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.

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

The UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

VIOLENCE CHILDREN

Office of Research - Innocenti
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’.

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.

**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 17,373 in 2016, an increase of 45% within just the last year. In 2016, 6,561 unaccompanied foreign children were untraceable.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
- Harmful cultural rites and religious doctrines relating to hierarchy, authority, gender, and punishment
- Quality of school relationships including lack of school connectedness, teachers reinforcing or perpetrating violence
- Poor school governance including lack of adequate training in pedagogical skills and child development, under-resourced schools and teachers, unequal application of school rules
- 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)

COMMUNITY RISK FACTORS

- Urban and/or rural environments may have varying risks of violence
- Harmful cultural practices and/or social norms that support violence, including taboos
- Quality of community relationships such as the lack of community connectedness and trust; perceptions of community safety
- Code of silence around all types of violence

INTERPERSONAL RISK FACTORS

- Early experience of violence and conflict before adolescence, including witnessing domestic violence
- Sex selection
- Family stress including poverty and unemployment
- Family structure including marital status, parental absence, double-orphanhood
- Family context such as parents’ histories of abuse, substance use, education, occupation(s), financial status, illness/health
- Quality of peer relationships inclusion/exclusion from same age networks
- Quality of family relationships inclusion/exclusion from family/kin networks
- Isolation or degree of family isolation

INDIVIDUAL RISK FACTORS

- Beliefs about gender roles or the acceptability of punishment and violence
- Vulnerability due to age, ethnicity, or disability
- Behavioural problems such as a lack of empathy and externalising these behaviours among children
- Biological sex

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.

There is no global consensus around categorising 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Adolescence (9)</td>
<td>Pre-Adolescence (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Adolescence (11)</td>
<td>Early Adolescence (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Adolescence (13)</td>
<td>Middle Adolescence (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Adolescence (15)</td>
<td>Late Adolescence (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth (17)</td>
<td>Youth (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Adulthood (19)</td>
<td>Young Adulthood (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Adulthood (21)</td>
<td>Young Adulthood (22)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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)*

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 they can talk to their family about important things
- Feeling 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.


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.  

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.

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.

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.

![Risk of Violent Discipline Chart]

<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 someone who lives with you, including attempted beatings, with objects (belt, rope, stick, etc.)</td>
<td>Peru, ENARES 2015</td>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>Females n=809 Males n=793</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12-17</td>
<td>Females n=715 Males n=785</td>
<td>54*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever experienced peer-to-peer physical violence victimisation at school</td>
<td>Peru, ENARES 2015</td>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>Females n=809 Males n=793</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12-17</td>
<td>Females n=715 Males n=785</td>
<td>43*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever hit another classmate or pupil at school</td>
<td>Peru, ENARES 2015</td>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>Females n=809 Males n=793</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12-17</td>
<td>Females n=715 Males n=785</td>
<td>35*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical violence by a parent or adult relative prior to age 18</td>
<td>Zimbabwe, 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>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>Females n=567 Males n=589</td>
<td>61*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical violence by an authority figure prior to age 18</td>
<td>Zimbabwe, NBSLEA, 2011</td>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>Females n=567 Males n=589</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>Females n=567 Males n=589</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>MALE 56 FEMALE 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Females n=715 Males n=785</td>
<td>MALE 61 FEMALE 63</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>MALE 57 FEMALE 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Females n=715 Males n=785</td>
<td>MALE 60* FEMALE 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual violence by a family member or kin before the age of 16</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>VAW Survey (ISTAT) 2014</td>
<td>17-70</td>
<td>Females n=24,761</td>
<td>MALE 9 FEMALE 11</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>MALE 15* FEMALE 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life-time 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>MALE 61* FEMALE 61*</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 swore 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, 18% of women reported that they had been physically punished in the family environment during their childhood. (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)

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.

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 hace 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 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.


* 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

Suggested citation:

PAGE 8
ENOTES 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 sex work may be more at risk for abuse and exploitation. See for example the work of INEI & IOM. (2009).


7 In Peru the ‘masculine’ trait of physical strength is highly valued, see for example: Rojas, V. (2011) “Prefiero que me pegan con palo… las notas son sagradas”. Perceptions about discipline and authority in an escuela pública in the Perú. Lima: GRADE / Niños del Milenio, Documento de Trabajo 70.

8 On the perception of power between men and women, see for example: Mabuse, L. (2013). Consequences of Violence in Schools in Zimbabwe. International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 3(15), 94-103.


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.


22 Weak school connectedness is a risk factor for being hurt or injured, see for example: Yu, M., & Lin, D. (2015). Data analysis of SAVY 1 and SAVY 2. UNICEF.


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 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 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 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.

29 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.

30 Cultural practices such as chirimu in Zimbabwe where an elder sister’s or brother’s husband can fiddle 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.


32 Community perceptions of safety are linked with increasing risks of bullying, see for example: Bacchini, D., Esposito, G., & Affuso, G. (2009). Social Experience and Relational Violence and Associated Health Outcomes in Zimbabwe: A nationally representative household cluster survey. Forthcoming.

33 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.

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