Children's Experience of and Perpetration of Violence in Schools

Baseline Evaluation of a Peace Education and Prevention of Violence Program in Jawzjan province, Afghanistan



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Children's Experience of and Perpetration of Violence: Baseline Evaluation of a Peace Education and Prevention of Violence Program in Jawzjan Province, Afghanistan

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

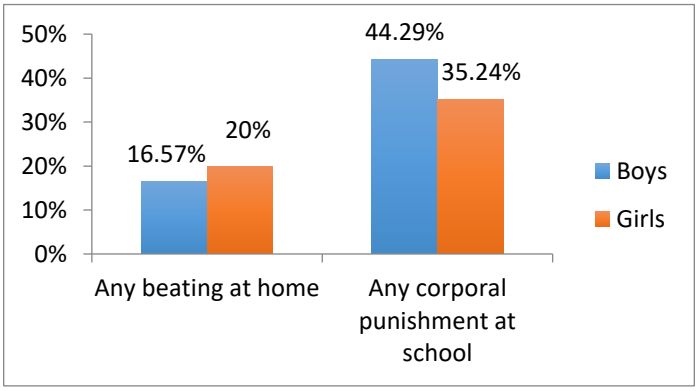
This report presents the findings of a baseline study conducted to evaluate a peace education and prevention of violence intervention implemented by Help the Afghan Children (HTAC) in Jawzjan province, Afghanistan. This intervention is being implemented and evaluated as part of the What Works to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls? Global Programme, funded by UK aid.

HTAC's intervention aims to prevent violence perpetrated against children and between children by implementing peace education programming in schools and communities based on a comprehensive peace education curriculum and complemented by interventions aimed to reduce teacher use of corporal punishment, and work with families and communities to promote more equitable gender norms and reduce the use of violence against women and children.

The baseline study involved surveying 770 students (350 boys and 420 girls) in grades seven and eight, and 400 teachers (85 male teachers and 315 female teachers), in 11 schools in Jawzjan province where HTAC is implementing its peace education curriculum.

The baseline findings indicate that children's experience of violence at home and at school is highly prevalent. A fifth of girls and a slightly smaller proportion of boys reported having experienced any physical beating at home in the past month, and more than a third of girls and an even higher proportion of boys reported having experienced corporal punishment by teachers at school in the past month (Figure 1).

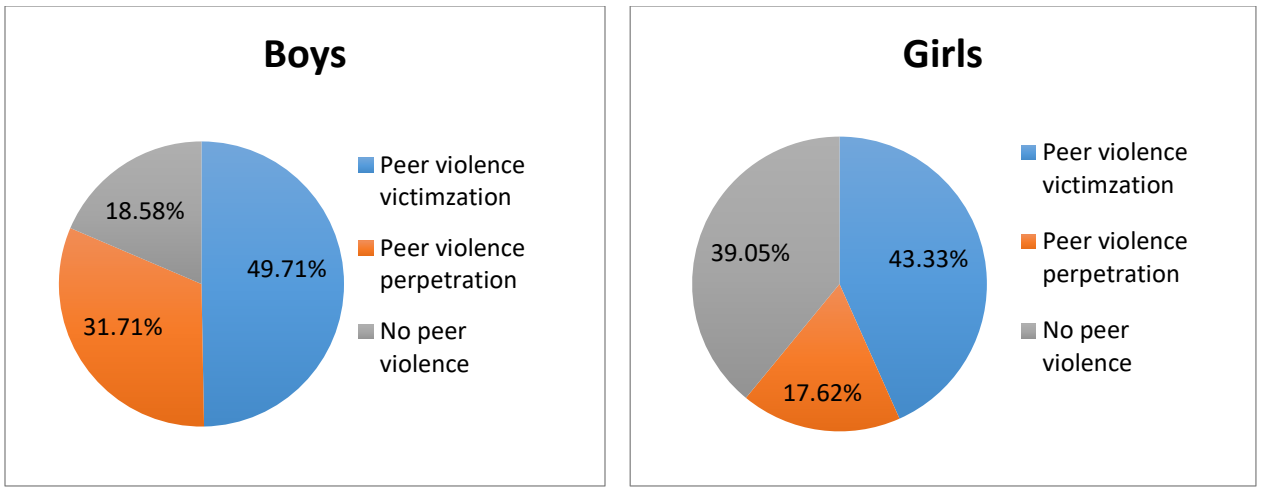
Figure 1: Children's experiences of violence at home and at school



Although a large proportion of teachers (35.5%) also reported using corporal punishment in school, most reported using verbal punishment rather than physical punishment, which may indicate that teachers were more reluctant to disclose using violent methods to discipline children, particularly given the illegal status of corporal punishment in schools. The baseline study found that the most significant factors associated with teacher use of corporal punishment in schools are teachers having fewer years of teaching and their use of negative behaviours such as being unprepared for lessons, missing classes and arriving late for class or leaving early.

Children's reports of peer violence at school are also highly prevalent. Very large proportions of children, including almost half of boys and a slightly smaller proportion of girls, reported having been the victims of violence perpetrated by peers in the past month (Figure 2). While boys are more likely to be the victims of peer violence, they are also much more likely to perpetrate violence against their peers than girls, with almost a third of boys reporting being perpetrators compared with almost a fifth of girls. Boys are also more likely than girls to play both roles as the victim and perpetrator of violence against their peers.

Figure 2: Children's experiences of peer violence



There were a number of factors found to be associated with children's experience of peer violence victimization and perpetration. Food insecurity was found to be a predictor of peer violence perpetration among boys, and both peer violence perpetration and victimization among girls. Having experienced corporal punishment at school was also associated with boys' peer violence victimization and perpetration, although corporal punishment was only associated with peer violence perpetration among girls. A number of other factors were associated with girls' experiences of peer violence. Girls who were victimized or who perpetrated violence against their peers were more likely to have depressive symptoms and to have experienced physical beating at home, and girls with disabilities were much more likely to have experienced peer violence victimization than non-disabled girls. Furthermore, girls who had witnessed their fathers fighting with other men were more likely to perpetrate violence against their peers.

The results of this baseline study support previous research that indicates that Afghan children are exposed to multiple forms of violence at home and at school, and that children's experience of peer violence is particularly linked to their exposure to family violence, lending further evidence to global findings that violence is multigenerational in nature. Children's peer violence is also linked to poor mental health outcomes, particularly for girls, who are also more exposed to peer violence victimization if they are disabled.

The findings presented in this report suggest that violence against and between children at school is preventable. In order to reduce and prevent teachers' use of corporal punishment in schools, interventions should build the capacity of teachers in the use of non-violent disciplinary methods with a particular focus on working with teachers with less experience and those who struggle with their classroom and school management. Given that children's experiences of peer violence are strongly influenced by their observation of and experience of family violence, school based interventions to mitigate peer violence and bullying must also target violence at the household and community levels in order to shift broader violence-supportive norms and practices.

INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan has experienced more than four decades of conflict, leading to massive disruptions in the development of education, health, livelihoods and infrastructure, and the stability of political governance. Against a backdrop of war, conflict and insecurity, Afghan society is recognised as suffering from endemic violence, much of which is institutionalised and perpetuated at the family and community levels. Deeply patriarchal gender norms, social norms that normalize the use of violence from the earliest days of childhood and conservative Islamic interpretations of the roles of women, restrict women's empowerment and mobility and drive violence against women and other forms of violence in society. Recent demographic and health survey data found that 80% of women and 72% of men surveyed agreed that it was justified for a husband to beat his wife in a least one of five circumstances: she burns the food, she argues with him, she goes out without telling him, she neglects the children and she refuses to have sex with him (Central Statistics Organization and Ministry of Public Health 2017). The survey also found that the national prevalence of intimate partner violence against women (physical, emotional or sexual violence) ever experienced by married women aged 15 to 49 was 56%, ranging from between 7% and 92% depending on the provincial context (Central Statistics Organization and Ministry of Public Health 2017).

Children in Afghanistan are also known to be exposed to multiple forms of violence. According to a global study conducted by UNICEF (2014), Afghanistan is one of the few countries in which children are more likely to be disciplined using violent physical methods (for example, kicking, slapping, spanking, beating or other forms of corporal punishment) rather than violent psychological methods (for example, verbal aggression, threats, intimidation or humiliation). Although globally, approximately 17% of children are subjected to extreme forms of corporal punishment, more than a third of children in Afghanistan are subjected to extreme violence, and 78% of children aged 5 to 14 were reported to have experienced any violent discipline (psychological or physical) in the past month. In a more recent, albeit smaller survey, 91% of children who participated reported having experienced any type of violence, including exposure to violence, psychological violence, physical and emotional neglect, physical violence or sexual abuse (Zupancic 2017).

In order to prevent violence perpetrated against children and between children and to lay the foundations for building peace across the society, Help the Afghan Children (HTAC) has been implementing peace education programming in schools and communities in Afghanistan since 2003. This programming has been based on a comprehensive peace education curriculum developed by HTAC and endorsed by the Ministry of Education, and complemented by interventions aimed to reduce teacher use of corporal punishment, and work with families and communities to promote more equitable gender norms and reduce the use of violence against women and children. More recently, as part of the What Works to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls Global Program, HTAC is building evidence on the efficacy of its programming through an evaluation of a two-year long project implementation.

This report presents the findings of the HTAC baseline evaluation study, which is based on quantitative data collected from students participating in peace education and teachers. The overall evaluation consists of a repeated cross sectional three-phase design with data collection occurring at baseline, midline and endline phases, in order to assess the impact of HTAC's programming. The endline findings of the evaluation will be available in mid 2018.

BACKGROUND

VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN IN AFGHANISTAN

Violence against children in Afghanistan occurs at many levels, including the family, community and school levels. At the family level, Central Statistics Organization and UNICEF (2012) found that 74.2% of children aged between 2 and 14 years of age had experienced at least one form of physical or psychological punishment in the home in the past month and 38.4% of children had experienced extreme physical punishment. The physical punishment of children as a form of discipline, including slapping, ear-pulling, kicking, punching, or beating with sticks or other objects, is accepted as a normal part of parent-child relationships, despite many parents acknowledging the physical and psychological harm that such punishment can cause (Smith 2008). Physical punishment of children at home is highly gendered in relation to who is more typically punished, who is punishing, and the reasons for punishment. Smith (2008) found that while boys overall are perceived to be physically punished more than girls due to boys being 'naughtier' than girls, mothers reported higher levels of violence against girls than fathers. Girls and boys are also typically punished for different behaviours. While boys are more commonly punished for fighting with other children or performing poorly at school, girls are more commonly punished for performing domestic duties inadequately or perceived sexual impropriety (e.g. smiling or talking to boys or men who are not members of the immediate family) (Smith 2008).

Violence against children at the family level is also highly gendered in relation to decisions about access to education and marriage. The education of boys is prioritised over girls (HRW 2017), with early marriage being the second most common reason for girls dropping out of school (19.2%) compared with only 2.9% of boys dropping out due to marriage (Central Statistics Organization and Ministry of Public Health 2017). Girls are typically married at a younger age than boys, often in order to offset household poverty due to the bride price paid to girls' families, particularly among highly marginalised populations such as internally displaced people (NRC 2015; Schmeidl and Tyler 2015). Girls who are married at an early age are at greater risk of maternal mortality and suffering from fistula (a hole in the birth canal caused by prolonged labour) and are at greater risk of experiencing domestic violence (HRW 2009).

At the community level, children experience a number of different forms of violence. In a context of perpetual conflict and insecurity, children are frequently exposed to armed violence, injury and the death of relatives or community members. Studies have shown that children's exposure to violent and traumatic events can lead to mental health problems, including psychiatric disorders, emotional disorders, depression or post-traumatic stress disorder. Panter-Brick et al. (2009) found that in a sample of Afghan children, 63.5% of children reported experiencing at least one traumatic event and 8.4% reported exposure to five or more traumatic events. The most distressing traumatic events were associated with violence, for instance injury, witnessing violence enacted against another person, the death or disappearance of a relative, living in a conflict zone and forced displacement. Panter-Brick et al. (2009) found that 23.9% of children reported symptoms associated with post-traumatic distress, and that trauma exposure was a key risk factor for children's poor mental health outcomes. Furthermore, Panter-Brick et al. (2014) found that children with sustained post-traumatic distress over time were more likely to live in families with ongoing domestic violence.

There is mixed evidence in relation to whether boys or girls are more affected by exposure to violent and traumatic events. Panter-Brick et al. (2009) found that girls suffer more mental health problems linked to

trauma than boys, and Panter-Brick et al (2014) found that girls had more sustained post-traumatic stress over time than boys. However, Catani et al. (2009) found that boys reported having experienced more traumatic events than girls, and more boys reported symptoms indicative of PTSD (26%) than girls (14%).

Children in Afghanistan also experience violence due to harmful traditional practices, some which are perpetuated by informal, customary mechanisms of dispute resolution at the community level. The custom of *baad*, the giving of girls to a disputant party to settle a debt or serious crime, is still practiced in some parts of Afghanistan and has been linked to domestic violence perpetrated against girls who have been given to disputant families, both by male and female household members (TDH 2016). *Badal* marriage, the exchange of two girls between families for marriage, usually to offset the expense of bride price payments, has also been linked to domestic violence when conflict between the families in question leads to violence against the brides being used as a form of inter-family retaliation or revenge (Smith 2009; TDH 2016). Although girls are clearly more at risk of negative outcomes related to harmful traditional practices related to marriage customs, boys are also at risk of violence from harmful practices such as *bacha bazi*, translated as 'boy for play'. This refers to the sexual exploitation of boys by adult men, usually in positions of power (such as warlords, government officials or members of anti-government armed groups), who dress boys as girls, make them dance, rape them and prostitute them to other men (Jones 2016).

At the school level, children experience violence both at the hands of teachers and other students. Corporal punishment of students by teachers is highly prevalent, with one study by Save the Children (Samoon et al. 2011) indicating that in 100% of boys' schools and 20% of girls' schools in the study sample, teachers were observed to use physical punishment against students. Furthermore, the majority of teachers reported believing that physical punishment was an important and inevitable form of maintaining discipline in the classroom. Samoon et al. (2011) also found alarming rates of sexual abuse in boys' schools, including rape by male teachers and sexual abuse of younger boys by older boys. A more recent study by Save the Children (Zupancic 2017) also found that children reported male teachers and older students to be the main perpetrators of sexual abuse of boys in schools.

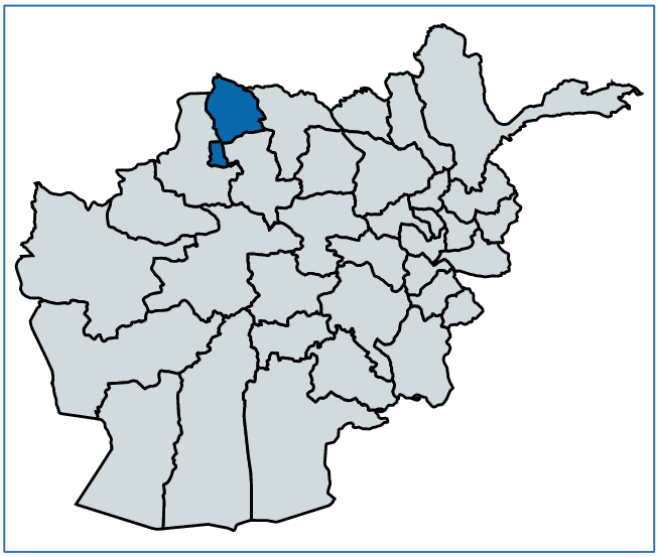
There has been very little research done on peer violence and bullying in Afghanistan; however, the available evidence suggests that violence perpetrated by children is also highly prevalent in schools. Data from the Global School-based Student Health Survey suggests that prevalence of past month bullying in Afghanistan is 44.2% (WHO 2014). In a smaller study conducted in five provinces, Zupancic (2017) found that the prevalence of peer victimization was as high as 63%, although this included peer violence in different settings, with 18% of children reporting that they had been victimized by children at school. Although these figures relate to direct peer violence, violence enacted by children in schools may sometimes be mediated or institutionally supported by the school. For instance, according to Samoon et al. (2011), schools were found to have disciplinary committees consisting of teachers and students who were fully authorised to physically punish students.

The various types of violence perpetrated against children described in this section occur within a context of limited legal structures related to the protection of children. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (GoIRA) ratified the UN Child Rights Convention in 1994; however, progress has been slow due to a range of factors, including weak enforcement and rule of law, contradictions between some statutes of the convention and the Afghan constitution, and the application of provisions from customary and Sharia law in courts in the formal justice system (CRC 2010). Article 39 of the Education Act prohibits

corporal punishment (including physical and psychological punishment) in schools (GIEACPC 2017); however, other laws accept corporal punishment of children at home or at school. Article 54(1) of the Penal Code 1976 states that it is acceptable for fathers and teachers to punish sons and students provided the punishment is within the limits of religious and other laws (it does not make any explicit reference to girls or mothers), and article 194(6) of the Shiite Personal Status Law 2009 states that parents and legal guardians can discipline their children to the extent that compensation for injury is not required (GIEACPC 2017).

HELP THE AFGHAN CHILDREN'S INTERVENTION

In order to prevent violence perpetrated against children and between children, Help the Afghan Children (HTAC) has been implementing peace education programming in schools in Afghanistan since 2003. This programming has been based on a comprehensive peace education curriculum developed by HTAC and endorsed by the Ministry of Education. More recently, as part of the What Works to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls Global Program, HTAC has expanded its activities in Jawzjan province (in the north of the country, bordering Turkmenistan) to target violence and conflict both in schools and at the community level.



HTAC's program has four major objectives:

1. Reduce fighting and aggressive behaviour among Afghan boys by encouraging critical reflections and behaviour change that will lead them to reject violence and adopt the principles of peaceful, everyday living;
2. Increase the use of non-violent conflict resolution methods in homes, thereby reducing abuse and threatening behaviour towards women and girls;
3. Teach and motivate male leaders to respect and value women by including them in local councils and supporting their involvement in decision making;
4. Educate women about their rights and protections and empower them to take a more active role in local community affairs.

In order to achieve these objectives, HTAC's program includes a range of intervention activities at the school and community levels and targets a range of important actors, including children, teachers, parents, community and religious leaders, civil society organisations (CSOs) and influential women (government officials and human rights activists). These are being implemented in 20 schools (10 boys and 10 girls schools) and their corresponding communities in four districts of Jawzjan province.

PEACE EDUCATION WITH STUDENTS

Peace education training is delivered either before or after official school hours to students from grades seven to nine. The peace education curriculum consists of thirty three 35-minute lessons that cover a range of topics, including peaceful, non-violent conflict resolution methods, positive role modeling skills, tolerance for others, respect for women and girls, and rejecting violence and embracing the principles of peaceful everyday living. Learning methods include helping children to understand conflict, deal with grief, loss and anger, and use active communication through mediation, collaborative problem solving and community leadership. Although there is a strong emphasis on boys' developing respectful attitudes and behaviours towards women and girls, the peace education curriculum targets both male and female students in sex-segregated schools.

PEACE EDUCATION WITH TEACHERS

Teachers delivering peace education to students have been trained in the curriculum. In addition, teachers in intervention schools have participated in conflict resolution and peace building training in order to build their skills in role modeling positive behaviours with students and creating a safe, non-violent classroom environment.

TRAINING WITH COMMUNITY MEMBERS AND LEADERS

HTAC is implementing conflict resolution and peace building training with a range of different local community actors, including parents (mothers and fathers), young people (aged 18 to 25 years), and community and religious leaders. Training sessions cover topics such as peace-building principles and mediation as preferable ways to resolve conflicts and disputes non-violently, how Islam supports the rights and protections of women and girls, and how the involvement of women in community affairs facilitates safer, more secure and prosperous communities.

CAPACITY BUILDING OF WOMEN

HTAC sees CSOs, and particularly women's and women's rights CSOs, as being key actors in the prevention of violence and support of women's rights. Consequently, HTAC is building the capacity of local influential women, particularly women participating in CSOs. Capacity building trainings cover skills in non-violent conflict resolution and mediation, knowledge about women's constitutional rights and protections, and skills to support their meaningful participation in local civic affairs and community councils.

PEACE COMMITTEES

HTAC has established 10 peace committees across the communities in which the program is being implemented. These committees consist of members from existing community shuras (councils) or community development councils (CDCs). HTAC has conducted training with peace committees on conflict resolution, peace building, advocacy and women's rights, and skills in mediating and resolving community conflicts related to women and girls (for instance cases involving violence against women). These committees are responsible for responding to community conflicts and disputes, particularly those related to women and children, and resolving them through methods that are in line with HTAC's peace building and conflict resolution methods and training curriculum.

RADIO MESSAGING

In order to lengthen its reach to communities in which they are not working directly, HTAC is implementing two radio-messaging activities. The first radio messaging activity consists of weekly round table discussions that involve three participants (e.g. religious leaders, influential women, women's CSO members, government officials) discussing set topics related to the rights of women and girls. (e.g. early and forced marriage, violence against women and girls, lack of girls' access to education). Round table discussions are pre-recorded before being aired on the radio in order to ensure that discussions do not reproduce harmful messages that could work against the aims of the program.

The second radio messaging activity consists of airing 90 episodes of scripted radio dramas. Each episode deals with a different issue related to conflict resolution linked to the rights of women and girls, for instance, not allowing girls to go to school or favouring the education of boys, or women's rights to property and inheritance.

METHODS

EVALUATION OBJECTIVES

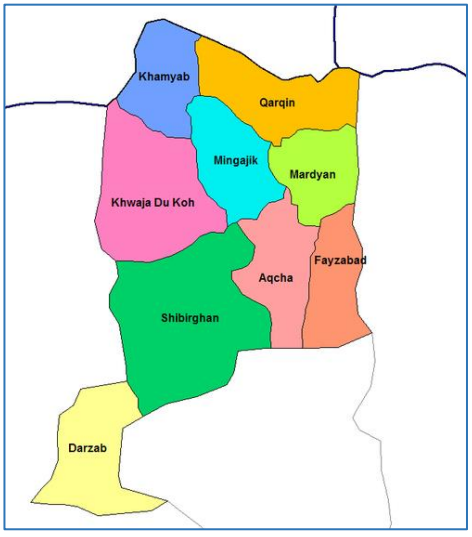
The evaluation of HTAC's intervention is guided by two key objectives:

1. To determine if children attending schools with the HTAC intervention reduce their reports of violence victimization and perpetration, inequitable gender attitudes and increase their mental wellbeing over two years of the program.

2. To determine whether teachers who are trained in the HTAC intervention and who teach it improve their life satisfaction, sense of hope, work satisfaction, gender attitudes and classroom management, and reduce their use of corporal punishment, and whether PTSD among teachers influences their response to the intervention.

STUDY SETTING

The baseline evaluation of HTAC's program was conducted in 11 schools in three districts of Jawzjan province, Shibirghan, Aqcha and Fayzabad. All three districts are located in the south and border Sar-e Pol province, with Fayzabad district also sharing a border with Balkh province and Shibirghan district (the capital of the province) sharing a border with Faryab province. Jawzjan is ethnically and linguistically diverse, with Dari the main language of instruction in schools but with large populations of native Turkmen and Uzbek speakers.



Students in all 11 schools who were surveyed were receiving peace education (beginning in April 2016) and teachers who were surveyed were either trained in how to teach the peace education curriculum to students, or had received peace education training.

STUDY DESIGN

The study is a repeated cross sectional three-phase evaluation. The original study design included data collection at baseline (April 2016), 7 months post baseline (November 2016) and 19 months post baseline (November 2017). However, due to a number of challenges implementing the baseline research, the baseline data collection happened later in the school year (October and November 2016). Midline data collection occurred in May/June 2017 and endline data collection occurred in November 2017.

Due to the delay in implementing the baseline research, students participating in the study had participated in peace education for seven months prior to data collection. Teachers comprised two different groups: teachers who are teaching HTAC Peace Education and teachers who received peace education and conflict resolution training after the baseline data collection.

Data was collected through face-to-face interviews using pen and paper questionnaires. The collection of data was managed by an independent research company that was appointed for the process.

SAMPLE

The original targeted sample size for students was 720 (360 boys and 360 girls) students in grades seven and eight; however the baseline slightly under sampled 350 boys and over sampled 420 girls. As per the original sample target for teachers, 400 teachers were included in the study, 85 male teachers and 315 female teachers. Unlike for students, there was no sampling criteria for teacher gender. The much larger number of female teachers in the sample was due to more female teachers than male teachers working in both the boys and girls schools that were sampled. The small sample of male teachers does represent a limitation in the sampling as it is not possible to make strong statements about gender disaggregated teacher data.

Students were randomly sampled for the baseline survey. Children participating in HTAC's peace education classes and their parents were requested to provide informed consent and a random sample was obtained from the final enrolment list of children with confirmed personal and parental consent. Teachers were also randomly selected.

QUESTIONNAIRES

Two different questionnaires were used for students and teachers. Both questionnaires were translated into Dari by bi-lingual members of HTAC staff and checked by the research implementation partner. Both questionnaires were piloted prior to baseline data collection in a school in Kabul province where HTAC had previously implemented peace education programming. Any necessary modification to the questioning style and translations were made accordingly.

The student questionnaire had 116 items and was based on a questionnaire developed for another *What Works* study implemented in Pakistan with children of a similar age. The Pakistan questionnaire was pre-tested and the measures were shown to be culturally and age appropriate in Pakistan (McFarlane et al. 2017), which was deemed to be a similar setting to Afghanistan. The teacher questionnaire had 63 items. Both the student and teacher questionnaires were piloted prior to baseline data collection in a school in Kabul province where HTAC had previously implemented peace education programming. Any necessary modification to the questioning style and translations were made accordingly. A full description of the items and measures used in both questionnaires is included in Annex A.

ETHICS AND SAFETY

This study was approved by the Ethics Committee of the South African Medical Research Council as well by the ethics committees (IRB) of the Ministry of Public Health in Afghanistan. HTAC acquired the necessary permissions from the Provincial Education Directorate of the Ministry of Education and schools to facilitate access. HTAC provided a verbal description of the study to school principals, teachers and students, and consent forms and information sheets were translated into Dari and given to children to take home and give to their parents. Only children with signed consent forms from their parents and who gave verbal consent were recruited into the study. Teachers also provided consent before participation in the study.

All enumerators were trained in safety and research ethics, including ensuring confidentiality and privacy during the data collection and maintaining confidentiality of data after survey had been completed. Enumerators were also trained in child protection procedures and were given clear instructions and protocols on how to respond to observations of violence and how to deal with possible cases in which children spoke about violence, experienced any emotional trauma or requested assistance. No serious adverse events were reported during the baseline data collection.

Due to cultural sensitivities in Afghanistan around contact between unknown or unrelated persons of the opposite sex, all female participants (girls and female teachers) were interviewed by female enumerators, and all male participants (boys and male teachers) were interviewed by male enumerators. All interviews with students and teachers were conducted in a private setting in the schools in order to maintain the confidentiality of participants. Maintaining this privacy is particularly important for students, who may, for instance, suffer from negative repercussions such as increased violence if heard speaking about corporal punishment enacted by teachers.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data was analyzed using Stata 13.0. Throughout the report, key descriptive findings are presented either as percentages or means, with corresponding p values indicating whether findings are significant or not. The factors associated with children's peer violence or teachers' use of corporal punishment were analyzed using regression models. A more detailed discussion of data analysis techniques is outlined in Annex B.

RESULTS

The results section of this report is divided into four sections: descriptive data related to students, descriptive data related to teachers, factors associated with student peer violence, and factors associated with teacher use of corporal punishment.

STUDENTS

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The sample for this study consists of 770 children, 420 girls and 350 boys, participating in HTAC's peace education program in 11 schools (seven girls and four boys schools). The proportion of students sampled

from each grade was approximately equal with 49.61% of students in grade seven and 50.39% in grade eight. The mean age for boys was 14.48 (with an age range of 12 to 19) and 14.24 for girls (with an age range of 10 to 18). Students were asked about the characteristics of their household composition and although boys had a higher mean number of household members and brothers than girls, girls had a higher mean number of sisters (Table 1).

Table 1: Student household characteristics

	Boys		Girls	
	N	% (mean)	N	% (mean)
Number of household members	350	9.51	418	8.96
Number of brothers	350	3.75	419	3.03
Number of sisters	350	3.03	419	3.54

Student poverty was measured through two variables related to hunger and food insecurity. Although the majority of students reported never going to school without breakfast (Table 2) or to sleep without dinner (Table 3) in the last month, a larger proportion of girls than boys reported food insecurity, particularly going to school without breakfast four or more times in the last month. When values for the food insecurity variables were summed to provide a hunger score, girls had a significantly higher mean hunger score (0.42) than boys (0.23) ($p = 0.002$).

Table 2: Going to school without breakfast in last month

	Boys		Girls	
	N	% (mean)	N	% (mean)
Never	314	89.71%	358	85.24%
Once	26	7.43%	29	6.9%
2 or 3 times	8	2.29%	7	1.67%
4 or more times	2	0.57%	26	6.19%

Table 3: Going to sleep without dinner in last month

	Boys		Girls	
	N	% (mean)	N	% (mean)
Never	322	92%	384	91.43%
Once	26	7.43%	24	5.71%
2 or 3 times	1	0.29%	4	0.95%
4 or more times	1	0.29%	8	1.9%

SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS

Boys reported missing significantly more days of school in the past month (a mean of 2.44 days) than girls (a mean of 2.24 days) ($p = 0.001$) (Table 4). The most common reasons for girls missing school were helping at home, illness or another reason that was not specified. There was a similar pattern for boys, although a smaller proportion of boys than girls missed school due to helping at home, with a higher proportion of boys than girls missing school due to having to work to earn money (9.43% of boys compared with 0.95% of girls). This is in line with gendered norms linked to child labour, whereby girls'

labour is concentrated in the household and boys' labour more frequently involves working outside of the household. Very small proportions of both boys and girls missed school in the past month as they had no money for transport or because they were afraid to go to school due to violence.

Table 4: Student absence from school

	Boys		Girls	
	N	% (mean)	N	% (mean)
Days of school missed (past month)	350	2.44	420	2.24
Reason for school days missed				
Illness	77	22%	154	36.67%
No money for transport	4	1.14%	4	0.95%
Helping at home	104	29.71%	183	43.57%
Working to earn money	33	9.43%	4	0.95%
Afraid to go to school due to violence	0	0%	2	0.48%
Another reason	94	26.86%	56	13.33%

In relation to numeracy, a larger proportion of boys than girls are not numerate at all, and more girls (52.62%) than boys (29.71%) are able to conduct higher-level division equations (Table 5). Although the difference between the proportions of boys and girls who are not literate at all is small, a much larger proportion of girls than boys are able to read fluently. These results indicate limited literacy and numeracy skills (particularly the latter) for early secondary school grades and particularly for boys.

Table 5: Student numeracy and literacy

	Boys		Girls	
	N	% (mean)	N	% (mean)
Numeracy				
Not numerate at all	85	24.29%	61	14.52%
Adds with difficulty	43	12.29%	85	20.24%
Addition with ease	206	58.86%	143	34.05%
Division with ease	104	29.71%	221	52.62%
Literacy				
Not literate at all	37	10.57%	37	8.81%
Reads with difficulty	117	33.43%	73	17.38%
Reads fluently	196	56%	310	73.81%

DISABILITY

There is a large percentage of children in the sample who reported having moderate to severe difficulties, with almost double the percentage of girls (22.14%) than boys (12.86%) coded as having any kind of disability (Table 6). The most common disability for both boys and girls is remembering or concentrating,

suggesting that learning disabilities are common. Although there was little difference between the proportions of boys and girls who reported having difficulties hearing and moving, more girls than boys reported having difficulties with vision or speaking. There was some cross over between types of disability, with 27 students reporting more than one type of disability.

Table 6: Student disability status

	Boys		Girls	
	N	% (mean)	N	% (mean)
Vision	9	2.57%	28	6.67%
Hearing	9	2.58%	10	2.38%
Movement	4	1.14%	9	2.14%
Remembering/concentrating	24	6.86%	55	13.10%
Speaking	9	2.57%	17	4.05%
Any disability	45	12.86%	93	22.14%

PSYCHOSOCIAL WELLBEING

Children's psychosocial wellbeing was measured through two scales, depression and feelings of hope. Boys had significantly higher mean depression scores than girls ($p = 0.001$) (Table 7). Although boys have more depressive symptoms than girls, they also had significantly higher mean hope scores ($p = 0.001$), indicating more hope than girls.

Table 7: Students psychosocial wellbeing

	Boys		Girls	
	N	% (mean)	N	% (mean)
Depression score (higher=more depressed)	350	13.85	420	12.48
Hope score (higher=more hope)	349	14.24	420	13.46

PATRIARCHAL AND CHILD VIOLENCE SUPPORTIVE ATTITUDES

Boys scored significantly higher (11.68) than girls (10.16) on the patriarchal gender attitudes scale ($p = 0.001$) suggesting that overall boys have less equitable gender attitudes than girls (Table 8). A higher proportion of girls than boys agreed with most items in the scale in relation to girls' and women's access to rights and participation in everyday activities, although the large majority of boys did agree with related statements. A slightly higher proportion of girls than boys also agreed that wives should always obey their husbands, with the majority of children agreeing with the statement, suggesting that although most children support women's participation and rights, they also have attitudes that reproduce typical patriarchal power dynamics within the household around women's relationships with men. Strikingly, almost two thirds of boys (almost double the proportion of girls) agreed that husbands have the right to punish their wives if they do something wrong, indicating violence-supportive attitudes within the household.

Table 8: Student patriarchal gender attitudes

	Boys		Girls	
	N	%(mean)	N	%(mean)
Patriarchal gender attitudes scale (higher scores=less equitable attitudes)	349	11.68	420	10.16
Agreement				
I think girls in my family should go to school	342	97.71%	419	99.76%
I think the husbands in my family should give permission to their wives to go to the clinic	344	98.29%	413	98.34%
I think the husbands in my family should listen to their wives' opinion on schooling	340	97.43%	418	99.42%
I think the wives in my family should have a say in how money in the family is spent	331	94.84%	410	97.62%
I think the wives in my family should be able to ask a religious scholar about religious issues	328	93.98%	412	98.09%
I think the husbands in my family should respect the opinion of their wives on matters related to income generating work	334	95.70%	416	99.05%
I think that a husband in my family should be kind and caring towards the women in his family	335	95.99%	417	99.29%
I think women should be able to participate in weddings	314	89.97%	412	98.1%
I think women should be able to participate in neighbourhood events	316	90.54%	415	98.81%
I think women should be able to participate in skills training	324	92.26%	420	100%
I think women should be able to work or engage in income generating activities	325	93.12%	416	99.05%
I think that the wives in my family should always obey their husbands	325	93.12%	401	95.47%
I think that is a wife in my family does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her	220	63.04%	146	34.76%

Boys also scored much higher (6.14) than girls (2.92) on the attitudes to child punishment scale ($p = 0.001$), indicating that boys have more violence-supportive attitudes than girls in relation to the punishment of children (Table 9). Approximately three times as many boys than girls agree with statements related to the acceptability of parents beating their children for various reasons or children being beaten at school for misbehaving, with almost half of boys agreeing with punishment at school. The lowest proportion of agreement for both boys and girls was in relation to responding to peer violence with violence, although more than four times as many boys than girls agreed with this kind of retaliation to peer violence.

Table 9: Student child violence supportive attitudes

	Boys		Girls	
	N	% (mean)	N	% (mean)
Attitudes to child punishment (higher scores=more violence supportive attitudes)	350	6.14	420	2.92
Agreement				
I think that if a child disobeys their parents they should be beaten	126	36%	52	12.38%
I think that if a child gets into fights their parents should beat them	105	30%	46	10.95%
I think that if a child talks back to their parents they should be punished by being beaten	140	40%	58	13.18%

I think a child who misbehaves at school should be beaten	172	49.14%	72	17.14%
I think that if a child hurts me I should hurt them back	104	29.72%	31	7.38%

CHILDREN'S EXPERIENCE AND OBSERVATION OF VIOLENCE

Girls are more likely to have experienced any beating at home in the past month than boys (Table 10). Small proportions of boys and girls reported having witnessed their mother being abused by a male family member in the past month, although approximately double the proportion of girls than boys had witnessed such abuse. More girls than boys (almost three times as many) reported having witnessed their father fight with another man in the past month.

Table 10: Student experience and observation of violence

	Boys		Girls	
	N	% (mean)	N	% (mean)
Any beating at home (past month)	58	16.57%	84	20%
Witnessed any abuse of mother (past month)	12	3.34%	28	6.67%
Witnessed father fight (past month)	18	5.14%	61	14.52%
Any corporal punishment at school (past month)	155	44.29%	148	35.24%

Having experienced any corporal punishment at school is more common among boys than girls (Table 10). The most common forms of corporal punishment at school reported by children in the past month were extreme forms, including being hit with a whip, stick or other object (29.42% of boys and 22.86% of girls), being slapped, hit or beaten (19.43% of boys and 18.33% of girls) or having ones ears twisted (23.14% of boys and 3.1% of girls), with a much smaller proportion of children reporting teachers making them kneel or run around as punishment.

CHILDREN'S EXPERIENCE OF PEER VIOLENCE VICTIMIZATION AND PERPETRATION

A large proportion of boys (49.71%) and girls (43.33%) reported having experienced more than one instance of peer violence victimization in the past month, and 31.71% of boys and 17.62% of girls disclosed perpetration of more than one instance of peer violence in the past month (Table 11). The most common types of peer victimization and perpetration were verbal, such as name calling and swearing at peers. There was considerable overlap between experience of victimization and perpetration, particularly among boys: 23.7% of boys reported both victimization and perpetration, 8% only perpetration, 26% only victimization and 42.3% neither. In contrast, 14% of girls reported both victimization and perpetration, 3.6% only perpetration, 29.3% only victimization, and 53.1% had neither victimized nor perpetrated. This suggests that experiences of peer violence are gendered: not only are boys more likely to perpetrate peer violence than girls, they are also more likely than girls to play both roles as the victim and perpetrator of violence.

Table 11: Student peer violence victimisation and perpetration

	Boys		Girls	
	N	% (mean)	N	% (mean)
Peer violence victimization	174	49.71%	182	43.33%
Peer violence perpetration	111	31.71%	74	17.62%

TEACHERS

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

In the baseline sample there were 400 teachers who were predominantly female and, consequently, frequencies and descriptive data have not been disaggregated by gender, except where a difference is particularly striking. The average age of teachers in the sample is 39.14 (Table 12). The large majority of teachers have completed teacher training, with a third of teachers having completed higher studies and a very small proportion only having completed high school. The majority of teachers are married and have children.

Table 12: Teacher demographic characteristics

	N	% (mean)
Female teacher	315	78.75%
Male teacher	85	21.25%
Age	399	39.14
Schooling completed		
High school	25	6.3%
Teachers' training	242	60.96%
Masters	130	32.75%
Married	357	89.47%
Has children	351	85.46%

Teacher food and cash security were measured through questions related to household hunger and ability to secure money in an emergency. The majority of teachers (93.5%) reported household members never going to sleep hungry in the past month; however, fewer teachers (58.25%) reported their household members never going hungry in the past month due to lack of money for food (Table 13). When values for the food insecurity variables were summed to provide a hunger score, on a scale of 0 to 6 teachers scored an average of 0.78 on the hunger scale, indicating low levels of food insecurity overall. Despite low levels of food insecurity, half of teachers reported that it would be somewhat or very difficult to get 500 Afghani (approximately US$ 7) in an emergency (Table 14), indicating high levels of cash insecurity.

Table 13: Teacher food security

	N	% (mean)
Any household member went to sleep hungry in past month		
Never	374	93.5%
Rarely	14	3.5%
Sometimes	6	1.5%
Often	6	1.5%
Any household member went without food in past month due to lack of money		
Never	233	58.25%
Rarely	86	21.5%
Sometimes	60	15%
Often	21	5.25%
Hunger score	400	0.78

Table 14: Teacher cash security

	N	% (mean)
Difficulty getting 500 Afs in an emergency		
Very difficult	85	21.25%
Somewhat difficult	122	30.5%
Fairly easy	108	27%
Very easy	85	21.25%

EMPLOYMENT BACKGROUND AND BEHAVIOUR MODELING

Less than a third of teachers had worked in their profession for 10 years or less, with the majority having worked between 11 and 20 years (Table 15). When asked to rate their teaching success on a scale of between 1 and 5, almost all teachers rated themselves as somewhat or very successful. On a scale of 5 to 20, teachers had a high mean score (17.48) on a positive teaching behaviours scale, which included items related to their past month frequency of: displaying behaviours such as telling students that they are doing something good or have improved, encouraging students with their work or behaviours at school, rewarding students for doing well at school, helping students to resolve a conflict or disagreement peacefully, and asking students for their ideas or opinions in class. Teachers also had a low mean score on a negative behaviours scale (3.7) with a range of between 3 and 12, with negative behaviours measured through three items: frequency of arriving late to class, missing class or leaving early, or being unprepared for lessons. On a scale of 3 to 9, with higher scores indicating more frequent displays of conflict resolution at home or at school (i.e. resolving a conflict, disagreement or fight peacefully, or encouraging others to do so), teachers had a mean score of 5.82.

Table 15: Teacher employment background and behaviour modeling

	N	% (mean)
Years teaching		
0-5	39	9.78
6-10	85	21.3
11-20	157	39.1
20+	199	29.82
Teaching success assessment	384	96
Not successful 1	7	1.75
2	9	2.25
3	162	40.5
Very successful 4	222	55.5
Positive behaviours	400	17.48
Negative behaviours	400	3.7
Conflict resolution behaviours	400	5.82

PSYCHOSOCIAL WELLBEING

Almost half of teachers reported having ever been in a life-threatening situation (Table 16), which is in line with typical experiences of Afghans who have lived through many decades of war and conflict. Nevertheless, on a scale of 4 to 20, teachers scored highly on the life satisfaction scale (mean of 16.83), and on a scale of 6 to 24, teachers also scored highly on the hope scale (mean of 22.22). Teachers scored low on the PTSD scale, with a mean score of 7.82 on a scale of 0 to 48, suggesting that self-reported symptoms of PTSD are not common in this sample.

Table 16: Teacher psychosocial wellbeing

	N	% (mean)
Has been in a life threatening situation	194	48.5%
Life satisfaction (higher = more life satisfaction)	300	16.83
PTSD (higher = more PSTD symptoms)	400	7.82
Hope (higher = more hope)	367	22.22

PATRIARCHAL GENDER ATTITUDES

On a scale of 15 to 75, teachers had moderate mean patriarchal gender attitudes scores (38.06), and male teachers had significantly higher inequitable gender attitudes scores (41.61) than female teachers (37.1) ($p = 0.001$). Teacher responses to individual gender attitudes items reveal some striking results. A small proportion of teachers agreed with violence-supportive statements, such as 'I think a wife should be punished if she does something her husband thinks is wrong' (10%) and 'I think a woman should be

beaten at home to teach her how to behave properly' (9%) (Table 17). However, more than double the proportion of female teachers than male teachers agreed with both statements (Table 17), suggesting that women may reproduce violence-supportive attitudes more than men in this sample, although the small sample size for male teachers compared to female teachers may explain this finding. The results were quite different for other statements included in the scale, with male teachers expressing more patriarchal gender attitudes than female teachers in relation to the broader rights of women and girls. For instance, 15.75% of teachers strongly disagreed that girls should be allowed to go to school and these teachers were predominantly male. The inclusion of four questions related to the participation of women in different types of activities suggests that although fewer male teachers and female teachers agree that women should be allowed to participate in skills training or income generating activities, fewer women than men agree that women should be allowed to participate in community-based activities, including membership in shuras or community development councils.[1]

Table 17: Teacher patriarchal gender attitudes

	Male teachers		Female teachers	
Agreement	N	%	N	%
I think girls should be allowed to go to school	50	58.83%	287	91.11%
I think a man should listen to his wife's opinion when choosing a husband for her daughters	50	58.82%	212	67.3%
I think a man should give approval for his wife to go to a clinic for her health	52	61.18%	204	64.76%
I think a wife should be able to share her ideas with her husband	46	54.11%	199	63.18%
I think a woman should be able to participate in a shura	57	67.06%	211	66.98%
I think a wife should have a say about how money is spent in the family	45	52.94%	187	59.36%
I think a woman should be able to ask a religious scholar questions about Islamic issues	53	62.35%	212	67.3%
I think a man should respect the opinion of his wife	47	55.29%	210	66.67%
I think a man should be kind and caring towards his wife and the women and girls in his family	44	51.76%	201	63.8%
I think women should be able to participate in community activities such as cleaning the village	59	69.41%	193	61.27%
I think women should be able to participate in shuras or community development councils	57	67.06%	206	65.39%
I think women should be able to participate in skills training	50	58.83%	205	65.08%
I think women should be able to work or engage in income generating activities	55	64.7%	213	67.62%
I think a woman should be beaten at home to teach her how to behave properly	4	4.7%	32	10.16%
I think a wife should be punished if she does something her husband thinks is wrong	3	3.53%	37	11.74%

[1] A shura is a type of community council that is responsible for resolving community disputes and overseeing local-level community governance. In contrast, a community development council (CDC) has a specific responsibility to vote for the allocation of development funds received from the government (previously under the National Solidarity Program, and now under a revised Citizen's Charter program).

EXPERIENCE OF OR USE OF VIOLENCE

Very few teachers reported having fought with another person or having been hit or beaten in the last month (Table 18). However, a large proportion of teachers (35.5%) reported having used corporal punishment against students in the last month. The most common types of punishment reported to be used against students were verbal, with 31.5% of teachers reporting having shouted at students at least once or twice in the past month.

Table 18: Teacher experience of or use of violence

	N	% (mean)
Started fighting with a person in last 4 weeks		
Never	383	95.75%
Once	16	4%
More than once	1	0.25%
Hit or beaten during conflict in last 4 weeks		
Never	388	97%
Once	5	1.25%
More than Once	7	1.75%
Any corporal punishment	142	35.5%

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH STUDENT PEER VIOLENCE

Due to extensive overlap between peer violence victimization and perpetration, in order to explore the factors associated with peer violence, we compared three types of experience of violence: no violence, only victimization, and perpetration of violence (whether this was or wasn't combined with experiences of victimization). For boys, age was associated with peer victimization but not perpetration, and being hungry was associated with boys' perpetration of peer violence but not with victimization (Table 19). Boys having experienced any corporal punishment in the last month was significantly associated with both peer victimization and perpetration. For girls, more hunger, being able to read fluently, more depressive symptoms and experiencing any beating at home were associated with both violence victimization and perpetration. Younger age and having a disability were both associated with girls' victimization only, and having witnessed their father fighting and experiencing any kind of corporal punishment were associated with girls' peer violence perpetration only. Patriarchal gender attitudes were not associated with children's peer violence; however, this may be related to the type of questions included in the gender attitudes scale. For instance, when exploring only the question related to agreement that a husband has the right to punish his wife if she does something wrong, 80.91% of boys who perpetrated peer violence agreed with the statement, compared with 43.92% of boys who had not engaged in any peer violence.

Table 19: Multinomial regression models of factors associated with girls' and boys' experience and perpetration of peer violence

	Victimization vs no violence				Perpetration vs no violence			
	RRR	95% confidence interval		p value	RRR	95% confidence interval		p value
Boys								
Age	0.73	0.62	0.86	0.009	0.80	0.52	1.22	0.189
Hunger score	3.68	0.81	16.82	0.072	4.53	1.58	12.98	0.02
Any corporal punishment	8.81	1.37	56.82	0.034	17.59	4.09	75.70	0.008
Girls								
Age	0.86	0.82	0.90	0.000	1.05	0.88	1.25	0.543
Hunger score	1.57	1.00	2.47	0.05	1.75	1.18	2.61	0.014
Reads fluently	1.51	1.09	2.11	0.022	4.27	1.07	16.98	0.042
Disability	2.08	1.03	4.20	0.044	1.33	0.34	5.17	0.625
Witnessed father fighting with a man	1.85	0.45	7.63	0.331	4.60	1.27	16.58	0.027
Depression score (CDI-2)	1.12	1.01	1.25	0.035	1.14	1.02	1.29	0.029
Any beating at home	4.73	1.35	16.53	0.023	4.57	1.68	12.43	0.01
Any corporal punishment	1.49	0.50	4.40	0.406	3.84	1.16	12.74	0.033

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH TEACHER CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

When comparing teachers who did and didn't use corporal punishment against students, the baseline study found a number of factors associated with the use of corporal punishment, including teachers' age, whether they have children, their years of teaching and their use of negative behaviours. Younger teachers and teachers with fewer years of experience are significantly more likely to use corporal punishment than older teachers and teachers with more experience (Table 20). Teachers are also more likely to use corporal punishment if they don't have their own children. Teachers' negative behaviours at school are also significantly associated with the use of more corporal punishment. After adjusting for years of teaching, negative behaviours most strongly predicted the use of corporal punishment (Table 21).

Table 20: Significant bivariable factors associated with teacher use of peer violence

	Corporal punishment		No corporal punishment		
	N	% (mean)	N	% (mean)	p value
Age					
21-30	46	46.94%	52	53.06%	0.006
31-40	46	33.33%	92	66.67%	
41-50	27	26.73%	74	73.27%	
51-60	19	42.22%	26	57.78%	
61+	4	23.53%	13	76.47%	
Has children	111	78.2%	230	89.5%	0.006
Years teaching					

0-5	23	58.97%	16	41.03%	0.003
6-10	34	40%	51	60%	
11-20	51	32.69%	105	67.31%	
20+	34	28.57%	85	71.43%	
Negative behaviours		3.97		3.55	0.027

Table 21: Binomial regression model of factors associated with teachers' use of corporal punishment

	Odds ratio	95% confidence intervals		P value
Years of teaching	0.71	0.57	0.89	0.002
Negative behaviours	1.26	1.07	1.49	0.006

DISCUSSION

This baseline study supports previous research that indicates that Afghan children are exposed to multiple forms of violence at home and at school. Almost a fifth of children reported having been beaten at home in the past month, with girls reporting more beating than boys. This figure is lower than what has been found in other studies in Afghanistan, which may be due to several factors including this study only being conducted in one province (compared to more nationally or regionally representative surveys) and the age group of children in this study (12 to 19) being much older than the age groups surveyed in other studies (four to 15).

Peer violence is common among children in this sample, particularly boys, and prevalence figures are comparable to other studies conducted in Afghanistan. This study has identified a number of significant factors associated with peer violence. Poverty, measured through food insecurity, is significantly associated with both peer violence vicitimisation and perpetration among girls and peer violence perpetration among boys. Children's observation of and experiences of different kinds of violence are also strongly associated with peer violence victimization and perpetration. There is a strong association between girls' peer violence perpetration and having witnessed their fathers fighting, and both girls' and boys' peer violence victimization and perpetration and having experienced any physical violence at home. These findings support other evidence (Álvarez-Garcia, Garcia and Núñez 2015; Low and Espelage 2014) that indicates that children's experience of peer violence is linked to their exposure to family violence, suggesting that multigenerational violence may be transferred from the home to school and other settings.

Children's peer violence is also negatively associated with mental health and wellbeing. Girls who had been victimized by their peers and who had also perpetrated violence against their peers were more likely to report symptoms of depression than girls reporting no violence, although no corresponding effects were found for boys. Girls who were disabled were also significantly more likely to be victimized by their peers than girls who perpetrated violence or who had no experience of violence. These findings suggest that peer violence among children is linked to poor mental health outcomes, particularly for girls, and support broader evidence that although disabled children in general are exposed to more violence,

disabled girls in particular are at more risk of violence than disabled boys (van der Heijden and Dunkle 2017).

The results of this study related to the link between patriarchal gender attitudes and violence between children are somewhat different to the results of previous studies that indicate a link between gender inequitable attitudes and violence perpetration (Ali et al.; Carrera- Fernández et al. 2013). There are a number of reasons why this may be the case. It is likely that the lack of association between children's patriarchal norms and violence perpetration is due to lack of variability between the groups we tested, and thus individual perceptions of gender norms overall do not appear to explain engagement in peer violence. However, the results do suggest that specific attitudes related to supporting violence against women in the household are associated with children's (particularly boys') perpetration of violence against their peers.

According to the children interviewed for this study, corporal punishment used by teachers at school is highly prevalent, with children reporting frequent experience of physical punishment in the classroom, including being beaten. Boys, in particular, reported experiencing high levels of corporal punishment at school. Although a large proportion of teachers also reported using corporal punishment in school, most reported using verbal punishment with fewer stating that they had beaten children or using other forms of physical punishment in the past month. The discrepancy between children's and teachers' reports of more extreme forms of physical punishment may indicate that teachers were more reluctant to disclose using violent methods to discipline children, particularly given the illegal status of corporal punishment in schools.

The student and teacher data indicate several factors associated with corporal punishment of children in schools. Teachers are significantly more likely to use corporal punishment if they have fewer years of teaching experience and if they report displaying negative teaching behaviours, such as arriving late to class or missing class. These results indicate that less experienced teachers, and teachers who are less self-disciplined with their own teaching practices, are less skilled in using non-violent disciplinary methods in the classroom. The student data also shows a link between children's experience of peer violence and experience of corporal punishment. Both boys and girls who were exposed to corporal punishment in school were more likely to perpetrate violence against other children. This finding is in line with other studies that show an association between children's experiences of school-based corporal punishment and perpetration of peer violence (Khuwaja et al.; Yoneyama and Naito 2003), lending further support to a link between multigenerational violence from adults to children.

CONCLUSION

Violence against children is highly prevalent in Afghanistan at household, community and school levels, and occurs within a context of high rates of interpersonal violence across society and the normalization of everyday violence. However, the findings of this baseline study suggest that violence against and between children at school is preventable. The data suggests that in order to reduce and prevent teachers' use of corporal punishment in schools, more targeted interventions and capacity building in relation to non-violent disciplinary methods need to take place with less experienced teachers. Working with teachers to improve their class preparation, and supporting them to overcome challenges to regular school attendance, and improving school management by principals and other relevant actors, may also assist in

reducing teacher use of corporal punishment. These activities are not currently being implemented by HTAC, but should be considered for future project implementation. Given that children's experiences of peer violence are strongly influenced by their observation of and experience of family violence, school based interventions to mitigate peer violence and bullying must also target violence at the household and community levels in order to shift broader violence-supportive norms and practices. Furthermore, the finding that children's peer violence victimization and perpetration is linked to food insecurity suggests that programs supporting meal provisions in schools may assist in reducing children's engagement in peer violence.

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Annex A: Questionnaire items and measures

Student questionnaire

In the student questionnaire, demographic variables included age, school grade, number of household members and male and female siblings. Food insecurity was measured through two questions about the frequency of going to school without breakfast and to bed without dinner, with values summed to produce a hunger/food insecurity scale (higher scores indicate more food insecurity). Students were asked several questions about their experiences and performance at school, including number of days absent from school in the past month and the main reason for school absence for the last day missed. Students were also administered simple literacy and numeracy tests: reading one line of the questionnaire and completing three basic addition and division mathematics equations.

A number of survey items were included to measure students' experience of depression, sense of hope and disability. Depression was measured through a modified Children's Depression Inventory (CDI - 2) (Kovacs 2011), which includes 28 items related to children's self-rated feelings in the last two weeks. Values range from zero to two with higher values indicating more severity of depressive symptoms. Sense of hope was measured through six items on a 4-point Likert response scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree), with values from zero to three. Items were summed to give a hope score, with higher scores indicating more hope. Students' disability was measured through the Washington Group Disability Scale, with students being coded as having a disability if they reported having 'a lot of difficulty' or 'cannot do at all' to any of five types of difficulties (seeing, hearing, movement, remembering/concentrating or speaking).

Students' experience of peer violence victimization and perpetration were measured through items derived from the Peer Victimization Scale: a 16-item measure designed for young people aged 11 to 17 (Mynard and Joseph 2000). The scale was designed to measure peer violence victimization with 4 subscales, each with questions assessing physical victimization, verbal victimisation, social manipulation and property attacks in the past month. A peer violence victimization score was calculated by summing item responses, with higher scores indicating more experiences of victimization. A Peer Perpetration Scale was developed for the study based on the Peer Victimization Scale, consisting of the same 16 items with the wording adjusted to measure perpetration and the same approach to scoring.

Students were asked a number of questions about their observation and experience of violence at home and at school. Students were asked two questions about having observed abuse of their mother in the previous month (by her husband or by other family members) and a variable was derived to measure any abuse of students' mothers in the past month. Students were also asked if they had seen or heard their father fighting physically with another man in the past month. Students' experience of any corporal punishment/beating at home was measured through two questions: how often in the past month they had been slapped, hit, beaten or physically punished by a parent, and whether they had been beaten so hard at home in the past month that they were injured. Students' experience of corporal punishment by teachers at school was measured through six questions about how often in the past month teachers had used corporal punishment, and a variable was derived to measure any experience of corporal punishment at school in the past month.

Students' attitudes related to gender and child punishment/violence were measured through two scales. A gender attitudes scale was used with 13 items related to attitudes towards women's and girls' participation and rights. The gender attitudes questions had a 4-point Likert response scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree), with values from zero to three, and were developed for the setting. Values were summed to give a gender attitudes score with a possible range of between zero and 27, with higher scores indicating more inequitable attitudes. An attitudes towards child punishment and fighting scale was used with six items designed to measure students' child violence supportive attitudes. Questions had a 4-point Likert response scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree), with values from zero to three, with all questions summed to give a child punishment attitudes score with higher scores indicating more support for violent practices against children.

Teacher questionnaire

In the teacher questionnaire, demographic questions included gender, age, level of education (school grade completed), marriage status and whether respondents had children. Teachers were also asked for how many years they had been teaching. Food insecurity was measured through two questions about the frequency of respondents' household members going to sleep hungry because of lack of food or going without food because of lack of money in the past month, with values summed to produce a hunger/food insecurity scale (higher scores indicate more food insecurity). Respondents were also asked how easy it would be to find 500 Afghani if there was an emergency at home in order to measure cash security.

Teachers' life satisfaction was measured through four items on a 5-point Likert response scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree), with values from one to five, summed to produce a life satisfaction score with higher scores indicating more satisfaction. Teachers were also asked about how successful they perceived themselves to be as teachers, on a 5-point Likert response scale ranging from not successful to very successful.

A gender attitudes scale was used with 15 items related to attitudes towards women's and girls' participation and rights. The gender attitudes questions had a 4-point Likert response scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree), with values from one to four, and were developed for the setting. Values were summed to give a gender attitudes score with higher scores indicating more inequitable attitudes.

Teachers were asked a series of questions about their role modelling of positive and negative behaviours at school. Positive behaviours were measured through five items related to frequency of behaviours with students in the past month: telling students they are doing something good or that they have improved; encouraging a student with their work or their behaviour at school; rewarding students for doing well at school; helping students to resolve a conflict or disagreement peacefully; and asking students for their ideas or opinions in class. Negative behaviours were measured through three items, including frequency of arriving late to class, missing school or leaving early, or being unprepared for lessons. For both sets of questions, items were measured on a 4-point scale (never, once or twice, at least once a week, or most days), and item values were added to produce positive role modelling and negative role modelling scores (higher scores indicate more positive or more negative role modelling).

Teacher use of peaceful conflict resolution methods at home or at school was measured through three items related to either resolving a conflict, disagreement or fight peacefully or encouraging/supporting others to do so. Response options included never, once or more than once, with item values summed to create a conflict resolution scale with higher scores indicating more frequent use of conflict resolution

methods. Teachers were also asked two questions about their experience of violence, including fighting with others or being beaten in the past month.

Teacher use of punishment was measured through five items covering one type of verbal punishment (shouting at students) and four types of physical punishment (making students run around, beating students, making students stand or kneel or pinching students' ears) used in the past month. Response options included 'never', 'once or twice', 'at least once a week' or 'most days', with any corporal punishment being coded if teachers reported using any of four types of punishment (shouting, beating, making students stand or kneel, or pinching students'' ears) at least once in the past month.

A number of survey items were included to measure teachers' sense of hope and feelings or experiences related to trauma. As per the students' survey, sense of hope was measured through the same six items on a 4-point Likert response scale with values summed to give a hope score and higher scores indicating more hope. Teachers were asked one question about whether they had ever been in a situation where they thought they might die in order to measure past trauma. Furthermore, 16 items were included to measure symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in the past week.

Annex B: Data analysis

The data was analyzed using Stata 13.0 with students and teachers clustered into schools. Descriptive and bi-variable data is summarized as percentages or means, and sex-disaggregated for students but not for teachers due to the small number of male teachers in the sample (except where there are striking sex-disaggregated findings for teachers). P values were calculated using Chi Square tests for categorical variables and T-Tests for continuous variables.

To determine factors associated with students' peer violence victimization and perpetration, multinomial regression models were built with a three-level peer violence variable as the outcome. This variable consisted of no violence (victimization or perpetration), victimization only, and perpetration (with or without victimization), in line with the CDC definition of peer violence which differentiates between no/low violence (if there has been zero or one type or episode of violence) and victimization or perpetration of violence (if there has been more than one episode or type of violence) (Hillis et al. 2016). Independent variables were children's social and demographic characteristics, disability, school attendance, literacy and numeracy, violence at home, corporal punishment at school, having observed their mother being abused, having observed their father fighting, depression and gender attitudes.

To determine factors associated with teachers' use of corporal punishment, first bivariable analysis was used to determine which variables were associated with corporal punishment. Then a binomial regression model was built with any corporal punishment as the outcome, and independent variables including social and demographic characteristics, food insecurity, cash insecurity, school characteristics (such as years of teaching and self-perceived success as a teacher), gender attitudes, life satisfaction, symptoms of PTSD, positive or negative behaviour modeling, and experience of violence or having fought in the past month.

For both students' and teachers' regression models, independent variables were entered into the model and sequential backwards elimination was used, removing those with the largest value for p first until the final variables were retained at $p \leq 0.05$.