Preventing Violence Against Children and How This Contributes to Building Stronger Economies

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PREVENTING VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN
and how this contributes to building stronger economies

unicef
This paper was written by Dr. Deborah Fry, University of Edinburgh to inform and stimulate discussion at the 7-9 November 2016 High-Level Meeting on Cooperation for Child Rights in the Asia-Pacific Region. The views expressed are not necessarily those of UNICEF.

**About the Author**

Dr. Deborah Fry is a Lecturer in Child Protection at the University of Edinburgh where she leads research on Preventing Violence in Childhood and also co-leads the Safe Inclusive Schools Network as part of the Social Justice Research Cluster. She was also the lead researcher for the 2012 systematic review on the prevalence, incidence and consequences of child maltreatment and a co-investigator on the burden of violence against children study, both for the East Asia and Pacific Region. In addition, Dr. Fry is currently the lead academic partner for the UNICEF Multi-country Study on the Drivers of Violence affecting Children and is also leading a team conducting a secondary analysis of the Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in the Asia-Pacific Region exploring factors related to parenting. Dr. Fry is further engaged in evaluating a series of school-based interventions to prevent child sexual abuse (in Switzerland and the Philippines) and recently completed a prestigious Marie Curie Fellowship from the European Commission conducting Scotland’s first longitudinal study on teacher trainees and their confidence and practices in handling a range of safeguarding issues in schools. Dr. Fry is also engaged in postgraduate teaching and is co-Programme Director for the MSc in Education and led the development of the MSc in International Child Protection Research at the University of Edinburgh.

In addition to her PhD in Child Protection, Deborah has a Masters in Public Health from Columbia University and a Masters degree in International Relations from Syracuse University. Dr. Fry was a Fulbright Research Fellow at the ICDRR,B in Bangladesh from 2001-2002.

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**Cover:** In Malaysia, a girl holding a doll smiles in a primary school that provides learning opportunities for vulnerable children.

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Acronyms and abbreviations

ASEAN  Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CRC  Convention on the Rights of the Child
DHS  Demographic and Health Survey
GDP  gross domestic product
ICT  information and communication technologies
IPV  intimate partner violence
MDG  Millennium Development Goal
MICS  Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
NACG  National Coordination Groups to End Violence Against Children
PAF  population attributable fractions
RPA EVAC  Regional Plan of Action on the Elimination of Violence Against Children
RR  relative risk
SAARC  South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAIEVAC  South Asia Institute to End Violence against Children
SDG  Sustainable Development Goal
UNESCO  United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF  United Nations Children’s Fund
VAC  violence against children
WHO  World Health Organization

PREVENTING VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN
Executive summary

Children’s right to protection from all forms of violence is established in international law. There should be no need to justify Government action to prevent violence based on public health or economic arguments.

Nevertheless, despite progress made in the 10 years following the Secretary General’s landmark report on Violence Against Children (2006),1 violence remains a remarkably common experience in the lives of children – so much so, that it is virtually a norm. Recent estimates suggest that more than 1 billion children, or half of all the children in the world, are exposed to violence every year.2 The greatest global burden of this violence is found in the Asia-Pacific region.

Public attention is often focused on extreme or sensationalized forms of violence, and the fact that children endure violence on a routine basis in everyday settings – within their families, at home, in schools – is frequently overlooked or ignored. Some forms of abuse may not be visible to others or even regarded as forms of violence, but the impact on the child can be equally severe or disabling as direct physical assault on the child.

Often, when violence becomes routine it is socially accepted as a normal part of growing up, and may be condoned in legislation.3 However, a growing body of scientific research has established that experiencing or witnessing violence in childhood may have long-term consequences on the wellbeing of the individual; and given its scale, in aggregate it significantly undermines the social and economic development of communities and nations.

This research has found that:

• There is an empirical association between the experience of violence and negative outcomes into adulthood, showing long-term impacts on physical health and health risk behaviours; mental health; victimization and perpetration of violence; and education and employment.
• Children’s introduction to violence typically occurs when they are young, often through enduring corporal punishment or exposure to domestic violence. With it being considered a normal way of interacting with others, this behavioural script may contribute to the intergenerational transmission of violence.
• Experience of violence may permanently impact the architecture and chemistry of the developing brain, affecting learning and undermining behavioural, social and emotional functioning as children grow into adulthood.

“Cognitive capital” – representing the complete set of intellectual skills, nurtured primarily in childhood, that determine human capabilities – drives global economies now and into the future.4 However, the impact of violence during childhood on this capital in the Asia-Pacific region is now translating into the loss of billions of dollars each year. This burden is estimated to cost the region’s economies about 2 per cent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP).5 Violence prevention is an investment that can bring important socio-economic returns by:

• Reducing expenditure on response services;
• Impacting positively on health;
• Improving educational outcomes; and
• Reducing intergenerational violence, adult criminality and juvenile offending.

Over the past 10 years, there has been a growing consensus from experts in a number of fields – such as child protection, public health and law enforcement – that violence against children can be substantially reduced especially when evidence-based interventions are implemented at scale, and systems of governance are well-managed. Investing in preventing violence against children is pivotal to enhancing their well-being and building productive economies.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) include ending violence against children as a distinct target. Balanced and integrated action in line with these SDGs is necessary to address the underlying risk factors driving violence in society.

1 Pinheiro, 2006.
2 Hillis et al., 2016.
4 Sampson, forthcoming.
5 Fang et al., 2015a.
According to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), “violence against children” refers to “all forms of physical or mental violence, injury and abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse.”

**Physical Violence** against children includes all corporal punishment and all other forms of torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment as well as physical bullying and hazing by adults or by other children. ‘Corporal’ (or ‘physical’) punishment is defined as any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light. Most involves hitting (‘smacking’, ‘slapping’, ‘spanking’) children with the hand or with an implement – a whip, stick, belt, shoe, wooden spoon, etc. But it can also involve: kicking, shaking or throwing children, scratching, pinching, biting, pulling hair or boxing ears, caning, forcing children to stay in uncomfortable positions, burning, scalding or forced ingestion.

**Sexual Violence** comprises any contact or non-contact sexual activities imposed by an adult on a child against which the child is entitled to protection by criminal law. This includes: a) The inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful or psychologically harmful sexual activity; b) The use of children in commercial sexual exploitation; c) The use of children in audio or visual images of child sexual abuse; and d) Child prostitution, sexual slavery, sexual exploitation in travel and tourism, trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation (within and between countries), sale of children for sexual purposes and forced marriage. Sexual activities are also considered as abuse when committed against a child by another child if the offender is significantly older than the victim or uses power, threats or other means of pressure. Consensual sexual activities between children are not considered as sexual abuse if the children are older than the age limit defined by the State Party.

**Emotional Violence** is often described as psychological maltreatment, mental abuse, verbal abuse and emotional abuse or neglect. This can include: a) All forms of persistent harmful interactions with a child; b) Scaring, terrorizing and threatening; exploiting and corrupting; spurning and rejecting; isolating, ignoring and favouritism; c) Denying emotional responsiveness; neglecting mental health, medical and educational needs; d) Insults, name-calling, humiliation, belittling, ridiculing and hurting a child’s feelings; e) Exposure to domestic violence; f) Placement in solitary confinement, isolation or humiliating or degrading conditions of detention; and g) Psychological bullying and hazing by adults or other children, including via information and communication technologies (ICTs) such as mobile phones and the Internet (known as ‘cyberbullying”).

**Neglect** means the failure to meet children’s physical and psychological needs, protect them from danger or obtain medical, birth registration or other services when those responsible for their care have the means, knowledge and access to services to do so. It includes: a) Physical neglect: failure to protect a child from harm, including through lack of supervision, or to provide a child with basic necessities including adequate food, shelter, clothing and basic medical care; b) Psychological or emotional neglect, including lack of any emotional support and love, chronic inattention, caregivers being ‘psychologically unavailable’ by overlooking young children’s cues and signals, and exposure to intimate partner violence or drug or alcohol abuse; c) Neglect of a child’s physical or mental health: withholding essential medical care; d) Educational neglect: failure to comply with laws requiring caregivers to secure their children’s education through attendance at school or otherwise; and e) Abandonment.

**BOX 1: Definitions of types of violence against children**

There are several commitments that the region’s leaders can make now that will result in a massive difference. These include:

- Ensuring national laws comprehensively prohibit all forms of violence against children in all settings;
- Publically challenging the social acceptance of violence, and engaging with all levels of society on positive alternatives;
- Leading the development and implementation of a comprehensive national agenda for violence prevention; and
- Collecting data to monitor progress and deepen the understanding of the effects of violence against children.

A boy embraces his father in Papua New Guinea. UNICEF supports the involvement of the Government and partners in providing basic protection for children. © UNICEF/UNI42625/Pirozzi
Experience of violence in childhood is so common and pervasive, that it is virtually a norm. Public attention is often focused only on extreme or sensationalized forms of violence, and the fact that children endure violence on a routine basis in everyday settings is often overlooked or ignored. Recently published estimates show that approximately 64 per cent of all children aged 2-17 in Asia, or over 714 million children, experienced at least one form of severe violence, including severe physical, emotional or sexual violence, bullying, or witnessing violence, in the past year (see Figure 1).

If more moderate forms of violence are included – such as spanking, slapping in the face, hitting or shaking – this figure increases to some 80 per cent of children in Asia, or around 888 million children.6

Violent discipline is the most common form of violence against children. Globally, 8 of 10 children aged 2-14 years old are subjected to some form of violent discipline at home.7 Around 7 in 10 experience psychological aggression, while 6 in 10 experience physical punishment. In Asia-Pacific, comparable data on violent discipline is available for 10 of the 32 countries. It reveals a pattern that reflects global prevalence estimates (see Figure 2).

Figure 1: Global past-year estimates of numbers of children (2-17 years old) exposed to at least one type of severe violence (sexual, physical or emotional violence, bullying or witnessing violence)

Figure 2: Percentage of children (2-14 years old) who experience any violent discipline (psychological aggression and/or physical punishment) in the home

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6 Hillis et al., 2016.  
7 UNICEF, 2014c.
When violence is routine, it is often socially accepted, and considered a normal part of growing up. Violence is learned in childhood, through the experience of corporal punishment from caregivers, witnessing violence in the family, through bullying and aggression in schoolyards and in other settings. This may have lifelong effects, as violence is internalized as a normal method of interacting with others.

A review of literature on physical punishment highlighted that the discourse around corporal punishment is that no matter how severe, it is ‘normal’ when done in the name of discipline because “[n]ormal parents cannot be abusive; they have a duty to punish their children, in private by administering ‘loving smacks’ and ‘reasonable chastisement’.”

A longitudinal study that included research in the region found that the use of corporal punishment and mothers’ and fathers’ belief in the necessity of corporal punishment significantly predicted the use of violent discipline.²

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¹ Save the Children Sweden, 2005, p.5.
² Lansford et al., 2015.
Many children also experience emotional violence and neglect. A meta-analysis of prevalence estimates from six countries in the Asia-Pacific\(^{10}\) found that emotional violence was reported by nearly one in three girls and one in four boys (see Figure 3) with similarly high estimates found for neglect and witnessing domestic violence in the home (also a form of emotional violence, see Box 1). These estimates do not include the violent discipline statistics presented in Figure 2, but show that other forms of violence against children are also prevalent. Recently completed Violence Against Children Surveys from Cambodia and Lao PDR also point to the common occurrence of physical and emotional violence against children perpetrated by parents/caregivers, adults, peers and intimate partners.\(^{11}\) Additional national studies on violence against children are nearly completed for the Philippines and Bhutan, and are being planned in China.

**Figure 3:** Prevalence of violence against children from 14 countries in the Asia-Pacific region, meta-analysis of 122 estimates,\(^{12}\) corrected for methodological factors and sample size weighted\(^{13}\)

Source: Calculation done specifically for this paper using raw data from the East Asia and Pacific Regional Costing Study led by Fang, X and Fry, D. (see Fang et al., 2015a).

Neglect is an under-researched area but one that has significant implications for children’s social and cognitive development. The scarcity of data is due in part to problems associated with measuring it. In contrast to other forms of violence, child neglect is committed by purposeful omission, making it difficult to observe in practice.\(^{14}\) In countries where national surveillance systems are in place, neglect is typically the most common form of abuse reported to child protection agencies.\(^{15}\) However, surveys that include data on neglect have been conducted in only a handful of countries in the region. Studies in China, for example, have shown that 67 per cent of parents with a 3 to 6-year-old child emotionally neglected their children in the previous year\(^{16}\) and that 28 per cent of 3 to 6-year-olds in 25 Chinese cities experienced neglect.\(^{17}\)

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\(^{10}\) China, Japan, Republic of Korea, Philippines, Thailand and Viet Nam.

\(^{11}\) See: Ministry of Women’s Affairs, UNICEF Cambodia and CDC, 2014; Lao Statistics Bureau, NCMC and UNICEF, 2016.

\(^{12}\) Calculations based on published data from 2000-2012 on physical violence (40 studies), sexual violence (40 studies), emotional violence (14 studies), neglect (12 studies) and witnessing domestic violence (16 studies). Data from the following countries are included: Cambodia, China, Japan, Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, Thailand, Viet Nam, Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Marshall Islands, New Caledonia and Viet Nam.

\(^{13}\) Separate meta-analyses conducted for each type of violence and corrected for methodological variations that were significant at 15 per cent level (see Fang et al., 2015a for more on calculations).

\(^{14}\) UNICEF, 2014c.


\(^{16}\) Cui et al., 2010.

\(^{17}\) Pang et al., 2005.
School-based violence in the form of bullying is another common form of violence against children in the region affecting one in three children. The experience of being bullied is rarely a one-off experience, but an experience that many children endure on a routine basis throughout their school years. Data from the Global School-Based Health Surveys from 25 countries in the region highlight a median bullying prevalence estimate of 33 per cent – or, in other words, approximately one in three students in the region report experiencing bullying on at least one or more days in the past month (see Figure 4).

**Figure 4:** Percentage of students from countries in the region who were bullied on one or more days during the past 30 days

Sexual harassment or taunting is often experienced on an everyday basis by girls. Such experiences can transform schools into hostile environments, and may interfere with girls’ right to education and also negatively impact their well-being. For example, initial findings from the qualitative fieldwork for the national violence against children study in Bhutan found that there were reports of sexual harassment or unwanted sexual acts in every district visited by the research teams. A regional review of violence against children in educational settings in South Asian countries also found that sexual harassment was prevalent throughout the region and was perpetrated by both educators and peers.

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18 NCWC, 2015.
19 UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia (ROSA), 2016.
Sexual violence against boys is also prevalent. New evidence suggests that boys are affected by sexual violence at levels higher than previously thought. For example, recently completed violence against children studies in Cambodia (2014), Philippines (2016) and Lao PDR (2016) show significantly higher sexual violence prevalence amongst boys than girls. This East Asian data is surprising in relation to research conducted in other parts of the world, for reasons that are unclear. But sexual violence against boys is clearly widespread across the region. The United Nations Multi-country study on Men and Violence in the Asia-Pacific region found that from 6 per cent (Indonesia-rural) to 37 per cent (Bangladesh-urban) of adult men reported experiencing sexual violence before the age of 18 (i.e., forced or coerced into sex or had their genitals/buttocks touched or were forced to touch someone else’s against their will), including in the home. In some parts of Afghanistan, for example, ‘Bachabazi’ is practiced which is where a powerful individual keeps young boys with them for sexual exploitation. Boys’ experience of sexual violence is clearly an area that requires greater attention: of the 43 countries globally that collect data on sexual violence through regular Demographic and Health Surveys, only four include experience of males in this research.

20 Ministry of Women’s Affairs, UNICEF Cambodia, US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2014; and Lao Statistics Bureau, NCMC & UNICEF, 2016. This finding has also emerged in the preliminary results of the national Baseline Study on Violence against Children in the Philippines. See for example: http://www.unicef.org/philippines/VACFactsheet.pdf
21 Fulu et al., 2013.
22 Saramad et al., 2002.
A growing body of scientific research has now established the long-term, detrimental impacts of violence against children on both the individual and society. Early psychological research found that for children, early experiences of caregiver relationships – whether loving and secure or not – shaped patterns of behaviour and relationships with others later in life. Thanks to rapid advances in the field of neuroscience, researchers today are looking to the field of biology to provide explanations for what had been previously understood in psychological, emotional and behavioural terms. Toxic stress caused by childhood experiences of violence, abuse and neglect, produces high levels of cortisol, causing the body to be in a constant state of high stress. This toxic stress disrupts the process of brain development and can even cause changes in brain architecture and chemical activity, that have lifelong impacts.

Recent studies from the region have found that all forms of violence against children – emotional, sexual, and physical violence – have a significant negative impact on children’s brain development. For example, exposure to parental verbal abuse has been found to be associated with alterations in the left side of the brain, which is important for language and speech. A similar study found that the processes in the brain responsible for the regulation of energy, balance, memory, learning and motor control were significantly lower in child sexual abuse victims than other children who did not experience abuse. The younger the brain, the more damaging the effects of toxic stress. Negative stress during this period, even moderate stress, will have a broad impact, particularly on learning and memory, as evidenced in several case-control studies from the region. Furthermore, the brain undergoes a new phase of development in adolescence; experience of toxic stress and trauma can cause more problems for attention span and impulse and emotional control, including of sexual behaviours, as these parts of the brain are developing rapidly during this period.

25 Tomoda et al., 2011.
26 Tomoda et al., 2009b; Huang et al., 2006; Allard, 2009.
27 Tomoda et al., 2009c; Sheu et al., 2010.
28 Tomoda et al., 2011.
29 Huang et al., 2006.
30 ibid; Allard, 2009.
31 Coates, 2010.
Experience of neglect can also disrupt the developing brain. “Serve and return” relationships between children and caregivers – that is, where a parent or caregiver is responsive to a child’s signals and needs – are vital in the construction of neural circuits to build healthy brain architecture. There is substantial evidence that young children who are chronically deprived of responsive care bear the burden of a range of adverse consequences. These include subsequent cognitive delays, impairments in executive functioning, and disruptions in the body’s stress response. Over time, persistent activation of these stress response systems can lead to academic struggles, difficulties in social adjustment, mental health problems, and even chronic physical disease. Such deprivation or neglect can cause more harm to a child’s development than overt physical abuse.32

Harsh forms of corporal punishment can also cause visible harm to children’s brains. In one 2009 study,33 researchers found children who were regularly subjected to corporal punishment had less grey matter in certain areas of the prefrontal cortex – a finding that was linked to linked to depression, addiction and other mental health disorders. The more grey matter available in this decision-making, thought-processing part of the brain, the better an individual is able to evaluate rewards and consequences. Thus, the more children are physically punished for a lack of self-control, the less self-control they are likely to develop.34

Violence prevention is a prerequisite for building cognitive capital. The nervous system responds to threats of violence during childhood by triggering the stress response, and by directing energy and nutrients away from the brain. The high levels of stress experienced by children who endure violence undermine the body’s ability to metabolize key nutrients that support healthy brain development and cognitive performance.35 In order to restore regular brain development, the brain must detect features of a safe environment. This process, known as ‘neuroception’, highlights how violence depletes the cognitive capital with implications that last into adulthood.36

Such neuroscientific explanations correspond with empirical evidence on the association of violence with negative outcomes related to physical health and health risk behaviour; mental health; victimization and perpetration of violence; and education and employment. For example, bodily response such as increased heart rate and shortness of breath are the result of the nervous system responses to high levels of stress for extended periods of time from experiencing or witnessing violence. This constant stress, over time, becomes detrimental to the body and will become normalised even when no stress is present. This results in a situation where individuals may respond to everyday situations with aggression or anger or see aggression in others where there is none. This creates adverse chronic stress that has negative health and well-being outcomes throughout life.37

A meta-analysis of quality studies in East Asia and the Pacific have estimated the statistical associations between the various forms of violence and negative outcomes. While such studies cannot prove causation, the associations are nevertheless strong and compelling. Research shows that young people in the region who have experienced violence are more likely to engage in high-risk sexual behaviours, such as having more sexual partners in their lifetime, more concurrent sexual partners, and unintended pregnancies.38 Adolescents and adults in the region who have experienced child sexual and/or physical violence have a median fourfold increased risk of suicide ideation and attempts than children without these experiences.39

There is also a link between experiences of violence in childhood and increased mental disorders in adolescence and later adult life. Between 7-27 per cent of the proportion of mental disorders in the East Asia and Pacific region are attributed to having experienced some form of violence during childhood (see Figure 5). There is also increasing and robust evidence from the region on the links between violence during childhood and subsequent intimate partner violence victimization and perpetration later in life.

33 Tomoda et al., 2009c.
34 Maddahi et al., 2012.
36 ibid.
37 Patel & Taylor, 2011; Tomoda et al., 2009a; Teicher & Samson, 2016.
38 Fry, McCoy & Swales, 2012.
39 ibid.
Studies show increased negative outcomes for children who have experienced multiple types of violence. In Malaysia, for example, 22 per cent of secondary students reported multiple types of victimization, with 3 per cent experiencing all four types: physical, sexual, emotional, and neglect. Global studies highlight that multiple types of victimization increase the negative outcomes for children, adolescents and adults.

Around 25 per cent of mental disorders in the East Asia and Pacific region are linked to childhood experiences of emotional violence.

Figure 5: Proportion of mental disorders in the region attributable to having experienced violence during childhood, by type of violence experienced and gender

Source: Calculation done specifically for this paper using raw data from the East Asia and Pacific Regional Costing Study led by Fang, X and Fry, D. (see Fang et al., 2015a for study information and meta-analyses by World Bank and WHO sub-regions).

Calculations use population attributable fractions (PAFs), which are used to estimate the proportion of morbidity or mortality attributable to a risk factor. All PAF formulas require: 1) Relative risk (RR) estimate of a disease or outcome (e.g., mental disorder) given exposure to a risk factor (type of violence), or an odds ratio which can be converted into an approximate estimate of the RR; and 2) a measure of prevalence. These calculations are based on 47 studies from the East Asia and Pacific region, which control for methodological variation and are sample size weighted.

Fry, McCoy & Swales, 2012.
Choo et al., 2011.
See for example the Adverse Childhood Experiences studies: https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/acestudy/resources.html
Violence against children has important social and economic consequences. Studies from the region are starting to show that if governments want to significantly impact the health and well-being of their populations and enhance economic and social development, the prevention of violence against children may be a critical step to meet global development targets.

This burden of violence against children is borne not only by affected children and their families, but also by society at large. This is reflected in related costs for medical and child protection services, out-of-home care, lost labour productivity, incarceration and treatment of offenders, law enforcement responses, those incurred through prosecution of perpetrators within the judicial system, and contributions from community volunteers and civil society organizations. The burden of violence on children and adults is significant, but studies now show the potential opportunities and savings as a result of shifting the focus towards prevention.

**Investments in preventing violence in childhood can bring important socio-economic returns by:**

(i) Reducing expenditure on response services;
(ii) Impacting positively on health;
(iii) Improving learning and educational outcomes; and
(iv) Reducing intergenerational violence, adult criminality and juvenile offending.

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**The burden of violence against children is borne not only by affected children and their families, but also by society at large.**

**Violence prevention reduces expenditure on response services.** The handful of studies that have measured the incidence-based costs of violence against children all show the tremendous cost to public expenditure for child welfare services, special education, medical costs and psychological services. The World Bank highlights that early interventions yield higher returns as a preventive measure compared with remedial services later in life. Policies that seek to remedy violence incurred during childhood are much more costly than initial preventative investments during the early years. Furthermore, evidence shows that investments in strengthening child protection systems, including preventative elements, should reduce the incidence of child abuse in the intervention population and/or lower the rate at which incidence is increasing.

**Violence prevention impacts positively on health and productivity.** Several studies have highlighted the burden of violence against children on health and well-being and additionally, how prevention could reduce health and health risk behaviours. Data from the regional costing study in East Asia and the Pacific highlight how all forms of violence – physical, sexual, and emotional violence, neglect and witnessing domestic violence – bear a large burden on the proportion of negative health outcomes seen in the region.

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44 Fry, McCoy & Swales, 2012; Perezvieto et al., 2014.
45 See for example, Fang et al., 2012.
47 Desmond & Naicker, n.d.
Figure 6 highlights the proportion of these risk factors that could be reduced in the region if violence against children was eliminated. It shows that violence prevention could reduce teenage pregnancy for girls and sex before the age of 16 for both boys and girls by a quarter (25 per cent). Likewise, investing in violence prevention could have a significant reduction on early smoking initiation (before the age of 15) for both boys and girls by nearly 20 per cent and reduce illicit drug use by adolescence and adults by 17 per cent and problem drinking for men and women by 10 per cent.

Violence against children also impacts on the health of a nation’s population. A study on the regional burden of violence in East Asia and the Pacific found that the total cost of violence against children, specifically on health and health risk behaviour outcomes costs $209 billion (in 2013 US dollars) or nearly 2 per cent of the region’s GDP (see Figure 7). This includes costs for emotional violence ($65.9 bn), physical violence ($39.6 bn), sexual violence ($39.9 bn), neglect ($32.4 bn), and witnessing domestic violence ($31 bn).

Figure 6: Proportion of risk factors that could be reduced in the region if violence against children was prevented

![Figure 6](image_url)

Source: Calculation done specifically for this paper using raw data from the East Asia and Pacific Regional Costing Study led by Fang, X and Fry, D. (see 2015 article published in Child Abuse and Neglect for study information and population attributable fractions (PAFs) for by World Bank and WHO sub-regions).

Figure 7: The economic cost of violence against children in East Asia and the Pacific (billion US$)

![Figure 7](image_url)

Source: Fang et al., 2015a; UNICEF EAPRO, 2014.

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48 Fang et al., 2015a; UNICEF EAPRO, 2014.
49 ibid.
50 Data includes having experienced at least one form of physical, sexual and emotional violence, neglect or witnessing domestic violence. Problem drinking data is only available for physical or sexual violence or witnessing domestic violence. Early sex data is only available for sexual violence, and neglect and teenage pregnancy data is only available for girls who have experienced sexual violence or witnessed domestic violence. These calculations are based on 47 studies from the East Asia and Pacific region, which control for methodological variation and are sample size weighted.
Economic costing studies have been conducted in China and Cambodia with similar results: nearly 2 per cent of a nation’s GDP can be lost through the negative health outcomes of violence alone, highlighting that violence against children has a significant national economic impact.\textsuperscript{51}

A Vanuatu case study calculated the life-long costs of physical, sexual and emotional violence against children and neglect to amount to approximately 6.8 per cent of annual GDP\textsuperscript{52} This study used a different costing model taking into account direct and indirect costs (i.e. the costs of special education, juvenile justice and adult criminality) of violence against children. Studies on the cost of violence against women and girls have found similar results.\textsuperscript{53} In Viet Nam, for instance, researchers have estimated that the persistence of violence against women and girls countrywide has resulted in a total loss of earnings equivalent to nearly 2 per cent of the GDP\textsuperscript{54} while in Fiji violence related costs account for an estimated 7 per cent of the GDP\textsuperscript{55}

**Violence prevention improves learning and educational outcomes.** In most countries, children spend more time in the care of adults in educational settings than anywhere else outside of their homes. The Asia-Pacific region comprises some of the world’s top-performing education systems alongside some that continue to struggle to provide basic education to all children.\textsuperscript{56} Adults who oversee and work in educational settings have a duty to provide safe and inclusive environments that support and promote children’s dignity, learning and development, a significant global policy priority for the SDGs. Violence – whether experienced at home, in schools, or in the community – impacts on academic performance and educational outcomes.

The experience of violence during childhood has been shown to have serious consequences for children’s educational outcomes. Research has shown that exposure to violence can be a significant predictor of lower grades,\textsuperscript{57} lower IQ test scores\textsuperscript{58} and lower levels of educational self-efficacy,\textsuperscript{59} which can lead to educational underachievement.\textsuperscript{60} Children who are victims of violence anywhere are also more likely to permanently leave school\textsuperscript{61} than their non-abused peers. This is an infringement of their rights and well-being, and has significant economic implications including the loss of cognitive capital and reinforcing poverty cycles.

Evidence shows that experiencing violence within school settings may make children afraid of going to school and interfere with their ability to concentrate and participate in school activities.\textsuperscript{62} Data from the Young Lives longitudinal study in India and Viet Nam found that experiencing violence in schools was children’s number one reason for not liking school.\textsuperscript{63} Experiences of school violence can result in being frequently absent from school, increased grade repetition and increased school drop-out rates, directly impacting on children and young people’s learning and future opportunities.

For the first time, longitudinal data from the region has also shown that children’s experiences of violence also directly impacts reading and maths scores in secondary school. Those who have experienced violence have lower ‘foundation skills’ of reading, maths and vocabulary. Data from the Young Lives study has shown that children in two states in India and Viet Nam who reported experiencing corporal punishment in schools at age 8 have poorer cognitive outcomes and math scores, and lower self-esteem and self-efficacy than their non-abused peers.\textsuperscript{64} Children who reported corporal punishment at age 8 also performed significantly less well in maths tests at age 12 in India and Viet Nam and the effects on vocabulary scores were also significantly lower for children in India.\textsuperscript{65}

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\textsuperscript{51} Fang et al., 2015b.
\textsuperscript{52} Pollett & Gurr, 2009.
\textsuperscript{53} UN Women, UNITE & Australian Aid, 2013.
\textsuperscript{54} UN Women Viet Nam, 2012.
\textsuperscript{55} UNESCO, 2014.
\textsuperscript{56} Huang & Mossige, 2012.
\textsuperscript{57} Currie & Widom, 2010.
\textsuperscript{58} Macmillan & Hagan, 2004.
\textsuperscript{59} Gilbert et al., 2009.
\textsuperscript{60} Duncan, 2000.
\textsuperscript{61} Portela & Pells, 2015.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.
Violence prevention reduces intergenerational violence, adult criminality and juvenile offending.

Experience of violence in childhood can increase propensity of adolescents for behavior in conflict with the law. Typical adolescent behaviour includes impulsiveness, challenging authority and adult rules, and increased risk-taking behaviour. For adolescents who have experienced violence, dysfunctional family relationships, neglect or abuse, these tendencies may be much more pronounced. Their brains may have developed to focus on survival, at the expense of more advanced thinking in the brain's cortex. This may lead to increased impulsive behaviour, as well as difficulties with tasks that require higher level thinking and feeling. There is ample evidence from longitudinal studies that children who were maltreated in their early years are much more likely to be arrested for offenses as adolescents.

Emerging evidence in the region has made strong links between violence during childhood particularly for intimate partner violence (IPV). Using data from the regional costing study, Figure 8 highlights the proportion of forms of violence that could be reduced in the region if sexual violence during childhood was prevented. The focus on sexual violence is due to the existence of strong studies exploring the associations between this particular form of violence during childhood and other forms of violence both in adolescence and adulthood.

Data shows that nearly a third of lifetime intimate partner violence victimization for females could be averted if sexual violence during childhood was prevented. The effects of toxic stress in early childhood may manifest in increased propensity for impulsive, risk-taking behaviour in adolescence.

This presents important findings for linking the prevention of violence against children and the prevention of violence against women initiatives and understanding the early experiences of violence that make girls and boys more vulnerable to experiencing and perpetrating violence later in life. Data also shows that carrying a weapon and injuring or threatening someone with a weapon could both be reduced by approximately a quarter (21-27 per cent respectively) for females and by 15-20 per cent for males in the region.

This data shows that investments for the prevention of violence in childhood can bring important social and economic returns. Prevention can help reduce negative health outcomes and public expenditure for tertiary responses. Preventing violence against children can also have a beneficial impact on improving educational and learning outcomes and decreasing intergenerational violence, adult criminality and juvenile offending. Strategies for preventing violence against children must aim to reduce these underlying drivers that create risk at many interconnected levels.

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66 Population attributable fractions (PAFs) measure the proportion of outcomes (forms of violence) that could be directly attributable to exposure (sexual violence during childhood). This graph represents the proportion of these forms of violence that could be reduced if sexual violence during childhood is prevented. Physical IPV perpetration, threatening or injuring someone with a weapon and being involved in a fight measure past-year prevalence, carrying a weapon is past-month prevalence. All PAFs control for significant methodological variations and are sample size weighted.

67 Fang et al., 2015b.
Violence is complex and multi-faceted, and defies the identification of cause-effect relationships. Public health researchers working in this field employ the concept of “risk factor relationship” – conditions or attributes in individuals, families, communities, or the larger society that increases the probability of experiencing violence in childhood. On the other hand, the protective factors help mitigate or reduce risk in families and communities when they are present. Recent work on the ‘drivers’ of violence refers to factors at the institutional and structural levels that create the conditions in which violence is more likely to occur. While risk and protective factors reflect the likelihood of violence occurring due to characteristics most often measured at the individual, interpersonal, and community levels, the drivers refer to macro-level structural and institutional factors that influence a child’s risk of violence.

Strategies for preventing violence against children must aim to reduce these underlying drivers that create risk at many interconnected levels.

Some common risk factors that are associated with childhood experiences of violence in the region include:

- **At the individual level**: gender, age, disability of child, education level, income, mental health, unwanted pregnancy on the part of caregiver;
- **At the interpersonal level**: domestic violence, substance abuse, family stress, family structure, quality of parent-child relationships, quality of teacher-child and peer-to-peer relationships;
- **At the community level**: high levels of crime, social and gender norms, harmful cultural practices;
- **At the institutional level**: weak law enforcement, poor housing/social services, lack of social protection for economic shocks, poor school governance, harmful cultural and religious beliefs, weak child protection systems; and
- **At the structural level**: gender inequality and discrimination, class and caste structures, economic and social policies that may inadvertently increase poverty, inequality and migration, socio-political histories of violence.

Our understanding of determinants that are common in the Asia-Pacific region is improving. While it is difficult, if not impossible, to generalize given the great diversity and complexity of societies and cultures (e.g., there are over 300 ethnic groups residing in Indonesia alone), there are common risk factors presented in studies from the region. For example, cultural and social norms perpetuate the notion that violence against children is a private issue. In many countries, the relatively low status of children in societies and families means children are perceived as ‘belonging or indebted to’ their parents and caretakers. Furthermore, victims of violence are discouraged from speaking out and obtaining external support. Violence is often not publicly discussed or reported, and thus often remains invisible and normalized.

In addition to other community and societal risk factors such as a tolerance of violence, substance abuse, gender and social inequalities, lack of services to support families, high levels of unemployment, poverty, and inadequate policies and programmes within institutions, make the occurrence of violence against children more likely.
In India, sexual violence among adolescent girls increases ten-fold once they are married or in union. Seventy-seven per cent of perpetrators are the girls’ current or former partners.

Particular groups of children are at higher risk of experiencing violence. Targeted efforts are required to ensure their protection. Regional research has highlighted some examples:

Children with disabilities: Data on the prevalence of violence against children with disabilities is limited, but a recent meta-analysis of 17 studies found that children with disabilities are three to four times more likely to be abused than their peers without disabilities. The meta-analysis found that 26.7 per cent of children with disabilities have experienced more than one type of violence in their lifetime. Over 20 per cent experience physical violence and nearly 14 per cent experience sexual violence. A large representative sample of school-aged children in Hong Kong found that disability increased the risk of lifetime physical violence against children 1.6 times.

Married girls: Often disempowered and highly dependent on husbands, child brides are much more likely to experience physical, emotional and sexual violence in the contexts of their married and domestic life. Estimates derived from the 2005 National Family Health Study in India indicate that rates of sexual violence increases among adolescent girls 10-fold once they are married or in a union. Seventy-seven per cent of perpetrators of this violence were the girls’ current or former partners.

Children in conflict with the law: A recent regional review in Southeast Asian states has highlighted children’s exposure to violence through the different stages of contact with the justice system, often explicitly or implicitly tolerated by the law. This includes violence from law enforcement officials during arrest and apprehension; during interrogation/questioning; violent sentencing; and the use of violent discipline and restraints, and a lack of safeguards against violence in institutions.

Children in out-of-home care: Few countries in the region are able to provide accurate figures on the number of children in out-of-home care, despite UNICEF’s current efforts to complete a global survey on the number of children in out-of-home care. Living outside of the protective framework of their families, these children are at heightened risk of violence, exploitation and abuse by caregivers, staff and other children. Neglect is sometimes a feature in residential care institutions, which can have devastating effects on the development of younger children. We know from studies conducted with children in institutions that cognitive and social development is significantly impacted, especially in the early years, compared to children who are cared for by a stable caregiver.

Macro-level structural factors can influence overall rates of violence in society. In the region, there has been enormous progress in addressing these structural factors in recent decades. For example, although progress is mixed, there has been a strong move towards the rule of law in Asia-Pacific countries in recent decades. This has been accompanied by the progressive establishment of specific legal protections for children since the adoption of the CRC in 1989. Asia and the Pacific led the world in the drive to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, and has seen massive strides in reducing poverty, education for all, and combatting infant mortality – all important risk factors for violence. Harmful social practices such as child marriage have shown steady reductions as well, most dramatically for the marriage of girls under the age of 15 years – although this progress seems to have plateaued in some countries.

75 See for example the UNDP MDG Progress Reports for Asia and the Pacific: http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/mdg/mdg-reports.html
76 UNICEF, 2014b.
77 Jones et al., 2012.
78 Chan, Emery & Ip, 2014.
At the same time, there are new and emerging trends that are changing the nature, scope and impacts of violence against children. Government policies need to adapt to these trends. Some examples include:

**The growth of information and communications technologies.** While these technologies facilitate unprecedented opportunities for children to achieve their rights to learn, express themselves and participate meaningfully in communities, online access has the potential to make children vulnerable to violence, abuse and exploitation in ways that are often difficult for parents, caregivers, teachers and others to detect and respond to. Perhaps the most common form of violence experienced online is cyberbullying—an estimated 7.2 million cases affecting at least half of adolescent Internet users. The emergence of cyberbullying is a worrying development, partially because the internet permits bullying behaviour to intrude into a child’s private space. It may include spreading rumours; posting false information or nasty messages; embarrassing comments or photos; or excluding someone from online networks or other communications. A major research study underway in the Philippines should shed additional light on the prevalence and forms of this behaviour. Studies have shown that cyberbullying can be very damaging, leading to anxiety, depression, and even suicide.

ICTs and the internet also present myriad other forms of risk and harm, such as harmful, damaging or otherwise harmful material; child sexual abuse images; inappropriate contact, online grooming, exploitation and trafficking; self-exposure; recruitment by extremist groups; and children’s involvement as victims of cyber-crime.

**The pace and scale of urban migration.** The scale and rapid pace of urbanization throughout much of Asia has been remarkable, and now the region hosts more than half of the world’s mega-cities. Rapid urbanization may place children at risk where, for example, public social welfare services have not stepped in to protect children and support families. Furthermore, the care and protection of children when they are “left-behind” by migrating parents is of great concern for the protection of children. It has taken on huge dimensions in China, for example, where some 69.73 million children aged 0-17 were registered in 2013 as “left behind” by migrating parents. While the impact on children may be mixed—remittances can contribute to improved access to goods and services, but prolonged parental absence can undermine children’s health and education outcomes, produce psychological and social damage, and place children at higher risk of harsh discipline and abuse. More research is required to demonstrate these links.

**The impacts of armed conflict.** While not a new phenomenon, there are a number of violent conflicts in the Asia-Pacific region that impact children—notably in Afghanistan, Myanmar and the Philippines. According to the Secretary General 2015 report on children and armed conflict, there are 16 parties to conflict in these countries that have been identified as committing grave child rights violations. These include violations of extreme violence—such as killing and maiming of children, grave sexual violence, recruitment and use in combat. As positive developments, in each of these situations some parties have entered into Action Plans with the United Nations to halt these violations. However, all children in conflict-affected communities grow up witnessing violence and in a context of fear. The impact of this must not be overlooked.

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83 UNICEF, 2016.  84 Safaria, 2016.  85 Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence against Children, 2014.  86 Goebert et al., 2011; Schneider et al., 2012.  87 Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence against Children, 2014.  88 UNESCAP & UN-Habitat, 2015.  89 In China, children remaining in their habitual place of residence in rural areas while one or both of their parents migrate are officially registered as “left-behind” children.  90 Garza, 2010; Mieng & Yamauchi, 2015; Mahidol University, 2016; National Bureau of Statistics in China, UNFPA & UNICEF, 2013; Edillon, 2008.  91 UNDP, 2008.  92 UN Secretary General, 2015.
Unlike the Millennium Development Goals, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have specific targets that address violence against children. This is with the recognition that none of the goals for children can be met if children live in fear. The SDGs thus include the protection of children from violence as a distinct and cross-cutting priority across all goals. Specifically, five goals and 11 targets address violence, abuse and exploitation. Most prominently, SDG 16.2 aims to end abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children. There are other goals that directly target violence, including those that aim to end violence against women and girls (SDG 5.2 and 5.3), to end the economic exploitation of children and recruitment and use of child soldiers (SDG 8.7), as well as those that aim to keep children safe in schools and communities, and to promote peace and non-violence (SDG 4.a, 4.7, 11.2 and 11.7).

The SDGs also include targets that address risk factors. In contrast with the Millennium Development Goals, the SDGs are integrated and indivisible, with interlinkages amongst different goals and targets. The achievement of targets around ending violence against children also require tackling the underlying risk factors found under other targets. For example:

- **Goal 1**: End poverty in all its forms everywhere. This includes targets that can also address poverty as a risk factor for violence (1.1, 1.2 and 1.3).

- **Goal 3**: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages. The targets in this goal focus on promoting mental health and well-being (3.4), the prevention and treatment of substance abuse (3.5) and promoting universal health coverage (3.8), all factors that can also improve violence prevention, especially in the home setting.

- **Goal 4**: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all. This goal addresses the strong risk factors in the region related to lack of education, especially for girls and also addresses creating safe learning environments (a building block for prevention).

- **Goal 5**: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. Target 5.1 includes ending discrimination against women and girls and directly addresses the social norm risk factors around son preference, gender inequality and family honour.

- **Goal 10**: Reduce inequality within and among countries. Targets include promoting income growth for the poorest (10.1), social, economic and political inclusion (10.2) and social protection policies including for children (10.3). These targets address the risk factors for violence related to social, economic and political manifestations of gender inequality, class structures and poverty.

- **Goal 11**: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. Targets 11.1 address safe and affordable housing and 11.3 includes measures on inclusive and sustainable urbanization. These targets can help address the particular vulnerabilities for children related to structural risk factors of migration and natural disasters.

- **Goal 12**: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels. Targets under this goal focus on promoting the rule of law, reducing illicit financial and arms flows and increasing birth registration. These directly address the institutional risk factors for violence including low birth registrations, lack of enforcement of laws to protect children as well as structural risk factors related to organised crime that impact on commercial sexual exploitation and other forms of violence against children.

Furthermore, many of the risks and factors may be shared across different types of violence (violence against children, youth violence, violence against women, etc.). Violence prevention and intervention efforts that focus on only one form of violence can be broadened to address multiple, connected forms of violence and increase impact.

But violence prevention needs a focused agenda within the SDGs. While the SDGs address many of the risk factors, acceleration of efforts to end violence against children means a coordinated system of prevention programmes and services that have demonstrated effectiveness in addressing its diverse forms and settings. It also requires an overall system of governance and financing to ensure interventions are implemented at scale; and that targets are measurable and appropriate in measuring progress. Without such a focused agenda, violence-related targets may lack integration within broader efforts to address risk factors through indirect targets.
A global partnership to end violence against children was launched in July 2016. Its overall aim is to support efforts to achieve SDG Target 16.2: the end of abuse, exploitation, trafficking, torture and all forms of violence against children by 2030. As part of this partnership, there has been a unified effort to assemble the best available evidence to help countries and communities intensify their focus on prevention programmes and services with the greatest potential to reduce violence against children. A select group of seven strategies have been identified and assembled in a package known as INSPIRE:

1. Implementation and enforcement of laws
2. Norms and values
3. Safe environments
4. Parent and caregiver support
5. Income and economic strengthening
6. Response and support services
7. Education and life skills

Strategy 1: Implementation and Enforcement of Laws

Laws prevent violence by:

• Giving a national statement that violent behaviours are wrong, which may help shift prevailing norms that tolerate violence;
• Defining the scope and definition of violence against children;
• Promoting justice for children who may come into conflict with the law;
• Threatening penalties or imprisonment, which may deter potential perpetrators and disrupt notions of impunity; and
• Reducing exposure to key risk factors for violence, such as alcohol and firearms.

Legal protection from violence is crucial and the definitions and parameters of violence are important. For example, including and defining emotional violence within domestic legislation and ensuring these offences are classified as a criminal offence.

Laws alone are not enough to prevent violence; the enforcement of laws is also a crucial part of this strategy for prevention. Developing and strengthening legal protections and policies for children must be combined with the means to enforce these protections in order to prevent violence against children. For example, the WHO Global Status Report on Violence Prevention found that while laws relating to bans on corporal punishment were reported to exist in 76 per cent of countries in the Asia-Pacific region, only 30 per cent of countries indicated the enforcement of such laws. Equality in laws is also important for ensuring violence prevention, including laws that provide equal coverage to protecting both girls and boys from all forms of violence.

Global evidence has highlighted steep declines in the use of corporal punishment using trend data from countries that have banned this practice in school and in the home, particularly where complementary enforcement measures are in place. A good example of this comes from Sweden. Likewise trend data is showing a decline in sexual violence in the United States and Australia, which has been hypothesized to be due in part to tougher laws and better enforcement, coupled with prevention initiatives.

Positive examples from the region include Mongolia, which is the first country in the Asia-Pacific region to prohibit violence against children in all settings. Other examples include community policing models, like those found in Fiji, which include innovative elements such as involving adolescents who receive accreditation to conduct basic policing. It also includes a preventive element by working with parents to jointly secure a safe environment for children and to prevent criminality. Work surrounding laws and policies to address risk factors and prevent violence against children also include alternative care guidelines and approaches which provide children who are separated from families with safe places to go.

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95 WHÖ et al., 2016.
96 Hillis et al., 2015.
100 UNICEF, 2014; Portella & Pells, 2015.
101 UNICEF, 2014c.
102 Jones, Finkelhor & Kopiec, 2001; Dunne et al., 2003.
Beliefs about what others do and what others think we should do are maintained by the social approval and disapproval of people important to us. These beliefs often guide a person’s behaviours. If a harmful practice is social in nature, programmes that only concentrate on the education of the individual may not be enough to change the social practice. Programmes may be more effective if they support the revision of social expectations or the promotion of positive social norms throughout the community of interest.

Positive social norms prevent violence by changing social beliefs and expectations which condone violence. Types of norms that are particularly relevant to preventing violence against children include:

- Gender norms which define appropriate behaviours, how males and females are referred to and valued in society and cultural practices;
- Norms on the status of children; and
- Norms about parenting disciplinary practices.

Studies show that individuals and communities following restrictive and harmful social norms are more likely to perpetrate physical, sexual, and emotional violence against partners and children.

Community mobilization efforts to change social norms have been shown to be effective, particularly for adult sexual violence (example: Soul City in South Africa and SASA! Programme in Uganda). In addition, efforts to address child marriage and Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting (FGM/C) using social norms approaches are showing positive findings for preventing violence against girls. Norms are difficult to measure, but despite this there is growing evidence of the effectiveness of these approaches in the Asia-Pacific region. All interventions should seek to create and strengthen the positive everyday networks which surround children, including the provision of appropriate information and support, which will enable these networks to prevent violence.

For example, social media and social norms campaigns have been evaluated in India with globally promising evidence aimed at preventing sexual violence against children, particularly girls, by challenging social norms that sanction such violence and encouraging the reporting of suspected cases. The Pacific Islands have created and implemented respected social networks with new messaging building on positive social norms, such as family cohesion and the value of children.
generally feel safer and more supported in child-friendly schools, and that on average female students have more positive feelings about safety than male students.115

Strategy 4: Parent and Caregiver Support

Parent and caregiver support prevents violence by enabling safe, stable and nurturing relationships and by addressing:

- The lack of parental knowledge and skills;
- Adverse ecological factors which affect parental capacity;
- Attachment between parents/caregivers and children; and
- Social isolation of parents/caregivers.116

Supporting the development of positive relationships between parents or caregivers and their children is a key evidence-based strategy for maltreatment prevention that may also counter the early development of violent behaviour in children.117

Positive parenting programmes are one of the most globally evidenced strategies for violence prevention; with home visitation programmes in the United States showing a median 39 per cent reduction in violence against children in a systematic review of over 20 studies.118 Creating and sustaining safe, stable and nurturing relationships through parenting interventions have also been shown to reduce many types of violence in adolescence and early adulthood, such as youth, dating, sexual, and self-directed violence.119

For example, hospital-based positive parenting training for new mothers about the care of newborn infants by nurses in China has been shown to be effective for increasing maternal problem-solving abilities and positive parent-child interactions when compared to new mothers who did not receive the training.120 In addition, various initiatives around positive parenting – including working with a range of organizations to incorporate positive parenting strategies into their work with families – have been initiated across the region.121 There is a need to evaluate these approaches in terms of their impact on violence prevention.

Several interventions aimed at engaging fathers as parents and promoting non-violent masculinities, especially in South Asian countries, exist and have been found to promote healthy families and nurturing, violence-free environments for children. Emerging findings from interventions in Sri Lanka and India have found that these interventions show that they can reduce violence, increase girls’ empowerment and make boys more committed to gender equity and equality.122 These interventions have been shown to reduce violence for women and increase men’s satisfaction with their relationships.

Strategy 5: Income and Economic Strengthening

Empowering families economically prevents violence by:

- Reducing family stress linked to the lack of resources;123
- Improving women’s access to resources which is often used for children; and
- Decreasing intimate partner violence and thus reducing children’s exposure to family violence.124

According to a review of global evidence, there is a justified prioritization of household economic strengthening approaches such as cash transfers, group savings, and microfinance as contributing to violence prevention.125 Strong empirical evidence links household economic circumstances to a variety of outcomes important for children, including health and safety, education, and peer and family relationships.126 Studies have also shown that various economic indicators have a strong correlation with violence against children.127

117 Olds et al., 2010.
118 Bilukha et al., 2005.
120 Gao et al., 2015.
121 See SAIEVAC’s work in this area: http://www.saievac.org
122 Pulerwitz et al., 2006.
123 Maternowska, Potts & Fry, forthcoming.
124 Hillis et al., 2015; WHO et al., 2016.
125 Hillis et al., 2015; WHO et al., 2016.
126 ibid.
127 Marcus, 2014.
A growing number of examples from the region highlight how cash transfer programmes can be linked to other initiatives to prevent violence, such as parenting programmes. A growing number of examples from the region highlight how cash transfer programmes can be linked to other initiatives to prevent violence, such as parenting programmes. For example, an ongoing evaluation in the Philippines is testing an adapted version of the Sinovuyo Parenting Programme from South Africa. If successful, the plan is to deliver the intervention through the Philippines Conditional Cash Transfer programme in which parents participate in ‘family development sessions’ as a transfer condition.

**Strategy 6: Response and Support Services**

Providing services to child victims of violence and their families is an essential approach to potentially preventing the cycle of violence within and between generations. Treatment services prevent violence by:

1. Decreasing the recurrence of violence by providing services for children who are victims. This can then prevent involvement in violence later in life (‘treatment as prevention’ approach); and
2. Mitigating the negative mental health consequences of violence against children.

Strong empirical evidence for the benefits of services has been demonstrated, mostly in high-income countries. For example, research on multi-agency responses have found greater law enforcement involvement, better access to medical exams for victims and more victim referrals to mental health services, as well as greater conviction rates for perpetrators of violence against children.

Examples from the region include the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the South Asia Initiative for the Elimination of Violence Against Children (SAIEVAC) Hotline initiative that aims to have the same phone number for child abuse helplines across South Asia. This serves to consolidate resources and enable multi-country promotion of the number to raise awareness of the number and better recall so children, including those that may be on the move, know how to access the services. Other child helplines in the region are engaged in both response and preventative work, including to address child marriage – a significant risk factor for violence against girls.

Another innovative example is the National Child Protection Action Network (CPAN) in Afghanistan, which is a government-led network of governmental and non-governmental organizations. It aims to improve understanding and coordinate approaches across agencies for the protection of children. CPAN began in 2003 to support the child protection system that had been affected by ongoing conflict. It was originally a response to provide emergency services to children in a few regions, but has since grown into a national effort, with a nationwide CPAN, 28 provincial CPANs, and 54 district CPANs which work together to prevent and respond to violence against children. CPAN focuses on four areas: 1) information collection and monitoring; 2) advocacy; 3) policy development; and 4) programming and operational responses. In a 2011 evaluation by Zar, the network was raising awareness and increasing sensitization on child rights and protection issues at the provincial level, including trainings for social workers, coordination among CPAN members and following up cases. The evaluation also identified the need for increased financial and human resources, capacity-building, and to institutionalize CPAN as a formal mechanism in government agencies. The innovative CPAN model is now recognized as an example of a systematic approach to social and behaviour change with inter-locking and coordinated child protection systems resulting in a comprehensive network of prevention and response mechanisms from the community level through to the national level.

**Strategy 7: Education and Life Skills**

Life skills and education prevent violence by fostering abilities for adaptive and positive behaviour that enable children to deal effectively with the demands and challenges of everyday life. Life skills include cognitive, emotional, interpersonal and social skills to foster self and social awareness, positive relationships, and responsible decision-making. Furthermore, school enrolment and attendance may protect against both victimization and perpetration of childhood sexual violence, youth violence, partner violence, and child marriage.

130 Hillis et al., 2015; WHO et al., 2016.
131 ibid.
133 Zar, 2012.
135 Hillis et al., 2015.
Pre-school enrichment and other life skills programmes have been shown to prevent aggression and reduce involvement in violence as well as increase educational outcomes.\textsuperscript{136} Many of these interventions take place in schools or community programmes for young people, allowing them to reach large numbers of children with interventions that build skills in communication, conflict resolution and emotional regulation. Most of the research on life skills programmes has been conducted in high-income countries, particularly the United States.\textsuperscript{137} Evidence is emerging from the Asia-Pacific region, primarily where life skills training has been combined with other prevention approaches such as economic empowerment.

Integrated approaches to reduce violence by promoting the development and skills (including financial and entrepreneurial skills) through empowerment and livelihoods programmes for girls have shown successful results across the region, particularly in South Asia (see Appendix for examples from Bangladesh and India). Other innovative skills-building examples, with fewer evaluation results, include menstrual hygiene management for girls so that they can stay in schools and school-based life skills programmes aimed at reducing school violence.

In order for these discrete strategies to work together to contribute to the common goal of ending violence, Governments need to ensure they are:

- embedded in a well-coordinated, resourced and regulated child protection system;
- overseen and supported by qualified and mandated professionals; and
- informed by systems to monitor progress and evaluation effectiveness.

For optimum impact, such policies and programmes will be multisector, spanning health, social services, education, and justice sectors.

\textsuperscript{136} ibid.
\textsuperscript{137} WHO, 2010.
Regional bodies and coordination mechanisms are actively promoting innovative South-South cooperation for violence prevention. In South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Pacific, efforts are underway to promote evidence-based practice and policies and effective sharing of lessons learned between countries.

The South Asia Initiative to End Violence against Children (SAIEVAC) is a regional intergovernmental body providing a forum for bilateral and multilateral sharing of information, experience, expertise and good practices aiming to end all forms of violence against children. Established in 2010 as an Apex body of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) with membership of all eight SAARC member states – Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Representatives from each government as well as international agencies, civil society, and also children govern it, with both a girl and boy representative serving on the board by rotation. SAIEVAC works closely with the South Asia Coordination Group to End Violence Against Children (SACG) which is made up of international and regional United Nations and non-governmental organizations committed to preventing and responding to violence against children. It further works with National Coordination Groups to End Violence Against Children (NACG) located in each member State and comprised primarily of local civil society organizations as well as international organizations.

SAIEVAC developed a five-year work plan, a framework to coordinate, standardize and monitor annual regional- and national-level progress on ending violence against children. The work plan details specific actions for governments on 13 strategic objectives including regional cooperation, national strategy, legislative measures, prevention, data collection, professional training and learning, education and awareness raising, and child and civil society participation. There are five ‘topic’ areas in the plan – early marriage, sexual abuse and exploitation, trafficking, corporal punishment and child labour. Each objective includes practical, measureable indicators for countries to report. The work plan also details the expected results on the five key issues. For example, the expected result for corporal punishment is that all States will identify action to prohibit all corporal punishment in all settings, and promoting positive parenting and classroom management programmes. SAIEVAC provides support on addressing these issues through in-country coordinators. It also works with other organizations to develop regional plans to ensure a systems approach to address violence against children with the aim of improving fragmented and reactive approaches to violence against children, and promotes advocacy and engagement.

By leading several technical consultations, SAIEVAC has successfully supported the strengthening of child protection systems and capacity building, particularly to recognize and address the protection needs of children with disabilities, and to promote legal reform around corporal punishment. It is recognized as a unique and promising initiative that evidences the effectiveness of regional dialogue and governmental and non-governmental cooperation in order to prevent violence against children.

6: Working together through regional networks

“We may have limited resources; we may have financial challenges, limited human resources and a multitude of pressing concerns to address; however, if we are serious about protecting our most vulnerable – the same beautiful children we hold in our arms and promise to protect on the day they come into this world – then this must be a priority. All of these limitations can be overcome when we work in partnership. By pooling knowledge, expertise, resources and learning together, we are better able to come up with solutions that are sustainable.”

– His Excellency the former President of the Republic of Fiji, Ratu Epeli Nailatikau

UNICEF Office for Pacific Island Countries, 2015.
The ASEAN Regional Plan of Action also calls for the development and/or strengthening of national plans of action to eliminate all forms of violence against children, including in disaster and conflict situations, with participation of all relevant stakeholders, including children, at all stages of the process and ensure there is a coordinating mechanism for its implementation. These plans also allow for learning across countries for the development of these national action plans.

The 2015 Pacific Islands Conference on Ending Violence against Children included high-level government officials, child protection experts and donors from 13 Pacific Island countries including Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, the Federated States of Micronesia, Papua New Guinea, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga and Vanuatu, who met in Fiji to review and share good practices for the prevention of violence against children among the Pacific Islands. Regional partners also participated, including the South Pacific Community, the Regional Rights Resource Team, the Pacific Island Forum Secretariat and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia.

In addition to sharing good practice and engaging in learning from each other, countries also drafted and agreed to act upon country plans to end violence against children thus building capacity and understanding of the issues among local constituents. The conference also secured renewed commitment from Pacific leaders to ratify, implement and enforce international human rights instruments such as the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography; ban corporal punishment in the home, schools and community; and contribute to the global call to end violence against children and for governments to place children at the heart of the SDGs.

The Regional Plan of Action for Eliminating Violence against Children adheres to the fundamental principles of the ASEAN community including being built upon a children’s rights and gender sensitive approach. Member States have agreed to a zero tolerance policy for any form of violence against children with the ultimate goal of the plan being the elimination of all forms of violence against children in the ASEAN Member States. The innovative Regional Plan of Action emphasises a multi-sectoral, multi-disciplinary, multi-dimensional and participatory response to the issue of violence against children. It calls for concerted prevention initiatives, respect for and fulfilment of children’s rights at all times, including their right to be heard on issues that affect them.

The priority for the first five years of the Plan of Action are to implement regional guidelines on non-violent approaches for caring for children in all settings; to raise awareness among all sectors of society about the harmful effects of violence against children; to promote the deinstitutionalization of children at the national level by strengthening the implementation of alternative family care services; and to develop preventive measures against online forms of violence. The Plan of Action also calls for the development and strengthening of national systems for disaggregated data collection, analysis, sharing and dissemination on violence against children using international indicators and research protocols including survey and administrative data and to ensure that the data is regularly updated and analysed. Within this framework, the ASEAN Guidelines for a Non-Violent Approach to Nurture, Care, and Development of Children in all Settings were finalized in February 2016.

139 ASEAN, 2015.
140 ibid.
141 ibid.
142 ibid.
143 ibid.
144 UNICEF Office for Pacific Island Countries, 2015.
145 ibid.
An 8-year-old girl clutching her favourite stuffed toy sits on the arm of a bench in front of her home at a shelter in the Philippines. She is among seven siblings who were rescued when their parents were caught forcing their two oldest girls to participate in live streaming of child sexual abuse in their home. UNICEF is working together with the Government and NGOs in improving the prevention and response to online sexual violence. © UNICEF/UN014958/Estey
This paper has highlighted how frequently occurring forms of violence against children are socially accepted and condoned but yet have well documented long term impacts on brain development, and on the creation of cognitive and human capital. Investing in preventing violence against children is pivotal. The following represent some of the high impact evidence-based actions that can leverage change in order to enhance children’s educational and health outcomes and to build healthier economies.

**End any legalized violence against children, by introducing a comprehensive ban on corporal punishment in all settings.** From a child rights perspective, all forms of violence against children, however light, are unacceptable. Frequency, severity of harm and intent to harm are not prerequisites for definitions of violence.\(^{146}\) Even mild forms of physical and verbal violence committed in the guise of “discipline” by parents or teachers can have lifelong detrimental impacts. The enactment and enforcement of laws is a key first step in changing social norms around violence. The SDGs will also require States to measure prevalence of violent discipline and show progress towards its elimination.

**Mongolia has now joined the 48 other States around the world that have prohibited corporal punishment in all settings – including the home – and is the first in the Asia-Pacific region.**

**Lead and sustain a communications initiative to challenge the social acceptance of violence against children, targeting all levels of society.** National efforts to prevent violence against children will not succeed where discussion of this phenomenon is inhibited and where the structural factors and environment enable/condone violence against children. Governments have a key role to play in creating an environment of open public dialogue on difficult and sensitive child protection issues. Such a communications strategy should consist of coordinated public education efforts for parents and caregivers on positive, non-violent child rearing; and in providing accurate, accessible and age-appropriate information to children on life skills, self-protection and specific risks, including those relating to ICTs, developing healthy relationships and combating bullying.

**Design and implement a comprehensive national agenda for violence prevention and elimination, based upon the “seven strategies”.** Despite universal abhorrence of violence against children, clear evidence of its individual, social and economic costs, and a growing array of tested strategies to prevent and reduce it, concerted national action is rarely prioritized in national agendas in the region, and barely visible in national budgets. Experiences with “National Plans of Action” have been mixed, as they have often lacked links with the overall development policy, programmes, budget and coordinating mechanisms.\(^{148}\) To ensure a whole government approach and commitment, high level inter-ministerial oversight should be established for the design and implementation of this national agenda. Such an agenda should be informed by the “seven strategies” and regional evidence of effective programmes; and include a national coordinating framework; sufficient human and technical resources, and robust mechanisms for monitoring and accountability. The agenda should be cognizant of resource realities and funding sources for implementation clearly identified, including public resources.

**Monitor progress through the regular collection of data on key violence indicators.** Assessment of progress in preventing and reducing of violence against children has long been hampered by gaps in measurement. Data collection on children’s experience of violence carries with it a myriad of methodological and ethical challenges. Nevertheless, the availability of comparable data on certain forms of violence has improved, and the possibility of including key indicators in regular household survey programmes has been demonstrated and can be increased.

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\(^{146}\) UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, General Comment 13.

\(^{147}\) For example endcorporalpunishment.org

\(^{148}\) UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, General Comment 13.
SDG target 16.2 requires the measurement of violent discipline and sexual violence. In the region, 10 of 32 countries currently include the measurement of violent discipline through their participation in international survey programmes. Likewise, of the 43 countries globally that currently collect data on sexual violence through Demographic and Health Surveys, only five are in the Asia-Pacific region—and none collect data relating to boys. Other data on violence against children is often not disaggregated by sex, age, disability or geographic location.

Deepen the understanding of the incidence, prevalence, circumstances and risk factors for violence against children through a dedicated research agenda. Such an agenda could comprise three components or options. One is a population-based national VAC survey. Dedicated surveys on violence that involve the specialized training of interviewers and employ questionnaires that enable interviewers to establish a rapport with respondents have proved effective in facilitating the disclosure of violence. So far, of the 19 countries that are conducting comprehensive national surveys, six are in the Asia-Pacific region (Bhutan, Indonesia, the Philippines, Cambodia, China, Lao PDR). Where these surveys have been implemented, national ownership of the process has been sustained, and the surveys have led to robust national action plans.

Secondly, many countries are establishing surveillance systems based on administrative data provided to agencies that offer services to children affected by violence. Such systems equip decision makers with information on what mandated agencies are addressing the problem, at what scale, and what they are doing about it. It allows Governments with allocated resources to better respond. Tracking the increase in the number of children who are identified through agencies helps indicate the reach of child protection systems.

Thirdly, understanding the risk and protective factors related to why violence happens, and how these risk factors and drivers operationalize in a given context is an important component of targeting the “seven strategies” effectively. This can include primary or secondary research using quantitative or qualitative

Preventing violence against children is an effective investment that will yield many social and economic returns—both for this generation and for generations to come.

149 Such as UNICEF’s Multi Cluster Indicator Surveys (MICS) and the United States Government supported Demographic and Health Surveys.
A mother and child in their home near a community-led support centre for children and women in India. © UNICEF/2014/Dhiraj Singh
References


and how this contributes to building stronger economies


Save the Children Sweden. (2005). Discipline and punishment of children: A rights-based review of laws, attitudes and practices in East Asia and the Pacific. Regional submission to the UN Secretary General’s Global Study on Violence against Children by Save the Children Sweden Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Bangkok: Save the Children Sweden Southeast Asia and the Pacific.


Appendix
Effective strategies for prevention, evaluated interventions

This appendix contains information about interventions in the Asia-Pacific region that have been evaluated and where the results of the evaluation have been published. This is not an exhaustive list but it meant to showcase the variety of prevention interventions undertaken according to the “Seven Strategies” in the region.

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<tr>
<td>Implementation and Enforcement of Laws</td>
<td>Bussmann, K. D., Erthal, C., and Schroth, A. (2009). Effects of banning corporal punishment in Europe – a five-nation comparison. Joan, E. Durrant/Smith, Anne (Hg.): Global pathways to abolishing physical punishment, 299-322.</td>
<td>Multi-country study on legislative prohibition of corporal punishment. Sweden, Austria, Germany, Spain, France</td>
<td>The study compared parent attitudes toward corporal punishment in countries where it was banned (Sweden, Austria, Germany) and countries where it had not been banned (Spain, France). Interviews with parents on knowledge, attitudes and frequency of corporal punishment; knowledge of the law and information campaigns; acceptance of prohibition of corporal punishment; and definitions of violence. Multivariate analyses were conducted to compare results between countries with and without a legal ban on corporal punishment.</td>
<td>Attitudes toward corporal punishment and frequency and severity of using corporal punishment are lower in countries that have legally prohibited its use. The extent to which this can be attributed to legislation is uncertain, however.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Implementation and Enforcement of Laws</td>
<td>Srinivasan, S., and Bedi, A. (2010). “Daughter Elimination: Cradle Baby Scheme in Tamil Nadu.” Economic and Political Weekly, June 5.</td>
<td>Various schemes to address female infanticide. India</td>
<td>From 1992 to present, the state of Tamil Nadu created a number of schemes and policies to tackle female infanticide, which have been evaluated together as a packet of interventions. These are the Cradle Baby Scheme; law enforcement; cash transfer scheme; community awareness; birth registration, and; a death audit to investigate infant deaths. Policy changes before and after 2001 were used to measure the female-to-male ratio of infant mortality rates, which was used to estimate female infanticide.</td>
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Dialectics. (2014). "Evaluation of Let Girls Be Born Project of Plan India." Draft, Plan India internal document, received through personal communication with Plan India programme staff.

Let A Girl Be Born India

The campaign initiated in 2010 aimed to improve implementation of the PCPNDT Act, which seeks to decrease sex-selective abortion and female infanticide; and to improve the social status of women. Activities included community-based advocacy groups, support to newly married couples against pressure to bear sons, and media and other means to raise awareness.

There was no baseline. Evaluation involved a qualitative assessment of intervention and control sites and a quantitative survey with government and NGO personnel.

Participants recognized changes in increased spaces for women’s concerns, recognition of the need for gender equality, and attention to girls’ and women’s education and health needs. Key problems for sustainability included maintaining community interest, engaging men and boys, and engaging couples.


Joint UN Programme to Address Violence Against Women in Bangladesh Bangladesh

The programme addressed violence against women, including domestic violence, by aiming to strengthen policy and legal implementation, raising awareness to change community attitudes, and providing and improving services to survivors.

Quantitative and qualitative assessments

The programme increased awareness of gaps in laws and of forms of violence such as workplace harassment and violence against sex workers.


Counter-Trafficking Interventions Bangladesh

The program was implemented in 18 districts from 2005-2008. Activities included capacity building of law enforcement officials, lawyers and immigration officials. It also provided legal, medical, and psychosocial support to trafficking victims, as well as vocational training and business support.

Interviews with key informants and stakeholders

There was a reported decline in trafficking, which the report attributed to increased awareness and engagement. Uptake by local councils is seen through trafficking-related issues now being discussed in monthly meetings in all project districts. Police and the local administration have been more supportive of trafficking victims, and a legal aid clinic was also established to provide support to victims.
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<td>Dutta, M., B. Zutshi, and A. Vajpeyi. (2010). “UNIFEM Regional Anti-Trafficking Programme in South Asia (2000–2009).” Evaluation Report, UNIFEM, India.</td>
<td>Regional Anti-Trafficking Programme in South Asia Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka</td>
<td>Comprehensive programme involving research, regional collaboration, policy and advocacy with governments, legal assistance and counselling for refugees, as well as community-based prevention and response activities. The programme also engaged the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation to implement the Convention on Trafficking of Women and Children.</td>
<td>Interviews with key informants, field visits, case studies, a desk review, as was a quantitative community survey.</td>
<td>There were improvements in government engagement and regional collaboration, increased awareness and community involvement, changes in attitudes toward trafficked persons, and improved shelter services. Legal support was still not widely available or easily accessible.</td>
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**Norms and Values** *Indicative Global Evidence*

<p>| Miller, E., Tancredi, D. J., McCauley, H. L., Decker, M. R., Virata, M. C. D., Anderson, H. A., … and Silverman, J. G. (2012). “Coaching boys into men”: A cluster-randomized controlled trial of a dating violence prevention programme. Journal of Adolescent Health, 51(5), 431-438. | Coaching Boys into Men South Africa | Programme to prevent perpetration of dating violence among coaches and high school male athletes. The intervention was delivered by coaches, who were briefly trained by a violence prevention advocate. They were given a Coaches Kit, which includes strategies to have conversations with athletes about violence against women, as well as training cards to lead short weekly discussion about respect and dating violence prevention throughout the season. | 16 schools participated in the intervention with 2,006 athletes over three months. Through a randomized controlled trial, primary outcomes were intentions to intervene, recognition of abusive behaviours, and gender-equitable attitudes. Secondary outcomes explored bystander behaviours and abuse perpetration. Regression models for clustered, longitudinal data assessed between-arm differences in over-time changes in mean levels of continuous outcomes in 1,798 athletes followed up at three months. | Sixty per cent of coaches implemented the programme as designed. When the programme was implemented at full-intensity, athletes demonstrated improvements in intentions to intervene, recognition of abusive behaviours, and positive bystander intervention compared to the control group. |</p>
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<tr>
<td>Watts, C., Abramsky, T., Devries, K., Kiss, L., Nakuti, J., Kyegombe, N., Starmann, E., … and Michau, L. (2014).</td>
<td>SASA! Uganda</td>
<td>SASA! sought to reduce the social acceptability of violence against women, to reduce intimate partner violence and improve community response toward violence. It utilized existing community structures, such as faith communities, refugee camps and villages to empower participants to be agents of change within their communities.</td>
<td>A cluster randomized controlled trial (CRT) was conducted in four intervention and four control communities in Kampala, Uganda. Cross-sectional surveys of a random sample of 18- to 49-years old were conducted at baseline in 2007 (n = 1,583) and in 2012 (n = 2,532). Six primary outcomes related to HIV and violence were measured. Results were analysed to compare outcomes in intervention and control communities at follow-up.</td>
<td>Men and women aged 18-49 who participated in SASA! experienced 52 per cent less physical violence and lower levels of past-year sexual IPV. They also reported decreased social acceptance of IPV perpetration, and increased acceptance that a woman can refuse sex.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel, E. and Nanda, R. (2012).</td>
<td>Prachar India</td>
<td>Implemented between 2001 and 2012, the Prachar programme targeted unmarried adolescents, young couples, their guardians and community leaders in three districts in India. It aimed to improve reproductive health outcomes, including increasing girls’ age at marriage and delaying the first birth. The project used a behaviour change approach that involved a number of community-based activities that included interpersonal and group communication on reproductive health issues, visits to young married women by community workers who discussed the benefits of child spacing, community awareness on marriage and pregnancy timing as well as meetings with in-laws and influential community members.</td>
<td>Pre- and post-intervention assessments in a quasi-experiment</td>
<td>The median age at marriage was between 2.6-2.8 years higher among those in the intervention group compared to those in the comparison. The risk of marriage in 2012 was 44 per cent lower among females and 26 per cent lower among males in the intervention group compared to those in the comparison.</td>
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## Norms and Values: Evidence from the Asia – Pacific Region (continued)

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<td>Croll, E. (2001). The Girl Child Shield Project Pakistan: Assessment Report. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.</td>
<td>Girl Child Shield Project Pakistan</td>
<td>The project was implemented in 800 schools in rural and urban areas across the country from 1997-2001. It targeted girls aged 11-16 years and awarded girls with badges related to knowledge about rights of girls, health, education, and survival.</td>
<td>Evaluation involved observation, interviews with key informants and a desk review.</td>
<td>Participants showed high awareness of discriminatory attitudes and behaviour against girls. Some tried to negotiate their rights with their parents, and there was also some change in parental and community perceptions of girls.</td>
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<td>Gandhi, K., and Krijnen, J. (2006). “Evaluation of Community-Based Rural Livelihoods Programme in Badakhshan, Afghanistan.” Commissioned by Oxfam Great Britain, Oxford, UK.</td>
<td>Community-based rural livelihoods program Afghanistan</td>
<td>This community-based programme ran from 2003 to 2006 and challenged gender norms through training women to be community health workers, veterinarians, and traditional birth attendants. Male and female community councils were also established to discuss and raise awareness about gender issues, girls’ education, and early marriage.</td>
<td>Project records, field visits, interviews with staff, and discussions with project participants after the intervention.</td>
<td>Those who participated in the community councils were more likely to understand the negative consequences of early marriage and were able to link early marriage with pregnancy complications. Some women also reported that they had stopped early marriages in their villages.</td>
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<td><strong>Safe Environments</strong></td>
<td><strong>Indicative Global Evidence</strong></td>
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<td>Devries, K. M., Knight, L., Child, J. C., Mirembe, A., Nakuti, J., Jones, R., ... and Walakira, E. (2015). The Good School Toolkit for reducing physical violence from school staff to primary school students: a cluster-randomised controlled trial in Uganda. The Lancet Global Health, 3(7), e378-e386.</td>
<td>Good School Toolkit Uganda</td>
<td>Behavioural intervention designed by Uganda NGO, Raising Voices, with the aim of reducing physical violence from school staff to primary school children. The toolkit includes six steps, each of which contains a number of activities that involve staff, students and administration. Techniques to create behaviour change include setting school-wide goals, training on non-violent discipline and creating a better school environment, such as painting wall murals or hanging codes of conduct in visible places. Achieved goals are rewarded by school celebrations. It was designed to be flexible as schools were able to choose which activities to participate in.</td>
<td>The evaluation randomly selected 42 primary schools with more than 50 primary students: 21 schools received the toolkit and 21 schools were control. The primary outcome measured to assess effectiveness of the intervention was past-week prevalence of physical violence from a school staff member at baseline (September 2012) and follow-up (April 2014). At follow-up, prevalence of physical violence was lower in intervention schools (31 per cent) compared to control schools (48.7 per cent). Among the intervention schools, there was a 42 per cent reduction in risk of physical violence from staff. Students reported improved feelings’ of wellbeing and safety at school, suggesting toolkit is effective in changing the school environment. The toolkit did not affect mental health or educational test scores.</td>
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<td>UNICEF (2009). Child Friendly Schools Programming. Global Evaluation report. Evaluation Office. New York: NY. <a href="http://www.unicef.org/evaluation/files/Global_CFS_Evaluation_Report_Uploaded_Version.pdf">http://www.unicef.org/evaluation/files/Global_CFS_Evaluation_Report_Uploaded_Version.pdf</a></td>
<td>Child Friendly Schools Thailand and Philippines, among other countries</td>
<td>The child-friendly school framework emphasises child-focused teaching and learning and the goals of sustainable development, including protection from harm. These schools focused on making schools safe and inclusive environments for students.</td>
<td>An evaluation of the Child Friendly School global portfolio, including 150 child-friendly schools in six countries (including Philippines and Thailand) was conducted in 2009, through site visits and qualitative and quantitative interviews with randomly selected teachers, students and families. The evaluation found that students generally feel safer and more supported in child-friendly schools, and that on average female students have more positive feelings about safety than male students. Students also felt safer in schools that had high levels of family and community participation.</td>
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<td>Gautam, I. P. (2012). “Final Evaluation of Safer Environment for Girls (TOLI) in Kaski and Tanahun District.” Save the Children, Nepal Country Office, Kathmandu.</td>
<td>Safer Environment for Girls Nepal</td>
<td>This project running from 2001 to 2011 focused on protecting children, especially girls, from sexual violence. Child networks and protection committees were established in schools and communities, and school infrastructure was improved, such as providing drinking water and building toilets for girls.</td>
<td>Qualitative participatory evaluation</td>
<td>Children's awareness of good touch and bad touch increased at the end of the intervention. Anecdotal evidence suggested that girls felt empowered and confident through participating child clubs.</td>
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<td>Transition International. (2014a), Girl Power Programme Mid-Term Evaluation. Country Report- Bangladesh, Girl Power Alliance: The Netherlands.</td>
<td>Girl Power Program (GPP) Bangladesh, Nepal, and Pakistan</td>
<td>Running from 2011-2015, GPP included a range of prevention and response activities from girls’ schooling and child clubs to helplines and legal aid, seeking to increase awareness and capacity to empower girl children and adolescents and to address violence against them.</td>
<td>Mixed methods midterm evaluation</td>
<td>In all countries, girls and adolescents were more empowered to say “no”, and victims of violence were more likely to seek help via helplines and legal aid. Religious and other community leaders supported the intervention, and there was reportedly a strong sense of ownership in participating communities. Partner organization capacity was also improved, which was reported to be promising for sustainability. At midterm evaluation, there was no decline in the prevalence of violence against girls.</td>
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**Parent and Caregiver Support** *Indicative Global Evidence*


<p>| | Nurse-Family Partnership United States | In the Nurse Family Partnership programme, nurses visited the homes of pregnant women in a semirural area of New York to improve the health and well-being of first-time parents and their children, promoting health behaviours during pregnancy and early childhood, care provided to children, and maternal life-course development. Eligibility criteria dictated that participants had at least one of the following characteristics: young age (under the age of 19), unmarried or low socioeconomic status. Women received a mean of 9 home visits during pregnancy and 23 visits from the child's birth to 2 years old. | Women were randomized into four treatments arms, including a comparison group. Of the 400 women enrolled at baseline, 324 participated in the follow up when their children were 15 years old. Women self-reported use of welfare, number of subsequent children and arrests and convictions. Reports of child abuse and neglect were gathered from state records. | At the 15-year follow-up, participants were 48 per cent less likely to be perpetrators of child maltreatment than the control group. In terms of child outcomes, adolescents whose mothers received home visits during pregnancy and in the first two years of their child’s life reported fewer arrests, convictions and violations of probation and problem substance use. |</p>
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<td>Gao, L., Xie, W., Yang, X and Chan, S. (2015). Effects of an interpersonal-psychotherapy-oriented postnatal programme for Chinese first-time mothers: A randomized controlled trial. International Journal of Nursing Studies, 52: 22-29.</td>
<td>Hospital-based programme for mothers (No specific programme name) China</td>
<td>This programme used ‘psycho-education’ to help mother with children who were 2-3 days old to transition to motherhood. The programme was delivered by a midwife over two sessions, one before being discharged from hospital and the follow up within two weeks. It used a psychotherapy-oriented approach to education, aiming to improve social support, maternal caregiving competence and health-related.</td>
<td>Women were recruited in a postnatal unit at a hospital: 90 women participated in the treatment group and 90 were in the control. Outcomes were levels of social support, maternal role competence and depressive symptoms, measured by standardized tools at six weeks postpartum.</td>
<td>Women in the treatment group had significantly fewer depressive symptoms, higher level of social support, and better maternal role competence compared with those who received routine postnatal care.</td>
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<td>Sanders, M.R. (2012). Development, Evaluation and Multinational Dissemination of the Triple P-Positive Parenting Program. Annual Review of Clinical Psychology. 8: 345-379.</td>
<td>Review of Triple P-Parenting Programs China (Hong Kong), Japan and Iran</td>
<td>Triple P has been implemented in many countries and aims to prevent severe behavioural, emotional and developmental problems in children by improving the knowledge, skills and confidence of parents. There are five levels of increasing strength for parents and children from birth to 16 years.</td>
<td>Narrative review of evidence-base of Triple P programmes (rather than meta-analysis or systematic review). Interventions included in the review had all undergone a randomized controlled trial to evaluate its effectiveness.</td>
<td>The review found that Triple P programmes have seen increases in positive parenting and reductions in problem behaviours, including in Hong Kong, Japan and Iran.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gupta, J., Falb, K. L., Lehmann, H., Kpebo, D., Xuan, Z., Hossain, M., … and Annan, J. (2013). Gender norms and economic empowerment intervention to reduce intimate partner violence against women in rural Côte d’Ivoire: a randomized controlled pilot study. BMC international health and human rights, 13(1), 1.</td>
<td>Group savings and loans associations with gender norm/equity training (No specific programme name) Cote d’Ivoire</td>
<td>This initiative promoted economic empowerment and gender equality through a group savings and loans programme. It targeted Ivorian women and their partners to participate in a gender dialogue group which met eight times from 2010 to 2012.</td>
<td>A randomized-controlled trial compared those who participated in a gender dialogue group (treatment) to those who were involved only in the savings and loan programme (control). 934 women participated at both baseline and endline. The primary trial outcome measure was past-year physical and/or sexual IPV. Past year physical IPV, sexual IPV, and economic abuse were also separately assessed, as were attitudes towards justification of wife beating and a woman’s ability to refuse sex with her husband.</td>
<td>Of those women who participated with their male partners in more than 75 per cent of the intervention sessions, past year physical IPV was reduced by over 50 per cent. Women in the treatment group were significantly less likely to report economic abuse than those in the control group. Acceptance of wife beating was also significantly reduced among the treatment group.</td>
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**Programme name and country**

Supporting in-school orphan adolescent girls (No specific programme name)

Zimbabwe

**Key components**

This 2007 project targeted orphan girls in Grade 6 in 25 primary schools in Zimbabwe. All schools received a daily feeding programme, while intervention participants also received fees, uniforms, health and hygiene supplies, and a helper at school to monitor attendance and resolve problems.

**Evaluation design**

The 25 primary schools were randomized into either treatment or control. Annual surveys with 329 participants collected information on school dropout, marriage, and pregnancy rates. Analyses controlled for school and age at baseline.

**Key findings**

After two years, the school dropout rates decreased by 82 per cent and rates of early marriage by 63 per cent. Those who received stipends and other assistance reported more equitable gender attitudes, and more concerns about the consequences of sex than control group.

### Income and Economic Strengthening Evidence from the Asia – Pacific Region

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Emergency Top-up Cash Transfer Programme (ETCTP) Nepal

Emergency cash benefits were provided to beneficiaries of government social assistance programmes in the most earthquake-affected districts as a top-up to regular payments. ETCTP aimed to meet immediate household expenditure needs and to increase household resilience by reducing the use of negative coping mechanisms and behaviours.

**Evaluation design**

Quantitative surveys were administered to 880 eligible individuals randomly sampled from benefit lists in 44 Village Development Committees and Municipalities across 11 districts. 22 focus group discussions with 47 key informants were also conducted.

**Key findings**

93 per cent of intended beneficiaries received a cash top-up and the cash was most commonly used to meet basic daily needs such as food, medicine, clothing and other household essentials.

**Female Secondary School Stipend Programme** Bangladesh

Initiated in 1993-1994, the programme paid tuition fees and provided monthly stipends for unmarried rural girls up to grade 10 who attended formal schools, remained unmarried, maintained at least 75 per cent attendance, and passed annual examinations. In 2002, the programme was extended to high school students, aiming to delay marriage and childbearing by increasing school enrollment and retention.

**Evaluation design**

Quantitative and qualitative outcome evaluation.

**Key findings**

The proportion of girls married between ages 13-15 declined from 29 per cent to 14 per cent; for ages 16-18, from 79 per cent to 64 per cent. Qualitative data suggested the stipend did affect parental decisions on marriage. There were significant increases in girls’ secondary schooling, but the poorest may not have equally benefited. The presence of numerous other initiatives to increase secondary schooling and delay marriage make it difficult to attribute changes to this specific programme.
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<td>RENEW (Respect, Educate, Nurture, and Empower Women) and UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund). (2011). Community Based Support System (CBSS) Program Assessment. Thimphu: RENEW.</td>
<td>Respect Educate Nurture and Empower Women (RENEW) Bhutan</td>
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<td>Sarnquist, C., Omondi, B., Sinclair, J., Gitau, C., Paiva, L., Mulinge, M., ... and Maldonado, Y. (2014). Rape prevention through empowerment of adolescent girls. Pediatrics, 133(5), e1226-e1232.</td>
<td>The programme aimed to empower adolescent girls through self-defense and de-escalation skills. 1,978 girls from four neighbourhoods near Nairobi participated in programme. Girls in the intervention received six two-hour sessions and standard-of-care group received a life skills class.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kabir, M. M., Afroze, R., and Aldeen, M. (2007). Impact Assessment of Adolescent Development Programme (ADP) of BRAC. Dhaka: BRAC Research Report.</td>
<td>The programme, which began in 1993 and is still ongoing, aims to empower girls to participate in life decisions such as marriage, and to create an enabling environment for adolescent development at home and in the community. ADP created reading centres to be safe spaces in the community where life-skills training was provided.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shahnaz, R., and Karim, R. (2008). Providing Microfinance and Social Space to Empower Adolescent Girls: An Evaluation of BRAC’s ELA Centres. Dhaka: BRAC Research and Evaluation Division Working Paper No. 3, BRAC.</td>
<td>This program, which started in 2005 and is still ongoing, started Employment and Livelihood for Adolescents (ELA) centers within preexisting adolescent centers (ADP centres). It targeted girls and provided a combination of life skills, safe spaces, financial literacy, and access to income through microcredit.</td>
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<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. (2015). Promising Education for All Practices in the Asia-Pacific Region: the Philippines (Kariton Klasrum) case study. Retrieved from <a href="http://www.unescodoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002339/233992E.pdf">http://www.unescodoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002339/233992E.pdf</a></td>
<td>Education for All policy/Kariton Klasrum initiative/ Dynamic Teen Company Philippines</td>
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<td>Pande, R., Kurz, K., Walia, S., MacQuarrie, K. and Jain, S. (2006). Improving the Reproductive Health of Married and Unmarried Youth in India: Evidence of Effectiveness and Costs from Community-Based Interventions. Final Report of the Adolescent Reproductive Health Program in India. Washington, DC: International Center for</td>
<td>Maharashtra Life Skills Program India</td>
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<td>CEDPA (Centre for Development and Population Activities), (2001). Adolescent Girls in India Choose a Better Future: An Impact Assessment. India: CEDPA.</td>
<td>Better Life Options Program (BLP) India</td>
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