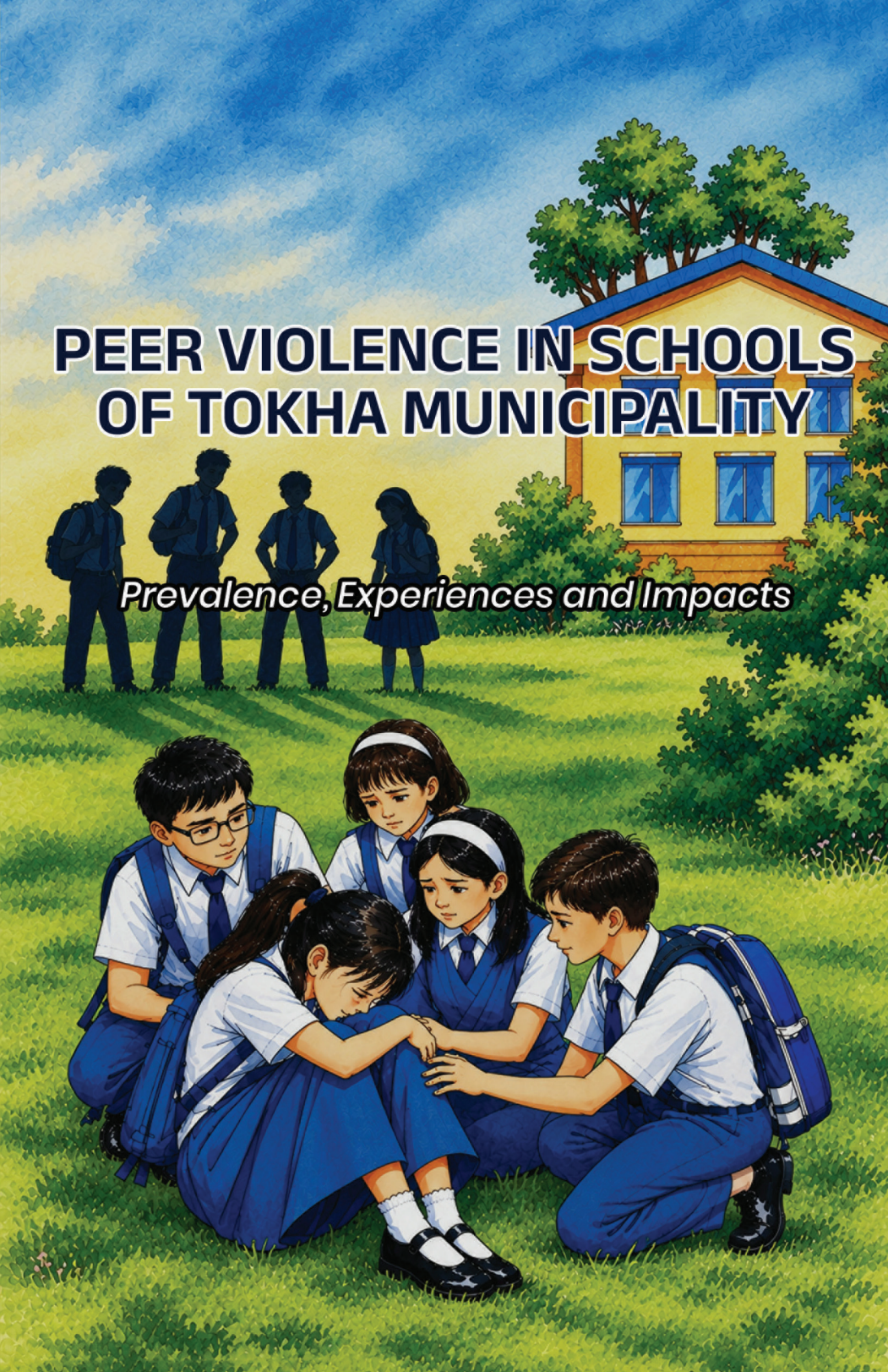
PEER VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS OF TOKHA MUNICIPALITY

Prevalence, Experiences and Impacts



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Legal Literacy - Nepal

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FOREWORD

Legal Literacy – Nepal (LLN) believes that preventing violence against children requires more than legal provisions and policies. It requires a clear understanding of children's experiences, recognition of the factors that contribute to violence, accessible and trusted reporting mechanisms, and a collective commitment from schools, families, communities and government institutions to ensure that every child is safe and supported.

It is in this context that LLN presents the research report, "Peer Violence in Schools of Tokha Municipality: Prevalence, Experiences, and Impacts". Drawing on quantitative and qualitative research involving 840 students from 16 schools, alongside consultations with teachers, school nurses, municipal officials and other stakeholders, the study provides important evidence about the nature and extent of peer violence in participating schools. The findings reveal that peer violence is not an isolated concern. A substantial proportion of students reported experiencing one or more forms of violence from their peers, with consequences for their emotional well-being and education. The study also highlights significant barriers to reporting, including fear of blame, concerns about confidentiality, limited awareness and doubts about whether appropriate action will be taken.

These findings call for serious reflection and coordinated action. While Nepal has established legal and policy provisions to protect children from violence, their effectiveness depends on consistent implementation, effective monitoring, institutional accountability and

the meaningful participation of children themselves. Schools must be equipped not only to recognise visible forms of violence but also to identify less visible forms, such as humiliation, rumours, exclusion and other relational harms. Teachers, school nurses, safeguarding focal persons, parents and local authorities all have important roles to play in prevention, early identification, appropriate response and referral.

I hope this report will serve as a useful resource for Tokha Municipality, school management committees, teachers, parents, child-protection professionals, policymakers, researchers and development partners. Its recommendations should contribute to strengthening school-based child-protection systems, improving reporting and response mechanisms, promoting positive and non-violent relationships, and ensuring that children's concerns are heard and addressed appropriately.

On behalf of Legal Literacy – Nepal, I extend my sincere gratitude to all the students who shared their experiences and perspectives, as well as the school representatives, municipal officials, researchers and other stakeholders whose valuable contributions made this study possible. Their participation has helped shed light on an important child-protection issue that requires sustained attention and collective action.

I particularly acknowledge the efforts of Mr. Om Prakash Sen Thakuri, Executive Director of Legal Literacy – Nepal, for coordinating the research process. I also express my heartfelt appreciation to Kirsty McKendrick for her invaluable contributions to data collection, data analysis, preparation of the report and presentation of the research findings. My sincere thanks also go to Yubraj Magar for his valuable support in data collection, which contributed to the successful completion of this study. My special thanks goes to DKA Austria for providing fund for this research.

Let us work together to ensure that no child has to fear violence from their peers at school. Every child deserves not only access to education but also the opportunity to learn with dignity, confidence and a sense of security.

Hari Bhatta
Chairperson
Legal Literacy – Nepal

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Peer violence represents a significant, but often under-recognised dimension of violence against children, occurring within the everyday relationships and environments in which children live and learn. Although there is no clear consensus on its definition, with terms including school violence, peer-on-peer violence and bullying frequently utilised, peer violence can broadly be understood as 'any form of abuse or neglect among children of approximately the same age' (Merdovic and Jovanovic, 2025: 53). This encompasses bullying – including physical, psychological, sexual, or material forms – while also accounting for physical fights or attacks, and other harm between children. The term peer thus denotes children of approximately the same age yet does not imply an absence of potential power imbalances between children involved in peer violence (Duncan et al., 2026).

Despite legal provisions which uphold the right of children to be free from all forms of violence, peer violence remains a central child protection and wider health concern in Nepal. The following report outlines the prevalence, experiences, and impacts of peer violence on children's emotional wellbeing and education. Chapter One delineates peer violence as a pervasive form of violence against children and provides an overview of what is already known about peer violence in existing international literature, and research available in Nepal, as well as the key gaps in knowledge and understanding this study sought to address. Chapter Two delineates the mixed-methods research design deployed in pursuit of this study's objectives, including the surveys,

focus-group discussions, and key informant interviews conducted with various stakeholders as well as the data analysis and interpretation processes including both quantitative and qualitative methods. This study thus draws on multiple methodologies, combining survey data from 840 students across sixteen schools in Tokha Municipality with perspectives gathered from stakeholders including teachers, school nurses, and municipal officials to provide insight into the prevalence and experiences of peer violence in schools in Tokha Municipality.

Ultimately, the findings outlined in Chapter Three from this study highlight that peer violence is widespread among participating students. Seventy-four per cent of students reported experiencing one or more forms of peer violence; verbal violence was the most frequently reported, alongside substantial levels of physical, relational, sexual, and material forms of harm. For some students, these experiences were recurrent, with approximately one quarter of those reporting peer violence experiencing it every week or every day. Experiences also varied according to socio-demographic groups, including by gender and age. Girls reported higher overall prevalence and more relational forms such as rumours and exclusion, while boys reported more frequent experiences and more physical violence and threats; younger students reported higher overall prevalence.

Chapter Four demonstrates the widespread and severe potential impacts of peer violence as reported by students, including psychosocial consequences, health concerns, and detriment to the experiences and outcomes of their education. Among students who had experienced peer violence, sixty-nine per cent reported one or more emotional or psychosocial consequence, while sixty-six per cent reported one or more educational consequence – almost half reported both. This chapter also outlines children's experiences with reporting cases of peer violence, identifying a substantial gap between

students' experiences and the violence that becomes visible to formal systems of protection. Students were nearly four times more likely to disclose peer violence to family or friends than through institutional mechanisms, while almost one-third told nobody. Even among students who reported experiencing peer violence every day, formal reporting remained sparse. Findings also indicated that reporting patterns were shaped by students' lack of awareness of what constitutes peer violence, and their fears of blame or worsening the situation, concerns about confidentiality, and doubts that meaningful action would follow.

Next, Chapter Five further investigates the perspectives of adult stakeholders and existing procedures for addressing peer violence, and where gaps in protections may arise. In this case, participating staff generally recognised peer violence as a serious issue in schools, but awareness was stronger for more overt forms of violence than for less visible relational forms, while overall awareness of relevant policies, procedures, and training was uneven. At the municipal level, Tokha has established an important foundational legal and policy framework through existing child-protection structures, yet the principal challenge emerged as ensuring that existing provisions are consistently understood, implemented, monitored, and coordinated across schools.

Finally, Chapter Six synthesises the evidence presented in this report, and outlines a series of informed recommendations for addressing and preventing peer violence in schools in Tokha. This report ultimately provides an in-depth study on the situation of peer violence in schools in Tokha, and detailed recommendations for addressing the situation. By implementing such recommendations, it is anticipated that Tokha Municipality can reduce the prevalence and impacts of peer violence, contributing to a safer learning environment for all children, and upholding their fundamental rights to safety and education.

Chapter 1

VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN AND PEER VIOLENCE

1.1. International Perspectives: Violence Against Children and Peer Violence

Violence against children remains a 'global epidemic', with recent studies estimating that half the world's children have experienced violence (UN, 2026; Kostizak et al., 2020: 2). Its eradication therefore remains a central objective of international policy, programming, and advocacy as both a fundamental child-right under international law, and an essential component of sustainable development (UNDESA, 2026).

Violence against children, of which peer violence is one pervasive form, violates internationally ratified laws and fundamental human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) establishes the foundational principles of dignity, equality, and security of the person, providing the normative basis for subsequent human rights principles and legal instruments. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) is the most widely ratified international treaty concerning the human rights of children, requiring states to 'take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social, and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment…

while in the care of parents(s), legal guardian(s), or any other person who has the care of the child' (CRC, 1989, Article 19). Interpretative guidance from the Committee adds further detail to this framework; paragraph 27 of General Comment Number 13 (2011) specifically recognises violence 'exerted by children against other children' as a form of violence requiring State attention and highlights how it can have a 'severe impact on [the child's] development…in the medium and long term'.

Despite its prohibition, estimates suggest that one in three students worldwide have experienced bullying – one identified form of peer violence – while existing research consistently connects peer violence with adverse consequences for children's education, health, future employment, and long-term development (Coalition for Good Schools, 2025: 6; UNICEF, 2018; UNICEF, 2020; UNESCO, 2019; Hansen and Yadav, 2022; Banstola et al., 2023). At the same time, research increasingly emphasises that peer interactions 'do not take place in a vacuum' but are shaped by the wider social conditions and contexts in which children live (UNICEF, 2024; Pells and Morrow, 2018: 2, 19; Merdovic and Jovanovic, 2025). Research on violence against children has therefore called for greater attention to the 'everyday interactions' through which violence occurs, requiring local-level studies to identify the prevalence and nature of peer violence across diverse contexts and identify specific routes for intervention (Korbin, 2003, Parkes, 2015, and Omolo, 2014 in Pells and Morrow, 2018: 4; Ibid: 4).

1.2. National Review: Existing Evidence on Peer Violence in Nepal

UNICEF highlights that violence against children remains a pervasive issue for 'almost every child in Nepal' (Pradhan and Shreshta, 2005: 2; UNICEF, 2026; UNICEF, 2018). Existing research also indicates the prevalence of peer violence in Nepal as one form of violence against children. A targeted review of available academic and grey literature was undertaken to assess what is currently known about the prevalence, nature, and consequences of peer violence in Nepal. Studies providing primary evidence on violence perpetrated by peers in school were prioritised, while those focused on other forms of school-based violence, such as corporal punishment, were excluded. Across the available literature, eleven studies meeting this criteria were identified, ten of which were regionally bounded, and one nationally representative.

Across these studies, peer violence is consistently established as a significant child protection concern in Nepal, although reported prevalence varies substantially. The Global School-based Student Health Survey (GSHS) (2015), conducted by the World Health Organisation and the Nepal Ministry of Health and Population, found that 51 per cent of students had experienced bullying (WHO, 2015). Smaller regional studies reported estimates ranging from 23 per cent in Kathmandu, to 69 per cent in Phyutan, 85 per cent in Bhaktapur, and 100 per cent in another Kathmandu-based study (Pyakurel, 2025; Gaihre et al., 2019; Aryal et al., 2024; Adhikari et al., 2022). While differences in definitions, samples, and research settings may limit the direct comparison between these figures, they collectively demonstrate the presence of peer violence across contexts in Nepal. Existing studies also consistently identify multiple forms of peer

violence occurring in schools in Nepal, with seven identifying verbal violence as the most prominent form, including in Dharan where up to 97 per cent of students who experienced peer violence reported verbal violence (Dhakal and Kumari, 2024). Existing research therefore establishes that peer violence in Nepal is widespread and heterogeneous rather than reducible to a single form.

Several studies also disaggregate experiences by demographic characteristics, particularly gender, (e.g. Dhakal and Kumari, 2024; Sah and Sharma, 2022; Mahotra et al., 2018) and in some cases by age, caste, or other background factors (e.g. Adhikari et al., 2022; Aryal et al., 2024; Pyakurel, 2025; Maharjan and Shreshta, 2022; Acharya, 2024). These findings demonstrate that peer violence is not experienced uniformly across students populations, however sociodemographic differences across existing studies are often treated descriptively rather than analytically, falling short of considering how and why these differences and patterns may emerge. Existing studies also identify emotional and educational consequences associated with peer violence, including depression, psychosomatic symptoms, absenteeism, poorer educational performance, and suicidal thoughts (WHO, 2015; Mahotra et al., 2018; Aryal et al., 2024). However, these consequences are generally presented as discrete individual outcomes, rather than situated within children's wider educational and social environments.

The current evidence base is further constrained by its methodological concentration. With the exception of the GSHS, which surveyed 6,529 students across 68 schools, most studies identified drew on comparatively small samples and from a limited number of schools; only two regional studies used sample sizes over 250 students, while only two drew participants from more than five schools. Given the complexity and contextual variation of peer

violence, these smaller samples may produce unstable estimates of differences between demographic groups, limiting the extent to which observed patterns can be treated as representative beyond individual study settings and potentially contributing to the substantial variation in reported prevalence. The evidence base also predominantly relies on structured surveys, with only one mixed-method approach (Acharya, 2024), and one qualitative study (Shreshta, 2025) identified. While these approaches enable useful comparison in prevalence, forms, and demographic patterns, they provide limited insight into how children themselves experience, interpret, and navigate peer violence, or how they are recognised or acted upon by other child-protection stakeholders.

Taken together, the available literature establishes peer violence as a significant child protection concern in Nepal but leaves a clear need for locally grounded, mixed-method research capable of connecting children's experiences of peer violence with the relational, social, and institutional environments in which they occur. Further, there were no identified studies that examined peer violence in Tokha Municipality, which was similarly expressed by Municipal Officials who believed this was the first.

1.3. Tokha Municipality: Outlining the Research Setting

This study focuses on Tokha Municipality in the Kathmandu District, on the northern edge of the Kathmandu metropolitan area, Nepal's capital and largest city (Nepal Tourism Board, 2026). Tokha comprises eleven wards spanning long-established Newari settlements, northern rural communities, and rapidly developing urban and peri-urban areas in the South; in the 2021 national census, Tokha recorded a

population of 133,755, evidencing substantial population growth over the preceding decade, including through significant internal migration (Tokha Municipality, 2026; Government of Nepal, 2026). Across Tokha, there are 9 community schools, 77 institutional schools, 21 Montessori schools, 3 alternative schools, and 3 community learning centres (Tokha Municipality, 2026).

While Tokha cannot be treated as representative of Nepal as a whole, this study seeks to generate locally grounded evidence relevant to the Municipality, while identifying social and institutional processes that may warrant examination elsewhere. Drawing on perspectives from students, teachers, school nurses, and municipal officials, this report aims to provide a holistic and thorough understanding of the prevalence, nature, and consequences of peer violence to support child-protection stakeholders in the continued pursuit of children's safety, inclusion, wellbeing, and development in schools and across the wider municipal community.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. Research Design, Sampling, and Data Collection

The principal quantitative component of the study was a self-completion student survey administered to 840 students in class 9 and 10 across sixteen secondary schools covering all eleven wards of Tokha Municipality, including eight government schools and eight private schools. Schools were selected purposively and according to institutional access facilitated by LLN and Tokha Municipality; the sample thus provided broad municipal coverage but was not designed to be a statistically representative sample of all children in Tokha. Prior to participation, students received a standardised orientation explaining the purpose and scope of the research on peer violence, which aimed to reduce conceptual ambiguity and improve consistency of interpretation. The survey instrument was developed in consultation with LLN and local stakeholders and combined closed and multiple-response questions concerning experiences, forms, perceived reasons, and consequences of peer violence, as well as two open-ended questions inviting students to describe how they believed peer violence could be prevented, and anything else they wished to share (see Appendix 1).

Institutional perspectives were gathered through supplementary surveys (see Appendix 2 and 3), which similarly provided several closed and multiple-response questions with two open-ended questions, as well as focus group discussions (FGD) with fifteen teachers completing the survey, six of whom attended the FGD, and five school nurses, all from government schools. Surveys were administered prior to group discussions to preserve individual responses before they could be influenced by subsequent group discussions. Two semi-structured key-informant interviews (KII) were conducted with Tokha Municipality's Education Officer (EO) and Child Welfare Officer (CWO). FGDs and KIIs were conducted in Nepali by the Director of LLN following semi-structured guides developed in advance (see Appendix 4-6). School-based adult participants were selected through purposive and access-based sampling, reflecting their relevance to the research and their availability during two separate municipal programs, and were all from government schools due to their institutional connection with the municipality. Both KII participants were purposively selected due to their responsibilities for education and child protection. All adult perspectives were therefore treated as situated institutional perspectives rather than comprehensively representative.

2.2. Ethics and Child Centred Research

This research project received level two ethical approval from the School of Social and Political Science from the University of Edinburgh and received formal permissions from Tokha Municipality. Fieldwork was conducted in accordance with LLN's safeguarding procedures and guided by the National Ethical Guidelines published by the Nepal Health Research Council (NHRC, 2022).

Consent operated on several levels; for students, institutional and proxy consent was gathered from participating schools, alongside the child's voluntary informed assent (Spriggs, 2023). Participants were informed of the study's purpose, their right to decline participation or omit questions, and the limits of confidentiality where safeguarding concerns arose. Student surveys were anonymous, and findings were reported in aggregated form; selected quotes were used without any identifying characteristics, to protect confidentiality and anonymity. Informed written consent was obtained directly from all adult participants who received information about the purpose of the research, the nature of their involvement, and the potential limits to anonymity where professional roles may make individuals recognisable to those familiar with Tokha's educational and child-protection structures.

This study was guided by a child-centred approach, recognising children as rights-holders with legitimate knowledge of issues affecting their lives, and their perspectives central to discussions on violence relating to them (Graham et al., 2013 in Angelow and Psouni, 2025: 1; Ibid.: 1-2). While children's knowledge was centred through perspectives shared in the survey, the research remained adult-led and institutionally bound to balance their particular need for protection, intensified by the involvement of the topic of violence (Ibid.:1-2).

2.3. Data Analysis and Integration

Student survey responses were entered into structured Excel datasets and stored on secure systems, while physical copies were transferred to a secure location at LLN as soon as practicable. Data were then cleaned, including standardising demographic categories, coding multiple-responses as binary variables, and distinguishing eligible

non-responses (abstention) from negative responses, yet otherwise reported as provided without any manipulation. Subsequent analyses were therefore reported as proportions of eligible respondents instead of by the whole sample and descriptively presented, using univariate analysis to examine patterns by demographic information; comparison combining multiple demographic characteristics were avoided as subgroup sizes became analytically unstable (Bryman, 2012: 334-336). The two open-ended student question responses went through qualitative content analysis; initial responses were coded inductively, overlapping codes were consolidated into a thematic coding framework before being applied to the whole dataset (Ibid.: 289-290). Selected responses were used as direct quotations to retain children's own voice.

Supplementary surveys were stored, cleaned, and coded following the same method as the student survey. FGD and KII discussions were recorded using secure systems, which were used to produce detailed English-language notes and selected near-verbatim quotations and thematically analysed, involving familiarisation with the content, thematic categorisation, and comparison of agreement and divergence (Ibid.: 552-560). Findings across data sets were subsequently integrated into a thematic comparison matrix structured by secondary research questions and substantive themes, examining for convergence, complementarity, and divergence across participant groups.

2.4. Methodological Considerations

Although the student sample achieved broad coverage across Tokha, the sample remained bounded by the school-based and access-dependent nature of the study which excluded children

outside or disengaged from formal education, including those who may be experiencing severe exclusion or educational withdrawal. The professional FGDs were also small and limited to government schools, while parents and guardians could not be included within this fieldwork period. The study therefore captures a broad range of students' experiences, alongside institutional perspectives, but not the full range of stakeholders or experiences relevant to peer violence in Tokha.

The research settings may also have shaped both participation and disclosure. Student surveys were administered within school environments, which are not socially neutral research settings and classrooms may also have been sites of violence. Classroom infrastructure also varied significantly across schools, in particular between private and government schools, and complete separation from peers and teachers could not always be guaranteed, potentially impacting students' perception of confidentiality. Participants in FGDs and KIIs may have consciously or subconsciously moderated criticisms in front of colleagues or have deferred to consensus, impacting the neutrality of their accounts. Participant accounts are therefore interpreted as reflecting not only knowledge, but also research settings and the conditions of data collection.

Chapter 3

THE PREVALENCE AND NATURE OF PEER VIOLENCE IN TOKHA MUNICIPALITY

3.1. Participant Profile

Characteristic	Category	Number (N)	Percentage (%)
School Type	Government	395	47
	Private	445	53
Gender	Female	412	49
	Male	428	51
Caste/Ethnicity	Brahmin	209	24.9
	Thakuri	31	3.7
	Chhetri	157	18.7
	Dalit	46	5.5
	Janajati	271	32.3
	Newar	86	10.2
	Madhesi	26	3.1
	Other	7	0.8
	Not Disclosed	6	0.7
Age	≤13	55	6.6
	14	275	32.7
	15	300	35.7
	16	167	19.9
	≥17	43	5.1

Table 3.1. Student survey demographics, N = 840.

The student sample comprised 840 respondents from Classes 9 and 10 in secondary schools in Tokha Municipality. Respondents ranged from 12 to 19 years of age, with an average of 14.84 years of age, and a standard deviation of 0.98. Due to substantial differences in sub-group populations, subsequent demographic comparisons used within-group proportions to distinguish relative prevalence from differences arising in sample composition.

Characteristic	Category	Number (N)	Percentage (%)
School Type	Government	15	100
Gender	Female	6	40
	Male	9	60

Table 3.2. Teacher survey demographics, N = 15.

Characteristic	Category	Number (N)	Percentage (%)
School Type	Government	5	100
Gender	Female	5	100

Table 3.3. School nurse survey demographics, N = 5.

The adult surveys included fifteen teachers, and five school nurses, all of whom worked in government schools. Teachers were 60 per cent male and 40 per cent female, while all five school nurses were female.

3.2. Overall Prevalence and Nature of Peer Violence

Peer violence was widely reported across this sample; of the 840 respondents, 74 per cent reported experiencing at least one form of peer violence included in the survey. This was closely reflected in

students' broader perception of the issue, with 76 per cent agreeing that peer violence represented a serious problem in schools.

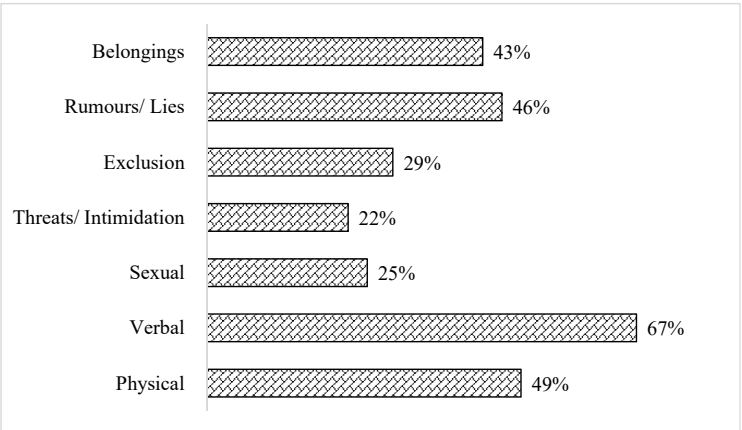


Figure 3.1. Student survey responses on forms of peer violence reported by students who selected one or more form, N = 625.

Experiences of peer violence were reported to encompass a wide range of forms. Among students reporting at least one form of peer violence (N= 625), verbal violence was the most common form reported (67 per cent), consistent with findings from previous studies in Nepal (Dhakal and Kumari, 2024; Maharjan and Shreshta, 2022; Mahotra et al., 2018; Pyakurel, 2025; Adhikari et al., 2022; Sah and Sharma, 2022). Physical violence was also reported by almost half of students who had experienced peer violence (49 per cent), while rumours or lies, and damage or loss of belongings were similarly frequently reported; exclusion, sexual violence, and threats or intimidation were also reported by substantial minorities of respondents.

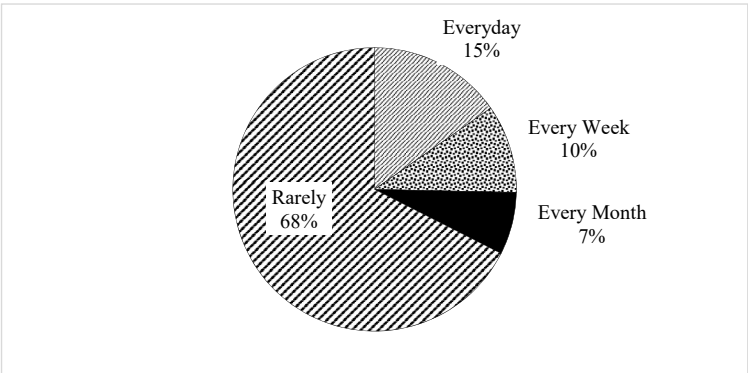


Figure 3.2. Student survey responses on frequency peer violence experienced N = 576.

The reported frequency of these experiences provides further indication of how deeply these experiences entered school life. While two thirds of respondents described peer violence as occurring rarely, approximately one third reported experiencing peer violence at least monthly, including 15 per cent who experienced it every day.

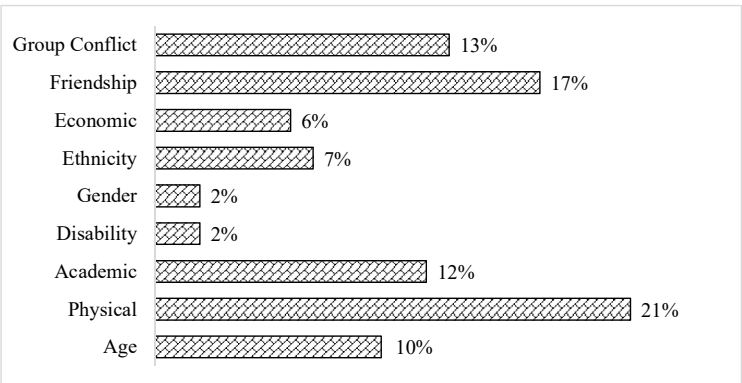


Figure 3.3. Student survey responses on perceived reasons for peer violence, respondents could select multiple reasons, N = 603.

Students associated their experiences with peer violence with a range of personal, relational, and social factors. Physical appearance was the most frequently reported reason (21 per cent), followed by friendship tensions and group conflict, while academic performance and age were also identified by a notable proportion of respondents.

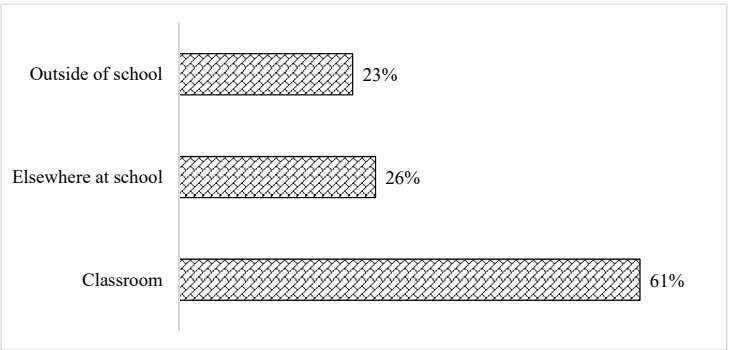


Figure 3.4. Student survey responses on the reported most common sites of experiences peer violence, respondent could select multiple locations, N = 583.

Findings also suggest that classrooms are the primary site of peer violence according to students. While some students (23 per cent and 26 per cent) reported experiencing peer violence either outside of school or elsewhere on school grounds, the classroom clearly emerged as the most reported site of peer violence. Taken together, these findings demonstrate that peer violence is a widespread and pervasive feature of school life among participating students, it encompasses multiple forms of harm, recurs frequently for a substantial proportion of students, and takes place across multiple locations.

3.3 Patterns of Peer Violence

3.3.1. Gender

There were clear differences in both the prevalence and forms of reported peer violence based on gender. Overall, 79 per cent of female respondents reported having experienced at least one form of peer violence, compared with 70 per cent of male respondents. However, boys were more likely to report experiencing peer violence every day or every week (31 per cent) compared to girls (20 per cent).

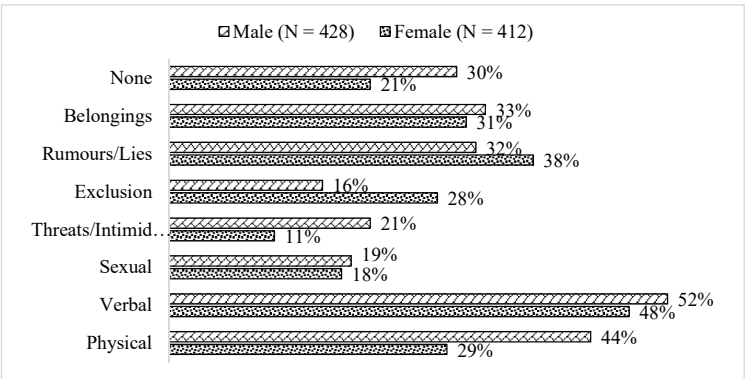


Figure 3.5. Student survey responses on forms of peer violence experienced, distributed by gender, respondents could select multiple forms, N = 840.

Furthermore, there were clear differences in the forms of peer violence most often reported by gender. Male students were more likely to report physical violence or threats and intimidation, while female students reported higher experiences of rumours and exclusion, notably more relational forms of violence. By contrast, verbal, sexual, and material (damage or loss of belongings) violence were comparatively similarly reported between genders (see Figure 3.5).

While students rarely identified gender itself as a direct reason for experiencing peer violence (2 per cent, see Figure 3.3.), the reported perceived reasons for peer violence were also patterned by gender; boys more often identified age and group conflict, while girls identified friendship relations (see Figure 3.6).

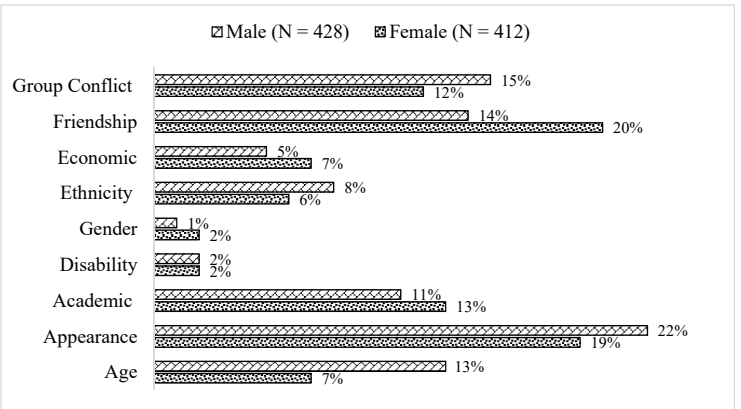


Figure 3.6. Student survey responses on perceived reasons for peer violence distributed by gender, respondents could select multiple reasons.

Discussions with nurses reflect the patterns highlighted in these findings, suggesting that "boys face outward or physical aggression", while for girls violence "is more hidden" and "may not show outside". Furthermore, although appearance was relatively equally reported as a perceived reason for victimisation by students (22 per cent compared to 19 per cent, see Figure 3.6.), nurses repeatedly described gendered differences to this claim, including the emphasis on physical size and strength as particularly salient among boys, while girls were more commonly judged through body shape or perceived attractiveness.

These patterns are reflected in existing research on peer violence in Nepal, which identifies that girls are more likely to be 'subjected to and

involved in' social violence, while boys were more likely to engage in physical violence (Acharya, 2024: 22). This is also consistent with wider gendered expectations surrounding adolescence in Nepal. Existing research in Nepal identifies that traditional patriarchal and patrilineal norms and Hindu values of femininity and masculinity continue to shape expectations surrounding behaviour, reputability, and emotional expression, becoming particularly salient during adolescence, as girls' social standing becomes more closely tied to modesty, sexuality, and family reputability, while boys face increased pressure to portray confidence, dominance, and emotional restraint (Cunningham and D'Arcy, 2017: 3-5; Khatri et al., 2023; Burkey, et al., 2019: 2,7; Gibbs, et al., 2013; Bhujel et al., 2019; Bergenfeld et al., 2021). This may make girls more likely to experience social or relational forms of violence that are more hidden or less easy for adults to observe and identify, whereas boys may experience more physical or more visible forms of harm.

3.3.2. Caste and Ethnicity

Despite the formal abolition of caste based discrimination, caste to some extent continues to 'form the basis of social interaction' in Nepal (ADB, 2010: 1; Bhattarai, 2004). The *Mulukī Ain* (1854), codified a highly rigid caste system, which resulted in unequal access to political, economic, social and educational resources between social groups in Nepal that persist today (Bennet, et al., 2008; Höfer, 1979: 110-113; DfID, 2006: 3, 41-43). Within this study, caste and ethnic identity were also associated with variation in reported peer violence. Respondents categorised as 'Other' and Madhesi reported the highest prevalence of peer violence, while Janajati and Newar reported rates were also high. However, the Madhesi and 'Other' categories represented only

a small number of respondents (see Table 3.1.), meaning differences should be interpreted cautiously.

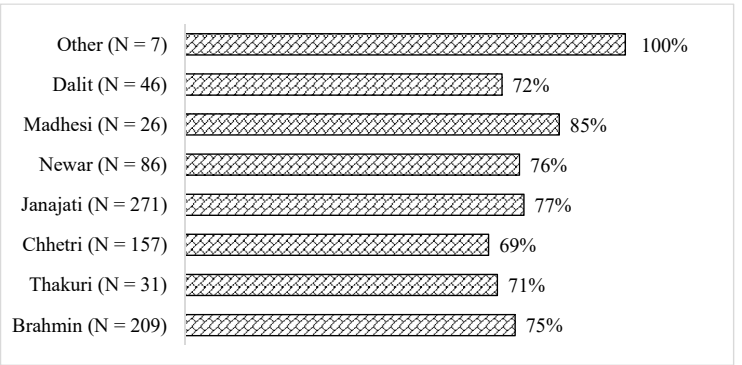


Figure 3.7. Student survey responses of students who reported at least one form of peer violence by caste or ethnic group.

Across the full sample, only 7 per cent of students reported caste or ethnicity as a perceived reason for experiencing peer violence (see Figure 3.3). However, this was unevenly distributed between groups: one-third of 'Other' respondents, and one-fifth of Madhesi respondents identified ethnicity as relevant to their experience. This suggests that caste-based violence may be particularly salient among some particular, more widely socially marginalised, groups.

In response to open-answer questions, 15 per cent of responding students believed that to prevent peer violence in school, caste based discrimination needed to stop, and that "racism shouldn't be normalised", with some students noting that they experience peer violence "because of my family name", or "because I am half Indian", even though they may not necessarily link this to caste-based violence. Several teachers also believed that ethnic discrimination in wider society caused peer violence between students. This reflects the CWO's view that marginalised children were more vulnerable to all

forms of violence in Nepal and may therefore experience caste-based peer violence in schools in Tokha.

Caste may also shape patterns of peer violence through its association with socio-economic resources and family background (Kabeer, 2009: 86; Sharma, 2021: 123; Pradhan and Shreshta, 2005: 2). This dynamic was empirically reflected, as while only 6 per cent of all respondents identified economic circumstances as a perceived reason for peer violence (see Figure 3.3.), this rose to 9 per cent for Dalit students, while nine teachers independently identified financial circumstances as contributing to peer violence. This can also shape peer group dynamics through inclusion and exclusion, observed by nurses in Tokha, who described that students tended to make "friend circles" with those they perceived to be of similar backgrounds.

Several Janajati and Madhesi students also identified skin colour as a reason for their experiences of peer violence, although also not always explicitly connecting this to ethnicity. These findings suggest that caste, ethnicity, and related forms of social differentiation continue to shape some students' peer group relations and potential experiences of peer violence.

3.3.3. Age

Age also shaped experiences of peer violence in schools. Reported prevalence was highest among students aged thirteen or younger at 81 per cent, remained high among students aged 14 to 16, before falling to approximately 63 per cent among respondents aged 17 and above.

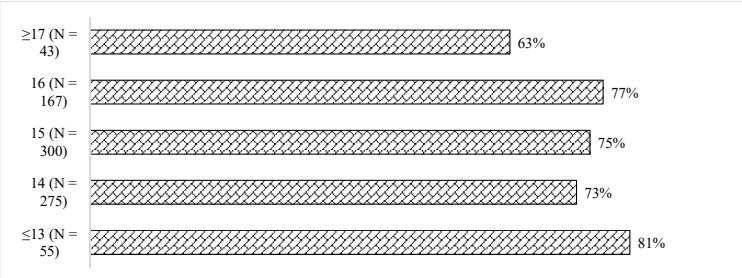


Figure 3.8. Student survey responses of students who reported at least one form of peer violence by age.

There are also observable differences in the forms of peer violence experienced; younger students more frequently reported physical, verbal, relational, and material forms of violence, generally reducing in prevalence as age group increased.

	≤13 (N = 43)	**14 (N = 275)**	**15 (N = 300)**	**16 (N = 167)**	**≥17 (N = 27)**
Physical	42	33	39	41	23
Verbal	55	54	48	50	30
Sexual	20	17	20	20	12
Threats/ Intimidation	22	14	17	17	12
Exclusion	33	25	23	16	7
Rumours/Lies	51	35	38	26	19
Belongings	49	36	31	25	21

Table 3.4. Student survey responses on reported per cent of forms of peer violence, distributed by age.

Age is closely associated with expectations of respect and deference, carrying implications for relative status among peers, consistent with evidence that 'bullying by seniors at school' is common among younger students (Bhujel et al., 2019: 28). Student accounts reflected this dynamic, suggesting that "we should not bully juniors but love them and then they will decrease the peer violence" or suggesting that schools should "keep the younger or older students on separate benches". A nurse also recounted an incident in which a student violently assaulted another after being called *bhāi* or "junior brother". This dynamic may be particularly relevant in government schools; nurses explained that government schools are often unable to organise classes by age due to differences in students' educational progression and resource constraints, producing greater age variation within classrooms. Consistent with this, government-school students were more than twice as likely to identify age as a perceived reason for peer violence than private school students (14 per cent compared with 6 per cent). Thus, age may shape experiences of peer violence through wider norms of seniority, and through the institutional arrangements that may place differently aged students in the same peer environment.

Student respondents in classes 9 and 10 ranged from 12 to 19 years old, meaning peers within the same classroom may differ substantially in physical development. Several students explicitly connected their experiences of peer violence with being "weak", "harmless", or unable to "push back", while others associated protection from peer violence with "being strongest". One respondent explained that students target those who are "a little weak than them", or to "show superiority". One school nurse recounted an incident involving two students with a six year age difference in the same class, where the younger student was strangled until he sustained serious injuries as he was viewed as unable to defend himself. These accounts are consistent with

findings from two similar studies in Kathmandu, which highlighted how perceived weakness shapes peer relations, with violence often directed at physically and socially vulnerable students, finding that 85 per cent of students identified physical weakness as a major reason for experiencing peer violence (Adhikari et al., 2022: 749; Acharya, 2024: 23).

This demonstrates how age may shape peer violence through seniority and physical defensibility, meaning that when children of varying ages are placed in the same classrooms, the risk of peer violence may increase and harm their experiences of school.

CHAPTER 4

CONSEQUENCES, RESPONSES, AND REPORTING OF PEER VIOLENCE

4.1. EMOTIONAL IMPACTS

Responses from students also highlight the worrying emotional and psychosocial consequences of peer violence; among students who reported that they had experienced peer violence, 69 per cent reported at least one emotional impact.

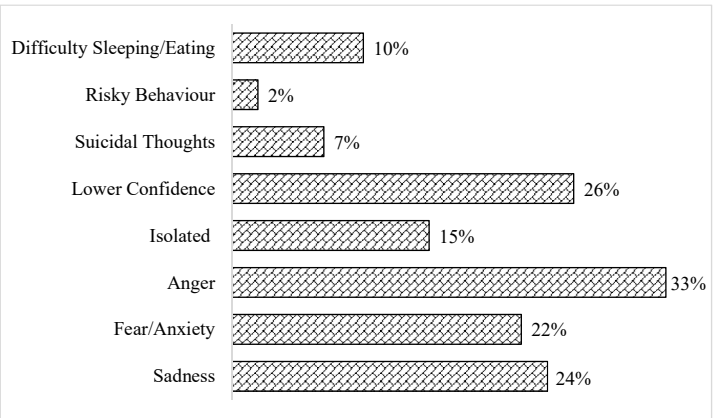


Figure 4.1. Student survey responses on emotional consequences experienced due to peer violence, respondents could select multiple consequences, N = 549.

Students described a range of impacts including anger, fear or anxiety, reduced confidence, isolation from peers, and difficulties sleeping or eating. The 7 per cent of students reporting suicidal thoughts represents a particularly serious safeguarding concern. These findings indicate that the effects of peer violence can extend beyond the immediate incident and detrimentally affect how children feel about themselves, relate to others, and function in their everyday lives. This highlights that peer violence in Tokha is not merely a behavioural issue, but a serious health and social issue.

The consequences of peer violence, particularly anger, may also create further incidence of peer violence among students, through retaliation or difficulty controlling emotions. Anger was the most frequently reported emotional consequence (33 per cent, see Figure 4.1.), while six teachers independently identified anger or difficulty managing emotions as contributing to peer violence. Students' own accounts similarly connected experiencing harm with subsequent aggression, with one explaining that because of "teasing …I have anger issues, get irritated easily, and sometimes hurt my friends", while another observed that "some friends can be motivated to do more aggression when they are angry". Nurses described a similar pattern, suggesting that students may first experience peer violence, "then it will affect their mental state, then they will show more aggression also', noting that few students could be categorised solely through a victim/perpetrator binary.

4.2. Educational Impacts

The emotional and educational consequences of peer violence were closely connected. Among students who reported experiencing peer

violence, 48 per cent reported both emotional and educational impacts, demonstrating that peer violence often affects several areas of a child's life at the same time.

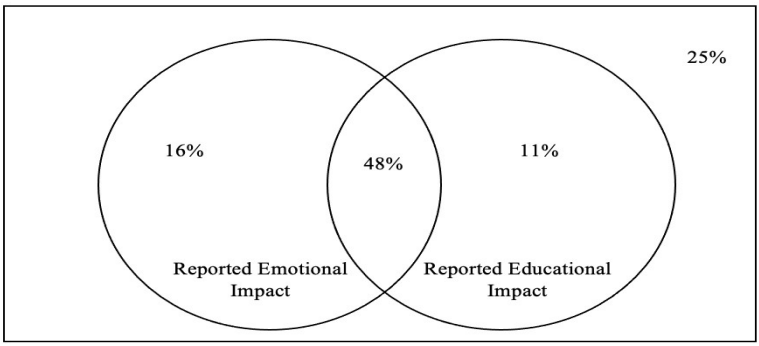


Figure 4.2. Student survey responses on reported emotional and educational consequences, N = 581.

Students experiencing emotional consequences such as loneliness or isolation may be less likely to participate in class, while this withdrawal may in turn weaken access to support or classroom peer groups. One student's response outlined this dynamic, suggesting that "whoever is getting bullied…is having a really bad impact on their studies and in their mental health"; another student described their personal experience with this, expressing how "constant teasing" contributed to them being "under confident", having "anger issues" and "panic attacks", "so [I] do not want to come to school".

Educational impacts were also widely reported in their own right. Among students who reported experiencing peer violence, 66 per cent reported at least one consequence for their experience of school. Reported effects included reduced concentration and motivation, difficulties participating in class, wanting to avoid or leave school, and direct impacts on educational attainment. One

quarter of students reported that they felt their studies had already been negatively affected by their experience of peer violence, while 7 per cent reported already having missed school (see Figure 4.3.). These findings demonstrate that peer violence can interfere not only with students' wellbeing, but also their ability to attend, engage with, and benefit from education.

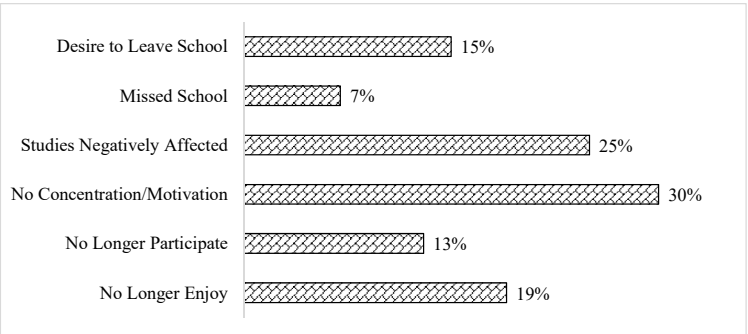


Figure 4.3. Student survey responses on educational consequences experienced due to peer violence, respondents could select multiple consequences, N = 547.

These reported consequences of peer violence on children in schools in Tokha echo the findings of the Global School-based Student Health Survey (2015), from which the World Health Organisation and the Nepal Ministry of Health and Population concluded that peer violence had significant impact on students' health and development (GSHS, 2015, p. 22). Thus, it also follows that our study similarly indicates a need to address the prevalence of peer violence in and to continue to strive for the promotion of child friendly schools in Tokha Municipality.

4.3. Children's Reporting and Help-Seeking

4.3.1. Reporting Patterns

In order to address peer violence in schools, effective prevention and response depends on peer violence becoming visible to adults and institutions responsible for protecting children in schools. One way this can occur is through students reporting peer violence to a responsible adult, such as a teacher, school nurse, or head teacher.

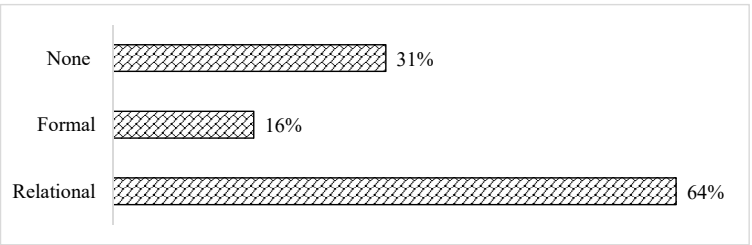


Figure 4.4. Student survey responses reporting patterns grouped by formal and relational mechanisms, N = 540.

However, students who experienced peer violence reported relying more heavily on relational rather than institutional pathways of support. Students were nearly four times more likely to choose a relational reporting mechanism such as friends or family (64 per cent) than an institutional mechanism such as teachers, school nurses, or local authorities (16 per cent); almost one-third of students didn't tell anyone (31 per cent) (Figure 4.4.). Notably, class teachers were reported to by 12 per cent of respondents.

This pattern suggests that children were not simply silent about their experiences of peer violence, but selective about how they disclosed it. While relational disclosure may provide emotional

support or advice, it does not necessarily activate institutional mechanisms capable of interrupting violence. Further analysis found that 84 per cent of students who experienced peer violence everyday still did not report through a formal institutional mechanism, highlighting that even repeated exposure can remain unreported in formal systems.

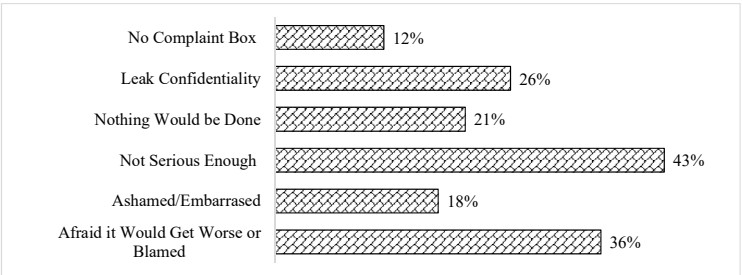


Figure 4.5. Student survey responses of reasons why students chose not to report peer violence, or not to report to more people, N = 386.

4.3.2. Barriers and Perceived Consequences of Reporting

Student's explanations for not reporting peer violence, or for only disclosing to certain people, indicate this decision may have been shaped by how they interpreted the seriousness of their experiences and of potential consequences of reporting. The most commonly selected reason was that students did not believe their experiences to be serious enough to report (43 per cent, see Figure 4.5.), despite many of these students simultaneously reporting emotional and/or educational consequences.

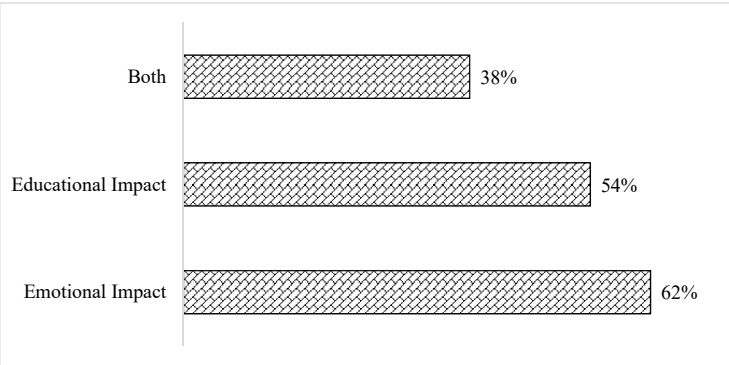


Figure 4.6. Student survey responses on reported consequences of peer violence, from students who said they did not report peer violence because it was 'Not Serious Enough' (see Figure 6.5.), N = 165.

Of the students who reported that they did not consider their experiences to be sufficiently serious to report, 38 per cent reported experiencing both educational and emotional consequences (Figure 4.6.), while 14 per cent experienced peer violence every day. Students could therefore report repeated experiences of peer violence and recognise related harm without necessarily interpreting it as sufficiently serious to warrant institutional intervention.

This lack of formal reporting may be shaped by several interrelated dynamics. First, children's interpretation of violence and their perceived ability to seek protection are shaped by wider expectations surrounding acceptable behaviour, childhood, and adult authority. Where teasing, humiliation, or physical aggression are normalised within children's wider social environment, the threshold at which harm becomes understood as reportable may be ambiguous. This was reflected in student open responses: one explained "people don't see most of it as violence and no seriousness is shown…until something big happens", while another noted that "they think and call it a friendly joke so if I complain it feels bad". Thus, wider social norms

may therefore restrict institutional visibility by narrowing the scope of harm that children perceive as legitimate to disclose.

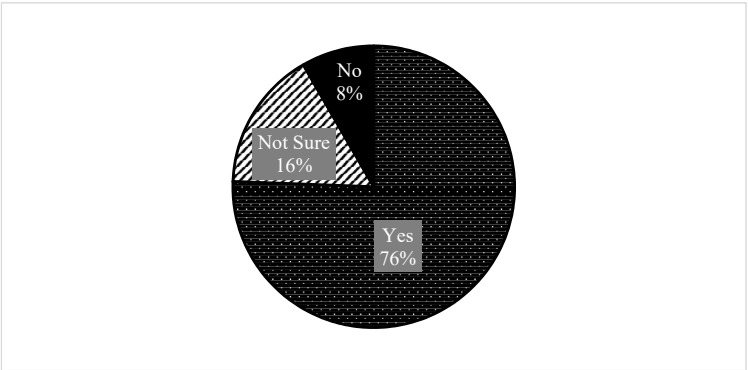


Figure 4.7. Student survey responses of students perspectives if peer violence was a serious issue in their school, N = 840.

This ambiguity may also reflect incomplete awareness among students as to what constitutes peer violence and of the protections surrounding it. While a majority of students recognised peer violence as a serious problem in schools (see Figure 4.7.), fewer students reported awareness that many forms of peer violence are prohibited (see Figure 4.8.), suggesting a lack of comprehensive understanding concerning when harmful peer behaviour may require reporting.

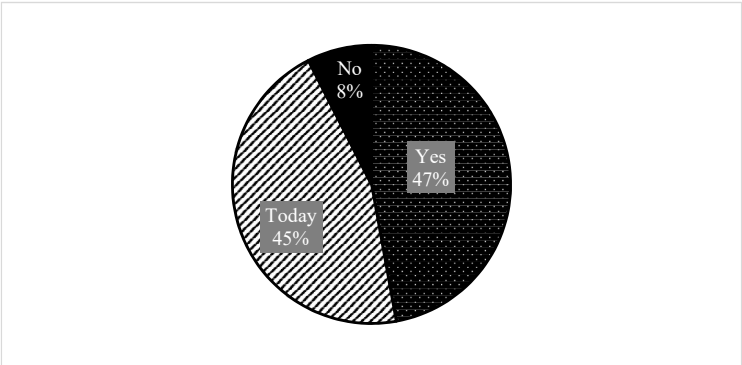


Figure 4.8. Student survey responses concerning if students were aware that many forms of peer violence are prohibited. Students who answered "today" represent those who only learnt this during the orientation they received from LLN, N = 840.

Responses from students and nurses converged in recognising that some children may not feel safe to report their experiences to their teachers due to teachers also engaging in harmful behaviours. Nurses, for example, described examples of teachers engaging in teasing or public humiliation, because they "cannot realise it's a bad thing" and instead "think that it is normal". Thirty-five students also independently identified harmful behaviours of teachers as a barrier to preventing peer violence, providing comments such as "teachers shouldn't beat students" or that "most teachers tell us not to body shame, but afterwards they do it on their own. They do racism too". This suggests that wider school culture and behaviours teachers model in front of students may act as a barrier to recognising and preventing peer violence.

Students also identified concerns associated with anticipated consequences of reporting as a barrier to disclosure (see Figure 4.5.), such as fear they would be blamed or the situation would get worse (36 per cent), or concerns about confidentiality (26 per cent). Several students reflected this in open responses, saying that teachers should not "blame victim students", or "make fun of it". Institutional visibility therefore may have also depended on whether students perceived disclosure to be safe and confidential.

Reporting alone does not guarantee protection; it must also be translated into effective response. Among the small number of students who reported using formal mechanisms and answered the follow up question (N = 30), reported outcomes were mixed; 40 per cent reported that the problem reduced, while 27 per cent reported receiving support from their school. However, 20 per cent reported no change, while 7 per cent believed the situation worsened (Figure 4.9.).

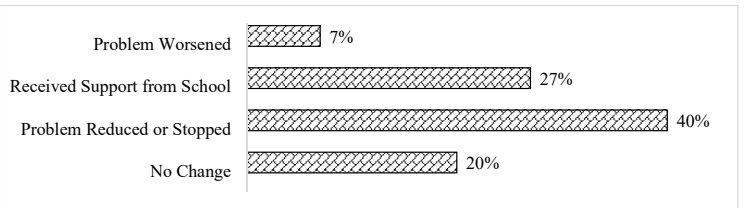


Figure 4.9. Student survey responses on reported outcomes of reporting peer violence through formal mechanisms, N = 30.

This indicates that institutional intervention was perceived by students as neither wholly ineffective nor consistently protective. The concerns of one fifth of students who believed that reporting might produce no action (see Figure 4.5.), may therefore reflect lack of perceived, or observed, credibility of institutional reporting mechanisms. Student responses reflect this, suggesting when a student reports peer violence,

they "should be actually helped instead of ignored and forced to back down", and that "the school should take immediate action…rather than ignoring them or silencing their voice". Where institutional responses are perceived as inconsistent or ineffective, reporting may appear less worthwhile to students, potentially feeding back into the visibility gap by reducing children's willingness to use formal reporting mechanisms.

This suggests that students' reporting patterns were not only shaped by the formal availability of reporting mechanisms, but the wider social dynamics that shape whether students can recognise peer violence as sufficiently serious and legitimate to disclose, their perception of the safety and efficacy of reporting, and their concerns over disclosure and judgement for reporting. Where some forms of peer violence are normalised, minimised, or understood as part of ordinary peer interaction, harmful experiences may remain outside of institutional awareness even when they are repeated or have clear cumulative emotional and educational consequences. Strengthening institutional responses therefore also requires attention to the wider conditions which shape whether children recognise, trust, and ultimately use those systems of protection.

CHAPTER 5

INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO PEER VIOLENCE

5.1. Teachers and School Nurses: Recognition and Response

Teachers and nurses are among the adults most directly positioned to recognise and respond to peer violence in schools in the first instance. Their perspective therefore provides important insight into how peer violence is understood at the school level, as well as the extent to which frontline staff feel equipped to respond when incidents become visible. There was broad recognition among participating staff that peer violence represents a significant concern, with thirteen of fifteen teachers surveyed considering it a serious problem in school. Teachers also identified a range of observed consequences of peer violence, including disengagement from school (93 per cent), risky behaviour (67 per cent), and psychosocial issues (67 per cent) (Figure 5.1.).

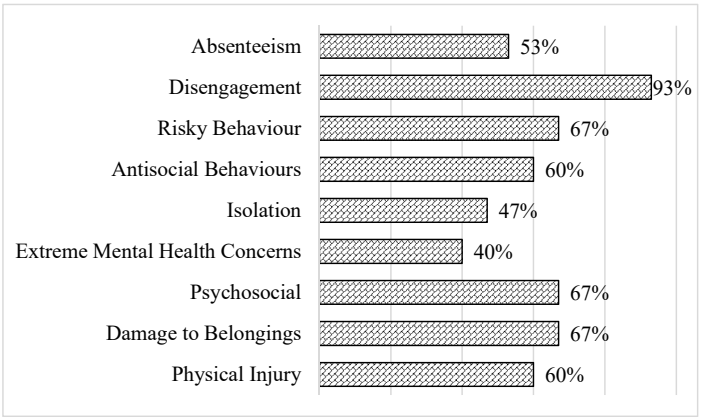


Figure 5.1. Teacher survey responses on observed consequences of peer violence, N = 15.

Teachers also reported awareness of multiple forms of peer violence, although recognition was strongest for overt or readily observable forms of violence, and weaker for relational forms such as exclusion or rumours and lies (Figure 5.2.).

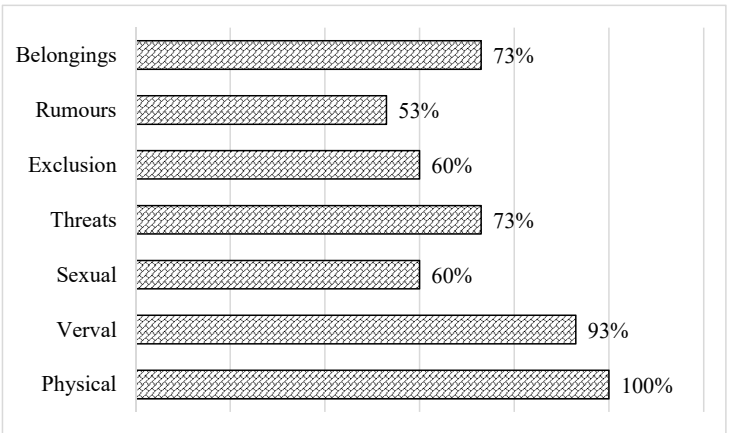


Figure 5.2. Teacher survey responses on forms of peer violence observed, N = 15.

However, this pattern contrasts with students' own perception identified in Figure 3.1., where reports of relational and reputational forms of violence were more frequent. Teacher recognition therefore appeared strongest where peer violence took a discrete and visible form, but weaker where understanding harm may have depended on context or repetition.

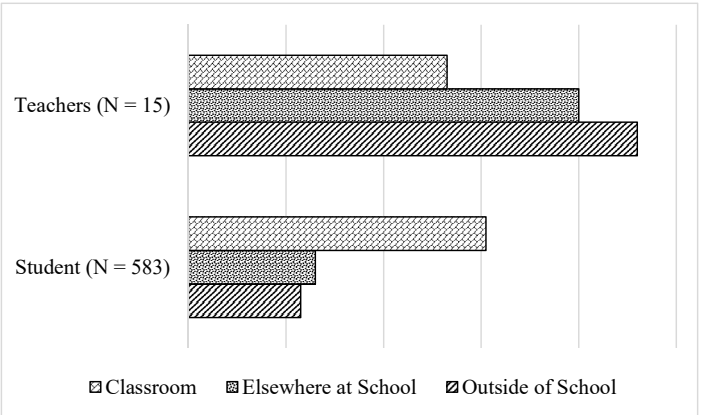


Figure 5.3. Student versus teacher survey responses of site/perceived site of peer violence.

A similar gap emerged around perceptions on the location violence occurred. While students most frequently identified the classroom as a site of peer violence, teachers were considerably more likely to report violence occurring elsewhere at school or outside of school (Figure 5.3.), while one teacher stated that "in class 9/10, we don't see it (peer violence) in class". These differences indicate a clear gap between children's experiences of institutional spaces and adults' recognition of violence within them. Together, this reveals a divergence between children's reported experiences of peer violence and of teacher's reported observations, corroborating findings of a qualitative study

in Nepal which concluded that teachers and students expressed a 'disparity in awareness…and divergences between experienced and recognised' peer violence (Shreshta, 2025: 99).

Recognition of peer violence must also be supported by clear knowledge and training of how to respond appropriately. Among the fifteen participating teachers, nine reported awareness of school policies, and only three reported receiving recent training, while among the five participating nurses only three of the five surveyed nurses reported awareness of relevant legal provisions, two of school-level procedures, and none of training on peer violence in the past year. While the small sample sizes cannot establish the overall preparedness and training of teachers and nurses across Tokha, it does indicate preliminary gaps in the capacity of staff to respond effectively to peer violence when instances arise.

5.2. Municipal Procedures and Capacity

Following the federal restructuring in 2015, municipalities such as Tokha assumed significant responsibility for education and child protection, encompassing the protection of children from all forms of violence in schools (Article 56, Constitution of Nepal, 2015). When considering formal municipal policies, Tokha displays success in translating international and national level policy into municipal-level focus through the School Child Protection Standards (2025). These standards operationalise commitments through concrete school-level mechanisms including requiring schools to reduce risks of violence against children; maintain reporting and complaint mechanisms; protect confidentiality; and provide orientation and training to relevant individuals, demonstrating local operationalisation of responsibilities derived from Nepal's Act Relating to Children (2075),

the Constitution of Nepal (2015) and wider commitments of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). Thus, it can be considered that the persistence of peer violence therefore cannot be principally attributed to an absence of formal protection, demonstrating the Tokha Education Officer's assertion 'by looking at the…policy situation, [peer violence] shouldn't be happening".

However, the persistence of peer violence despite this policy architecture directs attention to whether those formal protections are effectively implemented in practice. Municipal officials described a number of existing efforts to support implementation, including teacher and school staff training and orientation on child protection and relevant legal provisions, focal-teacher arrangements, awareness activities, and investigations where complaints are received and referred. However, the Education Officer acknowledged that these activities may rely on focal teachers sharing information with colleagues, meaning there may be gaps in coverage of teachers, and that municipal engagement was not evenly distributed between public and private schools. This corresponds to the school-level findings presented above, where teacher and school nurse awareness and training was reported as incomplete. This indicates that uneven institutionalisation of municipal activities may limit the extent to which school-level staff are consistently equipped to confidently, safely, and effectively address peer violence in schools in Tokha.

Municipal monitoring presents a further challenge. The Education Officer noted that although the Education Department has responsibility for monitoring implementation, available resources and staffing limits the Municipality's ability to attend schools regularly and oversee the day-to-day school activities to ensure compliance to such policies. Therefore, in the absence of official complaints, particularly where incidents are severe, the Municipality may have limited

means of identifying whether school level procedures are operated effectively. This is particularly significant in light of the findings regarding the limited use of institutional reporting mechanisms by students, creating a visibility gap where the problem of peer violence may persist without Municipal visibility or ability to support schools in addressing peer violence. Furthermore, both the municipality's Education Officer and the Child Welfare Officer noted that resourcing constraints were exacerbated by limited coordination and unclear division of responsibility between departments. Peer violence is a cross-cutting issue, spanning the education, child protection, and health departments within Tokha Municipality – while this is appropriate given the multidimensional nature of the problem, this may also fragment responsibility and act as a barrier to a strong and unified municipal response.

Overall, while Tokha Municipality has established an important legal and policy foundation for preventing and responding to violence against children in schools, the findings suggest that the key challenge is ensuring that existing provisions are consistently understood, implemented, monitored, and coordinated across schools. This is particularly important for peer violence because many incidents have been highlighted as relational, normalised, and underreported; thus, effective protection cannot rely solely on formal complaints reaching municipal actors but must instead stem from a collective culture of zero tolerance for all forms and extremities of violence against children, robust routine monitoring, school-level training and awareness, and the consistent application of protection procedures.

Chapter 6

SYNTHESIS AND INFORMED RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Synthesis of Findings

This study identifies peer violence as a widespread and significant child protection concern in secondary schools across Tokha Municipality. Almost three quarters of children who participated in our study reported having experienced one or more forms of peer violence, with verbal forms the most frequently reported, and widespread physical, relational, sexual, and material forms all also reported. For a substantial proportion of students, peer violence was a recurrent feature of their school lives, with some students experiencing peer violence weekly or daily. The findings also highlighted that peer violence is not reported uniformly across the student sample, with gender, caste and ethnicity, and age all shaping the frequency and forms of peer violence experienced. For example, girls more frequently reported relational forms of violence such as exclusion from their peer group, or attacks on their social standing through rumours, while boys more often reported physical violence and threats. Younger students reported higher levels of peer violence overall, while students' accounts also highlighted the salience of seniority, physical defensibility, appearance, caste, ethnicity, and

economic background in shaping experiences and patterns of peer violence.

The consequences of these experiences extended well beyond the immediate incident themselves, with findings demonstrating that peer violence was reported by students as having serious and significant impacts on both emotional and educational wellbeing. Sixty-nine per cent of students who had experienced peer violence reported at least one emotional or psychological consequence, while sixty-six per cent reported an educational impact – almost half of students reported both. These consequences included fear and anxiety, reduced confidence, disengagement from their peer groups and school life, difficulties sleeping and eating, reduced concentration or motivation, absenteeism, and a desire to leave school. In some cases, students expressed that their own experiences of peer violence were linked to anger and subsequent aggression, suggesting that harm could contribute to further conflict rather than remaining confined in a singular incident, creating self-sustaining cycles of harm in school. Thus, it was demonstrated that peer violence simultaneously affects several dimensions of children's health, wellbeing, development, and ability to benefit from education. This reflects wider international evidence, which consistently links peer violence with adverse consequences for children's education, health, and longer term development, and reinforces its importance as both a child-protection, and educational concern.

A further central finding concerns the extent to which peer violence becomes visible to responsible adults and institutions. Students were substantially more likely to disclose experiences through relational reporting routes such as friends or family, than through formal school or municipal mechanisms; even among students experiencing peer violence every day, or reporting serious impacts on their wellbeing

and education, formal reporting remained uncommon. Even still, one third of respondents didn't report their experiences of peer violence to anyone. This demonstrates that an absence of complaints reaching child protection actors such as teachers or the municipality does not indicate an absence of peer violence, as substantial levels of harm were expressed by students where incidents still remained outside of formal systems of protection.

These reporting patterns emerged as shaped not only by the availability of formal mechanisms, but also by whether the students considered their experiences significantly serious to disclose; the uneven levels of awareness reported by students of what constitutes peer violence and which forms are prohibited highlights a lack of awareness which may influence reporting behaviours. Further, students also appeared to shape their reporting behaviours based on whether they perceived reporting to be safe, confidential, and lead to meaningful action. Concerns about blame, worsening the situation, breaches of confidentiality, or institutional inaction therefore combined with the normalisation or minimisation of some forms of peer violence to keep substantial levels of harm outside formal systems of recognition and protection.

The perspectives of teachers and school nurses further demonstrate that institutional protection also depends on whether responsible adults recognise and are equipped to respond to peer violence. Participating staff generally recognised peer violence as a serious issue and were aware of the range of its possible consequences; however, teachers were more likely to identify overt and visible forms of violence than less visible relational forms such as exclusion or rumours, and their perceptions of where peer violence occurred differed significantly to students' own accounts. Awareness of relevant policies, procedures, and recent training were also inconsistent among participating

frontline staff. These findings suggest that even where peer violence becomes visible, recognition and response may still vary depending on the form of violence it involves and the preparedness of the adult receiving or observing it.

At the municipal level, Tokha has established a substantial foundational basis for addressing violence against children in schools, encompassing peer violence. The key challenge identified through this study is therefore not an absence of formal protection, but ensuring these provisions are consistently implemented and supported across schools in Tokha. Limited monitoring capacity, uneven frontline training, and reliance on written policy may restrict the Municipality's ability to identify peer violence that remains unreported at a school level. Consequently, strengthening routine monitoring and implementation, coordination between relevant municipal and school actors, and the consistent application of existing child-protection procedures will be important in ensuring that formal commitments translate into reliable protection for students in schools in Tokha Municipality.

Taken together, the findings of this study demonstrate that peer violence is a widespread and consequential feature of school life for many students in Tokha. By bringing together children's experiences with the perspective of teachers, school nurses and municipal officials, this study provides an in depth and holistic analysis of how peer violence is experienced, understood, and addressed by multiple stakeholders across Tokha Municipality. In a context where existing evidence is currently limited, this locally grounded analysis helps to illuminate the existing patterns of peer violence affecting students, and the practical points at which prevention and protection can be strengthened, providing a clear basis for the recommendations that follow.

6.2 Recommendations

The findings of this study demonstrate that addressing peer violence in Tokha requires action across prevention, recognition, reporting, and response. The following recommendations are intended to build upon the existing child-protection structures already established within Tokha Municipality, and to support the direction of concerted efforts by child-protection stakeholders who are already working extensively to address such issues. They are therefore designed to help strengthen, coordinate, and focus ongoing initiatives in response to the specific patterns and gaps identified through this study.

Recommendations for Tokha Municipality

a. Strengthen coordination across municipal departments and child-protection partners.

b. Mobilise non-governmental organisations and civil-society organisations to support school oversight, training, and awareness.

c. Strengthen routine monitoring to support the implementation of existing School Children Protection Standards across schools.

d. Ensure regular and age-appropriate legal awareness programmes to students including their right to safety and protection, what constitutes peer violence, examples of less obvious forms of harm, and practical information on how and where to report experiences.

e. Mobilise child club systems to increase student awareness of peer violence and available support, strengthen understanding of peer-support and bystander roles, empower students to promote inclusive and respectful peer cultures.

Recommendations for Schools and School Leadership

a. Promote a culture and standard of zero tolerance towards peer violence of any severity, and of respect and tolerance for all students.

b. Make reporting mechanisms visible, accessible, confidential, and trusted.

c. Ensure a consistent response procedure for peer violence disclosures that are confidential, respectful, and proportionate.

d. Provide teachers, nurses, and students with regular and comprehensive practical training on peer violence.

Recommendations for Teachers and School Nurses

a. Participate in regular training and awareness programmes particularly focused on strengthening recognition and response to lower-level or less overt forms of harm.

b. Model respectful, confidential, and non-discriminatory behaviour to reinforce acceptable norms within the classroom and beyond.

c. Provide follow-up after incidents, not only immediate intervention including checking in with students on if the incident has been resolved, addressing any concerns, and providing necessary support for any emotional or educational impact.

Recommendations for Non-Governmental and Civil-Society Organisations

a. Support the delivery of sustained school-based awareness campaigns to both students and staff to promote legal literacy and provide practical recommendations.
b. Support schools and the Municipality with training and implementation.
c. Use the evidence generated in this report to support targeted advocacy and resource mobilisation.

Across all stakeholder groups, the priority should now move from recognition of peer violence as a concern in Tokha towards consistent prevention, early identification, trusted reporting, and reliable response. Tokha Municipality already possesses important foundations for child-protection structures and a network of committed stakeholders including schools, municipal actors, and civil-society organisations. Strengthening the coordination, reach, and consistency of these existing efforts offers the clearest pathway towards reducing peer violence and ensuring that children are able to learn in safe, inclusive, and supportive school environments and communities.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1: STUDENT SURVEY

A Survey on Peer Violence in Tokha's Schools 2083

विद्यालयहरूमा साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसासम्बन्धी/बुलिङसम्बन्धी सर्वेक्षण, २०८३

कानुनी साक्षरता - नेपाल (Legal Literacy – Nepal)

यस सर्वेक्षणको उद्देश्य नेपालमा साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसाबारे जानकारी प्राप्त गर्नु तथा विद्यालयलाई विद्यार्थीहरूका लागि अझ सुरक्षित स्थान बनाउन योगदान पुऱ्याउनु हो। कृपया यस कार्यमा सहयोग पुग्ने गरी सकेसम्म सही जानकारी प्रदान गर्नुहोस्। यो फाराम पूरा गरेर तपाईंले आफ्ना प्रतिक्रियाहरू हाम्रो अनुसन्धान तथा कार्यका लागि अभिलेख गरिने र प्रयोग गरिने कुरामा सहमति जनाइरहनुभएको छ। तपाईंका उत्तरहरू गोप्य राखिनेछन् र तपाईंको पहिचान खुलाइने छैन. (The purpose of this survey is to gather information about peer violence in Tokha and to contribute to making school a safer place for students. Please provide as much accurate information as possible to help us in this effort. By completing this form, you are agreeing that your responses will be recorded and used for our research. Your responses will be kept anonymous and confidential.)

१. व्यक्तिगत विवरण (Personal Details)

उमेर (Age): _____ लिङ्ग (Sex): _____ कक्षा (Class): _____ थर/जाती (Surname/Caste): _____

विद्यालयको नाम (School Name): _____

२. सचेतना र बुझाइ (Awareness/Understanding)

A. के तपाईंलाई साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसा (Peer Violence÷Bullying) को बारेमा थाहा छ? Are you aware of what peer violence means?

☐ थाहा छ (Yes) ☐ थाहा छैन (No) ☐ मैले आजै मात्र थाहा पाएँ (I have just learnt about it today)

B. के तपाईंलाई थाहा छ कि साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसाका धेरै प्रकारहरू नेपालका बाल संरक्षणसम्बन्धी कानुनअन्तर्गत निषेधित छन् र कानुनी सजाय हुन सक्छ? Are you aware that many forms of peer violence are prohibited under NepalÚs child protection laws and can result in legal punishment?

☐ थाहा छ(Yes) ☐ थाहा छैन (No) ☐ मैले आजै मात्र थाहा पाएँ (I have just learned today)

C. के तपाईंलाई लाग्छ कि विद्यालयहरूमा साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसा (Peer Violence) गम्भीर समस्या हो? Do you think that peer violence is a serious problem in schools?

☐ हो (Yes) ☐ होइन(No) ☐ थाहा छैन (Not Sure)

३. साथीगत हिंसाका अनुभवहरू (Experiences of Peer Violence)

A. तपाईंले निम्न प्रकारका साथीगत हिंसा (Peer Violence) कति पटक र कहाँ अनुभव गर्नुभएको छ? (लागू हुने सबैमा चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस्) Have you experienced the following forms of peer violence? Tick all that apply:

	Tick
शारीरिक हिंसा जस्तै झगडा, कुटपिट, लात हान्नु, धकेल्नु वा थप्पड हान्नु र (Physical violence such as fights, hitting, kicking, pushing, or slapping)	
मौखिक दुर्व्यवहार जस्तै नाम बोलाएर गाली गर्नु, अपमान गर्नु, जिस्क्याउनु (Verbal bullying such as name–calling, insults, teasing, or mocking -on the basis of caste, age, gender etc.)	
नचाहिने यौन टिप्पणी, मजाक, छुनु वा असहज व्यवहार (Unwanted sexual comments, jokes, touching or uncomfortable behaviors)	
धम्की, डर देखाउने वा जबरजस्ती नचाहिने काम गराउने व्यवहार (Threats, intimidation, or peer pressure to do something you did not want to do)	
जानाजानी अलगाउनु राख्ने वा बेवास्ता गर्ने (Being excluded or left out on purpose)	
बारेमा हल्ला वा झूट फैलाउने (Rumors or lies being spread about you)	
तपाईंका सामान लिने, लुकाउने वा बिगार्ने (Someone taking, hiding, or damaging your belongings)	
साइबर बुलिङ (अनलाइनमा दुख दिने सन्देश, पोस्ट वा फोटो/भिडियोको दुरुपयोग) (Cyberbullying, such as hurtful messages, online posts, or misuse of photos/videos)	
मैले कुनै पनि प्रकारको साथीगत हिंसा (Peer Violence) कहिल्यै अनुभव गरेको छैन (No, I have never experienced any form of peer violence)	
अन्य भए लेखिदिनुहोस् (Other please, write):	

A Survey on Peer Violence in Tokha's Schools 2083

विद्यालयहरूमा साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसासम्बन्धी/बुलिङसम्बन्धी सर्वेक्षण, २०८३

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विद्यालयको नाम (School Name): _____

२. सचेतना र बुझाइ (Awareness/Understanding)

A. **के तपाईंलाई साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसा** (Peer Violence÷Bullying) **को बारेमा थाहा छ?** Are you aware of what peer violence means?

☐ **थाहा छ** (Yes) ☐ **थाहा छैन** (No) ☐ **मैले आजै मात्र थाहा पाएँ** (I have just learnt about it today)

B. **के तपाईंलाई थाहा छ कि साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसाका धेरै प्रकारहरू नेपालका बाल संरक्षणसम्बन्धी कानुनअन्तर्गत निषेधित छन् र कानुनी सजाय हुन सक्छ?** Are you aware that many forms of peer violence are prohibited under NepalÚs child protection laws and can result in legal punishment?

☐ **थाहा छ**(Yes) ☐ **थाहा छैन** (No) ☐ **मैले आजै मात्र थाहा पाएँ** (I have just learned today)

C. **के तपाईंलाई लाग्छ कि विद्यालयहरूमा साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसा** (Peer Violence) **गम्भीर समस्या हो?** Do you think that peer violence is a serious problem in schools?

☐ **हो** (Yes) ☐ **होइन**(No) ☐ **थाहा छैन** (Not Sure)

३. साथीगत हिंसाका अनुभवहरू (Experiences of Peer Violence)

A. **तपाईले निम्न प्रकारका साथीगत हिंसा** (Peer Violence) **कति पटक र कहाँ अनुभव गर्नुभएको छ? (लागू हुने सबैमा चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस्)** Have you experienced the following forms of peer violence? Tick all that apply:

	Tick
शारीरिक हिंसा जस्तै झगडा, कुटपिट, लात हान्नु, धकेल्नु वा थप्पड हान्नु र (Physical violence such as fights, hitting, kicking, pushing, or slapping)	
मौखिक दुर्व्यवहार जस्तै नाम बोलाएर गाली गर्नु, अपमान गर्नु, जिस्क्याउनु (Verbal bullying such as name–calling, insults, teasing, or mocking -on the basis of caste, age, gender etc.)	
नचाहिने यौन टिप्पणी, मजाक, छुनु वा असहज व्यवहार (Unwanted sexual comments, jokes, touching or uncomfortable behaviors)	
धम्की, डर देखाउने वा जबरजस्ती नचाहिने काम गराउने व्यवहार (Threats, intimidation, or peer pressure to do something you did not want to do)	
जानाजानी अलगाउनु राख्ने वा बेवास्ता गर्ने (Being excluded or left out on purpose)	
बारेमा हल्ला वा झूट फैलाउने (Rumors or lies being spread about you)	
तपाईंका सामान लिने, लुकाउने वा बिगार्ने (Someone taking, hiding, or damaging your belongings)	
साइबर बुलिङ (अनलाइनमा दुख दिने सन्देश, पोस्ट वा फोटो/भिडियोको दुरुपयोग) (Cyberbullying, such as hurtful messages, online posts, or misuse of photos/videos)	
मैले कुनै पनि प्रकारको साथीगत हिंसा (Peer Violence) **कहिल्यै अनुभव गरेको छैन** (No, I have never experienced any form of peer violence)	
अन्य भए लेखिदिनुहोस् (Other please, write):	

- ☐ कुनै असर गरेको छैन It has not affected my experience
- ☐ भन्न चाहन्न Prefer not to say

अन्य भए लेखिदिनुहोस् (Other please, write): _____

B. यसले तपाईको भावनामा कस्तो असर गऱ्यो? (सबै लागू हुनेमा चिन्ह लगाउनुहास्) How has peer violence affected how you feel? Tick all that apply.

- ☐ म बढी दुखी महसुस गर्छु I feel more sad
- ☐ म बढी डर/चिन्ता महसुस गर्छु I feel more nervous/scared
- ☐ म बढी रिसाउँछु I feel more angry
- ☐ म एक्लोपन महसुस गर्छु वा साथीहरूसँग घुलमिल हुन डर लाग्छ I feel more lonely/isolated or scared to mix with my peers
- ☐ म आत्मविश्वास कम भएको महसुस गर्छु I feel less confident
- ☐ ममा आत्महत्याको विचार आएको छ I have had suicidal thoughts
- ☐ म बढी जोखिमपूर्ण व्यवहारमा संलग्न भएको छु (जस्तै मदिरा, धूम्रपान, लागूऔषध आदि) I have engaged in more risky behaviour e.g. alcohol, tobacco, drugs etc.
- ☐ मलाई निद्रा नलाग्ने वा खान मन नलाग्ने भएको छ I have had difficulty sleeping or eating
- ☐ कुनै असर गरेको छैन It has not affected how I feel
- ☐ भन्न चाहन्न Prefer not to say

अन्य भए कृपया लेख्नुहोस् (Other please, write): _____

५. साथीगत हिंसाबारे रिपोर्टिङ Reporting Peer Violence

A. साथीगत हिंसा भोग्नुभएको भए, त्यसबारे कसलाई भन्नुभयो? (सबै लागू हुनेमा चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस्) If you experienced peer violence, who did you tell or report about it. Tick all that apply.

- ☐ आमाबुवा/अभिभावकलाई parent/guardian
- ☐ अन्य आफन्तलाई Another family member, Who?
- ☐ साथीलाई A friend
- ☐ विश्वासिलो व्यक्ति वा ठूलालाई trusted person or senior, Who?
- ☐ शिक्षकलाई Teacher
- ☐ मैले विद्यालयका अन्य शिक्षक/कर्मचारी (जस्तै प्रधानाध्यापक) लाई जानकारी दिएँ another teacher in my school, Who?
- ☐ विद्यालय नर्स/परामर्शदातालाई School nurse/Counsellor
- ☐ बाल क्लब वा सञ्जाललाई Child club or Sanjal
- ☐ प्रहरी वा स्थानीय निकायलाई The police or local authority
- ☐ गुनासो पेटिकामा रिपोर्ट गरें I reported to complaint box
- ☐ सामाजिक सञ्जालमा सेयर गरें I shared on social media
- ☐ मैले कसैलाई भनेको छैन I did not tell anyone about it
- ☐ भन्न चाहन्न Prefer not to say

अन्य भए लेखिदिनुहोस् (Other please, write): _____

B. समस्या बताएपछि के भयो? (सबै लागू हुनेमा चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस) If you did tell/report it, what happened afterwards. Tick all that apply.

- ☐ केही भएन, समस्या उस्तै रह्यो Nothing changed, the problem continued
- ☐ समस्या कम भयो The problem reduced
- ☐ समस्या रोकियो The problem stopped
- ☐ परिवार/साथीबाट सहयोग पाएँ I received support from family/friends
- ☐ विद्यालयबाट सहयोग पाएँ I received support from school
- ☐ समस्या झन् बढ्यो The problem became worse
- ☐ बेइज्जत मात्र भयो ध नयत ष्लकगतिभम (retribution)
- ☐ भन्न चाहन्न Prefer not to say

अन्य भए लेखिदिनुहोस् (Other please, write): _____

C. **गुनासो नगर्नुभएको भए, के कारणले गुनासो गर्नुभएन? (सबै लागू हुनेमा चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस)** If you did not tell/report anyone, why not.Tick all that apply.

- ☐ **झन् खराब हुने वा मलाई दोष लगाइने डर थियो** I was afraid it would get worse or I would be blamed.
- ☐ **गुनासो पेटिका नै छैन** Because there is no complaint box
- ☐ **लाज वा अप्ठ्यारो लाग्यो** I was ashamed or embarrassed
- ☐ **यो गम्भीर होइन जस्तो लाग्यो** I did not think it was serious enough
- ☐ **मेरो गुनासोमा कारबाही हुन्छ जस्तो नलागेर** I did not think anything would be done
- ☐ **गोपनीयता बाहिरिने डर** -I was afraid of confidentiality being leaked_
- ☐ **भन्न चाहन्न** Prefer not to say

अन्य भए लेखिदिनुहोस् (Other please, write): _____

विद्यालयमा साथीगत हिंसा रोक्न के गर्न आवश्यक छ जस्तो लाग्छ ? Is there anything you believe would prevent peer violence in school?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

यस विषयमा तपाईं अरू केही भन्न चाहनुहुन्छ ? Is there anything else you would like to share?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

यदि तपाईं वा तपाईंले चिन्ने कोही साथी हाल उभभच खथ्यभिलअभ (साथीबीचको हिंसा) बाट प्रभावित हुनुहुन्छ र यस विषयमा कुनै सल्लाह वा सहयोग चाहनुहुन्छ भने, कृपया यहाँ आफ्नो नाम र सम्पर्क नम्बर लेख्नुहोस् । If you or someone you know, are currently suffering from peer violence and would like any advice÷help, please put your name and contact number here.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX 2: SCHOOL NURSE SUPPLEMENTARY SURVEY

A Survey on Peer Violence in Schools 2083 – School Nurses

विद्यालयहरूमा साथीबीचको हिंसा सम्बन्धी सर्वेक्षण २०८३ – विद्यालय नर्सहरू

कानुनी साक्षरता – नेपाल (Legal Literacy – Nepal)

यस सर्वेक्षणको उद्देश्य नेपालमा साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसाबारे जानकारी प्राप्त गर्नु तथा विद्यालयलाई विद्यार्थीहरूका लागि अझ सुरक्षित स्थान बनाउन योगदान पुऱ्याउनु हो। कृपया यस कार्यमा सहयोग पुग्ने गरी सकेसम्म सही जानकारी प्रदान गर्नुहोस्। यो फाराम पूरा गरेर तपाईंले आफ्ना प्रतिक्रियाहरू हाम्रो अनुसन्धान तथा कार्यका लागि अभिलेख गरिने र प्रयोग गरिने कुरामा सहमति जनाइरहनुभएको छ। तपाईंका उत्तरहरू गोप्य राखिनेछन् र तपाईंको पहिचान खुलाइने छैन।

The purpose of this survey is to gather information about peer violence in Tokha and to contribute to making school a safer place for students. Please provide as much accurate information as possible to help us in this effort. By completing this form, you are agreeing that your responses will be recorded and used for our research and work. Your responses will be kept anonymous and confidential.

मलाई कानुनी साक्षरताद्वारा यस अनुसन्धान तथा मेरो तथ्याङ्क (डाटा) को प्रयोग सम्बन्धी आवश्यक जानकारी प्रदान गरिएको छ। यस अनुसन्धानक लागि मेरा उत्तरहरू उक्त उद्देश्यअनुसार प्रयोग गर्न म सहमति प्रदान गर्दछु (I confirm that I have been provided information by Lega Literacy Nepal on the research and use of my data. I consent to my responses being used in such way.)

Signed: _____ पद (Position): _____
विद्यालयको नाम (School Name): _____ वडा नम्बर (Ward No.): _____ पद लिङ्ग (Gender): _____

1. के तपाईंलाई साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसाको अर्थ थाहा छ? Are you aware of what peer violence means?

   ___ हो (Yes) ___ होइन(No)

2. के तपाईंलाई थाहा छ कि साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसाका धेरै प्रकारहरू नेपालका बाल संरक्षणसम्बन्धी कानुनअन्तर्गत निषेधित छन् र कानुनी सजाय हुन सक्छ? Are you aware that many forms of peer violence are prohibited under Nepal's child protection laws and can result in legal punishment?

   ___ मलाई थाहा छ(Yes) ___ मलाई थाहा छैन (No)

3. के तपाईंलाई लाग्छ कि विद्यालयहरूमा साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसा गम्भीर समस्या हो? Do you think that peer violence is a serious problem in schools?

   ___ हो (Yes) ___ होइन(No) ___ थाहा छैन (Not Sure)

4. के साथीबीचको हिंसाका घटनाहरू सम्हाल्न विद्यालयमा स्पष्ट दिशानिर्देश वा referral प्रक्रिया छ? Is there a clear school guideline or referral process for handling cases of peer violence?

   ___ छ (Yes) ___ छैन No) ___ थाहा छैन (Not Sure)

5. के तपाईंले पछिल्लो एक वर्षमा साथीबीचको हिंसाका घटनाहरूलाई सम्बोधन गर्ने सम्बन्धमा कुनै तालिम वा सचेतनामूलक कार्यक्रम प्राप्त गर्नुभएको छ? In the past year, have you received training or awareness on responding to peer violence?

   ___ छ (Yes) ___ छैन No) ___ थाहा छैन (Not Sure)

6. विद्यार्थीहरूबीच हुने साथीबीचको हिंसाका कुन–कुन प्रकार तपाईंले प्रायः देख्नुहुन्छ वा व्यवस्थापन गर्नुहुन्छ? सबै लागू हुनेमा चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस्: What types of peer violence do you most commonly observe or handle among students. Tick all that apply:

शारीरिक हिंसा जस्तै झगडा, कुटपिट, लात हान्नु, धकेल्नु वा थप्पड हान्नु Physical violence such as fights, hitting, kicking or pushing	
मौखिक दुर्व्यवहार जस्तै नाम बोलाएर गाली गर्नु, अपमान गर्नु, जिस्क्याउनु Verbal bullying such as name-calling, insults, teasing, or mocking (on the basis of caste, age, gender etc.)	
अनचाहिने यौन टिप्पणी, मजाक, छुनु वा असहज व्यवहार Unwanted sexual comments, jokes, touching or uncomfortable behavior	
धम्की, डर देखाउने वा जबरजस्ती कुनै काम गराउने व्यवहार Threats,intimidation, or peer pressure	
जानाजानी अलग राख्ने वा बेवास्ता गर्ने Being excluded or left out on purpose	
बारेमा हल्ला वा झुट फैलाउने Rumours or lies being spread about students	
तपाईंका सामान लिने, लुकाउने वा बिगार्ने Someone taking, hiding, or damaging students' belongings	
साइबर बुलिङ (अनलाइनमा दुख दिने सन्देश, पोस्ट वा फोटो/भिडियोको दुरुपयोग) Cyberbullying, such as hurtful messages, online posts, or misuse of photos/videos	
अन्य भए लेखिदिनुहोस् (Other please, write):	

7. तपाईंको विद्यालयमा (साथीबीचको हिंसा) कति पटक हुन्छ? How frequent is peer violence in your school?

___ दैनिक रूपमा (Every day) ___ साप्ताहिक रूपमा (Every week) ___ महिनामा एक पटक) (Every month)
___ विरलै (Rarely) ___ कहिल्यै पनि भएको छैन (Never)

8. साथीबीचको हिंसा प्रायः कहाँ हुन्छ? Where does the peer violence occurs mostly? Tick all that apply.

___कक्षा कोठा (Classroom) ___विद्यालय परिसरका अन्य ठाउँहरू (Elsewhere on school grounds)
___अनलाइन (Online) ___विद्यालय बाहिर तर विद्यार्थीहरू संलग्न हुने अवस्थामा (Outside of school but involving students)
अन्य भए लेखिदिनुहोस् (Other please, write): _____

9. साथीबीचको हिंसा सँग सम्बन्धित हुन सक्ने अवस्थामा बालबालिकामा देखिने शारीरिक चोटपटक, स्वास्थ्य समस्या वा भावनात्मक तथा मनोसामाजिक समस्याहरू के–के हुन्? (सबै लागू हुनेमा चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस्) What kinds of physical injuries, health concerns, or emotional/psychosocial issues do students present with that may be related to peer violence? Tick all that apply.

शारीरिक चोटपटक जस्तै नील डाम, काटिएको चोट, वा अन्य शारीरिक क्षति Physical injuries such as bruises, cuts, or other damage	
व्यक्तिगत सामानहरूमा क्षति वा नोक्सानी Damage to their personal belongings	
मनोवैज्ञानिक लक्षणहरू जस्तै उदासी, डर, अपमानित महसुस हुनु, वा आत्मविश्वासको कमी Psychological symptoms such as sadness, fear, humiliation, or lack of confidence	
गम्भीर मानसिक स्वास्थ्य समस्या जस्तै निरन्तर डिप्रेसन, चिन्ता (anxiety), वा आत्महत्या सम्बन्धी विचारहरू Extreme mental health concerns such as ongoing depression, anxiety, or suicidal thoughts	
साथी समूहबाट अलग हुनु वा साथीहरू गुमाउनु Isolation from peer group or loss of friends	
बढ्दो रिस (आक्रोश) वा समाजविरोधी व्यवहार Increased anger or antisocial behavior	
जोखिमपूर्ण व्यवहारमा बढ्दो संलग्नता जस्तै लागूपदार्थ, मदिरा वा सुर्तीजन्य/ धूम्रपान पदार्थको प्रयोग Increased participation in risky behaviour such as drugs, alcohol, or tobacco/smoking use	
विद्यालयप्रति रुचि घट्नु, कक्षामा सहभागिता कम हुनु, प्रेरणा घट्नु वा पढाइ/अंकमा समस्या हुनु Disengagement with school including lack of class participation, reduced motivation, or struggling marks or grades	
विद्यालय छोड्ने, ड्रपआउट गर्ने वा विद्यालय परिवर्तन गर्ने इच्छा (बढ्दो अनुपस्थिति) Desire to leave or change school (absenteeism)	
अन्य भए लेखिदिनुहोस् (Other please, write):	

(छलफलका प्रश्नहरू (Discussion Questions)

१. के दलित, अल्पसंख्यक वा अन्य जोखिममा रहेका (vulnerable) पृष्ठभूमिका विद्यार्थीहरूमा peer violence (साथीबीचको हिंसा) का अनुभवमा कुनै फरक देखिन्छ? Are there differences in peer violence experiences among students from marginalized or vulnerable backgrounds?

२. के विद्यार्थीहरू सामान्यतया तपाईं वा अन्य विद्यालयका कर्मचारीहरूसँग peer violence (साथीबीचको हिंसा) का घटनाबारे जानकारी दिन वा सहयोग माग्न आउँछन्? के त्यस्ता घटनाहरू रिपोर्ट गर्न सुरक्षित र गोप्य (confidential) तथा बाल–मैत्री व्यवस्था छ? Do students usually seek help or disclose incidents of peer violence to you or other school staff? Are there confidential and child-friendly mechanisms for students to report or seek support?

३. तपाईंले कुनै विद्यार्थीले peer violence भोगेको शंका लागेमा वा थाहा पाएमा सामान्यतया के कदम चाल्नुहुन्छ? के त्यस्ता केसहरू सम्हाल्न विद्यालयमा स्पष्ट दिशानिर्देश वा referral प्रक्रिया छ? What steps do you usually take when you suspect or know that a student has experienced peer violence? Is there any clear school guideline or referral procedure for handling such cases?

४. तपाईंको अनुभवमा विद्यार्थीहरूले peer violence का घटनाहरू किन रिपोर्ट वा खुलासा गर्न सक्दैनन् वा गर्दैनन् भन्ने मुख्य कारणहरू के–के हुन्? In your experience, what prevents students from reporting or disclosing incidents of peer violence?

५. peer violence भोगेपछि विद्यार्थीहरूले मनो–सामाजिक (psychosocial) वा भावनात्मक सहयोग खोज्छन्? विद्यालय त्यस्ता सेवा प्रदान गर्न कत्तिको तयार छ? Do students seek psychosocial or emotional support after experiencing peer violence? How prepared is the school to provide such support services?

६. के तपाईंले सामाजिक सञ्जाल, मोबाइल फोन वा अनलाइन प्लेटफर्मसँग सम्बन्धित peer violence मा वृद्धि भएको देख्नुभएको छ? Have you observed any increase in peer violence linked to social media, mobile phones, or online platforms?

७. peer violence सम्बन्धी चोटपटक, स्वास्थ्य समस्या वा कल्याण (wellbeing) सम्बन्धी विवरणहरू अभिलेख (record) गरिन्छ? यदि गरिन्छ भने, ती घटनाहरू प्रधानाध्यापक, विद्यालय व्यवस्थापन वा नगरपालिकासम्म कसरी रिपोर्ट गरिन्छ? Are records maintained regarding peer violence-related injuries, health concerns, or wellbeing issues?
If yes, how are these cases reported to head teachers, school management, or the municipality?

८. विद्यालयमा peer violence लाई प्रभावकारी रूपमा सम्बोधन गर्न तपाईंलाई कुन–कुन अतिरिक्त स्रोत, तालिम वा सहयोग आवश्यक पर्छ? What additional resources, training, or support would help you better address peer violence in schools?

APPENDIX 3: TEACHER SUPPLEMENTARY SURVEY

A Survey on Peer Violence in Schools 2083 – Head Teacher/Teacher

विद्यालयहरूमा साथीगत हिंसासम्बन्धी सर्वेक्षण, २०८३ – प्रधानाध्यापकहरू/ शिक्षकहरू

कानुनी साक्षरता – नेपाल (Legal Literacy – Nepal)

यस सर्वेक्षणको उद्देश्य नेपालमा साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसाबारे जानकारी प्राप्त गर्नु तथा विद्यालयलाई विद्यार्थीहरूका लागि अझ सुरक्षित स्थान बनाउन योगदान पुऱ्याउनु हो। कृपया यस कार्यमा सहयोग पुग्ने गरी सकेसम्म सही जानकारी प्रदान गर्नुहोस्। यो फाराम पूरा गरेर तपाईंले आफ्ना प्रतिक्रियाहरू हाम्रो अनुसन्धान तथा कार्यका लागि अभिलेख गरिने र प्रयोग गरिने कुरामा सहमति जनाइरहनुभएको छ। तपाईंका उत्तरहरू गोप्य राखिनेछन् र तपाईंको पहिचान खुलाइने छैन (The purpose of this survey is to gather information about peer violence in Tokha and to contribute to making school a safer place for students. Please provide as much accurate information as possible to help us in this effort. By completing this form, you are agreeing that your responses will be recorded and used for our research and work. Your responses will be kept anonymous and confidential.)

मलाई कानुनी साक्षरताद्वारा यस अनुसन्धान तथा मेरो तथ्याङ्क (डाटा) को प्रयोग सम्बन्धी आवश्यक जानकारी प्रदान गरिएको छ। यस अनुसन्धानका लागि मेरा उत्तरहरू उक्त उद्देश्यअनुसार प्रयोग गर्न म सहमति प्रदान गर्दछु (I confirm that I have been provided information by Legal Literacy Nepal on the research and use of my data. I consent to my responses being used in such way.)

हस्ताक्षर Signed: _____ पद (Position): _____
विद्यालयको नाम (School Name): _____ वडा नम्बर (Ward No.): _____ लिङ्ग (Gender): _____

1. के तपाईंलाई लाग्छ कि विद्यालयहरूमा साथीहरूबीच हुने हिंसा गम्भीर समस्या हो? Do you think that peer violence is a serious problem in schools?

   ___ हो (Yes) ___ होइन(No) ___ थाहा छैन (Not Sure)

2. विद्यार्थीहरूबीच हुने साथीबीचको हिंसाका कुन–कुन प्रकार तपाईंले प्रायः देख्नुहुन्छ वा व्यवस्थापन गर्नुहुन्छ? सबै लागू हुनेमा चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस्: What types of peer violence do you most commonly observe or handle among students. Tick all that apply:

शारीरिक हिंसा जस्तै झगडा, कुटपिट, लात हान्नु, धकेल्नु वा थप्पड हान्नु Physical violence such as fights, hitting, kicking or pushing	
मौखिक दुर्व्यवहार जस्तै नाम बोलाएर गाली गर्नु, अपमान गर्नु, जिस्क्याउनु Verbal bullying such as name-calling, insults, teasing, or mocking (on the basis of caste, age, gender etc.)	
नचाहिने यौन टिप्पणी, मजाक, छुनु वा असहज व्यवहार Unwanted sexual comments, jokes, touching or uncomfortable behavior	
धम्की, डर देखाउने वा जबरजस्ती कुनै काम गराउने व्यवहार Threats,intimidation, or peer pressure	
जानाजानी अलग राख्ने वा बेवास्ता गर्ने Being excluded or left out on purpose	
कसैको बारेमा हल्ला वा झूट फैलाउने Rumours or lies being spread about students	
कसैको सामान लिने, लुकाउने वा बिगार्ने Someone taking, hiding, or damaging students' belongings	
साइबर बुलिङ (अनलाइनमा दुख दिने सन्देश, पोस्ट वा फोटो/भिडियोको दुरुपयोग) Cyberbullying, such as hurtful messages, online posts, or misuse of photos/videos	
अन्य भए लेखिदिनुहोस् (Other please, write):	

3. तपाईंको विद्यालयमा (साथीबीचको हिंसा) कति पटक हुन्छ? How frequent is peer violence in your school?

   ___ दैनिक रूपमा (Every day) ___ साप्ताहिक रूपमा (Every week) ___ महिनामा एक पटक (Every month)
   ___ विरलै (Rarely) ___ कहिल्यै पनि भएको छैन (Never)

4. साथीबीचको हिंसा प्रायः कहाँ हुन्छ? Where does the peer violence occurs mostly? Tick all that apply.

___कक्षा कोठा (Classroom) ___विद्यालय परिसरका अन्य ठाउँहरू (Elsewhere on school grounds)
___अनलाइन (Online) ___विद्यालय बाहिर तर विद्यार्थीहरू संलग्न हुने अवस्थामा (Outside of school but involving students)
अन्य भए लेखिदिनुहोस् (Other please, write): _____

5. साथीबीचको हिंसा सँग सम्बन्धित हुन सक्ने अवस्थामा बालबालिकामा देखिने शारीरिक चोटपटक, स्वास्थ्य समस्या वा भावनात्मक तथा मनोसामाजिक समस्याहरू के–के हुन्? (सबै लागू हुनेमा चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस्) What kinds of physical injuries, health concerns, or emotional/psychosocial issues do students present with that may be related to peer violence? Tick all that apply.

शारीरिक चोटपटक जस्तै नील डाम, काटिएको चोट, वा अन्य शारीरिक क्षति Physical injuries such as bruises, cuts, or other damage	
व्यक्तिगत सामानहरूमा क्षति वा नोक्सानी Damage to their personal belongings	
मनोवैज्ञानिक लक्षणहरू जस्तै उदासी, डर, अपमानित महसुस हुनु, वा आत्मविश्वासको कमी Psychological symptoms such as sadness, fear, humiliation, or lack of confidence	
गम्भीर मानसिक स्वास्थ्य समस्या जस्तै निरन्तर डिप्रेसन, चिन्ता (anxiety), वा आत्महत्या सम्बन्धी विचारहरू Extreme mental health concerns such as ongoing depression, anxiety, or suicidal thoughts	
साथी समूहबाट अलग हुनु वा साथीहरू गुमाउनु Isolation from peer group or loss of friends	
बढ्दो रिस (आक्रोश) वा समाजविरोधी व्यवहार Increased anger or antisocial behavior	
जोखिमपूर्ण व्यवहारमा बढ्दो संलग्नता जस्तै लागूपदार्थ, मदिरा वा सुर्तीजन्य/ धूम्रपान पदार्थको प्रयोग Increased participation in risky behaviour such as drugs, alcohol, or tobacco/smoking use	
विद्यालयप्रति रुचि घट्नु, कक्षामा सहभागिता कम हुनु, प्रेरणा घट्नु वा पढाइ/अंकमा समस्या हुनु Disengagement with school including lack of class participation, reduced motivation, or struggling marks or grades	
विद्यालय छोड्ने, ड्रपआउट गर्ने वा विद्यालय परिवर्तन गर्ने इच्छा (बढ्दो अनुपस्थिति) Desire to leave or change school (absenteeism)	
अन्य भए लेखिदिनुहोस् (Other please, write):	

6. तपाईंको विचारमा साथीगत हिंसा (Peer Violence) हुने मुख्य कारणहरू के हुन्? What do you think the reasons are for peer violence in schools?

_____
_____
_____

7. के साथीबीचको हिंसाका घटनाहरू सम्हाल्न विद्यालयमा स्पष्ट दिशानिर्देश वा referral प्रक्रिया छ? Is there a clear school guideline or referral process for handling cases of peer violence?

___ छ (Yes) ___ छैन No) ___ थाहा छैन (Not Sure)

8. के तपाईंले पछिल्लो एक वर्षमा साथीबीचको हिंसाका घटनाहरूलाई सम्बोधन गर्ने सम्बन्धमा कुनै तालिम वा सचेतनामूलक कार्यक्रम प्राप्त गर्नुभएको छ? In the past year, have you received training or awareness on responding to peer violence?

___ छ (Yes) ___ छैन No) ___ थाहा छैन (Not Sure)

9. विद्यालयमा साथीगत हिंसा रोक्न के गर्न सकिन्छ/गर्नुपर्छ? What do you think could/should be done to prevent peer violence?

_____
_____
_____

Appendix 4: Focus Group Discussion Guide – Teachers

Introduction and go through participant information form, including background on purpose of research, scope of study, aims, nature of participation, data storage, confidentiality, and consent. Allow time for questions from participants (and for translation if necessary).

Welcome and thank teachers for participation in study.

- Do you believe peer violence is a serious issue in schools? What forms of peer violence are most common in your school (physical, verbal, emotional, social exclusion, sexual harassment, discrimination-based violence, etc.)?
- What do you think are the main causes of peer violence among students?
- Are certain students more vulnerable to peer violence than others? Why do you think this happens?
- Where and when does peer violence most commonly occur (e.g., classrooms, playgrounds, toilets, break time, after school, or online platforms)?
- How confident do teachers feel in identifying less visible forms of peer violence, such as emotional bullying or harassment?
- What mechanisms or procedures are available for students to report peer violence? What barriers prevent students from reporting incidents?
- What steps do you usually take when peer violence is observed or reported? Are there clear school guidelines or procedures for responding to such cases?

- Are incidents of peer violence formally documented? If yes, how are records maintained, monitored, and followed up?
- How does peer violence affect students' learning, participation, behaviour, and the overall classroom or school environment?
- What role do parents and students play in preventing or responding to peer violence?
- Have you received training or awareness on handling peer violence? What challenges do you face, and what additional support or resources would help improve school responses?

Allow time for teachers to share or discuss case studies or further opinions if they would like to. Thank them for their time and participation in the research, again refer to the ways they can contact us for further clarification.

Appendix 5: Focus Group Discussion Guide – School Nurses

Introduction and go through participant information form, including background on purpose of research, scope of study, aims, nature of participation, data storage, confidentiality, and consent. Allow time for questions from participants (and for translation if necessary).

Welcome and thank nurses for participation in study.

- Do you believe peer violence is a serious issue in schools? What types of peer violence have you commonly observed among students?
- Are there differences in peer violence experiences between boys and girls or among students from marginalized or vulnerable backgrounds?
- What kinds of physical injuries, health concerns, or emotional and psychosocial issues do students present with that may be related to peer violence?
- Do students usually seek help or disclose incidents of peer violence to you or other school staff? Are there confidential and child-friendly mechanisms for students to seek support?
- In your experience, what prevents students from reporting or disclosing incidents of peer violence?
- What steps do you usually take when you suspect or know that a student has experienced peer violence? Is there any clear school guideline or referral procedure for handling such cases?

- Do students seek psychosocial or emotional support after experiencing peer violence? How prepared is the school to provide such support services?
- Are records maintained regarding peer violence-related injuries, health concerns, or wellbeing issues? If yes, how are these cases reported to head teachers, school management, or the municipality?
- Have you received any training or awareness on responding to peer violence? What additional resources, training, or support would help you better address peer violence in schools?

Allow time for nurses to share or discuss case studies or further opinions if they would like to. Thank them for their time and participation in the research, again refer to the ways they can contact us for further clarification.

Appendix 6: Key Informant Interview Discussion Guide – Child Welfare Officer & Education Officer

Introduction and go through participant information form, including background on purpose of research, scope of study, aims, nature of participation, data storage, confidentiality, and consent. Allow time for questions from participants (and for translation if necessary).

Welcome and thank officers for participation in study.

- What do you think are the main causes of peer violence among students?
- Have you noticed any changes or trends over recent years?
- Do you observe or notice any differences in the experiences among students from marginalized or vulnerable backgrounds?
- What role do you believe teachers, parents, and students play in preventing or responding to peer violence?
- What role does the municipality or local authority play in preventing and responding to peer violence?
- How are schools in Tokha encouraged to create a child friendly environment?
- What are the municipality policies or expectations that schools should be following?
- What training or orientation is provided for schools in Tokha?
- What do you believe the main barriers to implementing such policies and practices are?

- Does Tokha Municipality keep a record of reported incidents of peer violence?
- What procedures are followed when such cases of peer violence are reported?
- Are cases formally documents and monitored? Including disaggregated by gender, age, disability, caste/ethnicity, or type of violence?

Allow time for officers to share or discuss case studies or further opinions if they would like to. Thank them for their time and participation in the research, again refer to the ways they can contact us for further clarification.

Legal Literacy - Nepal (LLN) was established in 2023 by a group of young, energetic, and experienced professionals in the field of law, human rights, and social work.

The organization is working to promote the rule of law and human rights standards in Nepal. It aims to achieve this objective by enhancing legal literacy and developing access to justice for children, women, and people from marginalized communities. The organization focuses on children's rights and juvenile justice, including their rights to quality education, to be safe from corporal punishment, to have a safe learning environment, to equal and fair treatment and full enjoyment of human rights, etc.

To achieve its mission, vision, goal, and objectives, the organization works with children's clubs, Child Correction Homes, schools, teachers, wardens, parents/guardians, and marginalized communities, as well as federal, provincial, and local government entities, courts, public prosecutors' offices, Bar Associations, Local Judicial Committees, the Nepal Police, and likeminded national and international organizations.

The organization files Public Interest Litigation (PIL) for policy and institutional reform for the protection and promotion of human rights in Nepal.

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