A Study on Child Disciplinary Methods Practiced in Schools in Sri Lanka

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Executive Summary

Correcting student misbehaviours is an important yet controversial task entrusted to teachers. This is so as there is a global awakening to the detrimental impact of certain methods of correcting misbehaviours. These methods are referred to as punishments and are broadly classified as corporal punishment and psychological aggression. Other than escalating to physical abuse, corporal punishment has been associated with depression, hostility and lowered academic performance. Psychological aggression has been associated with low self-esteem, self-doubt and a host of other negative consequences. Whilst many countries have banned corporal punishment, they do encourage teachers to use (positive) discipline instead. For, (positive) disciplining is important for the socialisation of a young person to be a happy and productive citizen of society.

There is a scarcity of information on the use of punishment and (positive) disciplinary methods in schools in Sri Lanka. This research endeavoured to fulfil this gap by including six selected districts and multiple study participants, including students, teachers, principals, officials of school development societies, officials of the Ministry of Education, and parents. A wide variety of schools were selected too, including national, special education and private schools. By using culturally validated questionnaires, focus group discussions, and structured interviews, on a large sample, both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection were used.

The study results indicated high rates of corporal punishment of students in schools in Sri Lanka. The use of psychological aggression too was high. Worryingly, so was physical abuse, a criminal offence. Though students and teachers also reported high use of (positive) discipline, it appears that it is done in conjunction with punishment, thus losing its potential for positive impact on the students. Most teachers and principals believe in the efficacy of corporal punishment. Some evidence suggests that this is due to reasons such as their own experience of it in childhood, because senior teachers use it, and because they do not know of any other strategies to correct misbehaviours. In fact, a majority of teachers had not got any formal training in classroom management, including the use of (positive) disciplining. Though a majority of teachers reported that they were aware of the circular recommending not to use physical force on students, they also reported that they were unaware of its contents. Because of this, a confusion on what can be and cannot be done in correcting misbehaviour prevails. This has led to some

teachers refraining from correcting misbehaviours as they fear litigation. The teachers are aware that by refraining so, it would lead to a deterioration of school discipline, impacting the school learning environment.

Many students indicated that they understood the need for correction when they misbehaved. They appear to tolerate corporal punishment, possibly even at abusive levels, if it is done by teachers whom they viewed were skilled in teaching. Their parents too do not complain against such teachers. Despite so, students do indicate a great preference for advice and support when they misbehave, rather than the use of punishment. However, teachers and principals are of the firm view that only (positive) discipline (such as advice and support) does not work in correcting misbehaviours, and that it has to be combined with punishment. Moreover, the students reported that they do not tolerate punishment when used by teachers whom they believe are unskilled in teaching, and, it was also reported that such teachers are in the majority. Parents too are prone to report these teachers to higher authorities. With such teachers, the students reported that they continue their misbehaviours which then leads to further punishment. Hence, a vicious cycle of violence prevails in schools in Sri Lanka.

There were certain factors associated with higher use of punishment. For instance, boys experienced more corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression. And, students from the estate sector experienced more punishment. On the other hand, being from the district of Galle, and being of Moslem ethnicity appear to protect students from experiencing punishment. The dynamics of these factors were beyond the scope of this research and future studies could explore these further.

The most common reasons for being punished were non-completion of homework, not adhering to the school dress code, and love affairs. Whilst the first reason is primarily a result of a highly examination driven school system, which values academic achievement over most other life aspects, the second and third are common experiences in the psycho-sexual development of children and adolescents. Hence, it is important to be concerned about these reasons teachers use such high rates of punishment on, for they are for ordinary life experiences of young people.

There is an avalanche of research findings that indicate the repercussions of corporal punishment, psychological aggression, and physical abuse. There is also a significant body of research that indicates the benefits of (positive) discipline. It is essential that Sri Lankan

authorities acknowledge these research findings, based on which actions are implemented to reduce and finally eradicate punishment in the Sri Lankan school system. To that effect, several recommendations are presented in this report.

Policy Brief

Correcting student misbehaviours is an integral part of a teachers' job. Corporal punishment and psychological aggression are the two traditional methods of correcting student misbehaviours. It is well acknowledged that they lead to a host of negative outcomes for students.

This study indicated that teachers' use of corporal punishment and psychological aggression is very high in Sri Lankan schools, irrespective of being a national, provincial, private, or special education school. Alarmingly, the criminal offence of physical abuse too is high in Sri Lankan schools. Though teachers do use (positive) discipline, it is lesser than that of the use of punishment. Hence, the use of force towards young people in Sri Lankan schools is widespread. This is further compounded by some parents encouraging teachers to use punishments on their children. And, many students too believe that such punishment is useful. This has led to a punishment-based culture in a young persons' life within the Sri Lankan school system.

This study findings should be of grave concern to Sri Lankan authorities. Several recommendations to rectify this situation in presented herein. Amongst others, the key recommendations are:

- clear definition on what constitutes corporal punishment and physical abuse;
- the need for clarity in the current legal framework and circular on teacher use of punishment;
- the immediate informing of school authorities on the details of the legal framework and circular on punishment and disciplining;
- detailed procedure on how teacher use corporal punishment, psychological aggression, and physical abuse would be dealt with;
- strengthening the existing inadequate student counselling system;
- having a uniform evidence-based teacher recruitment process; and
- setting stringent guidelines to eradicate the home work-based, achievement-driven and competitive atmosphere rampant in Sri Lankan schools.

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1.5 Study objectives

In most countries, outside of their homes, children spend more time with adults in educational settings than anywhere else. It is widely acknowledged that an orderly learning environment is required in these educational settings, and this often requires the use of discipline by teachers to correct student misbehaviours (Bear, 2008). However, there has been less emphasis, particularly in countries such as Sri Lanka, on its concomitant - that of student self-discipline. Both these dimensions - that of disciplining by teachers and student self-discipline - impact each other. Hence, whilst disciplining done by teachers has a more immediate nature to it (in terms of its consequences), it also contributes to student self-discipline (and vice versa), which has long-term positive consequences for the student (such as autonomy and responsible citizenship: Bear, 2008). Both these dimensions have to be based on good practices in classroom management, including the use of positive disciplining strategies.

1.1 The use of discipline in classroom management

Discipline is a key component of effective classroom management. Classroom discipline refers to the strategies a teacher uses to manage student behaviours and attitudes during instructional time. Most discipline strategies can be categorized into three main methods (Guyana Ministry of Education, 2015): (1) Preventive discipline - the goal of preventative discipline is to provide proactive interventions to potential disruptive behaviours by clearly explaining to students what behaviours are and are not appropriate (e.g. the teacher would tell at the onset of a class that students cannot have personal chats with friends whilst the class is going on); (2) Supportive discipline - this is when a teacher offers a verbal warning or a suggestion for correcting behaviour while a student is disobeying an established classroom rule (e.g. when a student is seen to be having a personal chat with a friend whilst the class is going on, the teacher would

politely but firmly ask if the student is talking about the topic at hand. And if not, to reserve their chat to afterwards). Supportive discipline provides a student with suggestions and options for correcting a behaviour before a consequence is necessary. (3) Corrective discipline - when a student has failed to redirect his behaviour after repeated attempts at supportive discipline, a teacher may opt for a corrective discipline strategy. Corrective discipline refers to the set of consequences delivered to students following an infraction (e.g. if the above-indicated student continues to chat with the friend despite the warning, the teacher may use a positive disciplining strategy such as removal of privileges). There is a wide degree of variation among corrective discipline strategies, some more effective than others.

1.2 Discipline and punishment: Is it different?

The word discipline is usually used synonymously with punishment. However, discipline refers to a system of teaching or instruction, whilst punishment ((such as corporal punishment or psychological aggression) indicates a punitive stance. Hence, the strategies and implications of these two words are different. In general usage, the word punishment is used loosely and often denotes physical punishment. Therefore the words discipline and punishment should be clearly separated. In order to shape desirable behaviour in students and correct misbehaviour, disciplinary strategies (which are by its nature, positive) rather than punishment strategies (which are by its nature, punitive) are required (Grusec & Kuczysuki, 1997; Kochanska &Thompson, 1997). When disciplining is done within a foundation of teacher nurturance, it promotes appropriate behaviour and prevents misbehaviour. In an ideal world, such a nurturant teacher-student relationship and positive disciplining may suffice to prevent student misbehaviour. Unfortunately, that is not the reality. There are many factors that predispose teachers to use punishment strategies instead, though there is advocacy for the use of disciplinary strategies.

It is observed that most Sri Lankan schools strive to be in the spotlight for the educational and extra-curricular achievements of their students. These high expectations often translate into stress and anxiety in children (Alampay 2013, cited in UNICEF, 2013) as well as in teachers (and parents). Highly stressed and anxious adults are more prone to resort to physically and psychologically harmful ways of punishing students with the hope that these strategies may realise their expectations. The often heard anecdotal reports of high rates of punishment in Sri Lankan schools may be due to such (and of course, other) reasons.

1.3 Methods of disciplining and punishment

1.3.1 *(Positive) discipline*

(Positive) discipline is a way of teaching and guiding children by letting them know what behaviour is acceptable in a way that is firm, yet kind (Sound discipline, 2015). It is intimately associated with healthy classroom management. Classroom management is the process by which schools create and maintain appropriate behaviour of students in classroom settings (Kratchowil, DeRoos, & Blair, 2013). The purpose of implementing classroom management strategies is to enhance prosocial behaviour and increase student academic engagement (Emmer & Sabornie, 2015, as cited in Kratchowil, DeRoos, & Blair, 2013). Effective classroom management principles work across all subject areas and grade levels (Brophy, 2006, as cited in Kratchowil, DeRoos, & Blair, 2013). Based on principals of positive disciplining, a tiered model of classroom management is usually recommended (e.g. Kratchowil, DeRoos, & Blair, 2013). Such a tiered model has shown to be effective for managing the behaviour of 80-85 percent of school children (e.g. Kratchowil, DeRoos, & Blair, 2013). A tiered model would consist of three levels - at the first school-wide level, teachers and staff would create a positive school culture by clearly defining positive expectations that are taught to all students and adults (Bradshaw, 2014, as cited in Kratchowil, DeRoos, & Blair, 2013). At the second and third tier, more intensive programs are provided for students who do not respond to the school-wide structure and need more support. For them, small group and individualized programs are offered, often in consultations with professionals such as psychologists.

1.3. 2 Corporal *punishment as a form of punishment*

In the domain of punishment, corporal punishment - a physically forceful method of correcting student misbehaviour - is the most controversial topic and that which has received the most amount of attention. Corporal punishment is defined by the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Student as: “any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light” (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2001). Mostly, corporal punishment involves hitting, with the hand or an implement. But it could also involve other techniques such as pinching, pulling the hair (De Zoysa, Newcomb, & Rajapakse, 2006), or making the student kneel down or stand up. Corporal punishment has been associated with a range of negative outcomes for the child, such as physical injuries (including death) and psychological harm (Ogando Portella & Pells,

2015). Despite so, corporal punishment is widely advocated by both children (De Zoysa, Newcomb, & Rajapakse, 2007) and adults. School corporal punishment is justified because they believe: it leads to the respect of school authority figures, it is an effective method of correcting misbehaviours; and, it leads children to become responsible adults (Burnett, 1998, as cited in Ogando Portella & Pells, 2015). Despite these beliefs, research evidence indicates that school corporal punishment leads to poor academic performance, low class participation, school drop-out or school avoidance due to fear of being beaten, low self-esteem, declining self-worth, and fear of teachers and school (e.g. Morrow & Singh, 2014, as cited in Ogando Portella & Pells, 2015). Similarly, though some children and adults believe that corporal punishment improves academic performance and reduces misbehaviour (e.g. Marcus, 2014, as cited in Ogando Portella & Pells, 2015), qualitative research evidence indicates that it does not make children learn or behave better, and instead, it leaves them scared, confused, sad and violent (e.g. Rojas, 2011, as cited in Ogando Portella & Pells, 2015). Though corporal punishment is commonly practiced in Sri Lankan schools and homes alike (De Zoysa, 2006), there is evidence that certain Sri Lankan kings of the past - such as Voharaka Tissa (214-236 AC), Vijayabahu II (1186-1187) and Vijayabahu III (1232-1236) - had prohibited any bodily harm by way of punishment, of children and adults (Moldrich, 1986). However, with the advent of colonial rule in the country, this attitude appears to have changed where it was especially promoted to facilitate its rule (De Silva, 2001; 2007), and has persisted into the present-day society.

The association of corporal punishment with physical abuse: Physical abuse is the use of physical force that harms the child's health, survival, development or dignity (Norman et al. 2012). It is different from corporal punishment. In comparison, physical abuse involves more physical force than corporal punishment. Some childcare professionals postulate that corporal punishment and physical abuse lie along a continuum of physical force, where abuse may occur when corporal punishment escalates beyond control (e.g. Straus, 2000). They believe that corporal punishment is a risk factor for physical abuse, a finding corroborated in a Sri Lankan study on parental use of corporal punishment (De Zoysa, Newcomb, & Rajapakse, 2008). This position is further supported by studies of individuals who have been convicted of child physical abuse. In most of these cases, the individuals convicted were 'normal' persons, apparently exercising their prerogative of correcting a child's behaviour (Gil, 1970, cited in Gershoff, 2002), but where they lost control of their anger or underestimated their strength (Zigler & Hall,

1989). Therefore, these childcare professionals are of the view that not only physical abuse, but corporal punishment too should be legally condemned, as the former is a risk factor for the latter. On the other hand, other researchers and childcare professionals view corporal punishment and physical abuse as two distinct phenomena (Strassberg, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 1994), or believe that only in certain instances could corporal punishment lead to abusive levels (Baumrind, 1997). In fact, these pro-corporal punishment scholars postulate that if corporal punishment is paired with reasoning, it could actually reduce the risk of physical abuse (Larzelere, Silver, & Polite, 1997). They reason that, through such pairing, adults could control children's misbehaviour at the onset itself rather than allowing it to escalate. They argue that if children's misbehaviours are allowed to escalate, frustrated adults may then resort to strategies that can be considered physically abusive. Further, they believe that replacing corporal punishment with non-physical discipline only will not necessarily give better results and suggest that adults should use a wide range of methods to correct student misbehaviours, including physical means, depending on the child's temperament and the misbehaviour.

The legal aspect of the use of corporal punishment on children in Sri Lanka: There has been a global trend to legally ban corporal punishment in homes and/or schools. This is based on a large body of research evidence that have indicated the negative impact of its use. In the Sri Lankan context, the Education Ordinance of year 1939 of Ceylon (De Silva, 2007), which was in effect until recently, permitted caning of a child. This was so even after the signing of the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child which states as a right of the child, the protection from corporal punishment and other cruel or degrading forms of punishment (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2001: articles 19 and 28, paragraph 2 and 37). Subsequently, a year 2001 Ministry of Education circular banned corporal punishment. Being limited only to a ministry circular, it led to a failure of legal implementation in cases of gross violations of the circular. However, the Penal Code Amendment Act No. 22 of 1995 (Parliament of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, 1995) provided for the offence of Cruelty to Children (section 308A) which was used to prosecute some offenders. It was further amended in 2006 (Parliament of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, 2006), by the addition of the following explanation: 'injury' to include psychological or mental trauma.

However, article 82 of the Penal Code states: "*Nothing*, which is done in good faith for the benefit of a person under twelve years of age, or, of unsound mind, by or by consent … having lawful charge of that person, *is an offence* by reason of any harm ...". While, Article 341 of the Penal Code provides for the offence of 'criminal force', it does so with a conflicting explanation. Hence, illustration (i) of article 341 states that "*if a schoolmaster, in the reasonable exercise of his discretion as master, flogs one of his scholars, he does not use criminal force, because, although he intends to cause fear and annoyance to the scholar, does not use force illegally.*" Such ambiguity of the Sri Lankan legal system does not allow legal enforcement in instances of the use of corporal punishment.

1.3.3 *Psychological aggression as a form of punishment*

Psychological aggression is "a communication intended to cause the child to experience psychological pain. The communicative act may be active or passive or verbal or non-verbal" (Solomon & Serres, 1999, p. 339). Examples include name calling or nasty remarks (active, verbal), slamming a door or smashing something (active, nonverbal), or stony silence or ignoring (passive, nonverbal). Researchers and clinicians tend to agree that psychological aggression generally involves a psychological or an emotional rejection of the child by verbal or symbolic forms of aggressive behaviour or both. The term psychological aggression is generally used interchangeably with terms such as emotional abuse, emotional maltreatment, psychological maltreatment, psychological abuse, and verbal/symbolic aggression (Vissing et al., 1991), though there are subtle differences in the meanings of these words. Studies on the outcomes of psychological aggression support the hypothesis that it is associated with psychological and social problems for the child (Vissing et al., 1991).Though it is generally considered that acts of higher severity are more associated with psychological pain than acts of lower severity, research has shown that this is not so and that lower severity psychological aggression can lead to psychological pain in the child as do acts of higher severity (Barnett, 2010, as cited in De Zoysa, Newcomb, & Rajapakse, 2010). Sri Lankan studies on child-directed psychological aggression are scarce, with one such study where the perpetrators were parents (De Zoysa, Newcomb, & Rajapakse, 2010). Though no known published study was identified on teacher use of psychological aggression on students in Sri Lanka, extrapolating the results from the above study of De Zoysa, Newcomb, & Rajapakse, (2006), it suggests that it is associated with several negative psychological outcomes. Further, it is the clinical experience of the present researchers

as well as that of anecdotal evidence that teacher use of psychological aggression abounds in Sri Lankan schools with dire consequences (Sunday Times, 2014).

1.4 Justification of the present study

In order to understand the dynamics of the various disciplinary and punishment methods, extensive research has been conducted in many societies. Such studies has usually been undertaken to influence student protection policies and design appropriate awareness/information-giving programs for schools. Whilst such representative culture-specific empirical information is essential, there is a scarcity of such studies in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka, without such information, is not in a position to take an evidence-based stand on this matter. The present study aims to provide such information on the dynamics of three student punishment methods (i.e. corporal punishment, physical abuse, psychological aggression) and positive disciplining practiced in schools in Sri Lanka. As is known, the present study is the most in-depth study on the subject done so far in the country. Hence, by fulfilling the below-indicated objectives, this reports provides information to design programs to prevent violence against children in schools as well as to establish an educational setting that unleashes the unique potential of a child.

1.6 Study objectives

The study aims to achieve the following objectives:

1. To document the different disciplinary methods used by teachers.
2. To identify reasons why school teachers practice different disciplinary (including positive) methods and critically analyse the underlying factors that drive such behaviour.
3. To explore teachers' current knowledge, skills, competencies and practices pertaining to classroom management and use of positive discipline.
4. To understand the justification processes used when meting-out aversive disciplinary strategies.
5. To explore teachers' current knowledge of the legal, regulatory and administrative framework relating to disciplining of children in schools and reasons for non-adherence to the framework.
6. Teacher's past experiences with discipline/punishment and its association with their present practices and justifications for using aversive punishment strategies.
7. To make recommendations taking objectives 1, 2, 3 and 4 into account, on classroom management, promotion of the use of positive disciplining techniques and abstinence from corporal punishment, with regards to law, policy, their implementation, capacity development, etc.

Chapter 2: Methods

This chapter presents the methodology of the present study as:

2.1 Design, setting and participants

2.2 Sampling procedure

2.3 Study instruments, variables and pre-test

2.4 Data collection

2.5 Data analysis

2.6 Ethical considerations

2.1 Design, setting and participants

A school-based descriptive cross-sectional study was conducted in six districts in Sri Lanka, namely Colombo, Galle, Moneragala, Trincomalee, Mullaitivu, and Nuwara eliya. The districts were pre-selected by the National Child Protection Authority as appropriate for this study. These districts are located in the Western, Southern, Uva, Eastern, Northern, and Central provinces of Sri Lanka, respectively. The study was designed to represent schools from different ethnicities, sectors (urban, rural, estate), and administrative structures (government, private and special education schools) in the country.

Both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods were applied to gather data from a wide range of stakeholders as listed below:

a. Students (primary, middle and upper school children)
b. Teachers
c. Principals
d. Officials of the Ministry of Education (both national and provincial level)
e. Parents of children
f. Officials of the school development societies

2.2 Sampling procedure

Sampling of schools was primarily based on four administrative structures of schools in the country:

(i) Government national schools

(ii) Government provincial schools

(iii) Schools managed by private, non-governmental or religious organizations

(iv) Schools for special children (for the 'disabled')

The government schools comprised of all four types of schools, namely type IAB, type IC, type II, and type III, as per the classification of schools. Special education schools were included to represent children with special needs irrespective of other factors. Due consideration was given during the sampling process for adequate representation of participants by ethnicity, gender, and urban-rural-estate sector through stratification.

Sample sizes and sample distribution - quantitative study

Two quantitative surveys were carried out among students and teachers using a two-stage stratified cluster sampling method. It was decided to use years 4, 7 and 10 to represent primary, middle and upper schools respectively. A classroom comprising 20-30 students (24 students on average) was considered as a cluster. In the case of teachers, a group of 12-18 teachers (15 teachers on average) in a school, irrespective of the classes they were involved in teaching, was considered as a cluster.

The sample size for the quantitative study of students was calculated to estimate a proportion of 50% (expected prevalence of corporal punishment as reported by students at 50%) with 95% confidence intervals to be within ±5%. In order to account for clustering, a design effect (DE) of 1.8, was applied. The number of students (n) required to estimate a proportion (p) with 95% confidence intervals within a given precision (l) was estimated using the following formula:

$$n = \left(\frac{Z}{l}\right)^2 p(1-p)(DE)$$

With a non-responses rate of 5%, the total sample size was calculated as 728 students, which would be drawn from 32 clusters.

In the case of teachers, the anticipated proportion of corporal punishment was set at 30% since there is some underreporting of the prevalence, according to the literature. A lesser design

effect of 1.4 was used to account for clustering, and this resulted in a sample of 450 teachers, to be drawn from the same set of schools.

The sampling frame was made by listing all schools in the six districts separately, using the school list of the Ministry of Education. In the first stage of sampling, the schools were selected proportionate to the number of schools available in the respective districts. Within each district, the schools were chosen by simple random sampling process using a free web-based randomization service - Research Randomizer (https://www.randomizer.org). There were few deviations in the sampling process due to logistical reasons. Those were:

- The list of schools in Trincomalee district was restricted to Trincomalee and Trincomalee North Educational Zones
- The list of schools in Nuwara Eliya district was restricted to Tamil medium schools in the Nuwara Eliya Educational Zone
- The private and special education schools were selected purposively

The details of the schools selected for the study are given in Annex 1. In the second stage, one class of students was systematically selected from each school. In the case of teachers, a group of 12 to 18 were systematically selected from the teacher's attendance list.

Table 2.1 summarizes the participants of the quantitative survey, by district. Nine (09) schools were selected from the Colombo district representing 5 government, 2 private and 2 special schools. Five schools (05) each were selected from Galle, Moneragala, and Trincomalee districts, all covering government schools. Four (04) schools each were chosen from Mullaitivu, and Nuwara Eliya districts. In a given school, only one school year was included in the sample. Refer Annex 2 for more details of this sampling process.

Table 2.1 Distribution of schools, students and teachers for the quantitative study by district according to the protocol

Category	Colombo	Galle	Moneragala	Trincomalee	Mullaitivu	Nuwara Eliya	Total
No. of schools	9	5	5	5	4	4	32
No of children for survey	24 students x 9 schools	24 students x 5 schools	24 students x 5 schools	24 students x 5 schools	24 students x 4 schools	24 students x 4 schools	720
No. of teachers for survey	15 teachers x 9 schools	15 teachers x 5 schools	15 teachers x 5 schools	15 teachers x 5 schools	15 teachers x 4 schools	15 teachers x 4 schools	450

Sample sizes and sample distribution - qualitative study

For the qualitative study, purposively selected samples of the respective categories - students, teachers, principals, parents and officials of the school development committees - were chosen from the same schools selected for the quantitative study. Officials of the Ministry of Education were identified from the same educational zones, districts or provinces. Selection of participants for the qualitative study was guided by a grid to ensure representation by gender, ethnicity, urban-rural-estate sector, type of school, and school years (primary, middle, or upper school).

The distribution of participants for the Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and In-depth Interviews are given in Table 2.2. The final sample comprised of 27 FGDs with students, 15 FGDs with teachers, 7 FGDs with parents, and In-Depth Interviews with 13 principals, 7 officials of school development societies, and 5 officials of the Ministry of Education.

Table 2.2: Distribution of participants for Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and In-depth Interviews (IDI) according to the protocol

Category	Colombo	Galle	Moneragala	Trincomalee	Mullaitivu	Nuwara Eliya	Total
No. of schools	9	5	5	5	4	4	32
No. of FGD for students	8	4	4	4	3	3	26 FGD
No. FGD with teachers	5	3	2	2	2	1	15 FGD
No. of FGD with parents	2	1	1	1	1	1	7 FGD
No. of IDI with Officials of School Dev. Societies	3	1	1	1	1	1	7 IDI
No. of IDI with principals	3	4	2	1	2	1	13 IDI
No. of IDI with Officers of Ministry of Education	2	1	1	1	1	1	7 IDI

[a] *Each FGD has 6-8 participants*

2.3 Study instruments, variables and pre-test

The following study instruments were used to collect the data:

(a) Self-administered questionnaire for children
(b) Self-administered questionnaire for teachers
(c) Interview guides for structured interviews with principals, officials of the Ministry of Education, and officials of the school development societies
(d) Focus group discussion (FGD) schedules for students, teachers and parents

The Parent Child Conflict Tactic Scale (CTSPC: De Zoysa, 2006) was used for the assessment of corporal punishment, physical abuse, psychological aggression, and (positive) discipline. The CTSPC is considered the most widely used measure in the world to assess child-directed violence and (positive) discipline, and it was validated to Sri Lanka by one of the

collaborators of this study (Piyanjali de Zoysa), and have been found to have good psychometric properties.

All study instruments were translated into Sinhala and Tamil and back translated. It was found that the original version and back-translated versions were similar. Since the School for the Blind was included under the special education schools category, the questionnaire was converted into Braille form as well.

Variables

A conceptual framework was used to identify and prioritise the variables according to the specific objectives mentioned above. The key variables covered different disciplinary methods used by teachers: reasons why school teachers practice different disciplinary methods; teachers' current knowledge, skills, competencies and practices pertaining to classroom management and (positive) discipline; and, teachers' current knowledge of the legal, regulatory and administrative framework relating to disciplining of children in schools and reasons for non-adherence to this framework.

The qualitative study emphasized these areas: attitudes to corporal punishment and psychological aggression, both positive and negative with justifications; practices of corporal punishment and psychological aggression, and knowledge about its legal aspects. It also explored the reasons why corporal punishment and psychological aggression are used; why it is necessary to discipline children; skills in coping with indiscipline; and teacher knowledge and use of (positive) disciplinary methods. The study identified socio-cultural aspects such as social class, violence in society, alcohol use, drug use, and whether religious practices have a correlation to attitudes and practices of diverse disciplinary practices.

Pre-testing

The study instruments were pre-tested in one government school in Colombo which was not included in the sample. Students in school years 4, 7, and 10, and a group of teachers participated in this pre-test. Appropriate modifications were done in the study instruments following the pre-test.

2.4 Data collection

Data collection was carried out from January to March 2017, within the first academic term of the year. The Ministry of Education granted permission to implement the study, and instructed the relevant officials and principals to extend their support for data collection. Permissions for the private and special education schools were obtained directly through the respective administrative authorities.

The field team comprised a project coordinator, a field supervisor, and 2 groups of data collectors - separately for the quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative group had 2 enumerators, and the qualitative group had 8 facilitators. Graduates with a degree in Health Promotion, Sociology or any health-related discipline were recruited as data collectors, following a thorough selection process. All the individuals who were selected for qualitative data collection had prior experience in conducting FGDs/IDIs. The team represented both genders, and Sinhala and Tamil speaking persons. The team was adequately trained on the respective methodologies by the investigators. The field training was carried out in a private school in the Colombo district which is not included in the sample. The field team is listed in the contributors' page of this report.

Data collection was carried out district by district according to a pre-designed operational plan. The quantitative enumerators met the identified target groups (students and teachers) and obtained informed consent and distributed and collected the questionnaires. The qualitative team facilitated the FGDs and IDIs as per schedules, and voice recorded these discussions. The qualitative research expert was present in most of the study sites and facilitated some of the FGDs and the in-depth interviews, and supervised the qualitative study.

From the inception of the project, the principal investigator and the co-investigators met on a weekly basis to discuss and review the process. The investigators attended 2 consultative meetings with the National Child Protection Authority and their partners, at the commencement and mid-term of the project. The partners/sponsors affiliated to this study provided logistical support in the respective districts for accommodation, meals and transport during the field activities.

Table 2.3: Summary of data collection method for each category of participants

Category	**Method of data collection**	**Number completed**
Students	Questionnaire survey	948
	FGD	27 FGD (6-8 students per group)
Teachers	Questionnaire survey	459
	FGD	15 FGDs (6-8 teachers per group)
Principals	In-depth interview	13 interviews
Parents	FGD	7 FGDs (6-8 parents per group)
Officials of the school development societies	In-depth interview	7 interviews
Officials of the Ministry of Education	In-depth interview	5 interviews

2.5 Data analysis

Quantitative data were analysed using SPSS statistical software version 20.0. The questionnaire contained 29 items of chid punishment and disciplinary strategies under 4 sub scales - corporal punishment, physical abuse, psychological aggression, and non-violent discipline. Two types of indicators were used: Prevalence and frequency of child disciplinary strategies, in the previous term, which was the referent time period.

The prevalence was calculated as a percentage of participants who reported that the act occurred in the past term. The frequency was calculated as how many times the participant reported the act as having being experienced in the past term. The scores are presented as medians rather than mean since the distributions are skewed to the right. Prevalence was cross-tabulated against socio-demographic variables, and the Chi-Square test and SND for 2 proportions were used to determine significance of the differences, if any. A P value less than 0.05 was used to denote statistical significance.

With regards to qualitative data, all interviews were recorded and transcribed on the same day by the research assistants. A thematic analysis was conducted. Two research assistants read transcripts and did the preliminary coding. Coding was checked by qualitative research expert and recoded the transcripts using a common set of codes. Code sorts were prepared followed by

displaying and reducing of data for interpreting. Immerging themes were identified and summarised.

2.6 Ethical considerations

Informed written consent was obtained from all participants, and in the case of the students the consent was obtained from the respective school principal. There was no exclusion of participation by ethnicity, gender or other factors. By participation in this study, the participants did not face any major risks. The minor risks included time loss due to participation, and the possible emotional disturbances by recalling any adverse punishment strategies they had experienced. No incentives were given for their participation.

Strict confidentiality of data was assured, and results were not be divulged at individual, classroom or school level. All data records have been stored confidentially. The study did not reveal any offenses at individual level or classroom level. However, instructions were given in general about where to seek help or report if any student experienced a serious offence (e.g. child abuse). The research team was not involved in taking action or informing such incidents to the authorities.

The study was conducted in concurrence with the Ministry of Education. Ethics clearance was obtained from the ethics review committee of the Sri Lanka College of Paediatricians (Refer Annex 3).

Chapter 3: Results of the Quantitative Study

This chapter presents the quantitative results of the present study as:

3.1 Results as reported by students: Prevalence, frequencies and correlates

3.2 Results as reported by teachers: Prevalence, frequencies and correlates

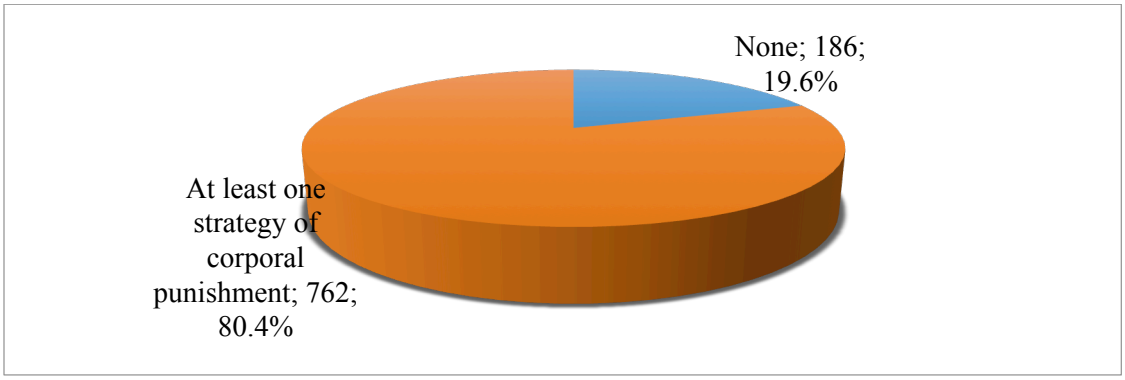
3.1 Results as reported by students: Prevalence, frequencies and correlates

Table 3.1: Socio-demographic characteristics of students in the quantitative study

Characteristic		Count	Percent
Gender	Female	468	49.4%
	Male	480	50.6%
School year	04	298	31.4%
	07	316	33.3%
	10	334	35.2%
Ethnicity	Sinhala	563	59.4%
	Sri Lankan Tamil	160	16.9%
	Indian Tamil	118	12.4%
	Moslem and other	107	11.3%
Religion	Buddhist	538	56.8%
	Christian	68	7.2%
	Hindu	236	24.9%
	Islam	106	11.2%
Extracurricular activities	None	39	4.1%
	One	505	53.3%
	Two	254	26.8%
	Three	97	10.2%
	Four or more	53	5.6%
	Total	948	100.0%

Table 3.1 describes the socio-demographic characteristics of 948 students who participated in the survey. A vast majority (95.9%) of the students was involved in at least one extracurricular activity.

Figure 3.1: Prevalence of overall corporal punishment reported by students in the quantitative study

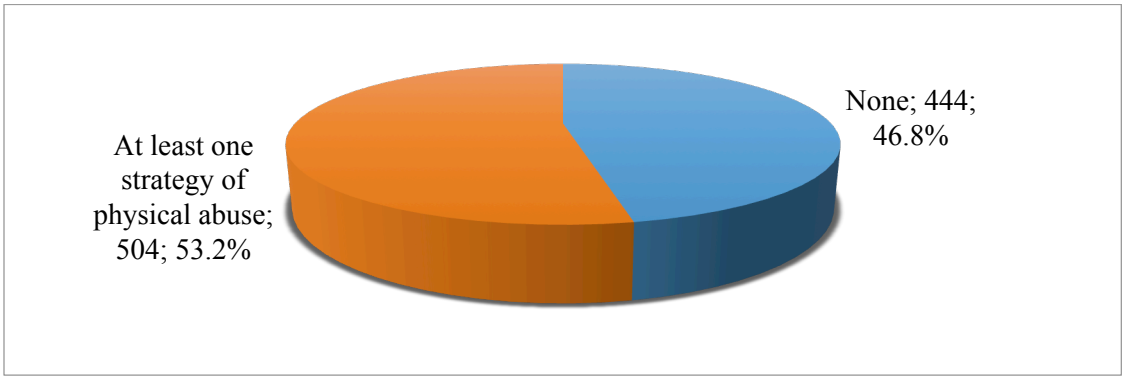


As shown in Figure 3.1, 80.4% of students reported having experienced at least one episode of corporal punishment in the past term. Various strategies of corporal punishment reported by students are described in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Prevalence of corporal punishment strategies reported by students in the quantitative study (n=948)

Corporal punishment strategy		
	Count	Percentage
Being shaken	196	20.7%
Hit on the bottom with something like a stick or some other hard object	402	42.4%
Spanked on the bottom with the bare hand	204	21.5%
Slapped on the hand, arm or leg	246	25.9%
Pinched	210	22.2%
Slapped on the face, head or ears	235	24.8%
Squeezed ear	414	43.7%
Hit on the head with the knuckles	318	33.5%
Pulled hair	118	12.4%
Told to kneel down	345	36.4%
Told to keep on standing	450	47.5%

Figure 3.2: Prevalence of overall physical abuse as reported by students in the quantitative study

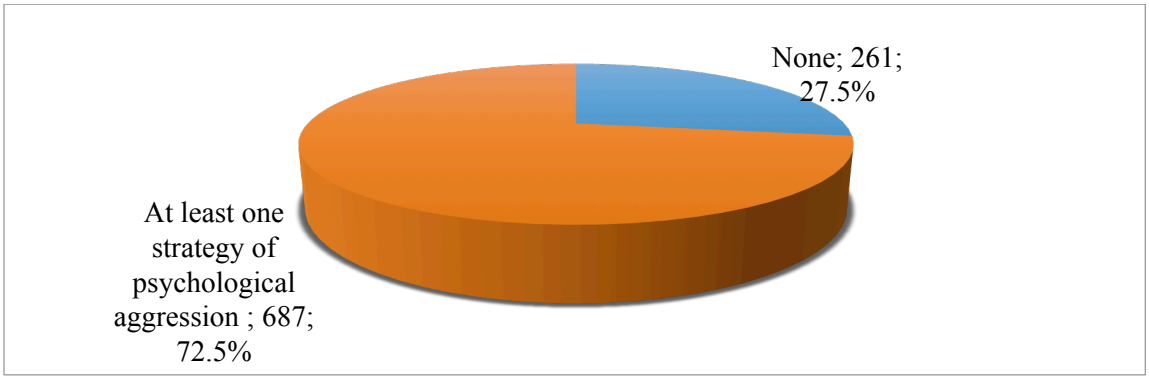


As shown in Figure 3.2, 53.2% of students reported having experienced at least one episode of physical abuse in the past term. Various strategies of physical abuse reported by students are described in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Prevalence of physical abuse strategies reported by students in the quantitative study (n=948)

Physical abuse strategy		
	Count	Percentage
Hit with a fist or kicked hard	160	16.9%
Grabbed around the neck and choked	34	3.6%
Beaten over and over as hard as possible	156	16.5%
Burned or scalded on purpose	6	.6%
Hit on a part of the body besides the bottom with something like a stick or some other hard object	379	40.0%
Threatened with a pole or knife	36	3.8%
Thrown or knocked down	67	7.1%

Figure 3.3: Prevalence of overall psychological aggression as reported by students in the quantitative study

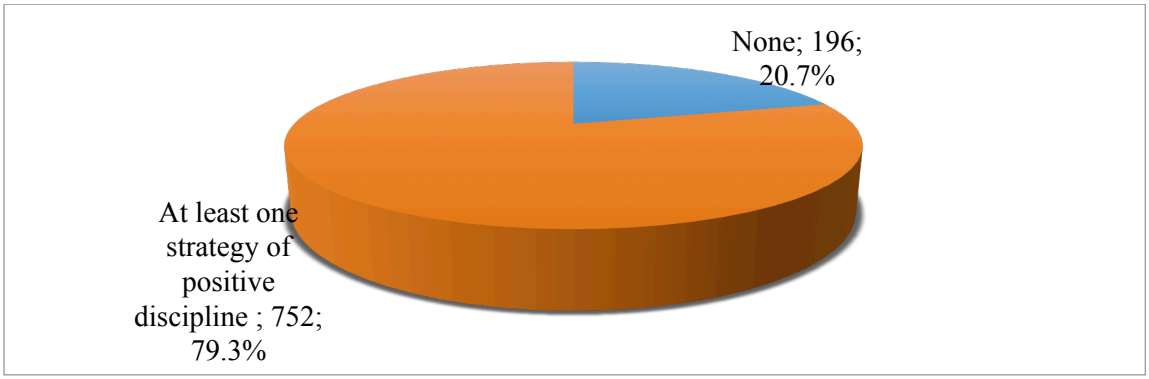


As shown in Figure 3.3, 72.5% of students reported having experienced at least one episode of psychological aggression in the past term. Various strategies of psychological aggression reported by students are described in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Prevalence of psychological aggression strategies reported by students in the quantitative study (n=948)

Psychological aggression strategy		
	Count	Percentage
Shouted, yelled or screamed	442	46.6%
Swore or cursed	168	17.7%
Threatened to chase away or kick you out of the classroom	247	26.1%
Threatened to spank or hit but did not actually do it	323	34.1%
Called you dumb, lazy, donkey, bull or some other names like that	228	24.1%
Compared you to another better child	249	26.3%
Listed out your faults in front of others in a way that made you feel ashamed	188	19.8%
Chased you out from the classroom	259	27.3%

Figure 3.4: Prevalence of overall (positive) discipline reported by students in the quantitative study

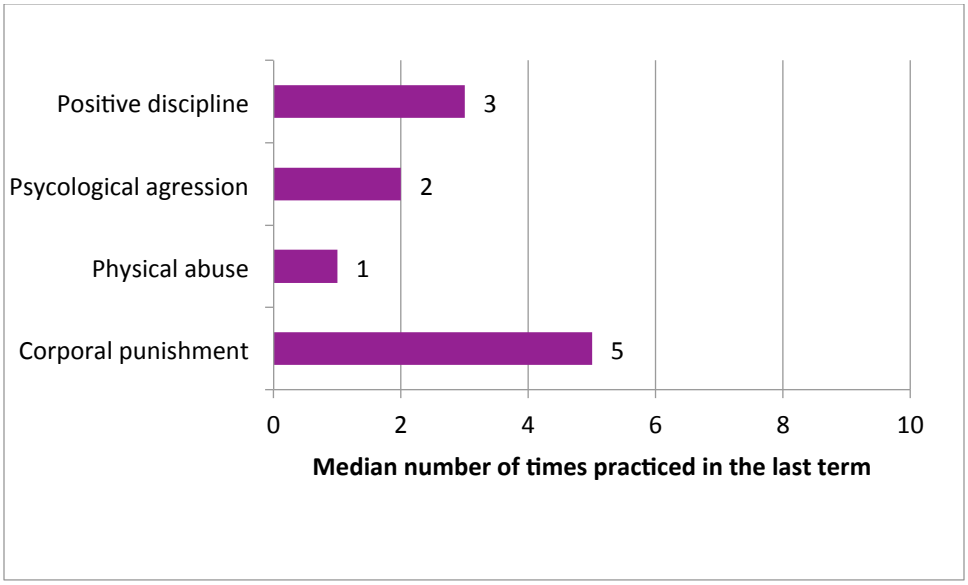


As shown in Figure 3.4, 79.3% of students reported having experienced at least one episode of (positive) discipline in the past term. Various strategies of (positive) discipline reported by students are described in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Prevalence of (positive) discipline strategies reported by students in the quantitative study (n=948)

Positive discipline strategy		
	Count	Percentage
Explained why something was wrong	614	64.8%
Gave something else to do instead of what was being done wrong	338	35.7%
Took away privileges or grounded	307	32.4%

Figure 3.5 Frequency of child disciplinary methods reported by students in the quantitative study



The frequencies of various disciplinary strategies reported by students were summarized into the four main disciplinary methods. The median number of times in each disciplinary method being used in the past term as reported by the students is presented in Figure 3.5. On average, students have experienced 5 episodes of corporal punishment, 3 episodes of positive discipline strategies, 2 episodes of psychological aggression , and one episode of physical abuse, in the past term. The frequencies (median number of times in the past term) of each disciplinary strategy are described in the tables 3.6 to 3.9.

Table 3.6: Frequency of corporal punishment strategies reported by students in the quantitative study

Corporal punishment strategy	Median
Being shaken	2.00
Hit on the bottom with something like a stick or some other hard object	2.00
Spanked on the bottom with bare hand	2.00
Slapped on the hand, arm or leg	2.00
Pinched	2.00
Slapped on the face, head or ears	2.00
Squeezed ear	2.00

Corporal punishment strategy	Median
Hit on head with the knuckles	2.00
Pulled hair	2.00
Asked to kneel down	2.00
Told to keep on standing	2.00

Table 3.7: Frequency of physical abuse strategies reported by students in the quantitative study

Physical abuse strategy	Median
Hit with a fist or kicked hard	2.00
Grabbed around the neck and choked	2.00
Beaten over and over as hard as possible	2.00
Burned or scalded on purpose	1.50
Hit on a part of the body besides the bottom with something like a stick or some other hard object	2.00
Threatened with a pole or knife	2.00
Thrown or knocked down	2.00

Table 3.8: Frequency of psychological aggression strategies reported by students in the quantitative study

Psychological aggression strategy	Median
Shouted, yelled or screamed	2.00
Swore or cursed	2.00
Threatened to chase away or kicked you out of the classroom	2.00
Threatened to spank or hit but did not actually do it	2.00
Called you dumb, lazy, donkey, bull or some other names like that	2.00
Compared you to another better child	2.00
Listed out you faults in front of others in a way that made you feel ashamed	2.00
Chased you out from the classroom	2.00

Table 3.9: Frequency of (positive) disciplinary strategies reported by students in the quantitative study

Positive disciplinary strategy	Median
Explained why something was wrong	2.00
Gave something else to do instead of what was done wrong	2.00
Took away privileges or grounded	2.00

Table 3.10: Prevalence of corporal punishment by socio-demographic characteristics of students in the quantitative study

Characteristic		Count	Percentage
District [a]	Colombo	205	84.0%
	Galle	83	61.9%
	Monaragala	134	80.2%
	Mulaitivu	103	84.4%
	Nuwara Eliya	117	90.7%
	Trincomalee	120	78.9%
School sector [b]	Estate	117	90.7%
	Rural	372	77.0%
	Urban	273	81.3%
School type [c]	1AB (Science A/L)	439	81.0%
	1C (Non-science A/L)	117	76.5%
	Private	39	81.3%
	Special education	25	73.5%
	Type 2 (Years 1-11)	96	92.3%
	Type 3 (Years 1-5 or years 1-8)	46	68.7%
Administration of the school	National	145	74.7%
	Private	39	81.3%
	Provincial	553	82.3%
	Special education	25	73.5%
Gender [d]	Female	324	69.2%
	Male	438	91.3%
Ethnicity [e]	Sinhala	452	80.3%
	SL Tamil	140	87.5%
	Indian Tamil	108	91.5%
	Moslem	62	57.9%
Religion [f]	Buddhist	430	79.9%
	Christian	58	85.3%
	Hindu	211	89.4%
	Islam	63	59.4%
	Total	762	80.4%

Significantly higher prevalence of corporal punishment was found in:
a. All other districts compared to Galle; b. Estates compared to urban and rural; c. Type 2 schools compared to Type 1C and Type 3; d. Males compared to Females; e. Sinhalese, Sri Lankan Tamil, Indian Tamil compared to Muslims; f. Buddhist, Christian, and Hindu religions compared to Islam

Table 3.11: Prevalence of physical abuse by socio-demographic characteristics of students in the quantitative study

Characteristic		Count	Percentage
District [a]	Colombo	125	51.2%
	Galle	51	38.1%
	Monaragala	103	61.7%
	Mulaitivu	65	53.3%
	Nuwara Eliya	84	65.1%
	Trincomalee	76	50.0%
Sector of school [b]	Estate	84	65.1%
	Rural	259	53.6%
	Urban	161	47.9%
Type of school [c]	1AB (Science A/L)	299	55.2%
	1C (Non-science A/L)	81	52.9%
	Private	12	25.0%
	Special education	14	41.2%
	Type 2 (Years 1-11)	74	71.2%
	Type 3 (Years 1-5 or years 1-8)	24	35.8%
Gender [d]	Female	179	38.2%
	Male	325	67.4%
Administration of the school [e]	National	102	52.6%
	Private	12	25.0%
	Provincial	376	56.0%
	Special education	14	41.2%
Ethnicity [f]	Sinhala	311	55.2%
	Sri Lankan Tamil	89	55.6%
	Indian Tamil	76	64.4%
	Moslem	28	26.2%
Religion [g]	Buddhist	300	55.8%
	Christian	36	52.9%
	Hindu	137	58.1%
	Islam	31	29.2%
	Total	504	53.2%

Significantly higher prevalence of physical abuse was found in:
a. Moneragala and Nuwaraeliya districts compared to Galle; b. Estates compared to urban; c. Type 2 schools compared to 1AB, private, special, and Type3; d. National, and provincial schools compared to private schools; e, Males compared to Females; f. Sinhalese, Sri Lankan Tamil, Indian Tamil compared to Muslims; g. Buddhist, Christian, and Hindu religions compared to Islam

Table 3.12: Prevalence of non-violent discipline by socio-demographic characteristics of students in the quantitative study

Characteristic		Count	Percentage
District [a]	Colombo	192	78.7%
	Galle	89	66.4%
	Monaragala	133	79.6%
	Mulaitivu	104	85.2%
	Nuwara Eliya	103	79.8%
	Trincomalee	131	86.2%
Sector of school	Estate	103	79.8%
	Rural	376	77.8%
	Urban	273	81.3%
Type of school [b]	1AB (Science A/L)	417	76.9%
	1C (Non-science A/L)	113	73.9%
	Private	34	70.8%
	Special education	26	76.5%
	Type 2 (Years 1-11)	97	93.3%
	Type 3 (Years 1-5 or years 1-8)	65	97.0%
Gender[c]	Female	332	70.9%
	Male	420	87.5%
Administration of school	National	155	79.9%
	Private	34	70.8%
	Provincial	537	79.9%
	Special education	26	76.5%
Ethnicity [d]	Sinhala	446	79.2%
	SL Tamil	141	88.1%
	Indian Tamil	95	80.5%
	Moslem	70	65.4%
Religion [e]	Buddhist	426	79.2%
	Christian	54	79.4%
	Hindu	199	84.3%
	Islam	73	68.9%
	Total	752	79.3%

Significantly higher prevalence of non-violent discipline was found in:

a. Mullaitivu and Trincomalee districts compared to Galle; b. Type 2 and Type 3 schools compared to Type 1AB, 1C, Private, and Special schools; c. Males compared to Females; d. Sinhalese, Sri Lankan Tamil, Indian Tamil compared to Muslims; e. Hindu religion compared to Islam.

Table 3.13: Prevalence of psychological aggression by socio-demographic characteristics of students in the quantitative study

Characteristic		Count	Percentage
District [a]	Colombo	192	78.7%
	Galle	83	61.9%
	Monaragala	126	75.4%
	Mulaitivu	82	67.2%
	Nuwara Eliya	89	69.0%
	Trincomalee	115	75.7%
Sector of school	Estate	89	69.0%
	Rural	346	71.6%
	Urban	252	75.0%
Type of school [b]	1AB (Science A/L)	381	70.3%
	1C (Non-science A/L)	116	75.8%
	Private	34	70.8%
	Special education	22	64.7%
	Type 2 (Years 1-11)	90	86.5%
	Type 3 (Years 1-5 or years 1-8)	44	65.7%
Gender[c]	Female	278	59.4%
	Male	409	85.2%
Administration of school	National	136	70.1%
	Private	34	70.8%
	Provincial	495	73.7%
	Special education	22	64.7%
Ethnicity [d]	Sinhala	439	78.0%
	SL Tamil	111	69.4%
	Indian Tamil	80	67.8%
	Moslem	57	53.3%
Religion [e]	Buddhist	421	78.3%
	Christian	43	63.2%
	Hindu	165	69.9%
	Islam	58	54.7%
	Total	687	72.5%

Significantly higher prevalence of psychological aggression was found in:

a. Colombo district compared to Galle; b. Type 2 schools compared to Type 1AB and Type 3, c. Males compared to Females; d. Sinhalese and Indian Tamil compared to Muslims; e. Buddhist compared to Christian and Islamic.

Table 3.14: Prevalence of punishment and disciplinary method, by gender and year of study, reported by students in the quantitative study (n=948)

Disciplinary method	Female			Male		
	Year 4	Year 7	Year10	Year 4	Year 7	Year10
(Positive) discipline	86.5%	70.2%	54.9%	95.8%	86.5%	82.1%
Corporal punishment	67.9%	78.6%	59.7%	88.7%	94.6%	90.5%
Psychological aggression	60.3%	61.3%	56.3%	77.5%	91.2%	86.3%
Physical abuse	41.7%	38.7%	34.0%	70.4%	66.9%	66.3%

In female students, significantly higher prevalence of positive discipline was reported in lower grades, and corporal punishment in grade 7. In male students, significantly higher prevalence of positive discipline was reported in lower grades, and psychological aggression in Grade 7. Prevalence of all disciplinary methods were significantly higher among boys than girls in all the years of study concerned. The gender difference in each disciplinary method is illustrated in figures 3.6 to 3.9.

Figure 3.6 Prevalence of positive disciplinary method by gender and year of study, reported by students in the quantitative study

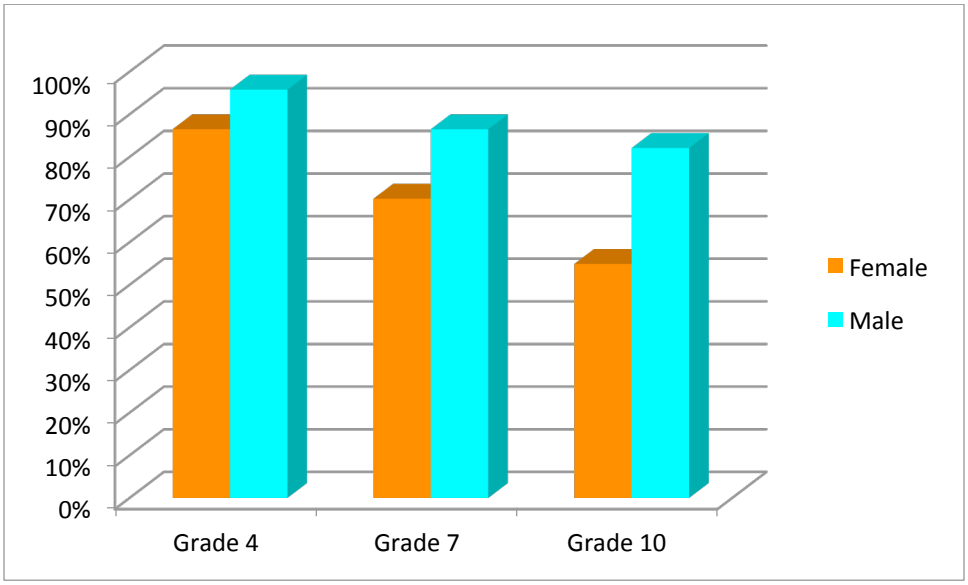


Figure 3.7 Prevalence of corporal punishment by gender and year of study, reported by students in the quantitative study

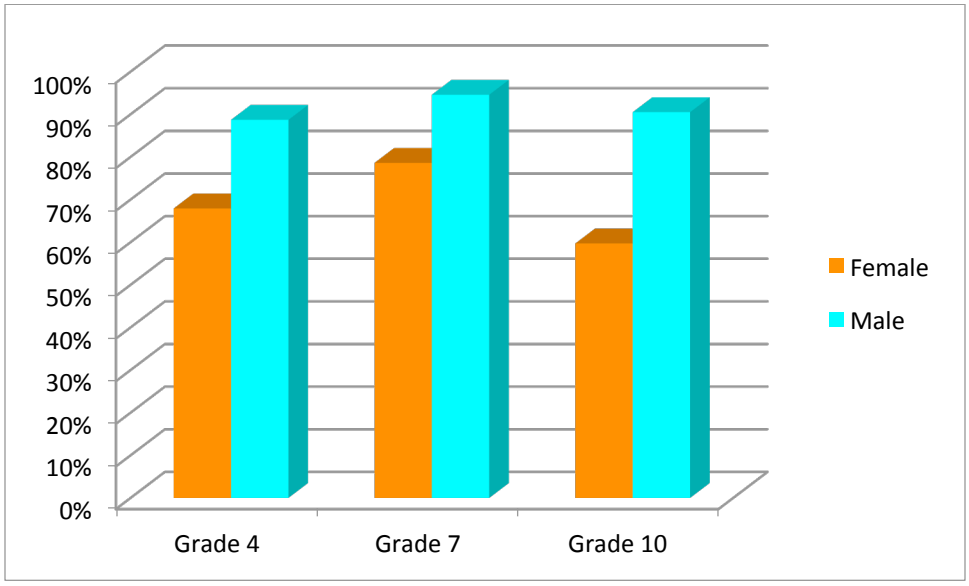


Figure 3.8 Prevalence of psychological aggression, by gender and year of study, reported by students in the quantitative study

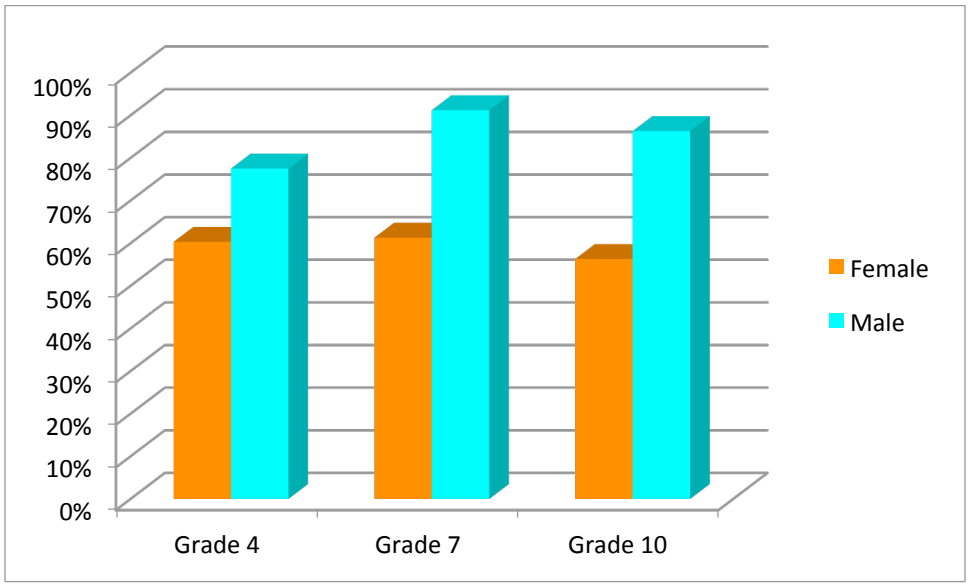
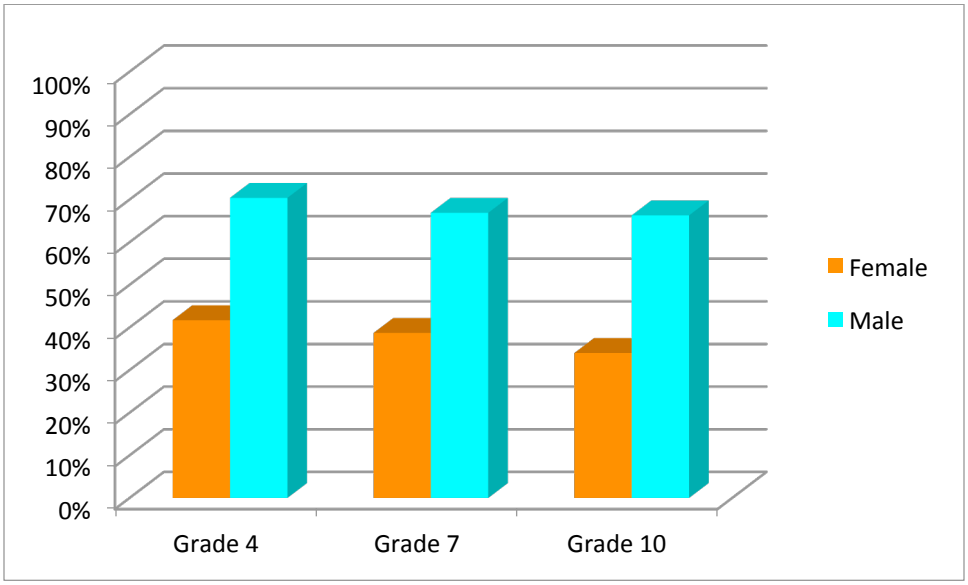


Figure 3.9 Prevalence of physical abuse, by gender and year of study, reported by students in the quantitative study



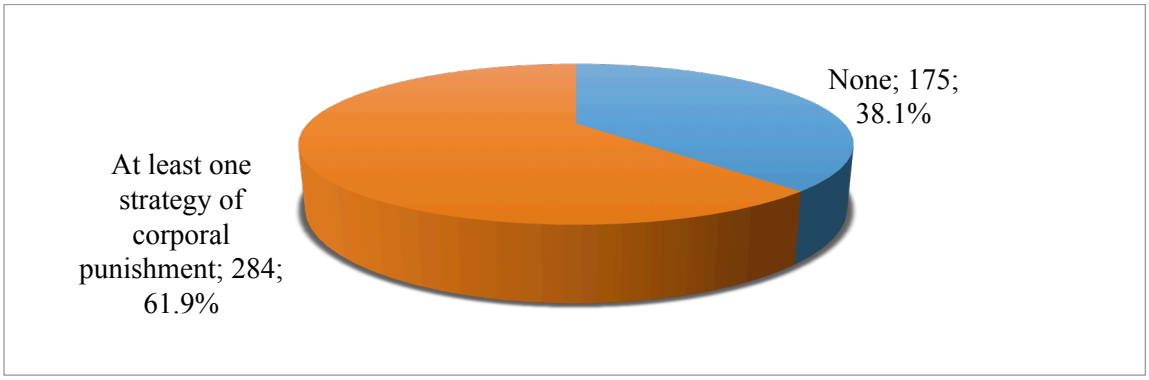
3.2 Results as reported by teachers: Prevalence, frequencies and correlates

Table 3.15: Socio-demographic characteristics of teachers in the quantitative study

Characteristic		Count	Percentage
Gender	Female	337	73.4%
	Male	122	26.6%
Age group	23-29 years	69	15.0%
	30-39 years	158	34.4%
	40-49 years	132	28.8%
	50-60 years	100	21.8%
Marital status	Unmarried	75	16.3%
	Married	375	81.7%
	Separated	6	1.3%
	Widowed	3	0.7%
Ethnicity	Sinhalese	283	61.7%
	Sri Lankan Tamil	110	24.0%
	Indian Tamil	38	8.3%
	Moslem	28	6.1%
Religion	Buddhist	258	56.2%
	Christian	45	9.8%
	Hindu	128	27.9%
	Islam	28	6.1%
Having received training on disciplining students	Trained	103	22.4%
	Not trained	356	77.6%
Being aware of the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children in schools	Aware	343	74.7%
	Not aware	116	25.3%
Total		459	100.0%

Table 3.15 describes the socio-demographic characteristics of 459 teachers who participated in the survey. Of the teachers, 74.7% were aware of the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children in schools, and only 22.4% have received any kind of training on disciplining students.

Figure 3.10: Prevalence of overall corporal punishment reported by teachers in the quantitative study

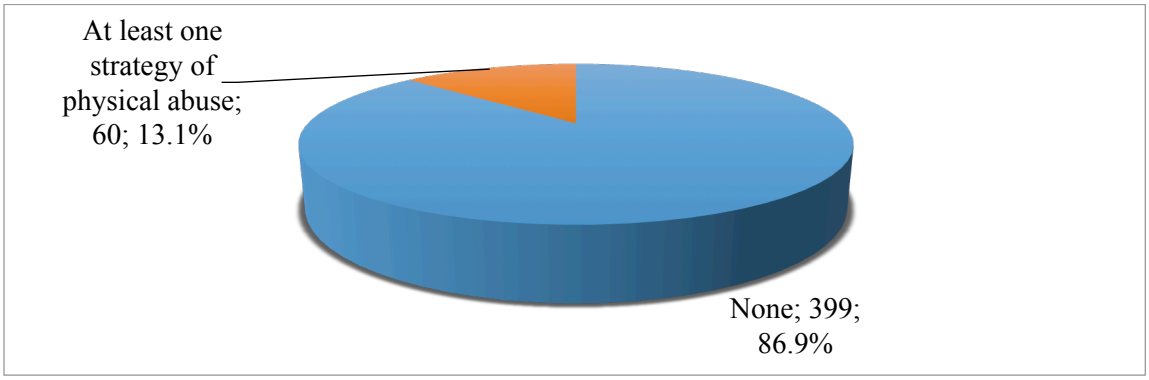


As shown in to Figure 3.10, 61.9% of teachers reported using at least one strategy of corporal punishment in the past term. Various strategies of corporal punishment reported by teachers are described in Table 3.16.

Table 3.16: Prevalence of corporal punishment strategies reported by teachers in the quantitative study (n=459)

Corporal punishment strategy		
	Count	Percentage
Shook the student	35	7.6%
Hit on the bottom with something like a stick or some other hard object	122	26.6%
Spanked on the bottom with bare hand	29	6.3%
Slapped on the hand, arm or leg	70	15.3%
Pinched	5	1.1%
Slapped on the face, head or ears	10	2.2%
Squeezed ear	91	19.8%
Hit on head with the knuckles	43	9.4%
Pulled hair	7	1.5%
Asked to kneel down	79	17.2%
Told to keep on standing	202	44.0%

Figure 3.11: Prevalence of overall physical abuse reported by teachers in the quantitative study

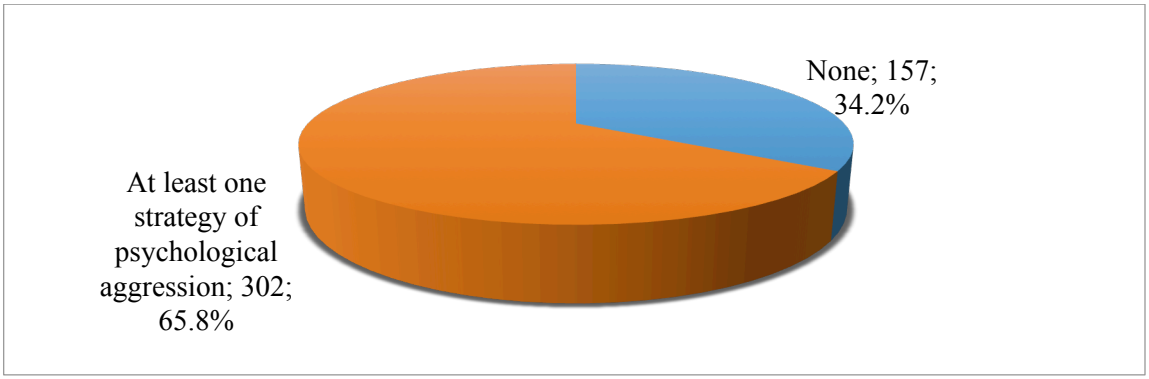


As shown in to Figure 3.11, 13.1% of teachers reported using at least one strategy of physical abuse in the past term. Various strategies of physical abuse reported by teachers are described in Table 3.17.

Table 3.17: Prevalence of physical abuse strategies reported by teachers in the quantitative study (n=459)

Physical abuse strategy		
	Count	Percentage
Hit with a fist or kicked hard	5	1.1%
Grabbed around the neck and choked	0	0.0%
Beat the student over and over as hard as possible	2	0.4%
Burned or scalded on purpose	1	0.2%
Hit on a part of the body besides the bottom with something like a stick or some other hard object	58	12.6%
Threatened with a pole or knife	0	0.0%
Threw or knocked down	0	0.0%

Figure 3.12: Prevalence of overall psychological aggression reported by teachers in the quantitative study

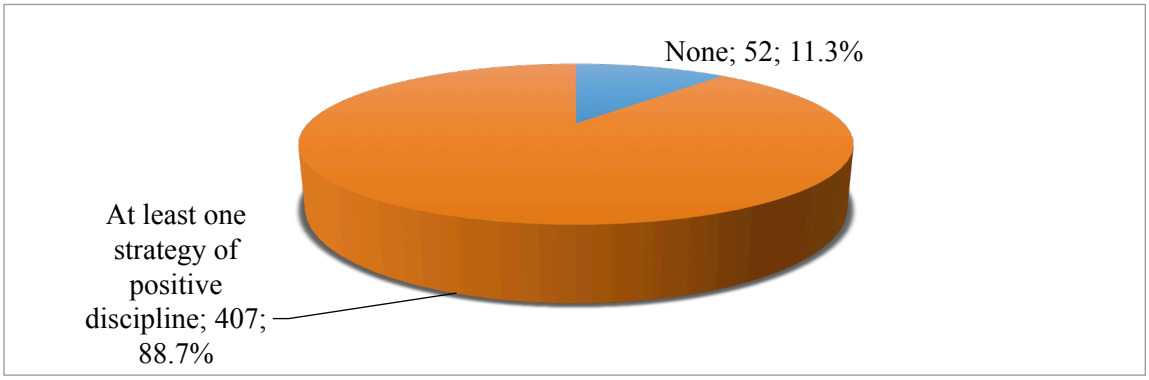


As shown in to Figure 3.12, 65.8% of teachers reported using at least one strategy of psychological aggression in the past term. Various strategies of psychological aggression reported by teachers are described in Table 3.18.

Table 3.18: Prevalence of psychological aggression strategies reported by teachers in the quantitative study (n=459)

Psychological aggression strategy	Count	Percentage
Shouted, yelled or screamed	236	51.4%
Swore or cursed	3	0.7%
Threatened to chase away or kick the student from the classroom	140	30.5%
Threatened to spank or hit but did not actually do it	175	38.1%
Called the student dumb, lazy, donkey, bull or some other names like that	28	6.1%
Compared the student to another better child	63	13.7%
Listed out the students faults in front of others in a way that made him/her feel ashamed	26	5.7%
Chased him/her out of the classroom	98	21.4%

Figure 3.13 Prevalence of overall (positive) discipline reported by teachers in the quantitative study

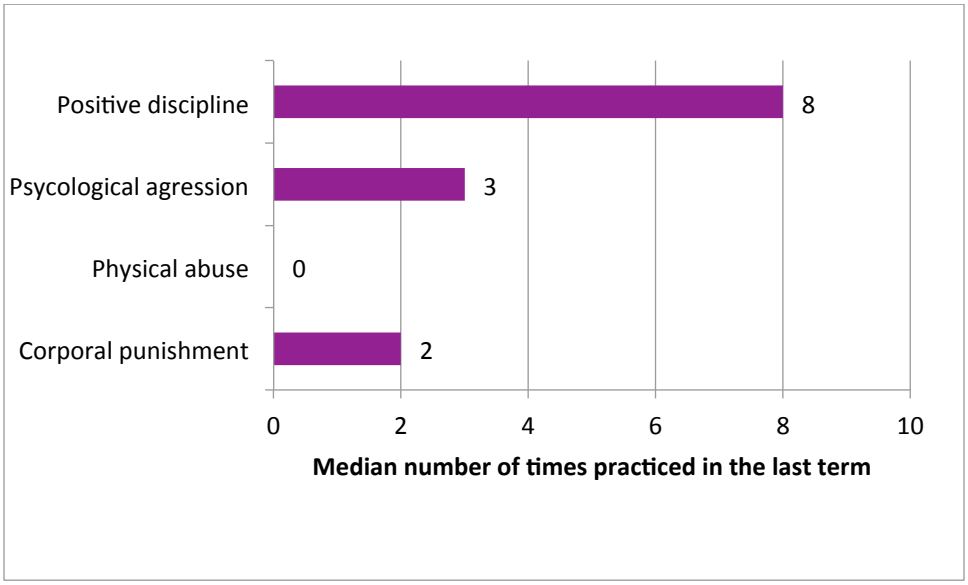


As shown in to Figure 3.13, 88.7% of teachers reported using at least one strategy of positive discipline in the past term. Various strategies of positive discipline reported by teachers are described in Table 3.19.

Table 3.19: Prevalence of (positive) discipline strategies reported by teachers in the quantitative study (n=459)

Positive discipline strategy	Count	Percentage
Explained why something was wrong	377	82.1%
Gave something else to do instead of what was being done wrong	279	60.8%
Took away privileges or grounded	145	31.6%

Figure 3.14 Frequency of child disciplinary methods reported by teachers in the quantitative study



The frequencies of various disciplinary strategies used by teachers were summarized into the four main disciplinary methods. The median number of times in each disciplinary method being used in the past term as reported by the teachers is presented in Figure 3.14. According to teachers, 8 episodes of positive discipline strategies, 2 episodes of corporal punishment, 3 episodes of psychological aggression, and none of physical abuse strategies on average, have been used by them in the past term. The frequencies (median number of times in the past term) of each disciplinary strategy are described in the tables 3.20 to 3.23.

Table 3.20: Frequency of corporal punishment strategies reported by teachers in the quantitative study

	Median
Shook the student	4.00
Hit on the bottom with something like a stick or some other hard object	2.00
Spanked on the bottom with bare hand	2.00
Slapped on the hand, arm or leg	4.00
Pinched	1.00
Slapped on the face, head or ears	2.00
Squeezed ear	2.00
Hit on head with the knuckles	2.00
Pulled hair	4.00
Asked to kneel down	2.00
Told to keep on standing	4.00

Table 3.21: Frequency of physical abuse strategies reported by teachers in the quantitative study

	Median
Hit with a fist or kicked hard	2.00
Beat the student over and over as hard as possible	1.50
Burned or scalded on purpose	1.00
Hit you on part of the body besides the bottom with something like a stick or some other hard object	2.00

Table 3.22: Frequency of psychological aggression strategies reported by teachers in the quantitative study

	Median
Shouted, yelled or screamed	4.00
Swore or cursed	2.00
Threatened to chase away or kicked the student out of the classroom	4.00
Threatened to spank or hit but did not actually do it	4.00
Called the student dumb, lazy, donkey, bull or some other names like that	3.00
Compared the student to another better child	2.00
Listed out the students faults in front of others in a way that made him/her feel ashamed	2.00
Chased him/her out from the classroom	2.00

Table 3.23: Frequency of (positive) discipline strategies reported by teachers in the quantitative study

	Median
Explained why something was wrong	8.00
Gave something else to do instead of what was done wrong	4.00
Took away privileges or grounded	4.00

Table 3.24: Prevalence of corporal punishment by socio-demographic characteristics of teachers in the quantitative study

Characteristic		Count	Percentage
Gender	Female	206	61.1%
	Male	78	63.9%
Age group	23-29 years	46	66.7%
	30-39 years	105	66.5%
	40-49 years	74	56.1%
	50-60 years	59	59.0%
Ethnicity [a]	Sinhalese	202	71.4%
	Sri Lankan Tamil	59	53.6%
	Indian Tamil	14	36.8%
	Moslem	9	32.1%
Religion [b]	Buddhist	186	72.1%
	Christian	28	62.2%
	Hindu	61	47.7%
	Islam	9	32.1%
Having received training on disciplining students	Trained	58	56.3%
	Not trained	226	63.5%
Being aware of the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children in schools [c]	Aware	203	59.2%
	Not aware	81	69.8%

Significantly higher prevalence of corporal punishment was reported by teachers who are:

a. Sinhalese compared to Sri Lankan Tamil, Indian Tamil and Muslims; b. Buddhist compared to Hindu and Islam religions; and c. not aware of the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children in schools

Table 3.25 Prevalence of physical abuse by socio-demographic characteristics of teachers in the quantitative study

Characteristic		Count	Percentage
Gender	Female	38	11.3%
	Male	22	18.0%
Age group	23-29 years	12	17.4%
	30-39 years	24	15.2%
	40-49 years	15	11.4%
	50-60 years	9	9.0%
Ethnicity [a]	Sinhalese	51	18.0%
	Sri Lankan Tamil	7	6.4%
	Indian Tamil	0	.0%
	Moslem	2	7.1%
Religion [b]	Buddhist	50	19.4%
	Christian	2	4.4%
	Hindu	6	4.7%
	Islam	2	7.1%
Having received training on disciplining students	Trained	8	7.8%
	Not trained	52	14.6%
Being aware of the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children in schools [c]	Aware	38	11.1%
	Not aware	22	19.0%

Significantly higher prevalence physical abuse was reported by teachers who are:

a. Sinhalese compared to Sri Lankan Tamil; b. Buddhist compared to Hindu; and c not aware of the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children in schools

Table 3.26: Prevalence of psychological aggression by socio-demographic characteristics of teachers in the quantitative study

Characteristic		Count	Percentage
Gender	Female	221	65.6%
	Male	81	66.4%
Age group	23-29 years	46	66.7%
	30-39 years	107	67.7%
	40-49 years	88	66.7%
	50-60 years	61	61.0%
Ethnicity [a]	Sinhalese	230	81.3%
	Sri Lankan Tamil	45	40.9%
	Indian Tamil	16	42.1%
	Moslem	11	39.3%
Religion [b]	Buddhist	208	80.6%
	Christian	35	77.8%
	Hindu	48	37.5%
	Islam	11	39.3%
Having received training on disciplining students [c]	Trained	54	52.4%
	Not trained	248	69.7%
Being aware of the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children in schools[d]	Aware	211	61.5%
	Not aware	91	78.4%

Significantly higher prevalence of psychological aggression was reported by teachers who are:

a. Sinhalese compared to Sri Lankan Tamil, Indian Tamil and Muslims; b. Buddhist and Christians compared to Hindus and Islamic; c Those who haven't received any training, and d. Those who are not aware of the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children in schools.

Table 3.27: Prevalence of (positive) discipline by socio-demographic characteristics of teachers in the quantitative study

Characteristic		Count	Percentage
Gender	Female	301	89.3%
	Male	106	86.9%
Age group	23-29 years	61	88.4%
	30-39 years	144	91.1%
	40-49 years	116	87.9%
	50-60 years	86	86.0%
Ethnicity	Sinhalese	268	94.7%
	Sri Lankan Tamil	92	83.6%
	Indian Tamil	27	71.1%
	Moslem	20	71.4%
Religion	Buddhist	244	94.6%
	Christian	42	93.3%
	Hindu	101	78.9%
	Islam	20	71.4%
Having received training on disciplining students	Trained	91	88.3%
	Not trained	316	88.8%
Being aware of the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children in schools	Aware	302	88.0%
	Not aware	105	90.5%

Significantly higher prevalence of positive discipline was reported by teachers who are:

a. Sinhalese compared to Sri Lankan Tamil, Indian Tamil and Muslims; and b. Buddhist compared to Hindus and Islamic.

Table 3.28: Prevalence of punishment and disciplinary method, by age and gender, reported by teachers in the quantitative study

Disciplinary method	Gender							
	Female				Male			
	Age group				Age group			
	23-29	30-39	40-49	50-60	23-29	30-39	40-49	50-60
(Positive) Discipline	88.5%	91.2%	90.4%	85.7%	88.2%	90.9%	81.6%	87.0%
Corporal punishment	65.4%	64.9%	56.4%	58.4%	70.6%	70.5%	55.3%	60.9%
Psychological aggression	67.3%	64.9%	68.1%	62.3%	64.7%	75.0%	63.2%	56.5%
Physical abuse	19.2%	9.6%	11.7%	7.8%	11.8%	29.5%	10.5%	13.0%

The prevalence's in any of the age groups within a given gender were not significantly different.

There were no significant differences between males and females too.

Chapter 4: Discussion of the Quantitative Study

This chapter discusses the findings of the quantitative study as:

4.1 Description of the sample of the quantitative study

4.2 Corporal punishment in Sri Lankan schools: Prevalence, frequency and correlates

4.3 Physical abuse in Sri Lankan schools: Prevalence, frequency and correlates

4.4 Psychological aggression in Sri Lankan schools: Prevalence, frequency and correlates

4.5 (Positive) discipline in Sri Lankan schools: Prevalence, frequency and correlates

4.6 Student gender and age in the experience of punishment and (positive) discipline

This study was a research conducted in six districts, using a quantitative and qualitative methodology, aimed to assess the punishment and disciplinary methods practiced in selected schools in Sri Lanka. It is the first such large-scale study in six selected districts in the country. A range of stakeholders participated in the study with students, teachers, principals, officers of school development societies', officers of the Education Ministry, and parents. The socio-demographic characteristics of these study participants are included in the chapters on results. This chapter discusses the results of the quantitative study.

4.1 Description of the sample of the quantitative study

The quantitative study assessed three punishment methods (corporal punishment, psychological aggression and physical abuse), and (positive) disciplining as used by teachers on their students. As was indicated in the chapter on the background to this study, punishment always entails aversive strategies with a range of short- and long-term consequences. Discipline, on the other hand, are positive strategies that are associated with beneficial outcomes for children.

We used a globally utilised, culturally validated questionnaire to assess the prevalence and frequency of teachers' use of corporal punishment, psychological aggression, physical abuse, and (positive) discipline (De Zoysa, 2006) on their students. The prevalence and frequency was assessed for the past term. We gave the same questionnaire to both students and teachers, so that the data could be compared for potential trends.

Students

A majority of the 948 students in the quantitative study were of Buddhist faith and of Sinhala ethnic origin. There was a fairly even distribution of boys and girls (see results chapter for details). The over-representation of Sinhala and Buddhist origins would be an approximate reflection of the racio-ethnic composition of Sri Lanka. With regards to school years, there was a fairly even distribution of students from years four, seven and ten. Slightly more than half of the students reported doing only one extracurricular activity at school (see results chapter for details).

Teachers

A majority of the 459 teachers in the quantitative study were of Buddhist faith and of Sinhala ethnic origin (see results chapter for details). Again, this over-representation of Sinhala and Buddhist would be an approximate reflection of the racio-ethnic composition of Sri Lanka. A majority of teachers were in the 30-39 year age range and a majority were married (see results chapter for details).

At, 74.7%, a majority of teachers reported that they were aware of the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children in schools. However, 77.6% of teachers reported that they had not got any training on how to discipline children. This could mean that though a majority of teachers are aware of the legalities of using corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression, they had not received formal training as to why such methods are not useful. Further, they have not been given training on alternative (positive) disciplining either. Hence, teachers may as yet resort to methods such as corporal punishment due to reasons such as lack of knowledge on (positive) disciplining strategies.

4.2 Corporal punishment in Sri Lankan schools: Prevalence, frequency and correlates

Corporal punishment is defined by the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child as: "any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light" (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2001). Mostly, corporal punishment involves hitting, with the hand or an implement. But it could also involve other techniques such as pinching and pulling the hair (De Zoysa, Newcomb, & Rajapakse, 2006).

The prevalence of corporal punishment

At 80.4%, students in the present study reported high levels of corporal punishment. This means that 80.4% of students reported having experienced at least one episode of corporal punishment in the past term. Of the various strategies of corporal punishment, at 47.5%, being made to stand for a long period was the most prevalent. Squeezing the ear (43.7%) and being hit on the bottom with a stick or some other hard object (42.4%) followed as the second and third most prevalent strategy. Students reported other forms of corporal punishment too, and their prevalence rates are indicated in the chapter on results. As these results indicate, corporal punishment, as reported by students, is very common in schools in Sri Lanka. In fact, of all the four punishment methods (i.e. corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression) and (positive) disciplining explored in this study, corporal punishment was the most prevalent.

A study similar to the present one, using the same questionnaire as in this study, assessed 12-year-old Sri Lankan children's report of parental corporal punishment. The reported prevalence was 52.3% and 70% for the past week and year, respectively (De Zoysa, Newcombe, & Rajapakse, 2008). Though the methodologies of the two studies are different, and hence direct comparisons between the studies are not appropriate, we could make the approximate conclusion that teacher use of corporal punishment was far greater than that by parents. One could hypothesise that corporal punishment would be more prevalent in the home than at school, for reasons such as: children usually spend a majority of their time at home, generally with parents; in lieu of being parents, they are usually more personally connected with their children; and, the home environment has more privacy than a school environment. However, in the Sri Lankan context, this appears to be not so. It is also possible that because students reported on all their teachers, and as this number of adults is far greater than their parents, the prevalence was higher.

It is useful to compare prevalence rates of corporal punishment across countries, particularly across countries that may share similar factors (such as, higher rates of poverty) known to be associated with higher use of corporal punishment. Hence, studies from developing countries would be most suited for comparison. These comparisons show that teacher use of corporal punishment is higher in this Sri Lankan study than that of many other developing countries. For instance, in Vietnam, 26.4% and 26.7%, of children had reported being beaten by the teacher with the hand and by an object, respectively, in the last semester (Martin et. al, 2013,

as cited in Portela & Pells, 2015). In Ethiopia, 30% of children aged 11-17 years had reported experiencing corporal punishment (ACPF, 2014 as cited in Portela & Pells, 2015). In India on the other hand, in a study on teacher's use of the cane, 75% had done so (National Commission for Protection of Child Rights 2012, as cited in Portela & Pells, 2015) as compared to 42.4% in Sri Lanka - India hence had a higher rate. Again, it's important to be cautious when comparing results across studies, as methodologies and research instruments vary.

The present study also obtained information from teachers, on their practice of corporal punishment, where 61.9% of teachers reported using at least one strategy of corporal punishment in the past term. Of the various strategies of corporal punishment, at 44%, making the student stand for a long period was the most prevalent. Being hit on the bottom with a stick or some other hard object (26.6%) and squeezing the ear (19.8) followed as the second and third most prevalent strategy. Teachers reported other forms of corporal punishment too, and their prevalence rates are indicated in the chapter on results. As these results indicate, corporal punishment, as reported by teachers, are very common in schools in Sri Lanka. Interestingly, as compared to students, there is an under reporting of corporal punishment by teachers. However, the trend is similar - as both students and teachers reported that being made to stand for a long time, being beaten on the bottom with a stick or some other hard object, and squeezing the ear were the more prevalent strategies. The under reporting of teachers could be attributed to aa response bias, where they may have wanted to project a more favourable image of themselves.

The frequency of corporal punishment

The present study also explored the frequency with which teachers use corporal punishment - that is, in the event that a teacher does use any strategy of corporal punishment, the average number of times they would use it. According to the students, this frequency, on average, was five times. According to the teachers, this frequency, on average, was twice. Again, the differences in these rates, may be a reflection of under reporting by teachers, with a view to present a more socially desirable image of themselves.

The significant correlates associated with corporal punishment

District wise, the students in the Galle district reported significantly less corporal punishment than students in the other five districts. There could be varied reasons for this. For

instance, the teachers in the Galle district may be more aware of the repercussions - including its legal ramifications for them - of corporal punishment and hence use it lesser.

Sector wise, students in the estate sector (primarily from the Nuwera Eliya district) experience significantly more corporal punishment than students from the urban or rural sectors. The estate sector in Sri Lanka, as compared to most other sectors in the country, is generally considered to be poorer, with less resources, and lower levels of education (Infanti et al. 2015). These factors are associated with stress. The estate sector has also shown a higher consumption of alcohol than other areas of the country (Chandrabose, 2012). They also have shown higher rates of gender based violence (Infanti et al. 2015). Previous research has shown that stress, the use of alcohol, and gender based violence is associated with higher use of corporal punishment on children.

Male students reported significantly more corporal punishment than female students, a finding that corroborates previous research (e.g. Afifi et al. 2012). This maybe so for diverse reasons: Male children tend to be less complaint and hence may be seen to be more disruptive than females, leading to experiencing corporal punishment more (Devore, 2006). Further, societal expectations of teachers that anticipate males to be tougher and braver than females, may lead them to punish boys more (Sanapo & Nakamura, 2012).

Students of Moslem ethnicity reported significantly less corporal punishment than students of Sinhala, Sri Lankan Tamil, or Indian Tamil ethnicity. In a similar vein, in the context of religion, students of Islam faith reported significantly less corporal punishment than students of Buddhist, Christian, and Hindu faiths. These results corroborate each other. Moslem students may be better behaved, possibly grounded on religious teachings and obedience towards authority, and hence less likely to be punished. These findings may also be a reflection of the functioning of a minority group, where corrections of misbehaviours are done at the mosque rather than at the school. And, once there is a lesser reliance on corporal punishment in schools, this practice could lead to an intergenerational transmission. These potential reasons, are hypotheses that could be explored in future studies.

Buddhist teachers reported using significantly more corporal punishment than teachers of Hindu and Islam faiths. A series of studies have indicated that those with conservative religious beliefs (Hoffmann, Ellison, & Bartkowski, 2017) make religious interpretations that justify the

use of corporal punishment. However, Buddhism is considered to be non-conservative religion, and one of its main tenants is non-violence towards all beings. Hence, this finding on Buddhist teachers is perplexing - it could be that though they identify with Buddhism in lieu of being born to it, there may not be an internalisation of the religion's teachings, including that of non-violence. With regards to ethnicity, results also revealed that Sinhalese teachers reported using significantly more corporal punishment than teachers of Sri Lankan Tamil, Indian Tamil, and Moslem ethnicity. Future research could shed light on possible reasons for these findings.

The results also indicated that teachers who were not aware of the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children in schools used significantly more corporal punishment than teachers who were aware. This finding indicates that by informing and educating teachers on these frameworks is an important deterrent of corporal punishment. However, mere information giving per se would not suffice. It has to be combined with the implementation of these frameworks, including that of taking disciplinary action on teachers using such punishment.

4.3 Physical abuse in Sri Lankan schools: Prevalence, frequency and correlates

Physical abuse is the use of physical force that harms the child's health, survival, development or dignity (Norman et al. 2012).

The prevalence of physical abuse

At 53.2%, students in the present study indicated experiencing at least one act of physical abuse in the past term. Physical abuse has been associated with a range of physical and psychological consequences for children, and is a criminal offence in Sri Lanka. The fact that more than half the study sample reported physical abuse is a significant and troublesome finding. A study similar to the present one, using the same questionnaire as in this study, assessed 12-year-old Sri Lankan children's experience of parental physical abuse. The prevalence was 37.8% for the past year (De Zoysa, Newcombe, & Rajapakse, 2008). As was indicated earlier, as the methodologies and the study instruments are different, direct comparisons between the studies are not appropriate. However, we could still make an approximate conclusion that teacher use of physical abuse is far greater than that by parents. As was mentioned for corporal punishment, we could hypothesise that physical abuse would be more prevalent in the home than at school, for reasons such as: children usually spend a majority of their time at home, generally with parents;

in lieu of being parents, they are usually more personally connected with their children; and, the home environment has more privacy than a school environment. However, in the Sri Lankan context, this hypothesis does not seem to be supported. It appears that teachers are comfortable with using physical abuse more than parents are. A different stance on this high prevalence for teachers may be because as students reported on all their teachers, and as this number of adults is far greater than their parents, the prevalence for teachers was higher.

Of the various strategies of physical abuse reported by students, at 40%, being hit on a part of the body besides the bottom with something like a stick or some other hard object was the most prevalent. Being hit with a fist or being kicked hard (16.9%) and being beaten over and over as hard as possible (16.5%) followed as the second and third most prevalent strategy. Students reported other forms of physical abuse too, and their prevalence rates are indicated in the chapter on results. Though these other strategies of physical abuse are not as prevalent, it is important to note that even a minority of students did report being thrown or knocked down (7.1%), being threatened with a knife or pole (3.8%), and being grabbed around the neck and choked (3.6%). These results indicate that even the more extreme forms of physical abuse are far from uncommon in the Sri Lankan school system. Some childcare professionals postulate that corporal punishment and physical abuse lie along a continuum of physical force, where abuse may occur when corporal punishment escalates beyond control (e.g. Straus, 2000). They believe that corporal punishment is a risk factor for physical abuse, a finding corroborated in a previous Sri Lankan study (De Zoysa, Newcomb, & Rajapakse, 2008). In this study too, we could suggest that the high prevalence of teacher corporal punishment may be associated with this high prevalence of physical abuse.

Though more than half of the students indicated experiencing physical abuse, the teachers indicated a much lower rate of 13.1%. This much lower rate for teachers could be due to under reporting, with a view to present a socially desirable view of themselves. Of the various strategies of physical abuse reported by teachers, at 12.6%, being hit on part of the body besides the bottom with something like a stick or some other hard object was the most prevalent. Being hit with a fist or being kicked hard (1.1%) and being beaten over and over as hard as possible (0.4%) followed as the second and third most prevalent strategy. These most prevalent physical abuse strategies were the same most prevalent strategies as reported by students, albeit at much

higher rates by the latter. Hence, the trend of reporting between students and teachers are the same (though the rates vary), validating the results of this study.

The frequency of physical abuse

The present study also explored the frequency with which teachers use physical abuse on students. According to the students, on average, teachers used a strategy of physical abuse, once. According to the teachers, on average, they used a strategy of physical abuse, a near zero times. Though these frequencies are small, it is important to keep in mind that it refers to acts of a criminal offence. Hence, the fact that physical abuse is occurring in the public domain as in a school, should be of concern for child protection in Sri Lanka.

The significant correlates associated with physical abuse

The students in the Galle district reported significantly less physical abuse than students in the Monaragala and Nuwera Eliya districts. This finding is similar to that of corporal punishment, where Galle district indicated significantly less corporal punishment than that of the other five districts. There may be several reasons for this finding. For instance, teachers in the Galle district may be more aware of the repercussions of physical abuse - including the legal ramifications for themselves - and hence lower their use of it. Another reason may be that the Galle district has a more accountable legal system with a larger history of successful litigations against teachers who have physically abused students. Future research could verify these hypotheses.

Students from the estate sector reported significantly more physical abuse than students from the urban sector. Again, this finding is similar to that of corporal punishment, where students in the estate sector indicated significantly more corporal punishment than students of the urban and rural sectors. As was stated earlier, as compared to other sectors, the estate sector in Sri Lanka is generally considered to be poorer, with lesser resources, and lower levels of education. These factors are associated with stress. Stress is associated with higher tendency to be physically abusive towards children, and this may be a reason for the higher rate of physical abuse in the estate sector. In this study, the estate sector also reported higher levels of corporal punishment. Corporal punishment is considered to be a precursor to physical abuse, and this may be another reason for the higher rate of physical abuse in the estates. Sri Lanka's estate sector is also known to consume larger quantities of alcohol than other areas of the country (Chandrabose,

2012) and has shown higher rates of gender based violence (Infanti et al. 2015). Previous research has shown that the use of alcohol and gender based violence is associated with physical abuse, and this may be another reason for the higher level of such violence in the estates.

Students from private schools reported significantly less physical abuse than students from national or provincial schools. There may be several reasons for this finding: teachers of private school maybe more aware of the legal ramifications of physical abuse; the supposedly better facilities and salaries at private schools may reduce the stress on teachers, making them less likely to use violence towards children; and, parents of children in private schools maybe more assertive and/or knowledgeable about child abuse, hence the teachers may be more cautious when being violent towards students.

The results also indicated that teachers who were not aware of the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children in schools reported significantly more physical abuse than teachers who were aware. This finding indicates that by informing and educating teachers on these frameworks is an important deterrent of physical abuse. However, as was indicated for corporal punishment, mere information giving would not suffice. It has to be combined with the implementation of these frameworks, including that of taking disciplinary action on teachers using such violence.

Male students reported significantly more physical abuse than female students, a finding that corroborates previous research (e.g. Afifi et al. 2012). As was indicated for corporal punishment, male students may experience more physical abuse because of diverse reasons: Male children tend to be less complaint and hence may be seen to be more disruptive than females, leading to them experiencing physical abuse more (Devore, 2006). Further, societal expectations of teachers that anticipate males to be tougher and braver than females, may lead them to being more abusive towards them (Sanapo & Nakamura, 2012). This greater experience of corporal punishment and physical abuse could become a vicious cycle for males, where they could become even more non-compliant leading to further experiences of corporal punishment and physical abuse (Devore, 2006).

With regards to ethnicity and physical abuse, Sinhalese teachers reported using significantly more physical abuse than Sri Lankan Tamil teachers. And with regards to religion, Buddhist teachers reported more physical abuse than Hindu teachers. These findings are quite

similar to that of corporal punishment. As was stated earlier, some childcare professionals postulate that corporal punishment and physical abuse lie along a continuum of physical force, where abuse may occur when corporal punishment escalates beyond control (e.g. Straus, 2000). They believe that corporal punishment is a risk factor for physical abuse, a finding corroborated in a Sri Lankan study on parental use of corporal punishment (De Zoysa, Newcomb, & Rajapakse, 2008). Hence, we could hypothesise that those who are more predisposed to corporal punishment would also report using more physical abuse. This hypothesise seems to have some initial validation by these results as teachers' Sinhala racial identity and Buddhist religious identity is significantly associated with the use of corporal punishment as well as physical abuse. The possible reasons for Sinhala ethnicity and Buddhist religious affiliation leading to their greater use of physical violence could involve future research that may endeavour to study their unique socio-religio-cultural milieu.

Students of Moslem ethnicity reported significantly less physical abuse than students of Sinhala, Sri Lankan Tamil or Indian Tamil ethnicity. In a similar vein, in the context of religion, students of Islam faith reported significantly less physical abuse than students of Buddhist, Christian or Hindu faiths. These results corroborate each other and it appears that Moslem students are much less likely to experience physical abuse. They may be better behaved, possibly grounded on religious teachings and obedience towards authority, and hence less likely to be physically abused. Further, as they also evoke less corporal punishment (as indicated previously in this chapter), the likelihood of corporal punishment escalating to physical abuse would also be less. Hence, these reasons may protect Moslem students from physical abuse by teachers.

4.4 Psychological aggression in Sri Lankan schools: Prevalence, frequency and correlates

Psychological aggression is "a communication intended to cause the child to experience psychological pain. The communicative act may be active or passive or verbal or non-verbal" (Solomon & Serres, 1999, p. 339). Examples include name calling or nasty remarks, comparing one child with a 'better' child, or stony silence or ignoring. Psychological aggression generally involves a psychological or an emotional rejection of the child and has been associated with a range of mental consequences for children (Norman et al. 2012).

The prevalence of psychological aggression

Amongst the students in the present study, 72.5% indicated experiencing at least one act of psychological aggression in the past term. A study similar to the present one, using the same questionnaire as in this study, assessed 12-year-old Sri Lankan children's reporting of psychological aggression by their parents. The reported prevalence was nearly the same, at 75.5% for the past year (De Zoysa, Newcombe, & Rajapakse, 2010). As was indicated earlier, as the methodologies and the study instruments of the two studies are different, direct comparisons are not appropriate. However such comparisons are useful for our approximate conclusion that both parents and teachers use nearly the same amount of psychological aggression in Sri Lanka. As with corporal punishment and physical abuse, this prevalence rate by students could be a lower-bound value, as they could have forgotten the entire gamut of psychological aggression they had experienced in the past term.

Of the various strategies of psychological aggression reported by students, at 46.6%, being shouted, yelled, or screamed at was the most prevalent. Being threatened to be spanked or hit (34.1%) and being chased from the classroom (27.3%) followed as the second and third most prevalent strategy. Students reported other forms of psychological aggression too, and their prevalence rates are indicated in the chapter on results. From these prevalence rates, it is clear that psychological aggression (as well as corporal punishment and physical abuse) is very common in Sri Lankan schools. Among other factors, being a traditional society, emerging from the remnants of a long standing civil conflict (De Zoysa, Newcombe, & Rajapakse, 2010) could be reasons for these high prevalence rates.

The present study also obtained information from teachers of their practice of psychological aggression, where 65.8% reported using at least one strategy of psychological aggression in the past term. Of the various strategies of psychological aggression, at 51.4%, being shouted, yelled, or screamed at was the most prevalent. Threatening to spank or hit (38.1%) and threatening to chase away or kicked out of the classroom (30.5%) followed as the second and third most prevalent strategy. Teachers reported other forms of psychological aggression too, and their prevalence rates are indicated in the chapter on results. With regards to these strategies (rather than overall psychological aggression), it is interesting to note that teacher prevalence rates were higher than student rates. It seems that teachers were more open and freer in reporting their use of psychological aggression, than they were when reporting corporal

punishment or physical abuse. It could be hypothesised that teachers consider psychological aggression as an acceptable means of correcting misbehaviour and that it is not aversive, and that the society views so too.

The frequency of psychological aggression

The present study also explored the frequency with which teachers use psychological aggression on students. According to the students, when teachers used a strategy of psychological aggression on them in the past term, they did so, on average, twice. According to the teachers, when they used a strategy of psychological aggression in the past term, they used it, on average, thrice. As was with the prevalence of strategies of psychological aggression, the reporting of frequencies by teachers were higher than that by students. It could be that students may have forgotten the entire gamut of psychological aggression they had experienced, possibly because it is so common. Again, this may also be a reflection that teachers consider psychological aggression as an acceptable means of correcting misbehaviour and that they think that the society views so too. Hence, they may be open and freer in reporting it than they are of corporal punishment and physical abuse.

The significant correlates associated with psychological aggression

The students in the Galle district reported significantly less psychological aggression than students in the Colombo district. This finding is similar to that of corporal punishment and physical abuse, where students in the Galle district indicated significantly less corporal punishment and physical abuse than that of the other districts. The Galle district teachers may be more aware of the repercussions of aversive punishment, including psychological aggression and hence use it lesser. However, there may be other characteristics unique to the Galle district too, that have led to this finding. A future study could study these.

The results also indicated that students in Type 3 (has years 1-11) reported significantly more psychological aggression than students in either Type 1AB (Science A/L only) or Type 3 schools (having years 1-8 or years 1-5). Type 3 schools are those that do not have A/L subjects. Students in these schools have to pass their O/L examinations well, in order to get into other schools to pursue their A/Ls. It is possible that teachers may use psychological aggression more with these students, thinking it will make them focus more on their academic achievements.

The results indicated that psychological aggression did not significantly vary with students in private or special education schools. This finding with regards to students with special needs, due to a disability, is contrary to previous research (Jones, 2012), which has reported that children with disabilities are far more likely to experience violence than their non-disabled peers. Indeed, this is a positive finding of this study. However, only two special education schools were part of this study and to have more definite conclusions, further research with a larger sample of special education schools would need to be undertaken. With regards to private schools, students there did not report significantly less psychological aggression than students in government schools. For, one may consider private schools to use lesser amount of such punishment. However, this does not appear to be the case. Again, as in the case of special education schools, further research with a larger sample of private schools would need to be undertaken to arrive at more robust conclusions.

As with corporal punishment and physical abuse, the results indicated that teachers who were not aware of nor trained on the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children in schools reported significantly more psychological aggression than teachers who were trained or aware. This finding indicates that by informing and educating teachers on the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to disciplining of children is an important deterrent in the use of psychological aggression. However, giving such knowledge per se would not suffice. Consistent implementation of laws related to such violence against children is also essential.

Male students reported significantly more psychological aggression than female students. As in the results of corporal punishment and physical abuse, male students may experience more psychological aggression because of diverse reasons: They tend to be less complaint and hence may be seen to be more disruptive than females, leading to experiencing psychological aggression more. Further, societal expectations of teachers that anticipate males to be tougher and braver than females, may lead them to being more psychologically aggressive towards them. This greater experience of corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression could become a vicious cycle for males, where they could become even more non-compliant leading to further experiences of corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression.

Students of Moslem ethnicity reported significantly less psychological aggression than students of Sinhala, or Sri Lankan Tamil ethnicity. In a similar vein, in the context of religion, students of Islam faith reported significantly less psychological aggression than students of Buddhist and Hindu faiths. These results corroborate each other and it appears that Moslem students are much less likely to experience psychological aggression. They may be better behaved, possibly grounded on religious teachings and obedience towards authority, and hence less likely to experience psychological aggression. Interestingly, as reported earlier, they also reported less corporal punishment and physical abuse. Hence, Moslem students report significantly lesser amounts of punishment than other students. These findings on the Moslem community could be a reflection of the functioning of a smaller community where possibly the mosque may correct misbehaviours rather than the school. Further, it could also be due to an intergenerational effect where the reduced use of aversive punishment has got transferred from one generation to another. Being hypotheses, these potential reasons warrant study in future research.

With regards to ethnicity, Sinhalese teachers reported using significantly more psychological aggression than those in the other three ethnic groups of Sri Lankan Tamil, Indian Tamil, or Moslem teachers. There could be some socio-cultural factors among Sinhalese teachers that predisposes them to use psychological aggression more. With regards to religion, Buddhist and Christian teachers reported using significantly more psychological aggression that teachers of Hindu or Islam faith. As with the findings for corporal punishment and physical abuse, teachers of Sinhalese ethnicity and Buddhist religion report using significantly more psychological aggression. Future research that may study the unique socio-religio-cultural milieu that associates Sinhala Buddhist teachers with such aversive methods may shed light on the meaning of these findings.

4.5 (Positive) discipline in Sri Lankan schools: Prevalence, frequency and correlates

(Positive) discipline is a way of teaching and guiding children by letting them know what behaviour is acceptable in a way that is firm, yet kind (Sound discipline, 2015).

The prevalence of (positive) discipline

Amongst the students in the present study, 79.3% indicated experiencing at least one act of (positive) discipline in the past term. The fact that a large majority of the study sample reported (positive) discipline is an encouraging finding. As with the rates for corporal punishment, physical abuse and psychological aggression, this prevalence rate could be a lower-bound value, as students could well have forgotten the entire gamut of (positive) discipline they had experienced in the past term. A study similar to the present one, using the same questionnaire as in this study, assessed 12-year-old Sri Lankan children's reporting of parental (positive) discipline. The reported prevalence was 83.6% for the past year (De Zoysa, 2006). It seems that parents use more (positive) discipline than teachers. And, as was reported earlier-on, parents use corporal punishment and physical abuse less than teachers. Taken together, these results show that parents are somewhat less prone towards using aversive punishment with their children. This may be due to their consideration to their own child, which a teacher may not have. As was indicated earlier, as the methodologies and the study instruments of the two studies are different, direct comparisons between the studies are not appropriate. However, useful approximate conclusions could be made.

Of the various strategies of (positive) discipline reported by students, at 64.8%, being explained why something was wrong was the most prevalent. Students reported other forms of (positive) discipline too, and their prevalence rates are indicated in the chapter on results. From these prevalence rates, it is clear that (positive) discipline is commonly experienced by students in Sri Lankan schools. This is an encouraging finding and school authorities would need to encourage further use of (positive) discipline whilst abstaining from corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression.

The present study also obtained information from teachers of their practice of (positive) discipline, where 88.7% reported using at least one strategy of (positive) discipline in the past term. Of the various strategies of (positive) discipline, at 82.1%, explaining why something was wrong was the most prevalent. Teachers reported other forms of (positive) discipline too, and their prevalence rates are indicated in the chapter on results. With regards to these strategies, it is interesting to note that teacher prevalence rates were higher than student rates. This was not so, in relation to corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression, where teachers reported lower overall prevalence rates than students. The previous hypothesis of social

desirability could be a reason where teachers under report punishment and over report (positive) discipline.

The frequency of (positive) discipline

The present study also explored the frequency of using (positive) discipline. According to the students, when teachers used a strategy of (positive) discipline on them in the past term, they did so, on average, thrice. According to the teachers, when they used a strategy of (positive) discipline in the past term, they used it, on average, eight times. As was seen with the prevalence of (positive) discipline, the reporting of frequencies by teachers too were higher than that by students. Again, this may be a reflection that teachers consider (positive) discipline as an acceptable means of correcting misbehaviour and that they think that the society views so too. Hence, they are freer in reporting it than they would of corporal punishment and physical abuse. Or, social desirability may be another reason where teachers report more (positive) discipline, than it is actually used.

The significant correlates associated with (positive) discipline

The students Galle district reported significantly less (positive) discipline than students in Mullaitivu and Trincomalee districts. Interestingly, students in the Galle district indicated significantly less corporal punishment, physical abuse and psychological aggression than students of most other districts. The teachers in the Galle district appear to use significantly lesser amounts of all types of punishment, both aversive and positive. It could be hypothesised that they are weary of possible repercussions for them, and have reduced correcting student misbehaviours, overall. If so, this is not a desirable situation - future research could explore the reasons for these findings.

Male students reported significantly more (positive) discipline than female students. This is similar to the results of corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression. Hence, these results indicate that male students experience significantly more aversive punishment as well as (positive) discipline than females. It could be hypothesised that teachers correct male student's misbehaviours more. This could mean that either female students misbehave less, or teachers are more vested with correcting male students. Future research could explore these dynamics further.

With regards to ethnicity, Sinhalese teachers reported significantly more (positive) discipline than the other three ethnic groups. This is an interesting finding as Sinhalese teachers also reported significantly more corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression. Hence, it seems that Sinhalese teachers use both punishment and (positive) discipline more than other ethnic groups. With regards to religion, Buddhist teachers reported using significantly more (positive) discipline that teachers of Hindu or Islam faith. As with the findings for ethnicity, teachers of Buddhist religion report both punishment and (positive) discipline more. There may be a multitude of reasons for these findings, which future research could address.

Students of Moslem ethnicity reported significantly less (positive) discipline than students of Sinhalese, or Sri Lankan Tamil ethnicity. In a similar vein, in the context of religion, students of Islam faith reported significantly less (positive) discipline than students of Hindu faith. The findings on corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression also indicated that students of Moslem ethnicity and Islam faith have experienced such punishment significantly less than most other ethnicities and religions. Hence, it seems that Moslem students experience less forms of correction of misbehaviours by their teachers. It may because they are better behaved, possibly grounded on religious teachings and obedience towards authority. Future research could explore these hypothesis.

4.6 Student gender and age in the experience of punishment and (positive) discipline

Further analysis of data was done to decipher any significant associations between gender, age, and the report of punishment and discipline. This was done for both students and teachers (see the chapter on results for details). The results indicated that for both male and female students, as they advance in the school year, the frequency of teachers using (positive) discipline on them significantly reduces. This is an interesting finding, as it could be hypothesised that as children grow older, adults would use (positive) discipline more - this maybe because: as students get more mature, teachers could reason with them {i.e. a form of (positive) discipline} the repercussions of misbehaviour; or, as students get older teachers may feel afraid of retaliation if physical punishment, psychological aggression, or physical abuse is used, and hence use (positive) discipline more. But this hypothesis was not validated in this study.

The results also indicated that as compared to female students in year seven, students in year ten report significantly less corporal punishment. This is in keeping with previous research that have shown that use of corporal punishment reduces with the increase in child's age. The results also indicated that as compared to male students in year four, students in year seven report significantly more psychological aggression. As the students in year seven, may be more assertive, teachers may use psychological aggression more.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion of the Qualitative Study

This chapter discusses the findings of the qualitative study as:

5.1 Description of the sample of the qualitative study

5.2 Dynamics of punishment and disciplinary methods practiced in Sri Lankan schools

5.3 The reasons students get punished at school

5.4 Teacher's and principal's justifications for the use of punishment

5.5 Teachers' and principals' knowledge, skills, competencies and practices on classroom management, and their knowledge on the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks related to disciplining students

5.6 Confidentiality of student misbehaviours and the student counselling system at schools

5.1 Description of the sample of the qualitative study

The qualitative study of this research - which included focus group discussions and in-depth interviews - encompassed a range of participants with students, teachers, principals, officials of school development societies', officials of the Education Ministry, and parents. The details of these participants are included in the chapters on methods. This chapter discusses the results of the qualitative study, by way of the main themes that emerged.

5.2 Dynamics of punishment and disciplinary methods practiced in Sri Lankan schools

A school is a heterogeneous environment. Hence, the views on punishment and disciplinary methods are divided amongst students, teachers, principals', officials of school development societies', officials of the Education Ministry, and parents. Despite the widely accepted classification of punishment - as corporal punishment and psychological aggressions (as indicated in the chapter on the background to this study) - how students, teachers and others perceive these methods are diverse. For instance, some methods teachers believe to be corporal punishment are commonly seen by students as exerting a psychological strain rather than a physical strain.

Generally, teachers reported that they use punishment only when absolutely necessary and that it is rare to do so. However, students reported that punishment was used on a daily basis and even unnecessarily. As the final effect of punishment rests with the students, in this analysis, the dynamics of punishment and disciplinary methods are largely based on the perceptions of students.

Textbox 5.1: Punishment and disciplinary strategies reported by students/teachers in the qualitative study (the categorisation was by the students/teachers, and not that of the investigators)

Corporal punishment
Hitting the body with the hand
Slapping the face
Caning
Use of sticks, piece of wood to hit
Knocking the head with the knuckles
Asking to kneel down for a long time

Psychological aggression
Scolding
Using names of animals to scold
Comparison with other 'better' students
Making the student stand outside the class for a long time
Making the student stand in the corridor for a long time
Asking to kneel down outside the class
Publically naming the student and the misbehaviour at the assembly
Informing other teachers about the students' misbehaviour
Having to clean toilets
Informing the parents of the misbehaviour/asking to come to school with the parents
Being ignored in the class by the teacher
Depriving privileges (i.e. play during the interval)
Threatening to inform the principal
Suspension from school

Other aversive punishment methods
Entry in the 'Book of Discipline'
Giving black stars

(Positive) discipline
Explaining the misbehaviour to the student
Providing leadership opportunities for students who regularly misbehave
Providing instructions/advice on the correct code of conduct at the assembly
Directing students for aesthetic and sports activities
Providing supplies to economically deprived students to continue their education
Engaging parents positively to maintain discipline at school
Allocating a teacher for counselling

Corporal punishment

The use of a cane, stick or a piece of wood to punish students was seen across all six districts. This was the most frequently reported strategy of corporal punishment. The habit of carrying a cane by the teacher was not regularly reported though certain teachers continued to do so. It appears that when a cane was not readily available, teachers used a stick or a piece of wood instead. In the use of the cane, stick or wood, hitting the palm was the most favoured method followed by hitting the back or the legs. In the instances where there was no cane or stick, few teachers used their bare hands. However, this was not a frequent occurrence and used only by certain teachers. Slapping the face and knocking on the head with the knuckles was also used, but only a few teachers used this strategy. Some female teachers used pinching as in a limited number of schools. Instances of squeezing the ear, holding the student up from the ears, severe spanking, kicking, pushing against the walls or tables were also reported. Most of these were isolated incidents rather than regular occurrences. However, in certain schools, particularly in the districts of Mullaitivu and Nuwera Eliya, principals appeared to be very strict and used severe corporal punishment even for minor misbehaviours.

It was seen that corporal punishment was less common in large girls' schools as compared to boys or mixed schools. There was no notable differences based on the type of school.

Psychological aggression

The use of psychological aggression was more widespread than corporal punishment. Many strategies considered as corporal punishment were perceived by students as predominantly psychological as they reported that they could easily tolerate the slight physical pain. However, teachers did not consider these as having a psychological toll, rather a physical impact.

Scolding was the most common strategy used across all schools. Most teachers used this method irrespective of the location of the school, type of school, school year, or the nature of the misbehaviour. Students differentiated scolding for a definite breach of discipline from that used as a reprimand for issues they considered were negligible. They agreed with the use of scolding when there were major failures on their part. However, they felt that in most occasions, scolding is used on a regular basis for issues that can be settled with clear advice and support instead. The

use of the names of animals (such as donkey) and other inappropriate terms to scold were used by certain teachers across all districts. In general, most teachers refrained from doing so.

Comparison of a student with another supposedly 'better' child was a widely reported practice across all schools. Most teachers used this method believing it will motivate students to do better. However, students expressed mixed feelings on this. Although most students felt it only demotivates and marginalises them, few expressed it did some good in showing them the way forward, provided the comparisons were made with a proper tone and good faith. The students felt that mostly, comparisons were made to ridicule them rather than to direct them.

Depriving privileges such as not allowing to play during the interval or ordering the child to be in the class throughout the day, was viewed as unacceptable by students. Students stated that this was the only time they had to engage in recreation. Depriving this opportunity was perceived as severely stressful. As most students expressed, having to attend tuition classes and restrictions at home prevented any opportunity to engage in recreation. Hence, depriving the only opportunity at school, was unfair, they felt. This is an interesting finding, as taking away privileges is considered as a form of (positive) discipline (De Zoysa, 2006). However, it appears that in the unique cultural milieu of Sri Lanka, with greatly restricted opportunities for recreation, taking away that particular privilege creates significant psychological harm. Another strategy used by teachers was to neglect students who were not carrying out the instructions in the class or was weak in their studies. Students feel this was extremely difficult to bear and that it caused them severe psychological pain. Also, they reported that it further discouraged them from doing school work.

Although teachers felt that asking to stand or kneel down outside the class is a strategy of corporal punishment, students perceived this as a significant psychological aggression. Students reported feeling ashamed to be seen in such positions by others, particularly the other teachers and students of lower years. They felt they lose their dignity and become demoralized by such punishments. Most stated that corporal punishment in the way of caning is much better than this method of punishment. This latter finding could be an indication of the normalisation of violence when corporal punishment is used, for it is seen that with the use of corporal punishment children become accustomed to it and even become accepting of it (e.g. Rojas, 2011, as cited in Ogando Portella & Pells, 2015) where the child too may use it in times of conflict with others.

In many schools, particularly in non-Colombo schools, students were ordered to do the cleaning of the school garden if they came late to school. As this is a regular activity and many have to undergo this on a daily basis, students did not consider it as a major concern. However, in several schools, students were also ordered to clean the toilet as a method of punishment. Most students felt this is a humiliation and found difficult to bear. Students have to wait afterschool to clean the toilets resulting in them missing their regular bus and hence going home late. In certain occasions, disobedience in school was informed to others at the school assembly by publically naming the student and scolding him/her. This happened in many schools and students reported this to be embarrassing. Students reported that they were not against being punished for disobedience, however, they were of the view that it needs to be handled in private. Such public shaming has been associated with detrimental consequences in children such as lowered self-esteem and self-worth (Monroe, 2009). In most schools, in instances of regular disobedience, teachers reportedly threaten students of being sent to the principal. Students appeared to respond to such punishment and hence teachers find such strategies effective. For certain misbehaviours, informing the parents and suspension from school is also done and students report this as being distressing - however, suspension from schools were done for major disciplinary matters only.

Other methods of aversive punishment and (positive) disciplining

Several other strategies were also reported for correcting student misbehaviour. Most of these were highlighted by teachers and principals. Students in general were not aware of them. For instance, several schools maintained a 'Disciplinary Book, to record any breach of discipline. It appeared that only major transgressions were recorded by the teachers and communicated to the principal. As students may not want to get their names recorded in it, this could be a deterrent. However, as most students did not appear to know of its existence, its usefulness may be limited. At the level of the classes, mainly at lower years, teachers reported the use of a chart to mark a black star against the name of the student who misbehaved. According to students and teachers, students in the primary section are somewhat responsive to this strategy.

Several principals and teachers elaborated on (positive) disciplinary strategies they use. Many stated that explaining the offence in detail to the student is a must even if corporal punishment is used alongside. However, it was generally agreed that on most occasions, this explanation was not adequately done. The morning assembly is seen by them as a useful

opportunity to direct students towards good behaviours by reminding them the code of conduct and expressing it in a positive way rather than in a threatening manner.

A key observation amongst teachers was that students have less opportunities for aesthetic and sports activities due to an examination oriented curriculum. They opined that this prevents students from developing self-discipline. Hence, there has been attempts in a few schools to encourage students in aesthetic and sports activities. In addition, for students with regular misbehaviours, few principals reported success by directing them to leadership positions in the school.

Many students, from economically deprived households, were reported to breach discipline due to the lack of supplies to continue their educational activities. Several principals reported that a programme to help them with resources has been effective in upholding discipline in the school. In addition, this strategy has improved the positive engagement of parents in misbehaviour-related issues.

5.3 The reasons students get punished at school

There are diverse disciplinary issues a school has to deal with on a daily basis. Though there are slight differences according to the type of school, whether it is urban or rural, the level of facilities at the school, and the composition of teachers, the general pattern of issues are similar across the six districts studied.

In all the schools, the main reason for corporal punishment and psychological aggression was non-completion of homework. Teachers expect students to comply with their directions on homework and to complete it on time. Although students admitted that it is incorrect not to complete homework, often they did not complete it nevertheless. Hence, the corporal punishment and psychological aggression that teachers use to correct the students do not inculcate the message they want to impart (Gershoff, 2013). This points to the uselessness of these methods of punishment. Interestingly, it was seen that students had a definite view on the matter of non-completion of homework versus being punished for it. Students across all schools identified teachers who were committed to teaching and who did their best to impart knowledge and skills to the students. Students appeared to appreciate such efforts. They also stated that such teachers were generally more approachable, that they explained well, and that if students found it

difficult to understand that they advised several times before resorting to corporal punishment. Students viewed this positively and claimed that they accepted punishment in such a situation. However, students reported that such teachers were uncommon. Most principals, parents and officials of the Ministry of Education confirmed this claim too. Further, principals reported that they rarely encountered complaints of punishments against these teachers, even in instances of harsh punishment. On the other hand, students were extremely critical of punishment by teachers who were not so skilled or not taking an interest in their work. Students reported that they were afraid to ask questions from these teachers and that they do not comply with instructions given by them. As corporal punishment and psychological aggression were regularly employed by these teachers, even for trivial errors, students expected such punishment on a daily basis, making them ineffective to change misbehaviours. Hence, students resorted to general disobedience and a vicious cycle of disobedience and violence continues, a finding corroborated by previous research (Gershoff, 2002, 2013). According to the principals, most complaints regarding the use of punishment are directed towards this group of teachers, particularly those reported to the police.

Disciplinary issues related to the dress code was also common, and equally seen in both urban and rural schools. Most students however appeared to comply with the dress code. The correction of this misbehaviour was seen as absolutely necessary to the harmonious functioning of the school. However, it was reported that such attempts at correction results in tension between the students and teachers. Hence, they reported trying to ignore such behaviour which they reported as leading to a general breakdown of the discipline in the school.

Love affairs were also seen as a serious disciplinary matter by most principals and teachers. How such instances are dealt with is variable and depends on the teacher or principal concerned. Severe reprimanding and informing the parents is the usual practice, but it could also lead to suspension or expelling the student. The students reported that they experience severe stress due to sharing their information amongst the other teachers or/and the public.

Non-payment of school fees was seen to be a reason for punishment in a few schools, especially in the estate sector and in the districts recovering from the recently ended civil conflict. Corporal punishment and not allowing to sit for the examinations were strategies used to combat this issue.

Misbehaviours related to substance use was rare, and in the event this happened, even the involvement of the police and the zonal education office is possible. The general punishment in such an instance was the transfer of the students to another school.

Textbox 5.2: The reasons students get punished at school, as reported by students and teachers in the qualitative study

Not doing homework Being late to school Not adhering to the school dress code Not concentrating in the class when being taught Disturbing the proceeding of the class Not cleaning the class Damaging school property Climbing trees Plucking fruits without permission Not brining supplies for school activities Not paying school fees Arguments and fights between students General disobedience Stealing Love affairs Substance use

5.4 Teacher's and principal's justifications for the use of punishment

Teachers, parents as well as students themselves appreciated correcting misbehaviour. However, opinions differed on the method of punishment and the intensity of its application, rather than on the need for corrective actions per se. It was seen that students expected some form of disciplining when they misbehaved. Most parents also expected the teachers to use corrective action. Teachers too felt compelled to maintain school discipline in order to have a conducive learning environment. Therefore, the need for correction of student misbehaviour is already established in the system.

Opinion of the officials of the Ministry of Education, principals and teachers differed slightly on the methods and intensity of punishment. Teachers have direct contact with the students whilst principals are drawn into disciplinary matter mostly when notified by the teachers. Hence, teachers are responsible to maintain discipline while at the same time answerable to any allegations of the use of force. Teachers reported this dichotomy to be

extremely difficult. In most occasions, a teacher needs to judge the severity of a student misbehaviour and decide the corrective action within a short duration of time. Hence, most teachers felt it was their prerogative to decide the method of correction. Most principals tended to agree with this opinion though they did admit that certain teachers tend to use punishment strategies that are out of proportion to the student misbehaviour. However, principals did admit that, depending on the circumstances, it is possible for a teacher to use strict punishment measures for a relatively minor misbehaviour. Principals, particularly in larger schools in urban settings, appeared to be generally defensive on the subject of punishing students. Zonal Directors of Education has no direct contact with students. Their contact with teachers are mostly on administrative matters. Their involvement in correcting student misbehaviours is generally restricted to policy directions rather than on practical aspects of implementation.

5.5 Teachers' and principals' knowledge, skills, competencies and practices on classroom management, and their knowledge on the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks related to disciplining students

The teachers and principals in the Sri Lankan education system is diverse. This diversity starts from the point of recruitment to the profession. Targeted recruitment happens only through the teacher education colleges where selection is based on a potential teachers' A/L results. These teacher education colleges are solely dedicated to train teachers for the Ministry of Education. They undergo a focused programme on the subject matter as well as on teaching methods. However, there are other recruitment methods too, where teachers are recruited directly to schools without a prior training. For instance, university graduates are selected based on their subject knowledge and appointed to schools without a training on teaching methods and classroom management. Although they are at a higher level of qualification than the 'trained teachers', they lack the overall knowledge and skills of a teaching professional. However, if they so wish, they could undergo such training if enrolled in a Diploma in Education conducted by the universities or the National Institute of Education. In addition to these methods of recruitment, a substantial number of teachers are recruited directly to schools, based on their A/L qualifications. In addition, ad hoc teacher recruitment schemes are initiated for the Northern and Eastern provinces and the estate sector to remedy the shortage of teachers in those areas. They have minimal qualifications, even O/Ls. Most schools in the estate sector are manned by these

teachers. At present, they are provided with a limited training following several years of employment. Officials of the Ministry of Education and principals were of the view that appointing a teacher without proper training creates an unhealthy environment in the school, for both teaching as well as disciplinary matters. According to them, even graduates find it difficult to adjust to the teaching profession. When the teachers are not adjusted to their occupation, it is difficult to continue the academic activities and maintain discipline in the school. Most graduate teachers who participated in this study reported that they acquired knowledge on class room management through observing senior teachers.

Teachers reported that they have had little or no input from the Ministry of Education on classroom management and the legal aspects of disciplining. Although a proportion of teachers were aware of the circular on disciplining, almost none had seen or knew the details. It was reported that no attempt had been taken to enlighten the teachers on this by the Ministry of Education. Instead, the general message transmitted to teachers was that they are prevented from using punishment to correct student misbehaviours. Further, teachers were not updated on (positive) disciplinary strategies. Hence, teachers felt that they are supposed to work in a vacuum, barred from using traditional punishment methods they are familiar with and without new directions. The main dilemma teachers reported was that they are deterred from using corrective measures whilst school authorities, parents and the society expect them to produce good citizens. They were critical of being blamed for the deterioration of discipline when they are not allowed to correct students by using the strategies that they know.

Most teachers and principals indicated that they benefited from the punishment used on them by their own teachers. This manner of thinking has been reported in previous research too (Govender & Sookrajh, 2014), which has shown to lead to intergenerational transmission of corporal punishment and psychological aggression in schools. Whilst the teachers acknowledged that providing advice is beneficial, most of them clearly admitted that this strategy, on its own, is not adequate to correct students. Teachers justified the use of corporal punishment to reinforce the advice, as they perceived that it was done in good faith.

This study results indicated that prohibition of corporal punishment in schools has created a confusion among all stakeholders, including students. There appeared to be little awareness on what exactly was prohibited. The teachers perceived that the Ministry of Education circular on

corporal punishment gave a wrong impression to students and parents to interpret all disciplinary methods as abuse. Teachers perceived that this type of misinterpretation and misinformation has led to a deterioration of discipline in schools. Whilst the teachers as a well as principals agreed that intentional abuse should be strictly dealt with, they felt that punishment used as a corrective action needs to be accepted. Further, they argued that corrective actions are not only directed towards the offender but helps to deter others from disobedience.

Many principals had experienced instances where corporal punishment was reported to the police. Principals and the officials of the Ministry of Education was of the view that such occasions could have been prevented if the parents consulted the principals before lodging a complaint. According to the principals and the teachers, most police officers believe that punishment is needed to correct student misbehaviours and hence they try to settle the matter without prosecution. However, teachers perceived such incidents are reported in the media in a derogatory manner, tarnishing their image, the school and the educational system. They also felt that minor incidents are reported as an instance of abuse. In this context, teachers as well as principals pointed out that teachers are gradually becoming lax in maintaining discipline in school. Teachers felt that it is better to ignore student misbehaviours than be prosecuted for actions done in good faith. Teachers and principals expressed the fear that if the current trend of prohibitive regulations and prosecutions against teachers continue, the whole education system will deteriorate.

5.6 Confidentiality of student misbehaviours and the student counselling system at schools

Students across all districts reported that teachers are lax in maintaining confidentiality. When a student has misbehaved, the teachers apparently share this information with other teachers and sometimes even with other parents. This is reported to be so even if the information is sensitive. In certain instances, even the information divulged to a teacher assigned for counselling has become public. This has created a situation of uncertainty, distrust and disrespect amongst students towards teachers.

School counsellors are important to mediate disciplinary issues in the school. This study indicated that trained counsellors are rare in the education system, a finding corroborated by previous research (Samaranayake et al. 2014). Most teachers who have been appointed as teacher

counsellors are not trained or have a limited exposure in the field. Hence, they are not capable of handling student issues effectively. In smaller schools, a teacher with a lesser workload is appointed as a counsellor without even considering his/her ability to deal with such issues. The trust the students have on most teacher counsellors is low, due to these reasons.

Chapter 6: Discussion based on the Triangulation of the Quantitative and Qualitative Study

The disciplining of children is a controversial and complex subject. In order to understand its dynamics, a variety of sources of information are need. In this research, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used, and their results were presented separately in the previous two chapters. This chapter collectively discusses, in the form of a story, the key findings from the quantitative and qualitative studies.

Both the quantitative and qualitative studies indicated that the use of corporal punishment and psychological aggression was highly prevalent in Sri Lankan schools. Whilst the quantitative study reported the prevalence rates of these punishment methods, the qualitative study indicated that certain strategies that are usually considered to be corporal punishment (such as being asked to stand for a long time) were not considered so by students. Instead, they were considered as strategies of psychological aggression. However, irrespective of this difference in opinion, students reported that both corporal punishment and psychological aggression are highly stressful. In fact, students appeared to be more effected by certain strategies of psychological aggression (such as being publicly shamed, and being asked to clean toilets) than with corporal punishment. Some students even preferred corporal punishment to psychological aggression, pointing out a normalisation of violence in the Sri Lankan schools.

Although physical abuse was reported in the quantitative study, no direct mention of it was made in the qualitative study. It appears that both students and teachers are confused on the demarcation of corporal punishment from physical abuse. They appear to consider physical abuse as corporal punishment. In fact, results of the qualitative study indicated that a majority of teachers have not been formally trained nor made aware of the various circulars and legal frameworks pertaining to the use of punishment in the classroom. As was indicated in the quantitative study, most teachers have heard that such a circular and legal framework is available, but do not know its specifics. As the teaching staff is not aware of the exact nature of the circular and legal framework, there appeared to be a disinterest in maintaining school discipline. Though teachers realised the need to correct students to be responsible citizens, their fear of prosecution for the potential use of wrong methods of punishment has led to this situation. Although the teachers stated in the qualitative study that they try to keep away from

correcting student misbehaviours, the prevalence rates for corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression was very high in the quantitative study. So, if in fact, they had reduced correcting misbehaviours, by both negative as well as positive ways, the prevalence rates of the quantitative study could have been higher if this research was done some time ago.

Punishment and (positive) disciplinary strategies not assessed in the quantitative study was captured in the qualitative study. For instance, asking the students to clean toilets, and public shaming was reported as particularly stressful punishment strategies. The strategies of ignoring and neglecting students were also reported, and students reported this to be deeply hurtful too. Interestingly, the (positive) disciplinary strategy of removal of privileges was considered as a highly psychologically aggressive strategy by students. This was so because the privilege removed was their recreational activities. As opportunities for recreational activities are so limited in a Sri Lankan students' life, removal of it negatively impacted them.

In the qualitative study, many teachers reported a variety of (positive) disciplinary strategies that was not assessed in the quantitative study. Though this was so, they were firmly of the view that (positive) discipline was not sufficient on its own. Rather, that it has to be combined with corporal punishment. Indeed, in the quantitative study too, the prevalence of (positive) discipline was high, but so was corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression. These high rates may be a reflection of the teachers combining (positive) discipline with punishments. However, if (positive) discipline has been used correctly and consistently, within a nurturing school environment, the prevalence rates for the punishment methods would not have been so high. But since the Sri Lankan teachers appear to believe that (positive) discipline has to be combined with punishment, the prevalence of all methods of correcting misbehaviour was high.

Most students justified the use of punishment, only if they felt the misbehaviour was significant, and if it was done by a teacher who was considered to be skilled in teaching. If punishment was done by an unskilled teacher, the students reported misbehaving more, leading to further punishment. Hence, it became a vicious cycle of violence in the school. On the other hand, teachers who were considered as skilled in teaching were tolerated by students and even if they used abusive strategies parents were not inclined to complain about them. Further, some students also stated that they preferred corporal punishment to psychological aggression. Hence,

it appears that continuous exposure to corporal punishment tends to desensitize students to it, contributing to a normalisation of violence in the school and in the larger society. Moreover, students reported that though they may justify the use of corporal punishment and psychological aggression in certain instances, they do not change their misbehaviours because of this punishment. Hence, these methods of punishment is ineffective, though teachers and school authorities think otherwise.

The common reasons that students get punished for are noteworthy. The most common reasons are: not doing homework, not adhering to the school dress code, and having a love affair. A less common though an interesting reason was not paying school fees. Hence, it appears that teachers spend time and energy correcting behaviours that are normative developmental issues in childhood and adolescence. For, it is widely known that the Sri Lankan education system is highly and inappropriately examination-focused, and that students are given an undue amount of homework to achieve that end. In fact, teachers, principal and the school per se is invariably evaluated based on the year 5, O/L and A/L results of their students. This has a detrimental impact on the students' psycho-social development, as this system hardly acknowledges essentials in a young persons' development (such as play, leisure and social gatherings). Further, liking to dress differently, being conscious of wanting to stand-out from peers, investing in ones' personal appearance, and having love interests are common psycho-sexual developments as one advances in age. Using punishment for these reasons seems out of proportion to the issue at hand. Finally, not paying school fees, as reported in certain poorer parts of the country, could be understood as a result of poverty. Punishing a child for this, appears to be incongruent, particularly as Sri Lanka considers itself a country providing free school education for its children.

The quantitative study indicated certain factors associated with the high use of corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression. For instance, boys experienced such methods more than girls. Students from the estate sector too experienced such punishment more. On the other hand, factors such as being from the district of Galle, or being of Moslem ethnicity was associated with lesser experience of such punishment. Future research could study the reasons for these findings.

An important aspect in preventing punishment and increasing the use of (positive) discipline is an effective school counselling system. The present study indicated that this system is woefully inadequate in the country. In fact, students reported distrusting teachers in general, including the teacher counsellor. One of the main reasons for this was the lack of counselling skills and the inability to retain confidentiality by the teacher counsellors.

Finally, given the findings of this study, the next chapter presents recommendations on improving the Sri Lankan school milieu such that punishment would be eradicated and (positive) disciplining would be increased.

Chapter 7: Recommendations

This chapter presents recommendations which Sri Lanka would need to implement to overcome school corporal punishment, psychological aggression and physical abuse. These recommendations are based on: (i) findings of the present research, and (ii) a literature review on the present subject. Some of these recommendations may seem obvious. Nevertheless, we indicated them to ensure all aspects are covered.

R1: Considering the high prevalence of corporal punishment and physical abuse of students in this study, to improve the lack of awareness and attitudes regarding the legal norms in the school staff/hierarchy and children/parents, the following recommendations are made: The law should clearly define what corporal punishment and physical abuse is. Medical, legal psychology and sociology expertise should be involved to make these definitions as well as to review and use existing definitions. Violations of either corporal punishment or physical abuse should not be tolerated. The NCPA and Ministry of Education should take steps to initiate these discussions, documentation and implementation of policies and plans. It is imperative that these two terms (i.e. corporal punishment and physical abuse) should not be used ambiguously as that leaves room for misinterpretation and failure of legal and disciplinary implementation in relation to these violations. Penal code amendment 22 of 1995, section 308A, under 'cruelty to children' was considered by many child rights experts to be a progressive step at the time. However, after 22 years, Sri Lanka has not successfully implemented this law. Clarity on these legal aspects to prevent misinterpretation and misrepresentation should be an immediate priority. This should be followed by a significant awareness program on child disciplinary methods done without resorting to violence. This should be a mandate of the National Child Protection Authority (NCPA) and Ministry of Education (MoE).

R2: Based on the literature review, it was seen that there is poor prosecutions or disciplinary action taken in the cases of school corporal punishment or physical abuse. In the instance of an allegation of corporal punishment and physical abuse in a school, an independent civil body, at district level (coordinated by a central body), outside the educational and legal system, should initially decide whether there is indeed a valid charge. However, the members of this body should be well versed in the subject of corporal punishment as well as child abuse and legal

norms. An additional requirement would be for the child to have been examined by a Judicial Medical Officer and injuries (if any) documented by him/her immediately after receiving the complaint by the child/guardian. If charges are found to be valid, the complaint should be directed for legal prosecution in the case of physical abuse, and a civil disciplinary inquiry in the case of corporal punishment. The civil inquiry could be done by the aforesaid same body. The constitution of this body should be multi-sectoral/multi-professional to avoid unilateral decisions that may be taken by an individual. In the case of legal prosecution, a decision should be made by the legal fraternity as weather to charge under the penal law or the civil law. A revision of the law may be necessary considering the reluctance of the legal authorities in conducting, reporting and prosecution of cases - which is reflected by the poor implementation of the penal code law on cruelty to children.

R3: An important finding of this study was the poor knowledge of teachers and educational administrators on the legal, regulatory and administrative framework and procedures in disciplining children. All teachers should be made to known (i) of the details of the legal, regulatory and administrative frameworks relating to punishing and disciplining students, (ii) of the negative repercussions of corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression, and (iii) the necessity to use (positive) disciplining strategies instead. This information should be included (i) in the national teacher training curriculum (for new teachers), and (ii) and disseminated as a point-wise document to teachers already serving in schools in the entire country. Related aspects to this recommendation is detailed in R9.

R4: The literature review and the study findings indicates an under reporting of corporal punishment to authorities. A system for students and parents to report corporal punishment, psychological aggression, or physical abuse should be established. The public should be made aware of child rights and fear of reporting should be negated through open discussion in the media, group discussions (among relevant professionals) etc, conducted by NCPA and MoE. This system should clearly discourage and detect false allegations.

R5: Teachers who have used corporal punishment, psychological aggression, or physical abuse, by way of an impartial inquiry, must be held accountable for it legally and administratively. There should be transparency of all aspects of this inquiry/litigation process and no exemptions should be given.

R6: Schools should have a zero-tolerance policy for any act of force towards students. This policy should be implemented by the Ministry of Education under the guidance of the NCPA, after a large-scale multi-stakeholder advocacy program.

R7: To address the issue of lack of knowledge of child rights and to encourage a dialogue between children, teachers and parents, a committee should be formed in each school (comprising the principal, teachers, students, and parents) whose task would be to implement regular activities aimed at making the school a place of zero tolerance for any act of force towards students (Guidelines and a detailed instruction book on forming these committees has already been completed by the NCPA.)

R8: The literature review reveals that invariably, teachers use punishment due to ineffective stress and emotional management. The high prevalence of corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression in this study may be an indication of an indirect cause of stress and other emotional factors at paly within the teachers. Hence, programs aimed at enhancing the mental health of teachers should be a priority.

R9: The study reveals that although school counsellors are present in the system, the training and awareness of their mandate is questionable. Adequately trained school counsellors should be available at all schools. Immediate effort should be made to re-train the existing teacher counsellors. The MoE and NCPA should administer the program with support and advise of national level experts including psychologists. There should be teacher counsellor training courses conducted on a training-of-trainer model, initially at the national level (after developing a core curriculum by national level experts} of district level master trainers. They (i.e. the master trainers) should then train the other teacher counsellors at the Pradeshiya/zonal levels. Other than conducting training in counselling, these master trainers should also contribute to general advocacy programs aimed at teachers, on using (positive) disciplining whilst abandoning

corporal punishment, psychological aggression and physical abuse. It is imperative to monitor these training courses and its content with a feedback to the central level. The school child protection committees and grass root level NCPA officers should integrate with this program at the school level.

R10: Psychologists should be intimately involved with promoting (positive) discipline and eradicating corporal punishment, psychological aggression, and physical abuse in schools. To that effect, a mapping of the counselling/psychological resources available (according to their quality and expertise) in the country, should be done. Further, the Sri Lankan government should create and increase the cadre of psychologists in ministries such as Health and Education.

R11: The literature review and this study findings reveals that most instances of corporal punishment, physical abuse and psychological aggression occurs in relation to school work/home work. Hence, the Ministry of Education should immediately review their policy on the heavy load of homework given to students. It is known from the literature that teachers use punishment to drive students to achieve. Hence, as a priority, academic and extra-curricular competitiveness should be minimised in schools (such as by abolishing the practice of giving positions for examination performance). Rather, a more conducive student-friendly learning environment, with a view to improve both the academic and emotional health of the student should be established. Academic and extra-curricular activities should have alternative systems to encourage students to achieve and get rewarded and minimise aggressive competition, whilst emphasising on positions is minimised.

R12: The literature reveals that an important way of reducing misbehaviour is students' self-discipline. Hence, the curriculum on the subject of 'Citizenship Education' should be reviewed to assess if it includes sufficient material on self-discipline. This subject should be taught through practice (such as by videos, debates, discussions, seminars, and charity work) rather than by book-based lessons.

R13: The study finding of the high prevalence of positive discipline in the midst of a high prevalence of corporal punishment, psychological aggression and physical abuse, warrants acknowledgement of these positive disciplinary methods. A promotion of such positive disciplinary strategies (with changes if necessary), should be made.

R14: The identification of minimal corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression in certain schools in this research warrants further study to identify the reasons for these findings. These methods can be adapted with culture appropriate relevance by other schools in Sri Lanka, without making any cultural/religious discriminatory remarks.

R15: Community level, easy-access programs on parenting (including that of disciplining) should be available to parents. These should be included in already existing community health programs.

R16: Relevant health care professionals (such as doctors) should be made aware of the impact of corporal punishment, psychological aggression, and physical abuse towards children. They should be given training in the identification, recording and referral of such cases, in relevant undergraduate and postgraduate curricula. This should be a mandate of the NCPA and the Ministry of Health.

R17: The police, judges and lawyers should have courses in all aspects of child punishment and disciplining, including that of the prevailing laws and the necessity of taking relevant action in the event of an allegation of corporal punishment, psychological aggression and physical abuse. This should be a mandate of the NCPA, Ministry of Justice, and the Sri Lanka Police.

R18: The wider Sri Lankan community should be made aware (such as by information giving programs through the media) of the detrimental impact of corporal punishment, physical abuse, and psychological aggression when correcting child misbehaviours. Further, media programs that promote corporal punishment or psychological aggression towards children, as acceptable and normative, should not be presented so. This should be a mandate of the NCPA.

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Annexes

Annex 1: The sample of schools selected for the study

School	Administration	Type	District	Zone
School 01	National	1AB	Colombo	Colombo
School 02	Provincial	Type2	Colombo	Piliyandala
School 03	Provincial	1AB	Colombo	Colombo
School 04	Provincial	Type3	Colombo	Sri Jaya' pura
School 05	Provincial	Type2	Colombo	Piliyandala
School 06	Special	Special	Colombo	-
School 07	Special	Special	Colombo	-
School 08	Private	Pvt	Colombo	-
School 09	Private	Pvt	Colombo	-
School 10	Provincial	1AB	Galle	Udugama
School 11	National	1AB	Galle	Galle
School 12	Provincial	1C	Galle	Galle
School 13	Provincial	1C	Galle	Galle
School 14	Provincial	1C	Galle	Galle
School 15	National	1AB	Monaragala	Bibile
School 16	Provincial	Type3	Monaragala	Bibile
School 17	Provincial	Type2	Monaragala	Wellawaya
School 18	Provincial	1C	Monaragala	Wellawaya
School 19	Provincial	1AB	Monaragala	Bibile
School 20	Provincial	1AB	Trincomalee	Trincomalee North
School 21	Provincial	1C	Trincomalee	Trincomalee North
School 22	National	1AB	Trincomalee	Trincomalee
School 23	Provincial	Type3	Trincomalee	Trincomalee
School 24	Provincial	1AB	Trincomalee	Trincomalee
School 25	Provincial	1AB	Mulaitivu	Mullaitivu
School 26	Provincial	Type3	Mulaitivu	Mullaitivu
School 27	Provincial	1AB	Mulaitivu	Thunukkai
School 28	Provincial	Type2	Mulaitivu	Mullaitivu
School 29	Provincial	1AB	Nuwara Eliya	Nuwara Eliya
School 30	Provincial	1AB	Nuwara Eliya	Nuwara Eliya
School 31	Provincial	Type2	Nuwara Eliya	Nuwara Eliya
School 32	Provincial	Type3	Nuwara Eliya	Nuwara Eliya

Annex 2: List of schools and different data collection methods

School Name	IDI -Principal	IDI-School development officer	FGD-parents	FGD-Teachers	FGD Students	Questionnaire survey Teachers	Questionnaire survey Students
School 01			YES	YES	Grade 4/7	YES	Grade-10
School 02	YES				Grade 10	YES	Grade-07
School 03		YES		YES		YES	Grade-07
School 04			YES		Grade- 04	YES	Grade-04
School 05		YES		YES	Grade -10	YES	Grade-04
School 06	YES	YES				YES	Grade-07
School 07				YES	Grade7-10	YES	Grade-10
School 08	YES			YES	Grade-07	YES	Grade-07
School 09			YES		Grade-04	YES	Grade-07
School 10	YES			YES	Grade7/10	YES	-
School 11	YES			YES	Grade -10	YES	Grade-04
School 12		YES			-	YES	Grade-10
School 13	YES		YES	YES	Grade -10	-	Grade-07
School 14	YES				Grade -7		Grade-10
School 15	YES			YES	Grade-07	YES	Grade-10
School 16						YES	-
School 17	YES					YES	Grade-04
School 18		YES	YES	YES	Grade-04	YES	Grade-07
School 19			YES		Grade-10	YES	Grade-04
School 20				YES	Grade-07	YES	Grade-10
School 21		YES			Grade-04	YES	Grade-10
School 22			YES		Grade-10	YES	Grade-04
School 23	YES					YES	Grade-04
School 24				YES		YES	Grade-10
School 25					-	YES	*Grade- 4, 7
School 26	YES			YES	Grade -7	YES	Grade-04
School 27				YES	Grade -10	YES	Grade-10
School 28	YES				Grade- 04	YES	Grade-07
School 29					-	YES	*G.4,7,10
School 30				YES	Grade- 04	YES	-
School 31					Grade-07	YES	Grade-4
School 32	YES	YES			Grade -04	YES	-
Total	13	07	07	15	27	459	948

*more than one Grade was included in 2 schools due to inadequate students to fulfil the cluster size

Annex 3: Letter of ethics clearance

SRI LANKA COLLEGE OF PAEDIATRICIANS
44/1, GNANARTHA PRADEEPA MW,
COLOMBO 8, SRI LANKA
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1st November 2016

Professor Harendra de Silva,

Professor of Paediatrics,

Faculty of Medicine, University of Colombo

Ethical Clearance

A STUDY ON CHILD DISCIPLINARY METHODS PRACTISED IN SCHOOLS IN SRI LANKA

Dear Professor Harendra de Silva,

We are pleased to inform you that ethical clearance has been granted for the above study.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. G. N. Lucas

Chairman, Ethical Review Committee, SLCP