

THE MULTI-COUNTRY STUDY ON THE DRIVERS OF VIOLENCE AFFECTING CHILDREN



A CROSS-COUNTRY SNAPSHOT OF FINDINGS

VIOLENCE affecting children (VAC) manifests differently in every society. Unequal power dynamics operate across gender, age and other status markers creating the circumstances within which violent acts occur. Violent acts are not merely an interaction between a child and one or more other individuals, but rather a socio-ecological phenomenon. This study shows how factors on multiple levels – individual characteristics, interpersonal relationships, and the communities in which people live – interact with institutional and structural drivers to increase or reduce a child’s risk.

Violence can be:

Physical – the intentional use of physical force against a child that may result in harm to the child’s health, survival, development or dignity.

Sexual – the involvement of a child in sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend, is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared, or else violates the laws or social taboos of society.

Emotional – acts that have an adverse effect on the emotional health and development of a child, including but not limited to restricting a child’s movements, ridicule, threats and intimidation, rejection and other nonphysical forms of hostile treatment.

The Multi-Country Study on the Drivers of Violence Affecting Children is an on-going, four-country study in Italy, Peru, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe, led by the UNICEF Office of Research – Innocenti and its academic partner the University of Edinburgh. Over the past 10 years, studies have conclusively established that physical, sexual and emotional violence affecting children is prevalent in all societies. The research and data has been powerful: discourse among policy makers is shifting from “this does not happen here” to “what is driving this?” and “how can we address it?”. The Study stands at the intersection of evidence, policy and practice. The results contribute to a better understanding of the greatest threats to children and the contexts in which these threats occur.

This is the kind of data that drives change.

Endnotes and references denoted by numbers can be found at:
www.unicef-irc.org/research/274



SCARED AT HOME AND BEYOND

At home what scares us

Is not being handled with care

Being given work that we can’t handle

Being chased out of the home

When you make a mistake or misbehave

At school what scares me

Is the way some teachers beat children

*At home you will have slept in the open
as punishment*

And you go to school late

Where you are then beaten thoroughly

In the community

When you are not at school

You can be raped by neighbors

And be afraid to tell anyone

Written by ‘Rising Star’ (pen name), a 12 year old girl, attending a workshop organized by the African Community Publishing and Development Trust, published in their book: *Singing to the Lions*, Zimbabwe, 2013.



FRAMEWORK: VIOLENCE AFFECTING CHILDREN

THE SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

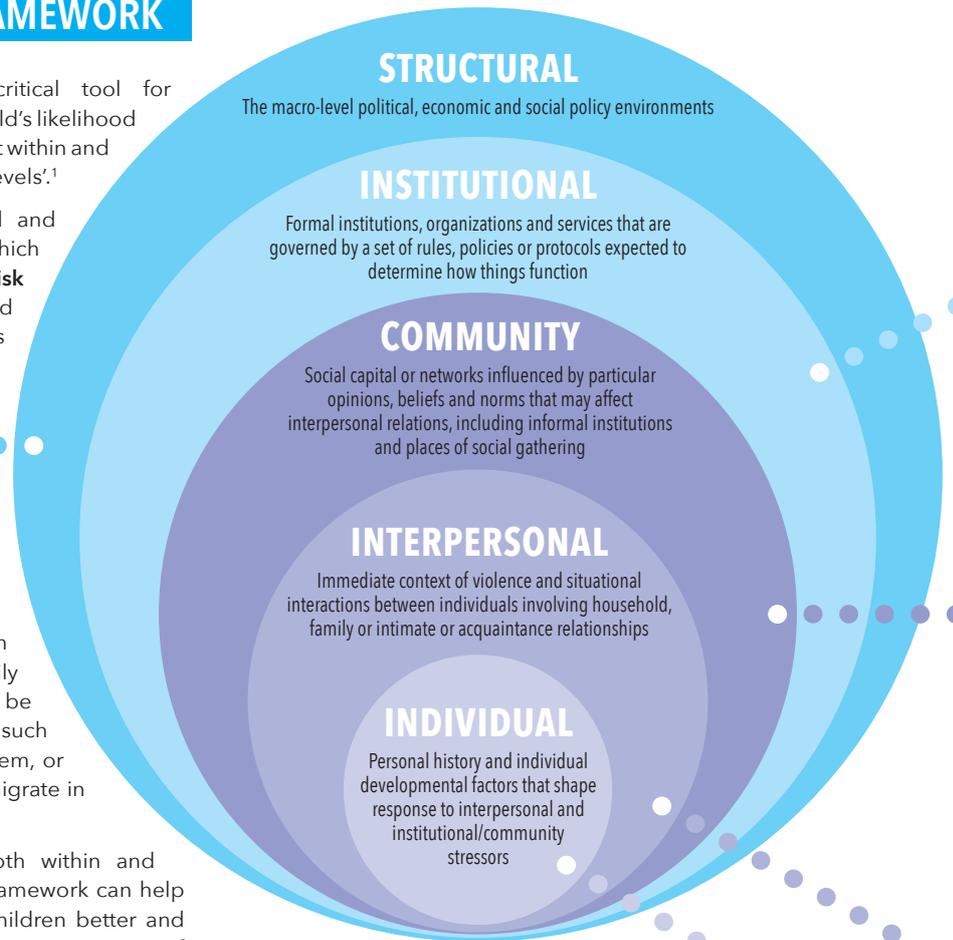
The **Socio-ecological framework** is a critical tool for understanding how factors that influence a child's likelihood of experiencing interpersonal violence interact within and between a number of social and ecological 'levels'.¹

Drivers refer to factors at the institutional and structural levels that create the conditions in which violence is more or less likely to occur. **Risk and protective factors** reflect the likelihood of violence occurring due to characteristics most often measured at the individual, interpersonal, and community levels.

For example, a parent's behaviour is influenced by their financial security and/or level of education, the family's connections to formal and non-formal support systems in their community, and prevailing beliefs concerning the discipline and supervision of children within the society where the family lives. The way these factors interact can be affected by more distal yet important factors such as living within an institutionalized caste system, or in a country where many adults or children migrate in search of work.

Identifying and mapping these factors both within and between the levels of the socio-ecological framework can help policymakers and practitioners to support children better and reduce their likelihood of becoming perpetrators or victims of violence, now and in the future. It is equally important to bolster protective factors to reinforce the resilience of children, families and communities.

Factors listed are based on the Study's literature review and are supported by at least one study in a peer-reviewed journal. Factors are placed, by level, according to how the studies' authors characterized them.



STRUCTURAL DRIVERS

- Migration both within and between countries, which may increase risk of sexual or physical exploitation or abuse (especially in situations where migration is deemed "illegal")²⁻⁵
- Patriarchal norms and resulting inequities⁶⁻⁹
- Socio-economic dimensions such as poverty and inequality¹⁰⁻¹¹
- Effects of globalization including epidemics (HIV/AIDS) and the expansion of digital technologies¹²⁻¹³
- Social and political histories of violence, for example histories of intra- or inter-state conflict¹⁴

Migration and Vulnerabilities to Violence

Children who migrate – by force or by choice – are susceptible to multiple types of violence.

ITALY According to statistics provided by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, the number of unaccompanied foreign children arriving in Italy increased from 6,319 in 2013 to 10,536 in 2014. Data from Europol, the EU's criminal intelligence agency, show that 1,000 unaccompanied refugee children have gone missing in Italy alone in 2016.¹⁵

PERU It is estimated that nearly 10 per cent of Peruvians are affected by international migration. Having one or both parents working in another country is associated with a deterioration in personal relationships.¹⁶

VIET NAM A study analysing migration patterns for two decades (1989-2009) shows a younger and increasingly female interprovincial migrant population. This 'feminization of migration' has significant implications for the well-being of both mothers and their children.¹⁷

ZIMBABWE Organized crime in the form of criminal gangs known as 'magumagama' and 'mareyanes' operate at border sites and have been known to abuse vulnerable children attempting to cross over into neighbouring countries.¹⁸

INSTITUTIONAL DRIVERS

- Weak child protection systems or ineffective system response¹⁹
- Harmful cultural rites and religious doctrines relating to hierarchy, authority, gender, and punishment²⁰⁻²¹
- Quality of school relationships including lack of school connectedness, teachers reinforcing or perpetrating violence²²⁻²³
- Poor school governance including lack of adequate training in pedagogical skills and child development, under-resourced schools and teachers, unequal application of school rules²⁵⁻²⁶
- Weak legal structure and/or ineffective policies to protect children, lack of coordination between formal and informal justice mechanisms and service providers (i.e. traditional leaders, community groups)²⁷⁻²⁸

VIET NAM Local authorities claim they do not have a complete understanding of trafficking of all children, especially for boys aged 10-25 years, affecting both documentation and response.²⁹

COMMUNITY RISK FACTORS

- Urban and/or rural environments may have varying risks of violence³⁰⁻³¹
- Harmful cultural practices and/or social norms that support violence, including taboos³²⁻³³
- Quality of community relationships such as the lack of community connectedness and trust; perceptions of community safety³⁴⁻³⁵
- Code of silence around all types of violence³⁶⁻³⁷

ITALY Trafficked Nigerian girls are threatened with retribution against themselves and relatives at home if they try to escape or fail to pay back their debt; this includes the manipulative use of traditional spiritual practices to maintain control over the girls and their families.³⁸

INTERPERSONAL RISK FACTORS

- Early experience of violence and conflict before adolescence, including witnessing domestic violence³⁹⁻⁴³
- Sex selection⁴⁴
- Family stress including poverty and unemployment⁴⁵⁻⁴⁶
- Family structure including marital status, parental absence, double-orphanhood⁴⁷⁻⁵⁰
- Family context such as parents' histories of abuse, substance use, education, occupation(s), financial status, illness/health⁵¹⁻⁵²
- Quality of peer relationships inclusion/exclusion from same age networks⁵³
- Quality of family relationships inclusion/exclusion from family/kin networks⁵⁴⁻⁵⁵
- Isolation or degree of family isolation⁵⁶

PERU Some girls (aged 13-17 years old) involved in transactional sex persuade their female peers to also engage in transactional sex.⁵⁷

INDIVIDUAL RISK FACTORS

- Beliefs about gender roles or the acceptability of punishment and violence⁵⁸⁻⁶¹
- Vulnerability due to age, ethnicity, or disability⁶²⁻⁶⁵
- Behavioural problems such as a lack of empathy and externalising these behaviours among children⁶⁶⁻⁶⁷
- Biological sex⁶⁸

ZIMBABWE Girls, aged 13-17, are more likely to experience forced sex than boys of the same age.⁶⁹

VIET NAM Boys, aged 5-9, are more likely to experience violent discipline in the home and school than girls of the same age.^{47,70}

AGE AND GENDER

Age and gender are also central to this study. A child's vulnerability and ability to protect herself from violence changes over time with her evolving capacities. It is important to recognise how girls and boys may develop differently especially as they move through childhood and into adolescence.⁷¹⁻⁷²

There is no global consensus around categorizing children's and young people's stages of life and regional or sub-regional variations may also be expected. The timeline used here is based on a classification by PAHO* to illustrate how boys and girls may proceed through the stages of adolescence at different times.

GIRLS	Age	BOYS
	9	
PRE-ADOLESCENCE	10	
	11	PRE-ADOLESCENCE
	12	
EARLY ADOLESCENCE	13	
	14	EARLY ADOLESCENCE
MIDDLE ADOLESCENCE	15	
	16	MIDDLE ADOLESCENCE
LATE ADOLESCENCE	17	
	18	LATE ADOLESCENCE
	19	
YOUTH	20	YOUTH
	21	
	22	
YOUNG ADULTHOOD	23	YOUNG ADULTHOOD
	24	

* PAHO: Pan American Health Organization

EMOTIONAL VIOLENCE AFFECTING CHILDREN

PREVALENCE OF EMOTIONAL VIOLENCE AFFECTING CHILDREN

Emotional violence may be perpetrated by a range of people – including parents, siblings, partners and peers. It often occurs alongside other forms of violence and can be particularly difficult to define and measure. Represented below are different expressions of emotional violence across all four countries.



ITALY

A national study in Italy found that 13.7 per cent of maltreated children cared for by social services have suffered emotional abuse. The same study also states that 19.4 per cent of children assisted by social services have witnessed domestic violence.

Source: CISMAL, Terre Des Hommes, Italia. Autorità garante per l'infanzia e l'adolescenza, Indagine nazionale sul maltrattamento dei bambini e degli adolescenti in Italia 2015, Torino, CISMAL, 2015.



PERU

In Peru, 69 per cent of both males and females aged 12 to 17 report having experienced peer-to-peer psychological violence at school at some point in their lives.

Source: Fry, D., Anderson, J., Hildalgo, R.J.T. et al., (2016). Prevalence of violence in childhood and adolescence and the impact on educational outcomes: Evidence from the 2013 Peruvian National Survey on Social Relations. *Int. Health*, 8(1): 44-52.
Note: Definitions of emotional violence vary by study.



VIET NAM

In Viet Nam, 58.2 per cent of Vietnamese children aged 1-14 have experienced psychological aggression at home.

Source: Cappa, C., & Dam, H. (2014). Prevalence of and risk factors for violent disciplinary practices at home in Viet Nam. *Journal of interpersonal violence*. 29(3): 497-516.



ZIMBABWE

In Zimbabwe, a national study found that among 18- to 24-year-olds, 29 per cent of females and 39.1 per cent of males reported experiencing emotional violence from an adult before the age of 18.

Source: Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and Collaborating Centre for Operational Research and Evaluation (CCORE), 2013. National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents, 2011.

In another study in Zimbabwe, nearly 30 per cent of adolescent girls aged 15-19 report having experienced emotional violence by a partner. When compared to national data in eight other countries in East and Southern Africa, this represents the highest prevalence estimate for the region.

Source: Latest available DHS (or MICS) data presented for 42 countries, including 9 countries in the East and Southern Africa region, as cited in United Nations Children's Fund, *Hidden in Plain Sight: A statistical analysis of violence against children*, UNICEF, New York, 2014.

RISK FACTORS FOR EMOTIONAL VIOLENCE: ZIMBABWE

A secondary analysis of emotional violence data in Zimbabwe shows varied risk and protective factors for children. Important protective factors for both boys and girls include trust in and support from adults in multiple contexts.

Risk and protective factors for experiencing emotional violence by an adult or relative before the age of 18 (NBSLEA, 2011)*

Risk Factors for Emotional Violence:

- Experiencing physical violence before the age of 13
- Not attending school



Protective Factors:

- Feeling they can talk to their family about important things
- Feeling their family cares about them
- Feeling teachers care about them
- Feeling people in the community can be trusted

Risk Factors for Emotional Violence:

- Paternal orphanhood before the age of 13
- Illness of adult in the home (> 3 months in the last year)
- Age: 13- to 14-year-olds at significantly higher risk



Protective Factors:

- Having a very close relationship with their mother
- Feeling teachers care about them
- Feeling safe and secure in the community

*All of the factors listed in the table are statistically significant from multivariate regression analyses controlling for age and socio-economic status.
Source: Chigijji, H., Fry, D., Mwadiwa, T., Elizalde, A., Izumi, N., Baago-Rasmussen, L., and Maternowska, C.M. Risk factors for emotional and physical violence and associated health outcomes in Zimbabwe: A nationally representative household cluster survey. Publication forthcoming.

HOW EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE AFFECT EMOTIONAL WELL-BEING

While laws may recognize physical and sexual violence as crimes against the individual, emotional violence and its effects are often overlooked. Findings in all four countries show how different types of violence in childhood, including emotional violence, subsequently affect emotional well-being.

VIET NAM

Among those ever injured by violence outside the home, 8.7% also reported having low self-esteem. (SAVY 2, 2015)

PERU

Bullying at age 15 is associated with negative effects on self-efficacy, self-esteem, and peer and parental relations at age 19. (Young Lives, 2016)

ITALY

Among women who experienced violence during childhood, 30% also reported that when faced with a difficult decision or challenge, they automatically think of failure. (Vite in Bilico, 2006)

ZIMBABWE

Boys who have experienced emotional violence during childhood are 10 times more likely to attempt suicide; girls are 3 times more likely. (NBSLEA, 2011)

SEXUAL AND PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AFFECTING CHILDREN

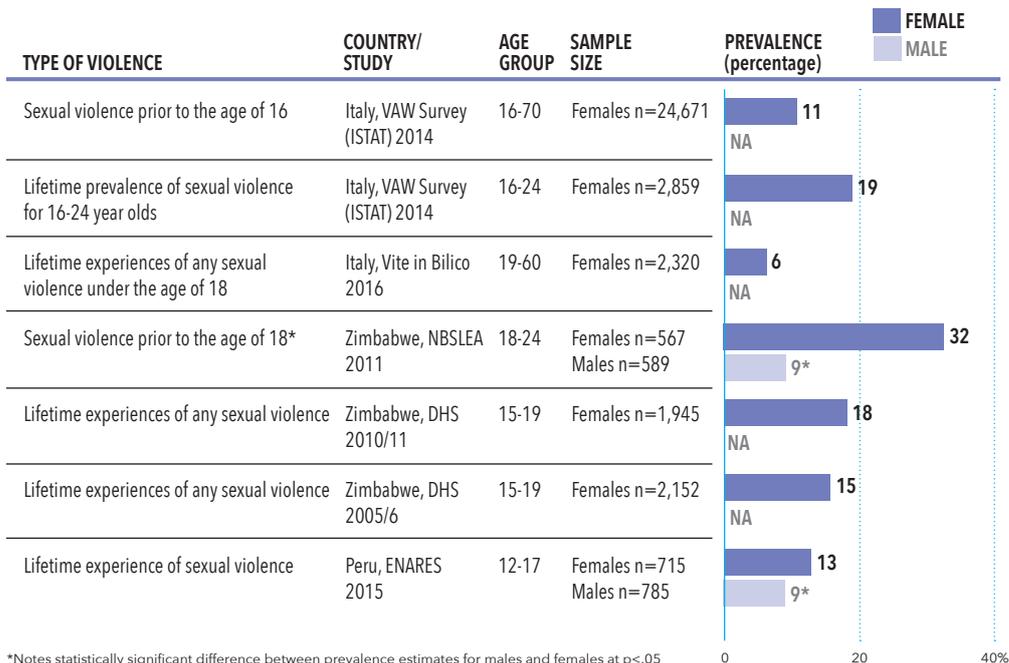
PREVALENCE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AFFECTING CHILDREN

Findings highlight that girls are much more likely to be affected by sexual violence. Boys are also affected although they are less likely to be asked about it in surveys.

Estimates are from primary analyses of national data sets across Italy, Peru and Zimbabwe.

All of the questions were framed as sexual violence questions within these nationally-representative surveys. However, definitions of sexual violence vary widely and so present challenges for comparison.⁷⁴

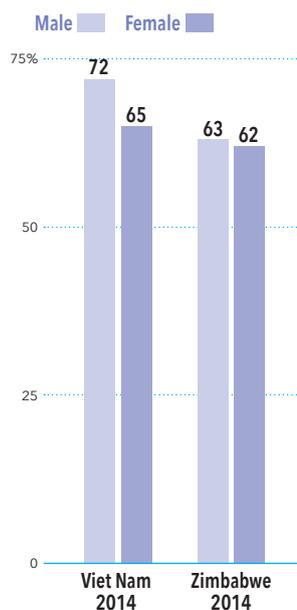
Some prevalence estimates are weighted (e.g. NBSLEA). For detailed descriptions of definitions, statistics and confidence intervals, see the accompanying endnotes at: www.unicef-irc.org/research/274.



RISK OF VIOLENT DISCIPLINE

Girls and boys are at similar risk of violent discipline in the home.

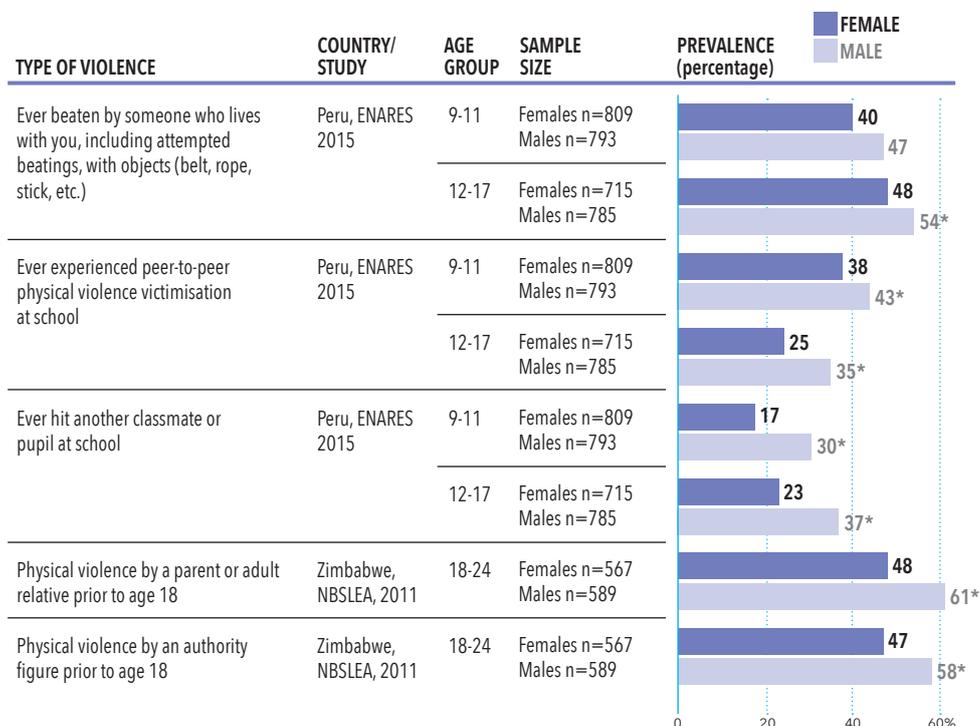
Percentage of children aged 1 to 14 who experienced any violent discipline in the past month.



Zimbabwe: MICS data and Viet Nam: MICS data.

PREVALENCE OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AFFECTING CHILDREN

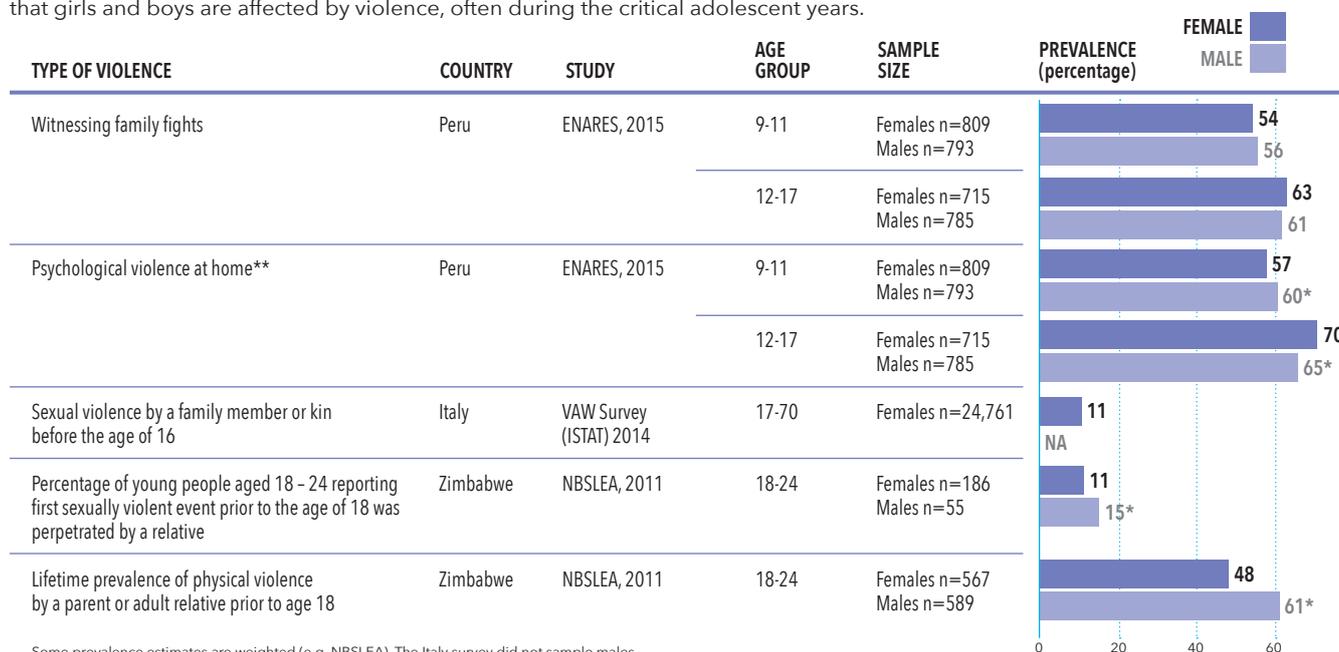
Findings highlight that boys are more likely to be affected by physical violence by a family member or at school. Estimates are from primary analyses of national data sets in Peru and Zimbabwe.



VIOLENCE AFFECTING CHILDREN IN THE HOME

PREVALENCE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN IN THE HOME

Estimates from primary analyses of national datasets across **Italy, Peru and Zimbabwe** demonstrate that girls and boys are affected by violence, often during the critical adolescent years.



Some prevalence estimates are weighted (e.g. NBSLEA). The Italy survey did not sample males.

For detailed descriptions of definitions, statistics and confidence intervals, see accompanying study reports.

*Notes statistically significant difference between prevalence estimates for males and females at p<.05 level.

**Psychological violence included answering yes to any of the following experiences perpetrated by someone in the home or shelter: prevented from playing with friends or other kids, being insulted or swears at, called hurtful names, told that everything you do or say is wrong, being teased or humiliated, threatened to be hit or abandoned, been thrown out of the home, or threatened to be thrown out, locked up or killed.

VIOLENT DISCIPLINE IN THE HOME

In nationally-representative surveys from **Italy, Peru, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe** approximately two-thirds of children experience violent discipline at home, replicating global findings demonstrating the use of violent discipline in the home as widespread.

ITALY

In Italy, 66% of parents reported corporally punishing their child in the last month.

(Vite in Bilico, 2006)

PERU

In Peru, 75% of fathers and 73% of mothers reported using verbal punishment as the main form of discipline.

(DHS 2014)

ZIMBABWE

Similarly, in Zimbabwe, 63% of children age 1 to 14 experienced psychological aggression or physical punishment during the last month.

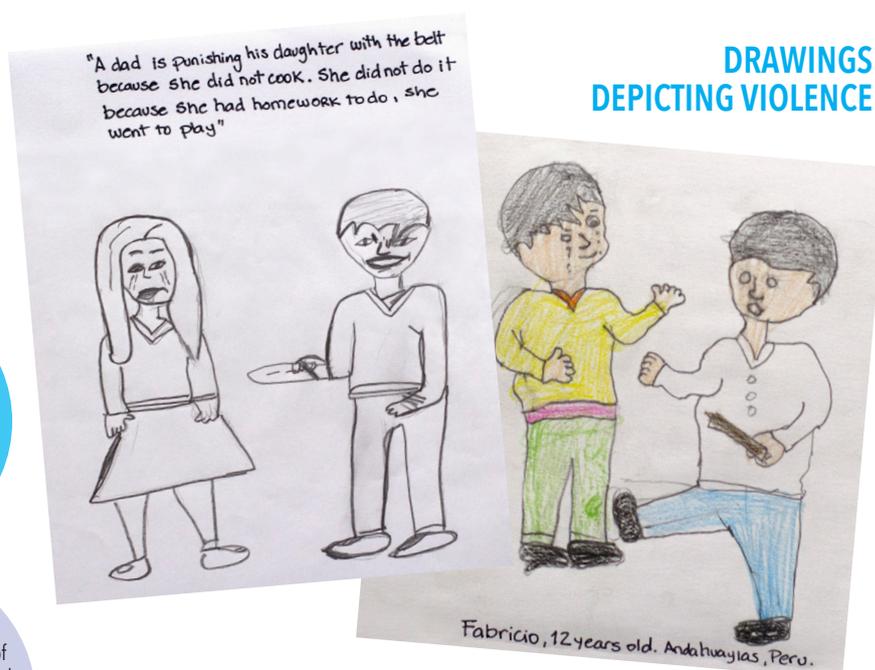
(MICS Zimbabwe 2014)

VIET NAM

In Viet Nam, 68% of children age 1 to 14 experienced psychological aggression or physical punishment during the last month.

(MICS Viet Nam 2014)

DRAWINGS DEPICTING VIOLENCE



Longitudinal qualitative data shows that failure to fulfil domestic chores and responsibilities emerges as the most common risk factor for violence affecting children in Peruvian homes. Other risk factors include the lack of resources to confront a variety of stressors to the family such as changing jobs, illness, and economic shocks. The use of violence to control children's behaviour is also seen as part of a child's education and is generally justified by both parents and children.

Italy - Vite in Bilico study, parents reporting corporal punishment in the last month; Peru - DHS data, physical violence against children in the home 2-14 years old; Viet Nam and Zimbabwe - MICS data, percentage of children aged 1-14 who experienced psychological aggression or physical punishment during the last month.

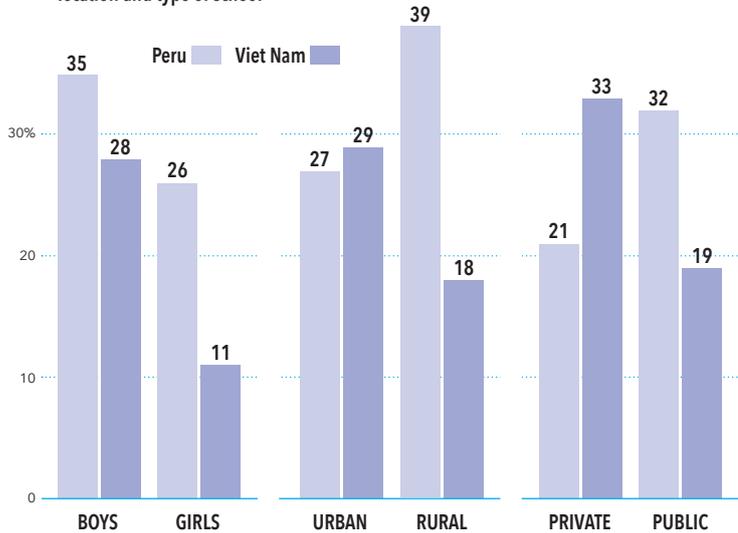
Source: Guerrero, G and V. Rojas (2016). Understanding Children's Experiences of Violence in Peru: Evidence from Young Lives, Innocenti Working Paper 2016-17, UNICEF Office of Research, Florence.
Note: annotations on drawings translated from Spanish.

VIOLENCE AFFECTING CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS

PREVALENCE OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AND BULLYING IN SCHOOLS: PERU AND VIET NAM

Prevalence of Corporal Punishment Corporal punishment is linked to poorer outcomes in maths and lower self-efficacy in Peru and to lower self-esteem in Viet Nam. Figures below are based on secondary analyses of data from the Young Lives international study of childhood poverty by the University of Oxford following 12,000 children over 15 years in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam.

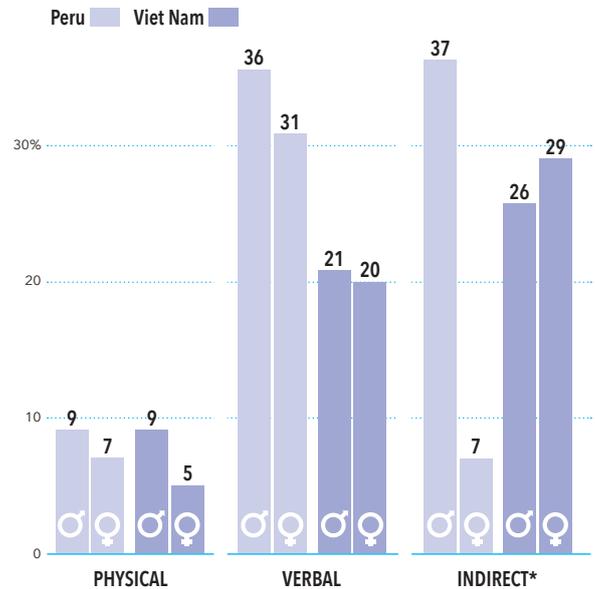
Percentage of children reporting corporal punishment at 8 years old by gender, location and type of school



Source for graphs: Pells, K., M. J. Ogando Portela and P. Espinoza (2016). Experiences of Peer Bullying among Adolescents and Associated Effects on Young Adult Outcomes: Longitudinal Evidence from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam, Innocenti Discussion Paper 2016-03, UNICEF Office of Research, Florence; Ogando Portela, M.J. and K. Pells (2015). Corporal Punishment in Schools: Longitudinal Evidence from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam, Innocenti Discussion Paper No. 2015-02, UNICEF Office of Research, Florence.

Prevalence of Bullying Definitions of bullying vary by country.⁷³ Children are bullied when they vary from the expected norm. Risk factors may include poverty, minority status, disabilities or being identified as lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, or transgender (LGBT).

Percentage of 15-year-olds who have experienced bullying more than twice in the past year (by type)



*Indirect bullying includes humiliation and social exclusion.

YOUNG LIVES QUALITATIVE DATA: PERU

Harmful gender norms learned at home or in the community may be reinforced by peer behaviour in schools putting children at risk in multiple settings. Boys identify certain help-seeking behaviours, such as reporting violence to teachers, as being 'feminine'. Punishment may include brutal practices such as *hacer poste* ('the pole'), where several students carry another student, spread his legs and ram his genitals into a pole.

Interviewer: *Why do you beat up your classmates?*

Peter: *For revenge.*

Dante: *It's a joke...*

Peter: *Sometimes for fun.*

Interviewer: *Sometimes for fun?*

Javier: *When some of us are bored, we beat them up.*

Peter: *Beating, beating.*

Interviewer: *When is revenge needed?*

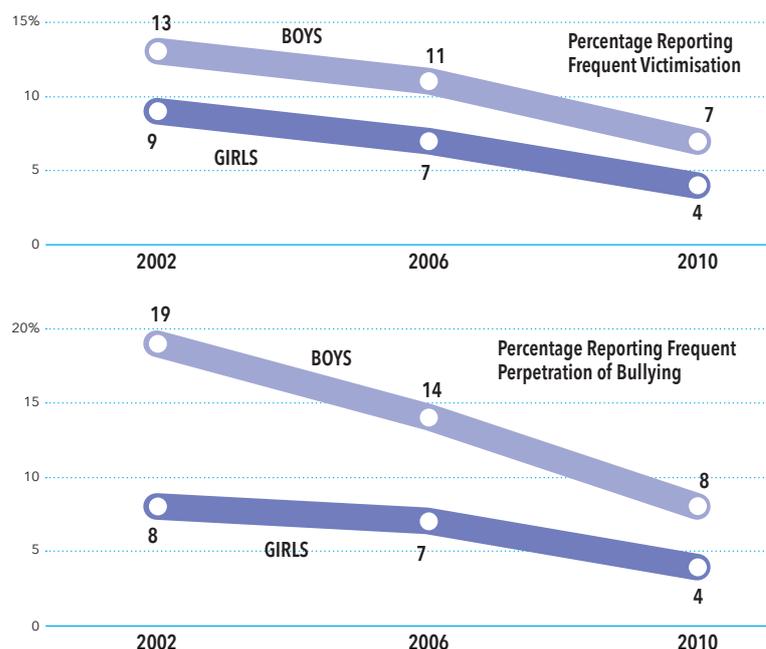
Felipe: *When somebody gets the rest punished...*

Source: Rojas, V. (2011) *'I'd rather be hit with a stick... Grades are sacred': Students' Perceptions of Discipline and Authority in a Public High School in Peru*, Working Paper 70, Oxford: Young Lives, p.20.

A DECREASING TREND OF BULLYING VICTIMISATION AND PERPETRATION: EVIDENCE FROM ITALY

National data for bullying in Italy shows a declining trend in the frequency of both victimisation and perpetration. This could indicate that existing prevention programmes have been successful.

Prevalence of bullying among 11, 13 and 15 year olds from Health Behaviour in School-Aged Children (HBSC) Surveys (2002, 2006 and 2010).*



Source: Vieno, A., Lenzi M., Gini, G., Pozzoli, T., Cavallo, F., Santinello, M. (2015). Time Trends in Bullying Behavior in Italy. *Journal of School Health*, 85(7).

* Recall period noted in HBSC: 'past couple months'

SUMMARY AND METHODOLOGY

THE PROCESS

Governments participating in the *Multi-Country Study on the Drivers of Violence Affecting Children* wanted to know why violence was happening and how it might be addressed. Prevalence and incidence surveys capture static understandings of the scale of the problem but do not necessarily inform better prevention programming. Unpacking the drivers of violence and how they interact with the risk or protective factors that children face on a daily basis begins to explain the complexities of – as well as potential solutions to – violence prevention.

Drawing on the skills of governmental statistics offices and ministries, national academics and UNICEF Country Offices, research teams in four countries set out to analyze existing national data on violence prevention and response. The learning process was not simple: searching far-and-wide for new information; training in new statistical and social science methodologies in order to re-analyze findings; allowing local actors to reflect and convene; and brokering new alliances across ministries has taken time. National ownership of the process and outcomes has made a difference.

Already, governments involved are shifting their approach: violence prevention has entered the public dialogue; evidence generated is informing national and regional agendas and plans. In all countries, the process has created new budget allocations for violence prevention. Previously disconnected ministries are now working together.

STAGE 1 What's Been Done

Stage 1 of the *Multi-Country Study on the Drivers of Violence Affecting Children* involves three components: a systematic literature review of academic papers, including theses and dissertations in national languages not typically used in conventional searches; secondary analyses of existing datasets analysed by national statistical teams in-country; and a preliminary mapping of each country's interventions landscape, focusing on evaluated programmes. More than 500 research studies were reviewed. Secondary analyses were conducted on 10 national datasets across the four countries. A manual for Stage 1, *Understanding the Drivers of Violence: A Step-by-Step Guide to Conducting Preliminary Research Around What Drives Violence*, is available on the Innocenti website.*

STAGE 2 Applied Research and Intervention Development: What's Next?

- Each country's National Steering Committee will conduct a stakeholder analysis and prioritization exercise. They will use Stage 1 evidence to identify the type (physical, sexual or emotional) and locus (home, school, community) of violence for Stage 2 focus.
- Focused interventions' mapping will yield insights on existing programmes addressing the type of violence chosen, what works (or not), and potential sites for future applied research.
- An Understanding Pathways Workshop will develop nationally-based theories of change to guide the applied research.
- National teams will assess and improve selected policies and interventions using a mixed methods approach with attention to social norms.

THE FINDINGS

Findings from the four countries demonstrate how levels of the socio-ecological framework are inter-connected.

The **structural drivers** of violence identified across the four country sites, representing high (Italy), upper middle (Peru), lower middle (Viet Nam) and low-income (Zimbabwe) settings include: rapid socio-economic transformations accompanied by economic growth but also instability, poverty, migration and gender inequality. The **institutional drivers** of violence, such as legal structures, ineffective child protection systems, weak school governance and harmful social and cultural norms, often serve to reinforce children's vulnerabilities.

Drivers are rarely isolated factors and tend to work in potent combination with other factors within a single level as well as between levels of the social ecology that shapes children's lives. While some drivers can lead to positive change for children, in this study, these factors or combinations of factors are most often invisible forms of harm in and of themselves.

While violence affecting children is present in every country, the analyses also show how violence conspires unevenly to create and maintain inequalities between and within countries. The institutions and communities, upon which children and their families depend, are changing social entities with many interdependent parts. The type of violence in any one or multiple settings may vary depending on a variety of **risk** or **protective factors** and/or by age and gender.

One of the most important findings is that violence is a fluid and shifting phenomenon in children's lives as they move between the places where they live, play, sleep and learn.

Identifying and addressing unequal power dynamics – wherever they may occur in the home, school or community – is of central importance to effective violence prevention. The research also shows how behaviours around violence are passed through generations suggesting that the social tolerance of these behaviours is learned in childhood. Data across countries also shows how violence is intimately connected to how relationships are structured and defined by power dynamics within and among families, peers and communities.

This is the kind of data that drives change.

Details on all findings summarized in this brief, by country, can be found on the Innocenti website and relevant UNICEF Country Office websites:

www.unicef-irc.org/research/274

Suggested citation:

Maternowska, M. C., A. Potts and D. Fry. (2016). *The Multi-Country Study on the Drivers of Violence Affecting Children: A Cross-Country Snapshot of Findings*, UNICEF Office of Research, Florence, Italy.

*www.unicef-irc.org/research/pdf/432-MCS_Stage-1-How-to-Guide-2015.pdf

THE MULTI-COUNTRY STUDY ON THE DRIVERS OF VIOLENCE AFFECTING CHILDREN

ENDNOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 We draw on the ecological framework used in: United Nations Children's Fund, Child Protection Resource Pack: How to Plan, Monitor and Evaluate Child Protection Programmes, UNICEF, New York 2015. For definitions of violence used in relation to this framework see Chapter 3: Child abuse and neglect by parents and other caregivers in Krug E.G. et al., eds. *World Report on Violence and Health*. Geneva, World Health Organization, 2002.
- 2 In Peru, young people who migrate may be more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. Family violence may also motivate young people's decision to migrate. See: Crivello, G. (2015). 'There's no future here': The Time and Place of Children's Migration Aspirations in Peru, *GeoForum*, 62, 38-46.
- 3 Children and young women migrating from rural to urban and becoming involved in street work, forced labour or sex work, see for example: Rushing, R., Watts, C., & Rushing, S. (2005). Living the Reality of Forced Sex Work: Perspectives from young migrant women sex workers in northern Vietnam. *Journal of Midwifery & Women's Health*, 50(4), e41-e44.
- 4 Save the Children. (2008). *Our Broken Dream: Child Migration in Southern Africa*, Johannesburg: Save the Children UK
- 5 In Viet Nam, children whose parents migrate for work may have inadequate care, especially when the mother migrates. See: Jones, N., Presler-Marshall, E., & Thuy, D. B. (2014). *Falling between the Cracks: How poverty and migration are resulting in inadequate care for children living in Viet Nam's Mekong Delta*. London: Overseas Development Institute. <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9306.pdf>
- 6 Gender norms including dominance of men over women and children, see for example: Dao The Duc, Hoang Cam, Le Ha Trung, & Kanthoul (2012). 'Teach the wife when she first arrives': Trajectories and pathways into violent and non-violent masculinities in Hue City and Phu Xuyen district, Vietnam. Hanoi: Partners for Prevention and UNFPA. Available at: http://www.partners4prevention.org/sites/default/files/resources/qualitative_study_on_masculinities_gbv_eng.pdf
- 7 In Peru the 'masculine' trait of physical strength is highly valued, see for example: Rojas, V. (2011) "Prefiero que me peguen con palo ... las notas son sagradas". *Percepciones sobre disciplina y autoridad en una secundaria pública en el Perú*. Lima: GRADE / Niños del Milenio, Documento de Trabajo 70.
- 8 On the imbalance of power between men and women, see for example: Mashiri, L. (2013). Conceptualisation of Gender Based Violence in Zimbabwe. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(15), 94-103.
- 9 In Viet Nam, the use of physical punishment as a means of instilling discipline in boys is rooted in patriarchal values. Rydström, H. (2006). Masculinity and Punishment Men's upbringing of boys in rural Vietnam. *Childhood*, 13(3), 329-348.
- 10 Manguvo, A., Whitney, S., & Chareka, O. (2011). *The Crisis of Student Misbehavior in Zimbabwean Public Schools: Teachers' perceptions on impact of macro-socio-economic challenges*. Harare: College Press Publishers.
- 11 Economic liberalization has widened the gap between rich and poor, see for example: Pells, K., & Woodhead, M. (2014). *Changing Children's Lives: Risks and Opportunities*. Young Lives, Department for International Development, University of Oxford.
- 12 The HIV/AIDS epidemic in Zimbabwe has increased the number of orphaned children, many of whom are vulnerable to abuse and neglect. Nyandya-Bundy, S., & Bundy, R. P. (2002). The Influence of HIV and AIDS on Child Protection. Challenges facing child protection. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 26, 587-617.
- 13 Rapidly expanding access to the internet, mobile phones and social media poses risks of online 'grooming' and sexual exploitation for Vietnamese children. MOLISA & UNICEF. (2011). *An Analysis of the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Selected Provinces and Cities of Vietnam*. Retrieved from http://www.UNICEF.org/vietnam/resources_20191.html
- 14 In Peru, for the history of 'Shining Path' insurgency, see for example: Jelin, E., & Díaz-Muñoz, A. R. (2003). *Major Trends Affecting Families: South America in perspective. Major trends affecting families: A background document*, 105-124.
- 15 Townsend, M. (2016). 10,000 refugee children are missing, says Europol. *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/30/fears-for-missing-child-refugees>
- 16 INEI & IOM. (2009). *Perú. Migración Internacional en las familias peruanas y perfil del peruano retornante*. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI).
- 17 Anh, L.T.K., Vu, L.H., Bonfoh, B. & Schelling, E. (2012). An Analysis of Interprovincial Migration in Vietnam from 1989 to 2009. *Global Health Action*, 5.
- 18 Save the Children. (2008). *Our Broken Dream: Child Migration in Southern Africa*, Johannesburg: Save the Children UK.
- 19 Coordinamento Italiano dei Servizi contro il Maltrattamento e l'Abuso dell'Infanzia (CISMAI) & Terre Des Hommes Italia. (2015). *Indagine nazionale sul maltrattamento dei bambini e degli adolescenti in Italia 2015*. Torino: Autorità garante per l'infanzia e l'adolescenza, CISMAI and Fondazione Terre Des Hommes Italia.
- 20 For traditional and religious practices in Zimbabwe see: Dube, R. (2013). "She probably asked for it!" *A Preliminary Study into Zimbabwean Societal Perceptions of Rape*. Harare: Research and Advocacy Unit.
- 21 Viet Nam: Confucianism and gender norms, see for example: Rydström, H. (2006). Masculinity and Punishment Men's upbringing of boys in rural Vietnam. *Childhood*, 13(3), 329-348.
- 22 Weak school connectedness is a risk factor for being hurt or injured, see for example: Vu Manh Loi. (2015). *Data analysis of SAVY 1 and SAVY 2*. UNICEF.
- 23 Teachers may reinforce violence, see for example: Shumba, A. (2001). Who Guards the Guards in Schools? A Study of Reported Cases of Child Abuse by Teachers in Zimbabwean Secondary Schools. *Sex Education: Sexuality, Society and Learning*, 1(1), 77-86
- 24 Negative perception of teacher relationships is a risk factor for bullying, see for example in Italy: Lenzi, M., Vieno, A., Gini, G., Pozzoli, T., Pastore, M., Santinello, M. & Elgar, F.J. (2014). Perceived Teacher Unfairness, Instrumental Goals, and Bullying Behavior in Early Adolescence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 29(10), 1834 -1849.
- 25 See for example: Shumba, A. (2001). Who Guards the Guards in Schools? A Study of Reported Cases of Child Abuse by Teachers in Zimbabwean Secondary Schools. *Sex Education, Sexuality, Society and Learning*, 1(1), 77-86.
- 26 In Peru, teachers feel ill-equipped to prevent or stop abuse. See, for example: Loza, M. J., & Frisancho, S. (2010). ¿Por qué pegan los niños? Creencias sobre la agresividad infantil en un grupo de profesoras de Educación Inicial. *Revista Peruana de Investigación Educativa*, 1(2), 59-86.
- 27 In Viet Nam there are weak protection and legal mechanisms for children witnessing domestic and for women to leave domestically violent relationships, see for example: Tran Thi Minh Thi. (2014). *Divorce in Contemporary Viet Nam: A socio-economic and structural analysis of divorce in the Red River Delta in 2000s*. Social Sciences Publishing House.
- 28 Portela, M. J. O., & Pells, K. (2015). *Corporal Punishment in Schools: Longitudinal evidence from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam*. Young Lives Working Paper 2015-02.
- 29 General Statistics of Vietnam. (2012). *Exploratory Research on Trafficking in Boys in Viet Nam*. Hanoi: General Statistics of Vietnam.
- 30 Differences according to location and school characteristics vary between countries: in Ethiopia and Viet Nam children in urban areas report experiencing more corporal punishment, with the reverse in India and Peru. In Ethiopia, India and Peru children in government (public) schools were most likely to experience corporal punishment, but results were only significant in Peru: Portela, M. J. O., & Pells, K. (2015). *Corporal Punishment in Schools: Longitudinal evidence from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam*. Young Lives Working Paper 2015-02.
- 31 Urbanisation and housing shortages are risk factors for violence against women and girls. See: Dube, R. (2013). "She probably asked for it!" *A Preliminary Study into Zimbabwean Societal Perceptions of Rape*. Harare: Research and Advocacy Unit.
- 32 Cultural practices such as chiramu in Zimbabwe where an elder sister's or aunt's husband can fondle or force sex with the younger sister or niece; see for example: Dube, R. (2013). "She probably asked for it!" *A Preliminary Study into Zimbabwean Societal Perceptions of Rape*. Harare: Research and Advocacy Unit.
- 33 Child marriage: Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT). (2014). *Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2014: Key Findings*. Harare: ZIMSTAT.
- 34 Chigiji, H., Fry, D., Mwadiwa, T., Elizalde, A., Izumi, N., Baago-Rasmussen, L., and Maternowska, C.M., Risk Factors for Emotional and Physical Violence and Associated Health Outcomes in Zimbabwe: A nationally representative household cluster survey. *Forthcoming*.
- 35 Community perceptions of safety are linked with increasing risks of bullying, see for example: Bacchini, D., Esposito, G., & Affuso, G. (2009). Social Experience and School Bullying. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 19(1), 17-32.
- 36 Pertaining to VAC in the home, see: Pells, K., Wilson, E., & Hang, N.T.T. (2015). Negotiating Agency in Cases of Intimate Partner Violence in Vietnam. *Global public health*, 1-14.
- 37 Teachers remain silent out of concern to maintain their own positions of authority. See: Horton, P. (2011). *School Bullying and Power Relations in Vietnam*. Linköping, Sweden: Linköping University.
- 38 Save the Children. (2015). *I piccolo schiavi invisibili: Le giovani vittime di tratta e sfruttamento*. Rome: Save the Children Italia.
- 39 Early violence experiences before the age of 13 were a risk for further and different types of violence for children and adolescents: Mwadiwa, T., Fry, D., Chigiji, H., Elizalde, A., Izumi, N., Baago-Rasmussen, L., and Maternowska, C.M. Risk Factors for Sexual Violence against Children and Associated Health Outcomes in Zimbabwe: A household cluster survey. *Forthcoming*; and Chigiji, H., Fry, D., Mwadiwa, T., Elizalde, A., Izumi, N., Baago-Rasmussen, L., and Maternowska, C.M., Risk Factors for Emotional and Physical Violence and Associated Health Outcomes in Zimbabwe: A nationally representative household cluster survey. *Forthcoming*.

- 40** Witnessing domestic violence is also a risk factor for bullying, see for example: Baldry, A. (2003). Bullying in schools and exposure to domestic violence. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 27(7), 713-732.
- 41** Experiences of forced sexual debut are a risk factor for later violence experiences, see for example: World Health Organization (2005). *Multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence against women: Summary report of initial results on prevalence, health outcomes and women's responses*. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- 42** Yount, K. M., Higgins, E. M., VanderEnde, K. E., Krause, K. H., Minh, T. H., Schuler, S. R., & Anh, H. T. (2015). Men's Perpetration of Intimate Partner Violence in Vietnam: Gendered Social Learning and the Challenges of Masculinity. *Men and Masculinities*, 1097184X15572896.
- 43** Early violence is also a risk factor for adult IPV victimization. See, for example: General Statistics of Vietnam (GSO). (2010). *National study on domestic violence against women in Vietnam: Factsheet 2 violence against children and the impact of living in a violent household*. Hanoi: General Statistics of Vietnam.
- 44** United Nations & World Bank. (2005). *Preparing for the Future: Forward-looking strategies to promote gender equity*. Available at: http://www.vn.undp.org/content/dam/vietnam/docs/Publications/22102_5655_gp-e.pdf
- 45** In Peru this includes failure to do chores, see for example: Guerrero, G., & Rojas, V. (2016). *Understanding children's experience of violence at home in urban and rural Peru: A qualitative longitudinal study*. Florence: UNICEF Office of Research.
- 46** Stressors at the family level linked with mental and physical health of family members as well as economic difficulties. See, for example: Bardi, M., Borgognini-Tarli, S. M. (2001). A survey on parent-child conflict resolution: intrafamily violence in Italy, *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 25, 839-853.
- 47** Double orphanhood is a risk factor for girls, see: Kidman, R. & Palermo, T. (2015). The Relationship between Parental Presence and Child Sexual Violence: Evidence from thirteen countries in sub-Saharan Africa. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. In Zimbabwe, double orphanhood and maternal absence is a risk factor for sexual violence. See: Mwadiwa, T., Fry, D., Chigijji, H., Elizalde, A., Izumi, N., Baago-Rasmussen, L., and Maternowska, C.M. Risk factors for sexual violence against children and associated health outcomes in Zimbabwe: A household cluster survey. *Forthcoming*.
- 48** For boys, paternal death was significant for emotional violence. See: Mwadiwa, T., Fry, D., Chigijji, H., Elizalde, A., Izumi, N., Baago-Rasmussen, L., and Maternowska, C.M. Risk factors for sexual violence against children and associated health outcomes in Zimbabwe: A household cluster survey. *Forthcoming*.
- 49** Dube, R. (2013). *"She probably asked for it!" A Preliminary Study into Zimbabwean Societal Perceptions of Rape*. Harare: Research and Advocacy Unit.
- 50** For example, children of divorce &/or orphaned children in Viet Nam are at risk for emotional violence: Nguyen, H. T. (2006). Child Maltreatment in Vietnam: Prevalence and associated mental and physical health problems. (Doctor of Philosophy), Queensland University of Technology.
- 51** Italy: parent's own histories of abuse; Save the Children. (2011). *Children witnesses of gender violence in the domestic context*. Madrid: Save the Children.
- 52** Viet Nam: Problems or distrust among parents', alcohol misuse and gambling: Vu Thi Thanh Huong. *Children's and young people's perspectives on violence in the home: Evidence from Young Lives Viet Nam*. *Forthcoming*.
- 53** Vu Manh Loi (2015). *Data analysis of SAVY 1 and SAVY 2*. UNICEF.
- 54** For example, family communication: Anderson, J., & Villa, J. (2015). ENARES (National Survey on Social Relations): Selective analysis of the most relevant results to explain the "drivers" of violence affecting children in Peru.
- 55** Bianchi, D., & Moretti, E. (eds.) (2006). *Vite in bilico: indagine retrospettiva su maltrattamenti e abusi in età infantile*. Firenze: Istituto degli Innocenti.
- 56** Family isolation from others is a risk factor, see for example: Bianchi, D., & Moretti, E. (eds.) (2006). *Vite in bilico: indagine retrospettiva su maltrattamenti e abusi in età infantile*. Firenze: Istituto degli Innocenti.
- 57** Cavagnoud, R. and Mujica, J. (2011). "Mecanismos de explotación sexual de niñas y adolescentes en los alrededores del puerto fluvial de Pucallpa". *Antropologica* 29: Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- 58** See, for example, in Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and Collaborating Centre for Operational Research and Evaluation (CCORE) (2013). *National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents, 2011*. Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT) and ICF International (2012). *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2010-2011*. Calverton, Maryland: ZIMSTAT and ICF International Inc.; Viet Nam: GSO, UNICEF, & UNFPA (2011). *Giám sát thực trạng trẻ em và phụ nữ. Điều tra đánh giá các mục tiêu trẻ em và phụ nữ 2011 (Monitoring the situation of children and women. Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey)*.
- 59** On beliefs around violent discipline in Italy, see: Lansford, J. E., Alampay, L. P., Al-Hassan, S., Bacchini, D., Bombi, A. S., Bornstein, M. H. & Zelli, A. (2010). Corporal Punishment of Children in Nine Countries as a Function of Child Gender and Parent Gender. *International Journal of Pediatrics*, 2010.; Viet Nam, see: Cappa, C., & Dam, H. (2013). Prevalence of and Risk Factors for Violent Disciplinary Practices at Home in Viet Nam. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*.
- 60** Includes beliefs around masculinity, see for example: Rydstrom, H. (2006). Masculinity and Punishment Men's upbringing of boys in rural Vietnam. *Childhood*, 13(3), 329-348.
- 61** Also includes beliefs around the acceptance of violence, see for example: Shumba, A. (2007). Emotional Abuse in the Classroom: A cultural dilemma?, *Journal of Emotional Abuse*, 4, 139-149
- 62** Bianchi, D. & Moretti, E. (eds.) (2006). *Vite in bilico: indagine retrospettiva su maltrattamenti e abusi in età infantile*. Firenze: Istituto degli Innocenti
- 63** Horton, P., Lindholm, S. K., & Nguyen, T. H. (2015). Bullying the Meek: A conceptualisation of Vietnamese school bullying. *Research Papers in Education*, 30(5), 635-645, DOI: 10.1080/02671522.2015.1027728
- 64** Another example in which poorer children more likely to experience corporal punishment: Portela, M. J. O., & Pells, K. (2015). *Corporal Punishment in Schools: Longitudinal evidence from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam*. Innocenti Discussion Paper 2015-02. Florence: UNICEF Office of Research.
- 65** Victims of peer violence tend to be those who are seen as different, either especially smart or slow or of ethnic minority groups, see for example: INEI. (2016). *2015 Encuesta Nacional de Relaciones Sociales (ENARES)*. Lima: MIMP / INEI.
- 66** Examples include lack of empathy and moral "disengagement", see for example: Gini, G., Pozzoli, T., & Hauser, M. (2011). Bullies Have Enhanced Moral Competence to Judge Relative to Victims, But Lack Moral Compassion. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 50(5), 603-608.
- 67** Another example: Caravita, S., Gini, G., & Pozzoli, T. (2012). Main and Moderated Effects of Moral Cognition and Status on Bullying and Defending. *Aggressive Behavior*, 38(6), 456-468.
- 68** Cappa, C., & Dam, H. (2013). Prevalence of and Risk Factors for Violent Disciplinary Practices at Home in Viet Nam. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*.
- 69** Mwadiwa, T., Fry, D., Chigijji, H., Elizalde, A., Izumi, N., Baago-Rasmussen, L., and Maternowska, C.M. Risk factors for sexual violence against children and associated health outcomes in Zimbabwe: A household cluster survey. *Forthcoming*.
- 70** Cappa, C., & Dam, H. (2013). Prevalence of and Risk Factors for Violent Disciplinary Practices at Home in Viet Nam. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*.
- 71** Lansdown, G. (2004). *Evolving Capacities and Participation*. Prepared for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Child Protection Unit; Breinbauer, C. and M. Maddaleno (2005). "Promoting healthy behaviors in adolescents," in *Youth: Choices and Change*. pp. 262-264. Washington, DC: Pan American Health Organization (PAHO).
- 72** Breinbauer, C. and M. Maddaleno (2005). "Promoting healthy behaviors in adolescents," in *Youth: Choices and Change*. pp. 262-264. Washington, DC: Pan American Health Organization (PAHO). www.paho.org/English/DD/PUB/Youth.
- 73 Definitions of Bullying**
Italy: This study reports on administrative data. Emotional abuse was defined in this study as repeated and continuous psychological pressure, emotional blackmail, indifference, refusal, denigration and disparagement, which damages or inhibits the development of the child's fundamental cognitive-emotional capacities, such as intelligence, attention, perception and memory.
Viet Nam: Psychological aggression included being shouted at, yelled at, screamed at or called dumb, lazy or another name.
Peru: Psychological aggression at school was measured by a series of 12 questions, including questions asking if participants had ever been insulted, been called names, received offensive text messages, been locked up or threatened with beating or death.
Zimbabwe: Definition of emotional violence from National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents (NBSLEA): Emotional violence refers to insults, name-calling, isolation, humiliation, rejection, threats, belittlement and emotional indifference. Definition for IPV in Zimbabwe: Emotional violence by a partner was measured by asking participants if their spouse or partner ever did something to humiliate her in front of others, threatened to hurt or harm her, or insulted her or made her feel bad about herself.
- 74 Definitions of Sexual Violence**
Italy: Istat VAW: Among 16-70 year olds, experience of sexual violence before the age of 16 years included unwanted sexual touching and/or forced sexual activity.
Istat VAW: Among 16-24 year olds, lifetime experience of sexual violence included forced sex or other types of sexual activity, attempted forced sex or sexual activity, partner violence and/or forced sexual touching. Respondents were also asked an open-ended question about experiencing any other form of sexual violence.
Vite in Bilico: Among 19-60 year olds, experience of sexual violence before the age of 18 years included exhibitionism, verbal harassment, exposure to pornography, touching and acts of masturbation, attempted penetration and/or penetration.
Zimbabwe: NBSLEA (National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents): Among 18-24 year olds, experience of sexual violence before the age of 18 years included unwanted sexual touching (kissing, grabbing or fondling), attempted forced sex, physically forced sex and/or pressured sex through the use of threats, luring, harassment or tricking.
Zimbabwe: DHS: Among 15-19 year olds, lifetime experience of sexual violence included forced sex and/or forced sexual activity.
Peru: ENARES: Among 12-17 year olds, lifetime experience of sexual violence included being forced to touch someone else, experiencing unwanted touching and/or being threatened or forced into having sex.