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.

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

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, inter-personal 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
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.

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 ‘magumaguma’ 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 response\(^{19}\)
- Harmful cultural rites and religious doctrines relating to hierarchy, authority, gender, and punishment\(^{20-21}\)
- Quality of school relationships including lack of school connectedness, teachers reinforcing or perpetrating violence\(^{22-23}\)
- Poor school governance including lack of adequate training in pedagogical skills and child development, under-resourced schools and teachers, unequal application of school rules\(^{25-26}\)
- 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)\(^{27-28}\)

COMMUNITY RISK FACTORS

- Urban and/or rural environments may have varying risks of violence\(^{29-31}\)
- Harmful cultural practices and/or social norms that support violence, including taboos\(^{32-33}\)
- Quality of community relationships such as the lack of community connectedness and trust; perceptions of community safety\(^{34-35}\)
- Code of silence around all types of violence\(^{36-37}\)

INTERPERSONAL RISK FACTORS

- Early experience of violence and conflict before adolescence, including witnessing domestic violence\(^{38-43}\)
- Sex selection\(^{44}\)
- Family stress including poverty and unemployment\(^{45-46}\)
- Family structure including marital status, parental absence, double-orphanhood\(^{47-50}\)
- Family context such as parents’ histories of abuse, substance use, education, occupation(s), financial status, illness/health\(^{51-52}\)
- Quality of peer relationships inclusion/exclusion from same age networks\(^{53}\)
- Quality of family relationships inclusion/exclusion from family/kin networks\(^{54-55}\)
- Isolation or degree of family isolation\(^{56}\)

INDIVIDUAL RISK FACTORS

- Beliefs about gender roles or the acceptability of punishment and violence\(^{58-61}\)
- Vulnerability due to age, ethnicity, or disability\(^{62-65}\)
- Behavioural problems such as a lack of empathy and externalising these behaviours among children\(^{66-67}\)
- Biological sex\(^{68}\)

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.

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* 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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Risk Factors for Emotional Violence:</th>
<th>Protective Factors:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experiencing physical violence before the age of 13</td>
<td>Feeling they can talk to their family about important things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not attending school</td>
<td>Feeling their family cares about them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal orphanhood before the age of 13</td>
<td>Feeling teachers care about them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness of adult in the home (&gt; 3 months in the last year)</td>
<td>Feeling people in the community can be trusted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age: 13- to 14-year-olds at significantly higher risk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*All of the factors listed in the table are statistically significant from multivariate regression analyses controlling for age and socio-economic status.


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

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.

**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF VIOLENCE</th>
<th>COUNTRY/STUDY</th>
<th>AGE GROUP</th>
<th>SAMPLE SIZE</th>
<th>PREVALENCE (percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ever beaten by</td>
<td>Peru, ENARES</td>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>Females n=809 Males n=793</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>someone who lives</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>12-17</td>
<td>Females n=715 Males n=785</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with you, including</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attempted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beatings, with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>objects (belt,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rope, stick,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever experienced</td>
<td>Peru, ENARES</td>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>Females n=809 Males n=793</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peer-to-peer</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>12-17</td>
<td>Females n=715 Males n=785</td>
<td>35*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physical violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>victimisation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever hit another</td>
<td>Peru, ENARES</td>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>Females n=809 Males n=793</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>classmate or</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>12-17</td>
<td>Females n=715 Males n=785</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pupil at school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical violence</td>
<td>Zimbabwe,</td>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>Females n=567 Males n=589</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by a parent or</td>
<td>NBSLEA, 2011</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>61*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative prior</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to age 18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical violence</td>
<td>Zimbabwe,</td>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>Females n=567 Males n=589</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by an authority</td>
<td>NBSLEA, 2011</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>figure prior to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age 18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some prevalence estimates are weighted (e.g. NBSLEA). For detailed description of definitions, statistics and confidence intervals, see accompanying study reports. * Notes statistically significant difference between prevalence estimates for males and females at p<.05.
**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF VIOLENCE</th>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>STUDY</th>
<th>AGE GROUP</th>
<th>SAMPLE SIZE</th>
<th>PREVALENCE (percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Witnessing family fights</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>ENARES, 2015</td>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>Females n=809, Males n=793</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological violence at home**</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>ENARES, 2015</td>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>Females n=809, Males n=793</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual violence by a family member or kin before the age of 16</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>WW Survey (ISTAT) 2014</td>
<td>17-70</td>
<td>Females n=24,761</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>65</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of young people aged 18 - 24 reporting first sexually violent event prior to the age of 18 was perpetrated by a relative</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>NBSLEA, 2011</td>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>Females n=186, Males n=55</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifetime prevalence of physical violence by a parent or adult relative prior to age 18</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>NBSLEA, 2011</td>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>Females n=567, Males n=589</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 sworn 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.

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**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)

**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)

**ZIMBABWE**

Similarly, in Zimbabwe, 63% of children age 1 to 14 experienced psychological aggression or physical punishment during the last month. (MICS Zimbabwe 2014)

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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 stresses 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.


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

Prevalence of Bullying Definitions of bullying vary by country. 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)


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…


A DECREASING TRENDS 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.


* Recall period noted in HBSC: ‘past couple months’
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


NOTES AND REFERENCES


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.


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.partners-gef.org/content/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) “Prefero 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 nature 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. Rydstrøm, H. (2006). Masculinity and Learning, 1(1), 77-86.


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 Violence against Women. Harare: Research and Advocacy Unit.


22 Weak school connectedness is a risk factor for being hurt or injured, see for example: Vu Manh Lai. (2015). Data analysis of SAVY and SAVY 2. UNICEF.


24 Negative perception of teacher relationships is a risk factor for bullying, 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.

25 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 Thí. (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.


27 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.

28 Cultural practices such as cirhnum in Zimbabwe where an elder sister’s or brother’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.


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 govern. Vnt (public) schools were more 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.


34 Early violence experiences before the age of 13 were a risk for further and different types of violence for children in Vietnam. For example: Dube, R., Frigerio, T., Fry, D., Chigiji, H., Elizalde, A., Izuimi, 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.


46 Stressors at the family level linked with mental and physical health of family members as well as economic difficulties. See, for example: Bardt, M., Borongnini-Tarli, S. M. (2001). A survey on parent-child conflict resolution: informal strategies of violence in Italy, Child Abuse & Neglect, 25, 839-855.


53 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.

54 Emotional abuse included being shouted at, yelled at, screamed at or called dumb, lazy or another name.


59 Among 18-24 year olds, experience of sexual violence before the age of 16 years included unwanted sexual touching and/or forced sexual activity.

60 Among 12-17 year olds, lifetime experience of sexual violence included forced sex or other types of sexual activity, attempted forced sex or other types of sexual activity, partner violence and/or forced sexual touching. Respondents who were also asked an open-ended question about experiencing any other form of sexual violence.

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, 139-155.


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. (2015) Encuesta Nacional de Relaciones Sociales (ENARES). Lima: MIMP / INEI.


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.

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