or when H-Well will be repeated, but since it is part of the Violence Against Children Surveys that are being rolled out across several countries the potential is there for trend and global analysis.

One of the biggest challenges in SRGBV evidence creation is the extreme difficulty in gaining consistent and reliable quantitative data on gender violence. There are no agreed definitions of what constitutes different forms of violence and which aspects are important to gather (for example, experience in the past week, year or ever) (Leach, 2015; UNICEF, 2014). Stigma related to violence and sexuality play an important role in what is disclosed, for example where girls having sexual knowledge is seen to be shameful (Kebede et al., 2014). Tendencies to understand and acknowledge certain acts as violence can also vary across populations. This

can be contextually specific, so for example more educated girls and women, or those in urban locations, may be more exposed to discourse on human rights and less restrictive social norms, which could make them more likely to disclose violence than those in more remote, or more conservative communities (Leach, 2015). Thus it is important to invest sufficiently in quality SRGBV research, and important for multiple sources of data to be examined critically to gain a comprehensive and accurate picture of SRGBV.

Quantitative studies tend to tap more into evidence on acts of violence and less on **gender identities, norms and institutions and structures producing violence**. Some **qualitative studies** have shed more light on these aspects, as they often look closely at how violence is shaped in the context of the study, for example how poverty and gender norms produce exploitative sexual relationships. These kinds of studies can provide great insights into understanding underlying roots of SRGBV and thus how to challenge SRGBV, and can particularly help in designing effective preventive efforts and there is a need for work on these themes to be commissioned.

Young Lives is an excellent example of high quality research that is underway in four countries, including Ethiopia (Pankhurst et al., 2016). Its comprehensive look at childhood and rigorous longitudinal mixed methodology has enabled childhood poverty to be better understood, and also generated insights into how violence can be embedded in the conditions in children's lives, tracking the experiences of a significant cohort of children over several years.

However, we found almost no research focusing on groups who may have specific experiences and needs around SRGBV, for example refugees in Ethiopia.

Studies did not tend to investigate relationships between SRGBV and interventions taking place, unless they were specific evaluations of programmes (discussed in 7.3), with one or two exceptions. UNESCO's quantitative baseline study on Comprehensive Sexuality Education in Zambia was able to link SRGBV experienced with inputs – in this case whether schools had been teaching forms of sex education (UNESCO, 2014). There is value in doing more of this – taking into account how prevention or response initiatives, policies or structures interact with SRGBV.

Whilst qualitative studies are highly valuable to gain closer understanding of SRGBV in context, surveys have further potential to better capture links between violent acts, and the norms and inequalities surrounding these acts, to provide further evidence on patterns across countries. Enabling policy actors to use evidence from qualitative as well as quantitative studies can help to build more contextualized understandings of policy enactment.

7.2 Monitoring data

Monitoring data collected by governments and NGOs can inform government of the existence and functioning of policy enactment and planned initiatives, such as programmes in schools

(girls clubs, sex education) or response and reporting systems, and potentially feed into national monitoring frameworks. There are various systems in operation in each country to record and compile data linked to policy initiatives. These provide information about the functioning of reporting systems in and outside school, and monitor the existence of prevention initiatives across the country. Whilst the existence and quality of monitoring data is patchy, there have been efforts to address these areas across the four countries.

Limited functioning of **reporting systems and referral pathways outside the education system** are reflected in limitations in data available. Whilst there are some interesting efforts and initiatives to improve coordination and service delivery, we were not able to access data that could tell us about the functioning of reporting and referral systems linked to police, justice, health and other support services. There are some useful data collected by specific interventions, such as one stop centres in Zambia, and phone help lines, but the data can be difficult to access outside the organisations. They present an opportunity to better understand the nature of violence cases and demographics of callers, but data needs to be made available.

Schools could record and track violence cases, which could be monitored through **Education Management Information Systems** (EMIS), but there are many challenges. Currently Ethiopia is the only one of the four countries that have introduced such a system. The Violence Reporting Template is designed to be completed each term in each school, detailing number of cases of different forms of violence, perpetrators and outcomes of cases. The tool is likely to be helping to keep SRGBV on the agenda for action in schools and interviewees in the scoping study reported that in some locations it was being used to target school support. There is potential for this tool to be developed and adapted for use in other countries. Some adaptations to the tool format and development of guidance for completion would help enhance data quality and usefulness. The approach to data compilation at district and provincial levels could also be looked at, and it may be possible to summarise data in a more meaningful way.

Whilst those cases reported to police and support services tend to be the more extreme cases of violence (rape, child sexual abuse and severe physical attack), the telephone support lines are likely to deal with a broader representation of SRGBV experienced by children, and the Violence Reporting Tool in Ethiopia is designed to collect data on all forms of SRGBV including the more 'everyday' types. In reality those types of violence that are more normative and 'everyday' – such as verbal sexual harassment, bullying and corporal punishment - are less likely to be reported and thus recorded through these systems.

There are also questions about how recording systems in and outside schools could be better aligned or linked to address SRGBV. For example, justice systems could capture whether the victim was at school, or under 18, or whether they were referred from school; schools could record whether cases were referred to formal channels. There may be particular opportunities to do this. For example, Togo has a 'Child Protection Dashboard' which collects data on sentencing and charging of violence against children cases. This is led by the child protection unit within the Ministry of Women and Social Affairs in partnership with the national statistics agency, but it is not clear whether or how it links to education.

A risk of emphasis on monitoring response data is that efforts are oriented towards reacting to violence rather than working to address the root causes of violence. **EMIS can monitor implementation of more preventive efforts**, such as whether schools have in place Comprehensive Sexuality Education lessons, SRGBV code of conduct, girls/gender clubs, teachers trained in gender responsive pedagogy and separate functioning toilets. Zambia's EMIS captures many of these facets, but we were not able to access data to assess quality and see how data was used. There were reports from interviewees for the scoping studies that some issues related to child protection were captured in Côte d'Ivoire and some aspects of gender-sensitive schooling in Ethiopia (Parkes et al., 2017b; Westerveld et al., 2017).

Despite challenges of data monitoring, there is potential for national governments to develop indicators and appropriate systems to better capture efforts taking place in and around schools and develop insights for practice from this.

7.3 Evaluating interventions

Evaluations or impact assessments can complement monitoring data (discussed in 7.2) to help to better understand the *effectiveness* of interventions led by government, NGOs and partnerships. They can provide evidence on how, why, where and with whom they may be effective and enable effective planning for scale up or adaptation of prevention programmes. In the area of response and reporting approaches they could look at for example what prevents young people from reporting violence, what supports them to do so, how police, health and other services do or do not provide female- and child-friendly services, how and why reporting and response varies for different forms of SRGBV, and what are the key barriers or supportive functions that determine whether cases continue through the justice system. Apart from one or two exceptions such as research by UN Women in Ethiopia on support services for female victims of violence (UN Women, 2016) and Population Council research on One Stop Centres in Zambia (Keesbury et al., 2012) there was a shortage of this kind of evidence.

As discussed in section 6 above, there are a range of interesting initiatives aimed at preventing SRGBV through creating safer and more gender sensitive schooling. However, with a few exceptions such as BORNEfonden's programme to improve school environments in Togo (2012) and Population Council/YWCA's girls' empowerment programme in Zambia (Austrian et al., 2016) evaluations have not been available. Evidence should increase as some recent/ongoing programmes should be evaluated in the coming years, but it is important that this is the case for all programmes, that evaluations should be robust and should be made available.

7.4 Evidence use in decision making

As shown in figure 1 above (section 1), our global literature review identified promising approaches in policy enactment on SRGBV that work at multiple levels, from programming in schools to national level government structures. These include the capacity to draw on robust, contextually sensitive evidence addressing inclusion and inequalities, and spaces to reflect on and review policy enactment, including using M&E data (Parkes et al., 2016).

At the national level there were some examples of the creation of spaces used to reflect on evidence and feed into decision making, including spaces centred around specific surveys/research. For example, in Zambia, the H-Well Survey, drawing on an approach used in other countries using Violence Against Children surveys (Together for Girls (2014), has developed a multi-sectoral steering group to guide the development of the study, ensure strong buy-in from the start, and oversee a process of reflecting on findings and building into planning processes across sectors with the help of a toolkit (Chiang et al., 2016).

Another example is the Child Research and Practice Forum in Ethiopia, which brings together researchers, policymakers and development partners to share and learn from research evidence at monthly meetings. These are excellent initiatives and there are opportunities to expand their impact. For example, in Zambia the group looking at H-Well findings could also bring in other sources of evidence, such as from EMIS or other research, to reflect on and feed into planning. The forum in Ethiopia could have a role in assisting in developing national evidence and monitoring approaches. There are multisectoral groups focused on SRGBV in some countries such as Togo, which would be well placed to further engage with evidence and feed into planning. Similar initiatives could be developed at provincial level, using local data and research/evaluation evidence, which could help in decentralised planning, especially when provinces need to address specific localised issues such as FGM or SRGBV affecting refugees.

Evidence has potential to be a powerful shaper of action at the local level too, as that is where much policy enactment takes place. There are sources of evidence at school and community level, such as data on violence reported and action taken in schools and through police and support referral systems, and data on whether schools are implementing key policy initiatives through EMIS. There are also other valuable potential sources of data linked to local initiatives, particularly NGO programmes, or research projects. For example, FAWE use innovative participatory methods in their programmes in schools in Zambia and Ethiopia to engage young people and others in collecting evidence and planning action locally. This has included pupils mapping out where dangerous places are in the community, completing a checklist for investigation to identify problems in schools, and using Score Cards to feedback on improvements needed in school environments and gender score cards for communities (Parkes et al., 2017c). These forms of evidence are shared with relevant groups, such as school leadership or community groups, to reflect on and plan local action. There are government structures (with various levels of functionality) at local level with mandate to address issues linked to SRGBV (including GBV Platforms of Action in Côte d'Ivoire, Village Development Committees in Togo, and school SRGBV committees and 'five-to-one armies' in Ethiopia) and there is scope to strengthen these groups to bring local level stakeholders together, draw on evidence sources, aid dialogue and reflect and plan action on SRGBV both inside and outside schools, with potential to feed up to policy decisions.

However, those involved would need to be supported in interpreting data and evaluating its quality (as well as in collecting data where relevant). For example, data on numbers of cases reported to schools, police or other institutions may erroneously be seen as reflecting

prevalence. Often awareness/prevention work and strengthening of response systems can increase reporting rates and may well indicate increasingly responsive institutions. Also important is looking at what is *not* reported and whether this is because there are barriers to reporting. At all levels where fora work to examine and use evidence to inform policy enactment there is scope to enhance capacity in evaluating and using research, especially since we have seen that it is extremely challenging to conduct robust, ethical research on SRGBV.

8. Conclusion and recommendations

Across the four countries, comprehensive legislative and policy frameworks have developed to address SRGBV, and this report has documented the range of efforts to ensure their effective enactment at national, provincial and local levels. At local levels, initiatives have been established in schools and communities both to respond more effectively to violence, and to prevent SRGBV through addressing its many dimensions and roots in structural inequalities, discriminatory norms, exclusions and stigma. The need for laws, policies and programmes to draw more effectively on data and evidence to ensure that child rights and gender equality orientations are realised in practice is a recurring theme, as is the importance of using a holistic, multi-dimensional perspective on SRGBV to guide policy and practice. Distilling the evidence across the scoping studies has enabled us to revise the cross-cutting approaches from the global literature review (figure 1), and to construct a new action map on SRGBV. Figure 3 presents the action map we have developed through our reflections on the scoping studies.

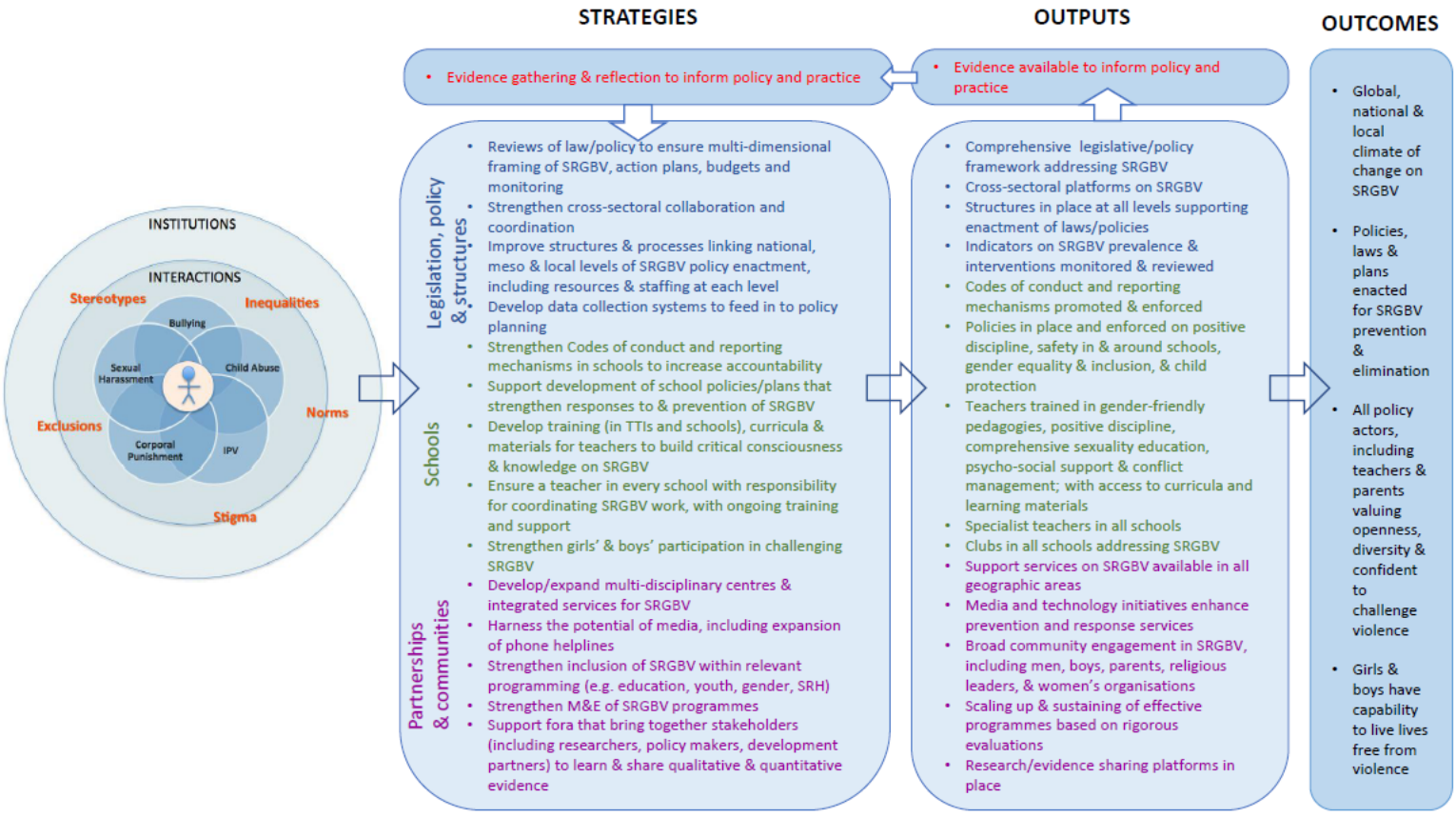


Figure 3: An Action map on SRGBV

The action map on SRGBV outlines a range of strategies drawn from this cross-country analysis of the scoping studies to address multi-dimensional violence. The strategies have been clustered as relating to legislation, policy and structures; to schools, including teachers, girls and boys and other members of school communities; and to communities outside school and partnerships. All these strategies need to be informed by evidence gathering and

reflection, as depicted in the box above. Each strategy maps on to an output, which should also generate further evidence to inform policy and practice. Collectively these strategies and outputs aim to produce the longer term outcomes depicted in the final box.

The following recommendations are intended to help inform further actions for governments and other stakeholders to address SRGBV both within the EGVS partnership, and with potential to influence work in many other countries.

TO SUPPORT WORK LINKED TO LAWS AND POLICIES:

- Conduct situation analyses to inform planning through mapping: (a) the context of SRGBV in a range of different settings, including patterns of violence (including child abuse, corporal punishment, sexual harassment, bullying and IPV), socio-economic, gendered and educational inequalities, norms and material hardships that create the conditions for SRGBV; and (b) map existing strategies underway and their effectiveness to prevent and respond to SRGBV. A theory of change may help to identify where there are weaknesses and gaps, and the action map presented above (figure 3) may be a useful resource for this.
- Ensure that reviews of laws and policies address the multi-dimensional features of SRGBV and support gender equality, women's rights and child rights; articulate with existing legislation and policy (avoiding duplication and overlap); have comprehensive action plans, budgets, support for continuous professional training and support, and plans for distribution and monitoring across different population groups and local settings.
- Ensure that education sector plans address multiple dimensions of SRGBV, including prevention as well as response, and include indicators on SRGBV within their M&E frameworks.
- Build and strengthen cross-sectoral platforms at national and regional/provincial levels bringing together governmental agencies and ministries, and non-state actors for better integration and planning of SRGBV work.
- Strengthen structures and processes linking national, provincial and local levels of policy enactment on SRGBV; e.g. mainstreaming SRGBV responsibilities within well established, existing supporting structures; and ensuring that specialised staff at each level have resources, support and capacity to enact policies at all levels of administration.

TO SUPPORT WORK IN SCHOOLS:

- Conduct school-based situation analysis, with participation of all members of school communities, to assess safety and inclusiveness of school, and environment around school.
- Develop reporting mechanisms in schools to increase accountability, including professional codes of conduct for school staff that provide clear guidance, are promoted and enforced.
- Develop school policies with clear guidance for all members of school communities on responsibilities and actions to take following SRGBV, including reporting systems

for children, support for children, disciplinary procedures in school, parental engagement, referral procedures to external agencies; and mechanisms to feed through to preventive work in schools e.g. staff training in classroom management.

- Build preventive work into school improvement plans, including positive discipline, strengthening safety in and around schools, inclusion and gender equality learning materials and pedagogies.
- Strengthen pre-service and in-service training for teachers on SRGBV, including positive discipline, gender- and child-friendly pedagogies, comprehensive sexuality education, psycho-social support and conflict management. Work with teacher unions and other professional bodies to ensure sustained work on these themes.
- Support specialist teachers in every school, with recognition, support and resources for their work linked to SRGBV, including guidance and counselling, gender, sexual and reproductive health; and establish teacher support networks.
- Develop and disseminate curriculum and teaching materials on SRGBV, gender, sexual and reproductive health etc. to schools, clubs, teacher development and school management committees.
- Strengthen girls' and boys' participation in challenging SRGBV, e.g. through provision of clubs, including girls' and gender clubs, that provide safe spaces for knowledge building, critical reflection and empowerment in relation to SRGBV, relationships and sexuality; address ways to institutionalise these, ensuring sustainability and coordination of provision, and facilitation by trained, supported staff.

TO SUPPORT WORK IN COMMUNITIES:

- Conduct community-based situation analysis, with participation of wide range of community members, religious groups and CBOs, to assess context of SRGBV and existing strategies on safety, equality and inclusiveness and how to sustain these.
- Explore potential for expansion of multi-disciplinary centres that bring together psycho-social, health, welfare and justice to provide gender- and child-friendly, coordinated, integrated services. Where these may not be feasible, e.g. in remote rural areas, strengthen outreach services, including well trained, supported and resourced community based health workers.
- Harness potential of media, including work to broaden access to telephone help lines, working with phone service providers, funders, media, support services/agencies to ensure services are widely known and accessible, and can be used as platforms for information and guidance.
- Strengthen inclusion of SRGBV within multi-dimensional programmes, including programmes on girls'/women's empowerment, parenting programmes, and those engaging men and boys in gender equality.

TO SUPPORT USE OF DATA AND EVIDENCE:

- Work to identify and support a rigorous survey that can measure multidimensional SRGBV at regular intervals, and including, where possible, patterns across demographic groups/locations. The survey should aim to identify where

intersectional inequalities may be associated with higher levels of violence, such as among girls or boys with disabilities.

- Improve and increase rigorous evaluations assessing the effectiveness of SRGBV interventions, and making these available to inform future related work.
- Conduct further investigation into how EMIS and other data systems, e.g. linked to digital platforms, could be used to enhance SRGBV data availability and quality.
- Capacity building to enhance key actors' (for example, policy makers, civil servants, teachers, administrators, health workers) skills in evaluating, interpreting and using evidence.
- Support fora that bring together researchers, policymakers and other development partners to learn about qualitative and quantitative evidence produced across the country and elsewhere, and support multi-sectoral groups looking at SRGBV to use evidence in decision making.
- Build cross-national dialogue on evidence, through for example, regional reviews of SRGBV related work.
- Develop structures to facilitate evidence examination and action planning at local levels, building on existing formal structures linked to decentralised processes and informal ones, linking with community based organisations and NGO interventions where relevant and across government sectors.

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