

# WHAT CHILDREN SAY

Results of comparative research  
**ON THE PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL  
PUNISHMENT OF CHILDREN**  
in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, 2005



**Save the Children**  
Sweden



# WHAT CHILDREN SAY

Results of comparative research  
**ON THE PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL  
PUNISHMENT OF CHILDREN**  
in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, 2005



**Save the Children**  
Sweden

Save the Children fights for children's rights. We deliver immediate and lasting improvements to children's lives worldwide.

Save the Children works for:

- A world which respects and values each child
- A world which listens to children and learns
- A world where all children have hope and opportunity.

Title: What children say: Results of comparative research on the physical and emotional punishment of children in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, 2005

ISBN 974-93027-8-8

Code number 3287

© Save the Children Sweden Southeast Asia and the Pacific, 2006

Project Manager: Dominique Pierre Plateau

Authors: Harriot Beazley, Sharon Bessell, Judith Ennew  
and Roxana Waterson

Design and Production:

Keen Publishing (Thailand) Co. Ltd.,  
22nd Floor Ocean Tower II, 75/42 Sukhumvit 19  
Bangkok 10110, Thailand

Copies of this publication can be obtained from:

Save the Children Sweden  
Regional Office for Southeast Asia and the Pacific  
14th floor, Maneeya Center, South Building  
518/5 Ploenchit Road, Bangkok 10330, Thailand  
Tel: +662 684 1046/7 Fax: +662 684 1048  
Email: [scs@seap.savethechildren.se](mailto:scs@seap.savethechildren.se)  
[www.scswedenseap.org](http://www.scswedenseap.org)

Or from:

Save the Children Sweden  
107 88 Stockholm  
Sweden  
Visiting address: Landsvägen 39  
Sundbyberg, Sweden  
Tel: +46 8 698 9000  
Fax: +46 8 698 9012  
Email: [rbpublishing@rb.se](mailto:rbpublishing@rb.se)  
[www.savethechildrensweden.org](http://www.savethechildrensweden.org)

---

# CONTENTS

---

<b>Foreword</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>What we mean by ‘What children say’</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1. A vision for research with children</b>	<b>21</b>
Rights-based research	21
History of the regional vision	27
Structure of the Report	38
<b>2. The research process: Realizing the vision</b>	<b>39</b>
Participatory research	39
<i>Scientific principles in participatory research</i>	
<i>Methods used in participatory research</i>	
<i>Ethical necessities in participatory research</i>	
Who carried out the research?	44
<i>Children as stakeholders</i>	
Developing regional and national protocols	54
Ethical strategies and dilemmas	57
<i>Ethical challenges in the field</i>	
The experience of data collection	60
Analysis and writing phase	65
Managing the vision	66
<b>Children as stakeholders</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>3. Existing information</b>	<b>71</b>
Global and regional research	71
What children have said	74
National contexts, national research	76
<i>Cambodia</i>	
<i>Fiji</i>	
<i>Hong Kong</i>	
<i>Indonesia</i>	
<i>Mongolia</i>	
<i>The Philippines</i>	
<i>Republic of Korea</i>	
<i>Viet Nam</i>	
Methods used	86

Failure to address emotional punishment	87
<b>The little that children have said until now</b>	<b>89</b>
<b>4. Rights-based research in the field</b>	<b>91</b>
Samples	91
<i>Country-specific sampling issues</i>	
Choosing and using research tools	97
Regional research tools ('core tools')	99
<i>Research diary</i>	
<i>Drawings</i>	
<i>Body maps</i>	
<i>Ranking from drawings and body maps</i>	
<i>Attitude survey</i>	
<i>Protection tool(s)</i>	
Optional tools	106
<i>Essays</i>	
<i>Sentence completion</i>	
<i>Diaries</i>	
<i>Recall</i>	
Distinctive tools	109
<i>Pre-drawn body maps</i>	
<i>Focus group discussions</i>	
<i>Interviews and questionnaires</i>	
<i>Psychological approaches</i>	
<i>Beans, chains and secret boxes in Indonesia</i>	
<i>Fijian notebooks</i>	
<b>What children said about methods</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>5. What children and adults told researchers</b>	<b>121</b>
Types of punishment	122
Body parts	130
Where punishment takes place	133
<i>Types of punishment at home and at school</i>	
<i>Institutional punishment</i>	
Reasons for punishment	139
Who punishes whom	143
Frequency of punishments	146
Gender and generation	147
Punishment patterns	152

Attitudes to punishment	154
What is worse – hurt inside or hurt outside?	160
<i>Ranked by danger, pain and fear</i>	
<i>Ranked by form of punishment</i>	
<i>Ranked by body parts</i>	
<i>Punishments that hurt the least</i>	
During and after punishment	164
Children's coping mechanisms	168
Alternatives to punishment	172
<b>What children said</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>6. Reflections</b>	<b>185</b>
Adults' conflicting thoughts, feelings and actions	186
Effects of punishment: The hit-hurt learning process	188
<i>Loving mothers who hit you</i>	
<i>Gender, generation and power</i>	
What is emotional punishment?	194
Disrespect for children	196
Main messages	196
<i>Conclusions</i>	
<i>Recommendations</i>	
<b>What children recommend to adults</b>	<b>199</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	
<b>About the authors</b>	

## List of figures

Figure 1: The 12-Step process	25
Figure 2: Map of the Southeast Asia and Pacific Region showing the countries involved in the research	26
Figure 3: Reporting and support structure for the SEAP regional capacity-building process in research on the physical and emotional punishment of children 2004-5	32
Figure 4: Reporting structure for national research teams	33
Figure 5: Map of Indonesia showing the location of research sites	47
Figure 6: Primary school girls providing feedback to the stakeholder meeting in West Timor, (Indonesia draft national report)	52
Figure 7: Taking the motorbike position as punishment, child's drawing (Republic of Korea draft national report)	117
Figure 8: Drawing 'What happens when I make a mistake' showing the data-collection form (Republic of Korea draft national report)	117
Figure 9: Back and front body maps drawn according to the Regional Protocol (Republic of Korea draft national report)	118
Figure 10: Protection umbrella in Indonesia (Indonesia draft national report)	118
Figure 11: Example of a punishment recall sheet (Republic of Korea draft national report)	119
Figure 12: Drawing Vietnamese girl, Vu Thanh Quyen, 'With these two hands, my mother holds me, cares for me: this I love', but 'With these two hands, my mother hits me: this I hate'	191

## List of tables

Table 1: Definitional matrix: Regional categories of punishment, according to children	9
Table 2: Punishments mentioned by children in the eight countries, categorized according to the definitional matrix	12



Table 3:	Timetable and regional responsibilities during the first phase of the comparative research process	34
Table 4:	Timetable and national tasks and responsibilities during the first phase of the comparative research process	35
Table 5:	National samples, adults and children (by gender where information is available)	91
Table 6:	National sample age ranges (children)	92
Table 7:	National samples (children) according to context	92
Table 8:	National samples (children) according to geographical location	93
Table 9:	Use of research tools from regional and national protocols by the eight national research teams	98
Table 10:	Research tools for regional comparisons, number of countries	99
Table 11:	Data collected using the one-week punishment diary local tool in North Maluku, Indonesia	108
Table 12:	Types of punishment reported by Fijian and Mongolian children, classified according to the definitional matrix (percentage of total punishments mentioned)	127
Table 13:	Percentages of children depicting direct assaults in the three research areas of Indonesia, using Regional Protocol group body map tool	128
Table 14:	Percentage of children who had been punished who mentioned direct assaults, according to whether they were administered with or without an implement (data from drawings and body maps, Hong Kong, Indonesia, urban Mongolia and Viet Nam)	129
Table 15:	Percentage of children in four countries mentioning specific body parts on which they are punished (body map data)	132
Table 16:	Types of punishment and frequency of depiction in drawings of urban and rural Mongolian children	134
Table 17:	Comparison of physical and emotional punishment frequencies at home and at school, Hong Kong, Korean and Vietnamese data from drawings	135
Table 18:	The first regional classification of reasons for punishment: Reasons given by children for why they were punished (body maps, drawings and diaries, Republic of Korea)	139

Table 19: Percentage of reasons for punishment at home and at school, discussion after drawings, Mongolia	140
Table 20: Which adults children say punish them, Fiji and Republic of Korea (diary and recall data)	144
Table 21: Who punishes children? Mothers and fathers compared by percentage of type of punishments in all contexts according to children's body maps (Mongolia)	146
Table 22: Punishment by gender, home and school, Republic of Korea	149
Table 23: Comparison of frequency of depiction of beatings and verbal attacks in Mongolian children's drawings, by age	150
Table 24: Reasons for being punished by age and gender, Fiji and Mongolia (drawings)	152
Table 25: Regional data from attitude survey, percentage responses to the statements 'If you do not hit children they will not learn good behaviour', 'Being hit is worse than being told you are a bad person', and 'When children do not listen, adults need to shout at them' (children and adults)	157
Table 26: Percentage of adult responses to the statement 'After I punish a child I feel unhappy' (Fiji, Hong Kong and Republic of Korea)	159
Table 27: The person I love most	169
Table 28: I feel safe with	170
Table 29: I am best at	171
Table 30: My happiest memory	171
Table 31: If I had power	172
Table 32: Punishments teachers do use and punishments they should use, according to Cambodian schoolchildren aged 12 to 15 years	174
Table 33: West Timor stakeholder children's ideas about alternative punishments	177
Table 34: West Timor alternative punishments suggested by adult stakeholders	178

---

## FOREWORD

---

This publication, *What children say: Results of comparative research on physical and emotional punishment of children in Southeast, East Asia and the Pacific, 2005*, is the result of an unprecedented study of children's experiences of corporal punishment, coordinated between teams from eight different countries in Southeast and East Asia and the Pacific: Cambodia, Fiji, Hong Kong, Indonesia, the Republic of Korea, Mongolia, The Philippines, and Viet Nam, involving more than 3,000 children and over 1,000 adults.

The research followed a 12-Step process designed for scientific research on the physical and emotional punishment of children, from conception to dissemination of results, while a code of ethics was maintained throughout the exercise. Researchers were responsible for making sure that the research did no harm to the children, and that participation in research was voluntary.

The last ten years of research with children and about childhood has shown that children can be excellent research informants, but that their lack of power may prevent them from expressing their views or describing their experiences. Children have valid perspectives and undeniable knowledge, and are as reliable (or unreliable) as adults as research partners.

The research generated valuable data. Some of the most significant findings include:

- Corporal punishment is widely used in all the eight countries;
- Violence towards children in their homes is widespread;
- There are more similarities between countries than differences, which shows that corporal punishment is a near-universal violation of rights, against which the trump card of cultural specificity should not be played;
- It is essential to ask children about their experiences and attitudes, as this has provided new insights into what forms of violence are applied, and that it requires new legislation and programme interventions to make changes;
- There is considerable dissonance between what adults say they think and what children say adults do.

My appreciation also goes to Dominique Pierre Plateau for managing, not only this unique research project, but also the Save the Children regional work to end violence against children.

Last, but not least, I should like to express my deepest gratitude and thanks to all the boys and girls who contributed invaluable insights, and gave this endeavor its true meaning and real value. Without the willingness and commitment of the children, this research would not have been possible.

On behalf of Save the Children, I dedicate this report to all children who continue to be daily victims of violence and corporal punishment, in violation of their most fundamental human rights. It is our fervent hope that this Report convinces all parties responsible to stop all violence against children without delay.

*Herluf G. Madsen  
Regional Representative  
Save the Children Sweden Southeast Asia and the Pacific  
March 2006*

It is also worth noting that some children in all countries are not subjected to corporal punishment, which confirms that some adults have found, and do use, other means of discipline.

In addressing violence against children it is important to build on such positive discipline experiences and encourage the promotion of an enabling environment for change, promoting positive discipline through education of parents, teachers and other care providers who have responsibilities for children, including law-enforcement agencies.

Of course a ban on physical and emotional punishment of children in all contexts, such as families and homes, educational institutions, institutional care, alternative family care, penal systems and workplaces, is an immediate human rights requirement. Save the Children Sweden will therefore continue its efforts to advocate for a complete ban in all countries and also monitor the effective enforcement of such prohibitions.

This publication will form the basis of direct programme intervention and advocacy work at field level. As such, I am hopeful it will be a valuable contribution to meet the overall Save the Children objective of eliminating the corporal punishment of children in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, in addition to contributing to the United Nations Secretary General's Global Study on Violence against Children.

It is also my hope that the research approaches and process used to produce this report will contribute to establishing good practice for regional comparative research with children, in particular in research with vulnerable groups and/or on sensitive issues.

I should like to thank Harriot Beazley, Sharon Bessell, Judith Ennew, and Roxana Waterson for their tireless efforts, patience and commitment throughout the fourteen months they dedicated to the implementation of the research and in compiling this Report. I should also like to thank all those people in the eight countries who have worked so hard to collect the data for this research.

---

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

---

The comparative research process could not have been conducted without significant contributions from many individuals and organizations. It is not possible for us to thank every person or organization by name, but we should like to express our particular gratitude to the following research team members and their supporters in each of the participating countries:

### **Cambodia**

Bun Than Buoy, Dararith Buy, Kall Kann, Phalla Keo, Botum Keu, Ekvisoth Khat Ty, Borrmeay Lom, Heng Meng, Leng Hour Oeung, Lena Katarina Richter, Saran Sar, Chamrong Soum, Phalla Vuoch, Bun Cheng Yang, Po Yim.

### **Fiji**

Ahmed Ali, Irshad Ali, Susie Anise, Moana Bergmaier-Masau, Sandra Bernklau, Peter Chung, Naeemah Khan, Rachana Kumari, Margaret Logavatu, Jone Moce, Lynette Petueli, Jejay Sen, Dilamawa Vesikula.

### **Hong Kong**

Yeuk Ming Chan, Sze Man Chan, Hiu Ling Cheng, Hong Yuk Cheuk, Jessica Ho, Wing Yi Lee, Siu Fung Lin, Ngan Fung Liu, Carmen Liu, Lok Man Lui, Priscilla Lui, Ying Chi Tang, Kin Wai Wong, Billy Wong, Ying Chui Yeung.

### **Indonesia**

A. Muhammad, Arijanto, Asyikin, Dr. Irwanto, Manawia, Sanjaya, Sumarno, Ismawanti Arif, Yolande Armstrong, Alfred Atidja, Ali Abdul Aziz, Febby Bakarbesy, Kevin Byrne, Astrid Dionisio, Erik van Dissel, Mikael Ebang, Pipin Susanty Elly, Paulus Fanu, Maryse Ferland, Marie de Fretes, Sopantini Heyward, Crystal Holt, Sri Widuri Karna, John K Lehe Lehe, Alexius Bere Lekik, Grace Lisapally, Michael Mandoza, Siti S. Marasabessy, Asha Devi Maricar, Peter Morrison, Tasman Muda, Philipus Nahak, Petronela Neonbasu, Obed J. Olipraingu, Welly de Queljoe, Rosdiani Rachim, Djirea Abd. Rahman, John Reinstein, M. Bakri Samad, Blasius Seran, Renssy Sohilaht, Heronimus R. Sugi, Novina Suprobo, Tewelina Tapilatu, Roxana Waterson, Maria Josephine Wijastuti.

## **Lao PDR**

Toumkham Borlihanh, Syvonsay Changpitikoun, Bounlua Chanhthaphomma, Phithanousone Choumanyvong, Bounma Duangmalasinh, Shaun Hext, Aith Inthaphome, Phoutdavanh Luang-armart, Davanh Maly-ya, Kaesone Phanhlark, Latsamy Phatdavanh, Latana Rasaavong, Soulysay Sengdaravong, Phayvy Sibualipha, Bounthavy Sisengdy, Phonetip Siththixay, Buahome Somvichit, Say-yadeth Songmixay, Khounkham Thammalangsy, Vongmany Vongpachanh, Sengsavanh Xayakone, Phonesy Xaythavone.

## **Mongolia**

Batkhishig Adilbish, Chinzorig Amgalan, Baigalmaa Amgalan, Gereltuya Baldan, Tungalag Chuluun, Jargal Chuluundorj, Olonchimeg Dorjpurev, Barkhas Losolsuren, Bayasgalan Natsag-Yunden, Bolormaa Purev, Amgalan Terbish, Odgerel Tserendorj.

## **Philippines**

Liza Ababon, Jennifer Abellana, Rodelio S. Ablir, Beng Aloro, Marlyn Bajenting, Ma. Teresa O. Briones, Minerva Cabiles, Ariel Cabariban, Wadel S. Cabrera III, Andy Calipos, Lydia Calipos, Dr. Ma. Lourdes A. Carandang, Denz Castañares, Eva Maria Cayanan, Rowena Cordero, Linda Diego, Adelfa Dimawala, Lydia F. Ela, Carolina Francisco, Gadugdog, Ma. Edmalyn Gallardo, Estrella Gillana, Angelita Y. Gregorio-Medel, Crispo Guinocor, Mary Ann Labrador, Tess Limbang, Nephthale Lopez, Nelly Majadillas, Angel Mae Pareja, Cristina Reodique, Amy Ricamora, Ruzzel Saboad, Beatrix Aileen B. Sison and her team of child psychologists, William Steven Tiu, Nina Lucia B. Tomen, Manny Toribio, Leony Usi, Leo Usi, Dennis Velasco, Maribel Ventula, Franco Villanueva.

## **Republic of Korea**

Moonkyung Cho, Hyunjung Hong, Junghee Im, Heesoo Jang, Hyesook Jeon, Hongjin Jeon, Eunhae Kang, Pyongdoo Kim, Insook Kim, Misook Kim, Hyunsook Kim, Eunjung Kim, Hoonsook Kim, Kyungmin Kim, Jusook Kim, Mineun Kong, Inho Lee, Hyunwoo Lee, Dr. Yanghee Lee, Sunyoung Oh, Kyungae Shin, Soonhee Sohn, Sujin Song, Youngsook Suh.





## **Viet Nam**

Julie Bergeron, Bui Huy Chien, Tran Van Chien, Luu Quang Dai, Do Hai Dang, Vu Tung Duong, Dulamdary Enkhtor, Michael Esktrom, Tran Ban Hung, Le Thi Huong, Deepali Khanna, Le Quynh Lan, Nguyen Duc Manh, Phan Thanh Minh, Dang Nam, Ngo Minh Phuong, Le Dinh Phuong, Bui Phuong Thao, Le Thi Minh Thi, Dinh Thi Hao, Tran Thi Hoa, Nguyen Thi Hong, Vu Thi Le Thanh, Luong Thi Thuan, Trinh Thu Quynh, Peter Van Dommelen, Christian Salazar Volkmann, Nguyen Thi Yen.

The coordination of this complex study was greatly facilitated by using an interactive webpage. We are indebted to Russell J. Kearnon for designing this and for supporting its operation throughout the project.

In their respective roles, at global or regional level, Sten Arvidsson, Mark Capaldi, Greg Duly, Amaya Gillespie, Carole Henderson, Adisak Klaklangsmorn, Piyanut Kotsan, Herluf G. Madsen, Alongkorn Parivudhiphongs, Rattaya Petcharaladakun, Thunwarat Pimukmanaskit and Paolo Sergio Pinheiro facilitated the completion of this Report. We are very grateful for their support.

Most of all, we are indebted to the children who generously shared their time and reflections throughout this project, thus giving it true meaning and value.

*Dominique Pierre Plateau (Bangkok)*

*Harriot Beazley (Brisbane)*

*Sharon Bessell (Canberra)*

*Judith Ennew (Bangkok)*

*Roxana Waterson (Singapore)*

## What we mean by ‘What children say’

This Report records what 3,322 children from eight countries in the Southeast Asia and Pacific region told researchers about everyday, common violence - both physical and emotional - used as punishment against them. The title, *What children say*, does not imply that the research focused on collecting ‘children’s voices’ through anecdotes, ‘case studies’ and illustrative quotations. In contrast, the research used a systematic, scientific approach, which sought information about children’s knowledge, experiences and views, using appropriate methods through which they could express themselves easily and without being harmed.

This research provides a unique opportunity to reflect in some depth on what children say in that sense and through these methods. Overall it highlights the extraordinary levels and types of violence to which children are subjected in the name of discipline and childrearing – a violence that becomes part of their psychological and social makeup and thus integral to all levels of society and all human relationships. We argue that this need not be the case, and that, in addition to legal prohibition of corporal punishment, a new vision of childrearing, based on respect for the human rights of children, is a fundamental political necessity.

‘Corporal punishment’ and ‘physical and emotional punishment’ tend to be used interchangeably in this account, in accordance with the Save the Children definition of corporal punishment, which includes physical, verbal and humiliating acts (Beazley et al, 2005). From this definition, a matrix of categories of discipline and punishment – incorporating physical, emotional and non violent punishments was derived as a basic analytical tool (Table 1).

**Table 1: Definitional matrix: Regional categories of punishment, according to children**

Category	This includes
<b>Physical punishment (according to the <i>Save the Children</i> definition)</b>	
<b>Direct assault (hitting)</b>	in the form of blows to any part of a child's body, such as beating, hitting, slapping or lashing, with or without the use of an instrument such as a cane, stick or belt.
<b>Other direct assault</b>	on a child's body, such as pinching, pulling ears or hair, twisting joints, cutting and shaving hair, cutting or piercing skin, carrying or dragging a child against his or her will.
<b>Indirect assault</b>	on a child's body, through using adult power, authority or threats to force a child to perform physically painful or damaging acts, such as holding a weight or weights for an extended period, kneeling on stones, standing or sitting in a contorted position.
<b>Deliberate neglect</b>	of a child's physical needs, where this is intended as punishment.
<b>Use of external substances</b>	such as burning or freezing materials, water, smoke (including from smouldering peppers), excrement or urine, to inflict pain, fear, harm, disgust or loss of dignity.
<b>Use of hazardous tasks</b>	tasks as punishment or for the purpose of discipline, including those that are beyond a child's strength or bring him or her into contact with dangerous or unhygienic substances; such tasks include sweeping or digging in the hot sun, using bleach or insecticides, unprotected cleaning of toilets.
<b>Confinement</b>	including being shut in a confined space, tied up, or forced to remain in one place for an extended period of time.

<b>Any other act according to children</b>	any other act for the purpose of punishment or discipline, which children themselves define as corporal punishment in the context of their own language and culture; identified through scientific participatory research with children.
<b>Witness</b>	any form of violent conflict resolution.
<b>Threat of physical punishment</b>	of physical punishment.
<b>Emotional punishment (<i>referred to in the Save the Children definition as humiliating and degrading punishment, and including additional examples provided by children during the research</i>)</b>	
<b>Verbal attack</b>	verbal assaults, threats, ridicule and or denigration. Scolding, yelling, swearing.
<b>Humiliation</b>	ridicule/denigration intended to reduce a child's confidence, self esteem or dignity; Being made to look or feel foolish in front of one's peers, being told one is 'no good'.
<b>Non violent punishment (<i>not included in the Save the Children definition but included as punishments by children during the research</i>)</b>	
<b>Counselling and explanation</b>	explanation of mistake, listening to child's point of view.
<b>Grounding</b>	refused permission to go out of the house, or into play areas at school.
<b>Chores/extra work</b>	non hazardous household tasks; extra school work (for example copying out passages or learning recitations).
<b>Withdrawal of privileges</b>	not allowed to watch television, play, do sport, use computer.

Even before any statistical analysis (indeed in some cases as early as the stakeholder meetings through which the research was designed) children provided details of specific punishments that detailed the brutality hidden in this definition. Although some of the examples they provided were clearly idiosyncratic examples of child abuse, others were – as this Report will show – all but universal (one could say all *too* universal) occurrences within the everyday discipline of children in the eight countries. When the lists of punishments collected by researchers are categorized according to the definitional matrix, they provide a chilling backdrop to statistical data (Table 2).

It is interesting that these children did not mention ‘witnessing punishment’ or ‘threats of punishment’. This may reflect the research methods used, which might not have picked up this information, or it may mean that these forms of corporal punishment are adult concerns expressed in the largely medico-psychological literature. Or it could mean, of course, that children do not think of them as ‘punishment’. The punishments grouped in the matrix as ‘emotional punishment’ also revealed this category to be unclear, for which reason it will be further examined in the final chapter of this Report.

**Table 2: Punishments mentioned by children in the eight countries, categorized according to the definitional matrix**

Category	Cambodia	Fiji	Hong Kong	Indonesia
<b>Physical punishment</b>				
<b>Direct assaults (hitting)</b>	<p>Hit with stick, cane, 'whip' made of electric cable, belt, whip, chain</p> <p>Sharp implements (knife, axe, metal); sharp-edged domestic items (broom, shoe, comb, plate, spoon)</p> <p>Kicking Punching ('pounding')</p>	<p>Beaten</p> <p>Hit</p> <p>Slapped Lashing</p> <p>Whacking Hiding Spanking Punching Dong (on the head)</p>	Hitting	<p>Hit with implement including stick, TV antenna, electric cable</p> <p>Kicking</p> <p>Slapping</p>
<b>Other direct assaults</b>	<p>Pinching Pulling Twisting joints</p>	Pinching		<p>Ear twisting Hair twisting Hair pulling, Pinching (cheek, stomach) Throwing object</p>

	Mongolia	Philippines	Republic of Korea	Viet Nam
	<p>Slapping (on cheekbones)</p> <p>Hitting with leather belt, stick, ruler, wood, rope, pot hooks, pushing</p> <p>Forcing to the ground</p> <p>Bearing with a rubber baton</p>	<p>Hitting</p> <p>Punishing</p> <p>Spanking</p> <p>Whipping</p> <p>With broom, stick, bamboo, belt</p>	<p>Slapping</p> <p>Whipped using switch, ruler, back-scratcher</p> <p>Beaten with a broomstick</p> <p>Punching</p> <p>Kicking</p>	<p>Hit with implement, including whip, belt, cable</p> <p>Punching</p> <p>Kicking</p>
	<p>Pinching</p> <p>Grabbing,</p> <p>Pulling hair,</p> <p>Scratching</p>	<p>Hair pulling</p> <p>Ear twisting</p> <p>Pinching</p>	<p>Pinching</p> <p>Ear pulling</p>	<p>Pinching</p> <p>Twisting body parts</p> <p>Throwing Objects</p> <p>Electric shocks</p>

Category	Cambodia	Fiji	Hong Kong	Indonesia
<b>Indirect assaults</b>	Running attached to moving bicycle  Standing on durian skin	Running round the grounds  Press ups  Sit ups  Holding ears and doing repeated squats		Run round home or school  Push ups  Made to climb up into a tree  'Walking' on their knees on aggregate until the knees bleed
<b>Deliberate neglect</b>		Sent out of class	Isolation	Chase away Leave alone
<b>Use of external substances</b>	Tied next to ants' nest			
<b>Use of hazardous tasks</b>		Clearing gardens;  Picking up rubbish  Sweeping the yard  Cleaning toilets and drains  Scrubbing corridors or footpaths		Carrying a five-litre bucket of water  Cutting grass for three hours



	<b>Mongolia</b>	<b>Philippines</b>	<b>Republic of Korea</b>	<b>Viet Nam</b>
	<p>Stand in sun all day</p> <p>Line up at 1-2 minute intervals</p> <p>Long periods in squatting position</p>	<p>Kneeling on salt</p>	<p>Kneel holding hands in the air</p> <p>Stand up-sit down (group punishment)</p> <p>Push ups</p> <p>Run round the playground</p> <p>Stand holding a chair</p> <p>Squat as if riding a motorbike</p>	<p>Tied to tree</p> <p>Tied near ants' nest</p> <p>Running attached to moving bicycle or motorbike</p> <p>Standing in sun</p> <p>Saluting the flag</p> <p>Physical exercise</p> <p>Hung up</p>
	<p>Kicking out</p>		<p>Starving</p>	<p>Leaving alone</p>
		<p>Chilli in the mouth</p>		
	<p>Mopping floor all day</p> <p>Cleaning the classroom</p>			

Category	Cambodia	Fiji	Hong Kong	Indonesia
<b>Confinement</b>	Tied to a tree (attached to ants's nest)		Confinement Restriction	Stand in sun Salute Stand in front of the school class Stand on one leg holding ears Stand on one foot
<b>Any other act according to children</b>				
<b>Witness</b>				
<b>Threat</b>				
<b>Emotional punishment</b>				
<b>Verbal attack</b>		Sworn at Lectured Harsh word		Angry Shout Scold
<b>Threats</b>			Threats	

	<b>Mongolia</b>	<b>Philippines</b>	<b>Republic of Korea</b>	<b>Viet Nam</b>
	Confined to the house ('house arrest')  Not allowed out  Keep in a dark room  Stand in front of blackboard  Detention  Shut in classroom	Put in a sack	Isolation	
		Of being hung from a tree or post		
	Shouting  Calling Names  Using bitter words  Rude/bad language  Keeping under stress	Nagging  Shouting	Scolding  Curse and swear	Scolding  Yelling  Swearing
	Giving a look  Demanding cash	Of not being passed in school		

Category	Cambodia	Fiji	Hong Kong	Indonesia
<b>Ridicule or denigration</b>		<p>Wearing signs around their necks</p> <p>Standing on chairs or other positions in front of the class</p> <p>Stand under the 'wisdom tree' in the school courtyard in full view of school</p>	<p>Labelling</p> <p>Mocking</p>	<p>Ignore/dislike</p> <p>Call names</p> <p>Standing in front of the class</p> <p>Singing a song</p> <p>Spit</p>
<b>Non-violent punishment</b>				
		<p>Tasks and chores</p> <p>Homework</p> <p>Counselling</p> <p>Grounding</p>	<p>Mandatory tasks (copying/reciting at school)</p> <p>washing up at home</p> <p>Report to parent/guardian</p> <p>Removal of privileges (not being allowed to use computers, internet or watch TV)</p> <p>Forced apology</p>	<p>Household chores, including cutting wood, carrying water and catching fish</p>

	<b>Mongolia</b>	<b>Philippines</b>	<b>Republic of Korea</b>	<b>Viet Nam</b>
	<p>Shouted at in front of others</p> <p>Causing embarrassment</p> <p>Discrimination</p> <p>Unfair marking</p>	<p>Shouted at in front of others</p> <p>Labelling (as prostitute)</p> <p>Denigration</p>	<p>Gender discrimination</p> <p>Being put to shame</p>	<p>Call names</p> <p>Humiliate</p>
	<p>Not allowed to play</p> <p>Not allowed to use the telephone</p> <p>Not allowed to see friends</p> <p>Sending to head teacher</p> <p>Not allowed to listen to music</p> <p>Household chores</p>	<p>Not allowed to watch TV</p> <p>Sent to bed</p> <p>Extra chores</p> <p>Made to pray</p>		



# A vision for research with children

During 2005, more than 3,000 children and over 1,000 adults from Cambodia, Fiji, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Mongolia, The Philippines, Republic of Korea, and Viet Nam took part in a project of comparative research on physical and emotional punishment<sup>1</sup>. In addition to producing national reports, the way the process was organized enabled comparisons to be made, in order to expose both commonalities and differences in attitudes and practices. Comparative research enables identification of general trends as well as of national and local patterns. Comparison is necessary in order to combat the common claim that culture and tradition are valid excuses for hitting children. Comparison can also inform policy and programme interventions. If certain interventions can be shown to decrease violence against children in a specific national context, then lessons can be learned about actions that will be effective in similar cultures – and counter-productive in others.

### **Rights-based research**

The research was part of Save the Children Southeast Asia and the Pacific (SEAP) overall strategic intervention to promote the abolition of corporal punishment of children in the region, a strategy that includes the priority of addressing identified information gaps as well as building capacity in rights-based research with children on sensitive issues. Save the Children recognizes that only scientific, rights-based data should be used to develop focused, rights-based programme interventions. This begins by respecting and realizing the rights of children to be properly researched, provided in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989):

---

<sup>1</sup> Members of a team from Lao PDR attended the Protocol Workshop and followed the process but, for reasons outside the control of the project, the Laotian team is unable to complete the national report until late in 2006.

- Article 12: Children have the right to express their opinions in matters concerning them;
- Article 13: Children have a right to express themselves in any way they wish – not limited to the verbal expressions used by adults;
- Article 3.3: Children have the right to expect the highest-quality services – which includes the best possible research;
- Article 36: Children must be protected from all forms of exploitation, including being exploited through research processes and through dissemination of information.

The two main consequences of these rights are that:

- Scientific research methods must be used, which also facilitate children to provide their views;
- All research processes involving children must meet certain ethical challenges.

The regional comparative research could also claim to be rights-based because it viewed corporal punishment of children primarily as a violation of their rights, rather than as a problem for health, welfare or social order. Thus, neither medical nor case-history models were used. In addition, children were involved as stakeholders in setting the research agenda in five of the eight countries. This proved to be particularly helpful in developing research questions and identifying ethical challenges.

A 2003 UNICEF review of information on violence against children in the East Asia and Pacific region identified some common research problems, chief of which were reliance on single research tools (usually questionnaires) and largely anecdotal information (Sandvik-Nylund, 2003). Other common problems include:

- Over reliance on numerical data: numbers in themselves are meaningless without proper definitions of the topics being researched;
- Methods that are inappropriate for children, asking direct questions and using words they may not understand;
- Research based on a single method of data collection, so that there is no cross-checking of information (triangulation);



- Research that seeks to explain the causes of physical punishment, without using control group samples;
- Anecdotal information using personal profiles that are journalistic, rather than scientific;
- Over-reliance on so-called case studies, which tend to be unreferenced stories about individual children;
- 'Feel-good' participatory approaches that collect drawings and children's 'voices', without a system through which they can be analysed and without seeking informed consent (International Save the Children Alliance SEAP Region, 2004).

The result is that most reports contain unreliable information, which should not be used to plan either programme interventions or advocacy campaigns. Although shocking anecdotes can raise awareness, policy makers require good statistical information before they will recognize a problem and try to change a situation. In addition, successful programmes need to be based on solid, scientific data and analysis.

The research approach used to design the comparative research described in this Report has a long history, as well as an ongoing connection with Save the Children. It is a process that depends on local expertise rather than the traditional research model of outside researchers working with local research assistants, using methods and research instruments designed through or modelled on Northern approaches. In contrast, the process used was rooted in local knowledge and expertise – including that of children – building capacity in both data collection and analysis (Beazley and Ennew, 2006).

This approach arose from considerations of the human rights of children. In 1992, the first three initial reports under the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) – from the Sudan, Sweden and Viet Nam – were received by the Committee on the Rights of the Child, which noted that the data on which these reports were based were not adequate, particularly in the case of protection issues. An informal meeting was convened in London in Save the Children UK offices later in 1992, attended by representatives of Save the Children Sweden and UK, UNICEF New York, Geneva and Florence, Childwatch International, Defence for Children International, and the Committee on the Rights of the Child as well as by two consultants

contracted by Save the Children Sweden (Jo Boyden and Judith Ennew). One of the immediate outcomes was parallel reviews of the methods used in research worldwide on children in situations of armed conflict (Boyden and Gibbs, 1993) and on street and working children (Ennew and Milne, 1996).

Subsequently, the same group of organisations decided to pilot a fresh approach to gathering data on vulnerable children by building the capacity of front-line programme workers through practical experience. Researchers learned through carrying out research directly related to their programme work, supported by a structured series of workshops. The development process for this work was carried out in Ethiopia, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, Kenya and Honduras over a two-year period. A brief workshop was also held in Viet Nam. Most of these pilot activities were supported by Save the Children Sweden and Save the Children UK. The data-collection and training manual, *Children in focus*, written on the basis of these experiences and based on concrete learning activities, was published by Save the Children Sweden in 1997 (Boyden and Ennew, 1997, also published in Spanish in 2000 and in Vietnamese in 2003).

Since 1997, larger-scale, action-oriented research based on *Children in focus* has taken place in Africa, Europe and Asia, following the same structured, concrete-learning approach. Local researchers design the research protocols, collect data, analyse results and write reports, supported by international advisors. These processes have taken place in Tanzania (1997-9), Kenya (1999-2001), Bosnia and Herzegovina (2002-3), Indonesia (2002-3) and Thailand (2005-6), all being sponsored by UNICEF. The topics have been children in need of special protection measures, children's views of the effects of HIV and AIDS on education, children in institutional care, child labour, the sexual exploitation of children, and post-tsunami child protection issues. Since 1997, many publications have resulted from this process, including work plans, documentation, protocols, analysis manuals and research reports (see for example, Ahmed et al, 1997, 1998; Robinson, 2000). In Asia, the Regional Working Group on Child Labour (RWC-CL) built capacity using this method and published a version of the manual for use with working children (RWG-CL, 2003), which was later prepared in a more accessible form, and is translated into Vietnamese and *Bahasa Indonesia* (RWG-CL, 2004).

The research process follows 12-Steps, from conceptualization to report writing (*Figure 1*). For capacity-building purposes a number of supporting workshops are held at each level, to build the capacity of researchers before they progress to the next set of steps (Robinson, 2000; Ennew and Plateau, 2004). The sequence of workshops is:

- Recruitment of researchers and development of research questions (with stakeholders);
- Protocol development: researchers learn about child-rights based research, participatory research methods and research ethics, developing their own protocol (instruction manual) and designing their own research tools;
- First analysis workshop: after a period of data collection, researchers begin the analysis and indexing of data and, if necessary, design new research tools;
- Second analysis workshop: researchers complete the analysis process, including numerical analysis, comparing and contrasting the results from different methods, places and groups of research participants;
- Writing workshop: researchers collaborate in writing a report from their research.

**Figure 1: The 12-Step process**

Step 12 Use information	Level 5 Implementation
Step 11 Research report	Level 4 Analysis and writing
Step 10 Analysis	
Step 9 Second data collection	Level 3 Data collection
Step 8 First analysis	
Step 7 First data collection	
Step 6 Research plan	Level 2 Protocol design
Step 5 Research tools	
Step 4 Detailed research questions	
Step 3 Collect, review and analyse secondary data	Level 1 Preparation
Step 2 Define research aims and main research questions	
Step 1 Identify stakeholders and the research team	

Source: Ennew and Plateau, 2004

This 12-Step process was implemented in eight countries in the Southeast Asia and Pacific region, between the end of 2004 and the end of 2005, to research the physical and emotional punishment of children. A ninth country, Lao PDR, also began the process in 2005 but was unable to complete its data collection before the middle of 2006 and is unfortunately not included in this Report (Figure 2).

**Figure 2: Map of the Southeast Asia and Pacific Region showing the countries involved in the research**



National research teams developed and used a Regional ('core') Protocol (Beazley et al, 2005; CD-ROM) as the basis of separate national protocols, between November 2004 and September 2005, with the support of a team of four international consultants who are established academic researchers and also have experience of research in national contexts in the region, most specifically in the

Indonesian research using *Children in focus* in 2002-3. This Report is not only a record of the results, and of how children's 'voices' were heard and analysed scientifically and ethically, but also a review of achievements and lessons learned during this first international comparative use of the 12-Step process.

One advantage of using this research approach is that a protocol can be developed for research between different countries or across an entire region, while avoiding two main pitfalls of comparative research:

- Using a general protocol (often with a single method) that does not take local differences into account;
- Consequent, unsupervised protocol alterations made by local researchers, which invalidate comparison.

In the 12-Step process, some elements of the protocol may be adapted to local contexts, while others remain the same and can be compared. For maximum comparability, researchers from different countries together design the core parts of the protocol – the elements that do not change in all national protocols.

## **History of the regional vision**

The history of how this particular vision of comparative research was brought about may be interesting to others who might wish to develop similar processes. Because the experiences are unique, some details are provided in this section to encourage others to work towards the same vision and benefit from the lessons learned.

Based on a commitment to fulfilling the human rights of children and knowledge of the impact of corporal punishment on individual children as well as on social harmony, Save the Children has been promoting the abolition of corporal punishment of children globally since 2001. Recommendations of a Global Workshop on this topic, organized by Save the Children in Cairo early in 2003, suggested that the abolition of corporal punishment of children should also become a thematic contribution to the United Nations Secretary General's Global Study on Violence against Children (UN Study).

Corporal punishment includes many negative ways in which adults discipline children – all of which are violations of their human rights because they are:

- Undignified;
- Cruel (often amounting to torture);
- Humiliating;
- Damaging to children's physical, emotional and moral development;
- An abuse of power that teaches children violence is acceptable.

According to the definition developed by Save the Children, and used throughout the comparative research project, corporal punishment of children consists of punishment or penalty for an offence, or imagined offence, and/or acts carried out for the purpose of discipline, training or control, inflicted on a child's body, by an adult (or adults) – or by another child who has been given/or assumed authority or responsibility for punishment or discipline. Physical punishment includes:

Direct assaults in the form of blows to any part of a child's body, such as beating, hitting, slapping or lashing, with or without the use of an instrument such as a cane, stick or belt;

Other direct assaults on a child's body, such as pinching, pulling ears or hair, twisting joints, cutting and shaving hair, cutting or piercing skin, carrying or dragging a child against his or her will;

Indirect assaults on a child's body, through using adult power, authority or threats to force a child to perform physically painful or damaging acts, such as holding a weight or weights for an extended period, kneeling on stones, standing or sitting in a contorted position;

Deliberate neglect of a child's physical needs, where this is intended as punishment;

Use of external substances, such as burning or freezing materials, water, smoke (including from smouldering peppers), excrement or urine, to inflict pain, fear, harm, disgust or loss of dignity;

Use of hazardous tasks as punishment or for the purpose of discipline, including those that are beyond a child's strength or bring him or her into contact with dangerous or unhygienic substances; such tasks include sweeping or digging in the hot sun, using bleach or insecticides, unprotected cleaning of toilets;

Confinement, including being shut in a confined space, tied up, or forced to remain in one place for an extended period of time;

Any other act perpetrated on a child's body, for the purpose of punishment or discipline, which children themselves define as corporal punishment in the context of their own language and culture; identified through scientific participatory research with children;

Witnessing any form of violent conflict resolution;

Threats of physical punishment.

Humiliating/degrading punishment includes:

Verbal assaults, threats, ridicule and/or denigration, intended to reduce a child's confidence, self-esteem or dignity.

The comparative research project is one result of a regional strategic planning process as well as producing the third and last in a series of submissions to the UN Study. Three strategic planning and implementation workshops were organized by Save the Children Sweden to develop a regional strategy to address the corporal punishment of children. During the first, in October 2003, five Save the Children members representing seven SEAP countries developed a strategy plan with seven areas of objectives, including the following objectives for research:

To obtain reliable data about:

- a) Basic knowledge of positive traditional values and practices of child rearing and discipline;
- b) Different forms of corporal punishment at home, in schools, in institutions, the justice system and other contexts of childhood;
- c) Effects and consequences of corporal punishment;
- d) Extent of the problem (International Save the Children Alliance SEAP Region, 2003).

A second workshop, which examined national challenges, resource and information needs in addressing corporal punishment of children in the region, was held in April 2004. Eight Save the Children members and seven partner organizations representing eleven SEAP countries prepared brief updates on progress in addressing corporal punishment and violence against children, as well as lists of needs and challenges in national contexts in relation to the seven strategic objectives. These, once again, highlighted the need for reliable data, including information from children themselves. The information needs identified were:

- What children think about physical punishment;
- The types of punishment inflicted on children;
- The contexts of punishment, including homes, schools, streets, institutions and juvenile justice;
- Who punishes children – and why;
- What adults think about physical punishment and discipline;
- Local means of non violent conflict resolution, which can be used in programme interventions and advocacy (International Save the Children Alliance SEAP Region, 2004).

Both workshops also recognized that local capacity should be built or strengthened, so that further research can be carried out successfully by nationals in their own countries. In addition to being the focus of activity during the April 2004 workshop, one research-related objective for follow up was collaborative design of a common protocol for regional research on corporal punishment, so that research could be carried out in national contexts, but with the possibility of making meaningful regional comparisons. Participants in this workshop also identified the need for a purpose-designed research manual (Resource Handbook), which was subsequently published in September 2004 (Ennew and Plateau, 2004). Meanwhile the research structure was being developed.

A third regional strategic planning workshop, in Vientiane in November 2004, focusing on addressing the physical punishment and emotional abuse of children in schools, included presentation of the Resource Handbook, first steps towards recruitment of focal points and national teams, and the development of a set of regional research questions on corporal punishment in education (Save the Children SEAP, 2004).



The immediate goals of the comparative research project were to:

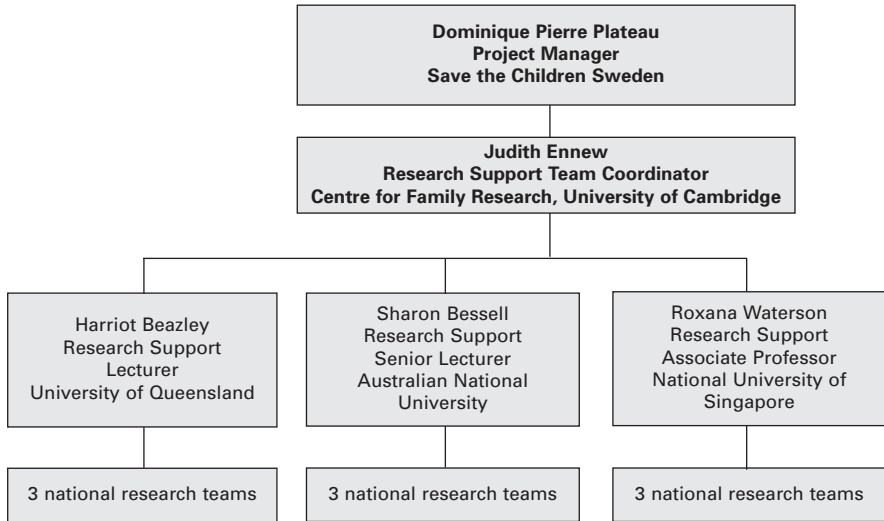
- Produce national and regionally-comparable information that will form the basis of direct programme intervention and advocacy work at field level to meet the overall Save the Children objective of eliminating the physical and emotional punishment of children in the SEAP region;
- Contribute to the United Nations Secretary General's Global Study on Violence Against Children, both through input to the Regional Consultation in May 2005 and in sharing information with the Global Study;
- Build regional capacity in child research (including ethical aspects), in particular for research on the physical and emotional punishment of children;
- Maximize on capacity-building and research opportunities of the Save the Children Toolkit *So you want to involve children in research?* (International Save the Children Alliance Child Participation Working Group, 2004) and the regional Resource Handbook *How to research the physical and emotional punishment of children* (Ennew and Plateau, 2004).

The long-term goals were:

- To establish good practice for regional comparative research with children, in particular research with vulnerable groups and/or sensitive issues;
- To identify cultural practices of peaceful conflict resolution, which can form the basis for working towards a culture of peace and non violence for children and in society as a whole within the context of the United Nations Decade of Peace and Non Violence for children 2001-2010.

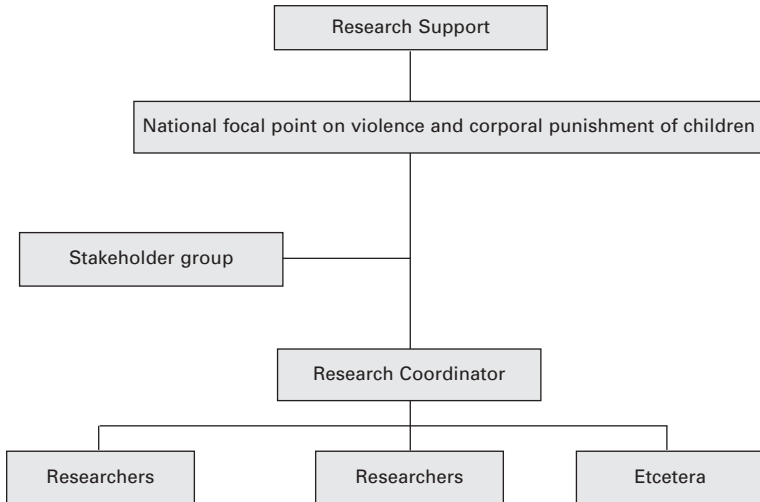
The original nine countries in the comparative process were divided into three sub-groups, each of which was supported by one member of the international research support team, which reported to another international researcher, who acted as research support team coordinator and was responsible to the project manager (Figure 3).

**Figure 3: Reporting and support structure for the SEAP regional capacity-building process in research on the physical and emotional punishment of children 2004-5**



Within national research teams, the Save the Children national focal point on violence and corporal punishment reported to the relevant research support team member, and was responsible for a national stakeholder group as well as for the national research team, consisting of a research coordinator and a number of researchers – the size of the team depending on resources available (Figure 4). The roles and responsibilities of each person involved in managing or carrying out the research (including the stakeholder group members) were set out in terms of reference in the project proposal, which was closely based on the models provided in the Resource Handbook (Ennew and Plateau, 2004).

In addition to direct contacts maintained between research teams and their designated support team member, overall supervision, interaction and regional solidarity was maintained through a password-only, easy-to-use webpage, on which background documents, progress reports, questions and answers were posted throughout the 12-Step process.

**Figure 4: Reporting structure for national research teams**

To ensure the success of the overall research process, each participating country office needed to commit itself to participation for the full duration of the comparative research programme (December 2004 to December 2005), using the 12-Step process. It was originally hoped that all countries involved in the three Save the Children workshops on addressing the corporal punishment of children in SEAP, and who had thus been involved in the integral research capacity-building processes, would decide to participate.

The very first step was for the National Focal Points on corporal punishment, or a person nominated for this purpose, to agree to take an active part in supervising the activities of the full national process, with regular support and guidance provided by the support team. A detailed timetable was developed to ensure that teams were ready for a workshop where the basic Regional Protocol would be designed in the context of capacity building based on the Resource Handbook (Tables 3 and 4).

**Table 3: Timetable and regional responsibilities during the first phase of the comparative research process**

<b>Task/responsibility</b>	<b>By whom</b>	<b>Date(s)</b>
Recruit and supervise Research Support Coordinator  Recruit and supervise the Research Support Team members  Organise February Workshop  Inform Focal Points and recruit for workshop	Project Manager	October 2004 to February 2005
Distribute Resource Handbook	Project Manager	October 2004
Support the development of research questions in national processes (Steps 1-3)	Research Support Team Coordinator and Research Support Team	November 2004 to February 2005
Support the development of interactive information-sharing	Research Support Team Coordinator and Research Support Team	November to February 2005
Development of information-sharing tools	Research Support Team Coordinator, and IT Consultant	October/ November 2004
Plan Workshop	Research Support Team Coordinator and Research Support Team (supervised by Project Manager)	February 19-20 2005
Facilitate Workshop	Research Support Team Coordinator, Research Support Team	February 21-23 2005
Additional training on information-sharing tool	IT Consultant	One session during February workshop

**Table 4: Timetable and national tasks and responsibilities during the first phase of the comparative research process**

Task/responsibility	By whom	Date(s)
Contract researchers in order to form the country research teams	National Focal Point or designated person	November 2004
Develop research questions with stakeholders	National Focal Point and Research Team, with regular guidance and technical advice from the Research Support Team;	November 2004 to February 2005
Select a national group of two to three persons – National Focal Point or nominated person and researcher(s) – to attend a three-day protocol development workshop in Bangkok in February 2005	National Focal Point and Research Coordinator	January 2005

National offices were responsible for:

- Selecting individuals to attend the three-day Protocol Workshop in Bangkok in February 2005;
- Attending, or having input to, a two-day workshop in Bangkok preceding the Regional Consultation for the UN Secretary General's Global Study on Violence Against Children, in June 2005;
- Research teams and research logistics, including fees, transport, translation (where necessary), reproduction of protocol and research materials, data analysis and report writing;
- Involvement of children in research, ensuring ethical and meaningful participation using the Minimum Standards and Protocols developed by the Steering Group for the Regional Consultation;
- National report publication and distribution.

After the Protocol Workshop, in February 2005 in Bangkok, national focal points and national research coordinators were responsible for ensuring the implementation of the Regional Protocol in their national context by:

- Contracting and supervising a research team;
- Developing with the research team a national protocol based on the core Regional Protocol and using agreed ethical procedures;
- Implementing data collection, analysis and report writing according to the 12-Step process, assisted by the research support team;
- Reporting progress and initial results to the Regional Consultation on the UN Study in Bangkok, June 2005;
- Publishing a national report based on the data collected and analysed;
- Providing input to a regional comparative report.

Although regional analysis and writing-up workshops would have been preferable, it was already recognized in the planning stage that it would not be possible to hold these in the systematic form established in the 12-Step process. This was due mainly to the fact that the national teams all followed different time trajectories due to the pressures of local planning processes, resources and conditions (for example rainy seasons and school holidays). They would not have all been at the same stage of completing different steps in the process at the same time, so it would not have made sense to gather them together in a single workshop. It was possible for research support team members and the project manager (sometimes taking advantage country visits for other purposes) to engage in discussion with some stakeholders and teams and even, in the cases of Indonesia, the Philippines and Viet Nam, for the relevant research support team member to hold a brief workshop. In addition, team members of nine countries shared their experiences in a meeting with the project manager and research support team coordinator during the course of the Regional Consultation for the UN Study in June 2005. This was useful but, at that time, most teams were still at the data collection phase, and so were not ready to make presentations on their research at the Consultation.

Save the Children embarked on this process, not only as part of a strategy for addressing corporal punishment but also in order to ensure that:

- Children's views and experiences could be reflected in information used as the basis of programming and advocacy, as well as in data shared with the UN Study;
- Children would be protected in research and dissemination of information through the use of ethical procedures;
- Children's rights to be properly researched were maintained and promoted.

The process was also intended to:

- Demonstrate that the approach advocated for use in the UN Study, through the Save the Children publication *So you want to involve children in research?* is possible and produces comparative data on a regional basis;
- Produce scientific, reliable data for programming and advocacy as well as national and regional reports contributing to the UN Study outcome report in 2006;
- Result in information about positive cultural practices of peaceful conflict resolution to inform and guide programming and advocacy;
- Provide direct input to the International Society for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect 6th Asian Regional Conference in Singapore, 16-18 November 2005, building on Save the Children participation in the ISPCAN 15th International Congress on Child Abuse and Neglect, 17-24 September 2004, Brisbane (Australia);
- Through engaging experienced senior academics as trainers, develop links to and input for the academic community in the region and elsewhere, including through input to the Asia-Pacific Childhoods Conference, National University of Singapore, July 2006.

This Report of the process and results of the comparative research is one of three submissions to the UN Study from Save the Children Sweden Regional Office for Southeast Asia and the Pacific, the other two being a regional legal and literature review (Nogami et al, 2005) and a review of non violent childrearing practices in the region (Ennew and Plateau, 2005).

## **Structure of the Report**

This Report is an account of the process and results of regional comparative research on the physical and emotional punishment of children, carried out in eight countries. Because the focus of the research was children's views and experiences, these are highlighted with red-edged pages at the beginning and end of the book, and also between chapters, to provide consolidated commentary. Thus the structure and layout of the text give increased visibility to what children say.

Having outlined the vision in this chapter, the remainder of the Report examines what happened in practice in this innovative process.

Chapter 2 describes the process itself, both regionally and nationally, the development of the Regional Protocol (including the ethical strategy), national protocols, stakeholders (especially children) and research teams, data collection, data analysis and national report writing; giving an assessment of obstacles, achievements and lessons learned.

Chapter 3 provides a brief description of key issues that arose in secondary data reports from the eight national teams, in the light of the regional literature review (Nogami et al, 2005).

Chapter 4 begins with a statistical inventory of the data collected through different methods from/with both children and adults examining national experiences using regional tools, (drawings, body maps, ranking, attitude survey and protection tool) including differences in design and interpretation tool-by-tool across all countries, as well as a brief account of optional tools and the distinctive tools developed by some national teams.

Chapter 5 provides a regional picture of the physical and emotional punishment of children from the results of triangulation between national data and reports, structured around main research questions.

In Chapter 6, the regional support team reflects on the meaning of statistical data, providing some conclusions and recommendations from the process as a whole. This is followed by the bibliography. A pocket inside the back cover contains a CD-ROM with an electronic version of this Report, together with the Regional Protocol (CD-ROM).



# The research process: Realizing the vision

Action research for programming and advocacy requires more than simply making adjustments to the data-collection process. It demands a return to the basic premises and debates of social science research, to the way human beings are conceptualised, to the implications of this for the methods used, and above all to consideration of human rights as a key element in action-research projects. International welfare organizations are increasingly turning to participatory approaches in both programming and research, seeking the participation of people who are most involved, both in the definition of problems and in the solutions designed to improve the situation. Participatory research is an integral component of this rights-based strategy.

### **Participatory research**

One obstacle to the success of a participatory research approach is the common misconception that there is an unmistakable distinction between the 'qualitative methods', with which it is associated, and 'quantitative methods' that are believed to be more 'scientific' and superior. This fallacy is as common among academic social scientists as it is among policymakers and programme workers; it acts as a barrier to collecting and analysing data that are adequate for policy making. But this need not be the case. Indeed, there are no essentially participatory methods, nor are the data necessarily unscientific or unquantifiable. Science is characterized by methodology rather than by numbers (Beazley and Ennew, 2006; Ennew and Plateau, 2004).

A key conceptual obstacle is that, when translated into research, participation tends to become a series of techniques that encourage people to express their experiences and views, but rarely produce data adequate for analysis, or that form a reliable basis for policy and

programmes. It can be argued that, in its usual manifestations, participatory research consists of techniques for data collection, rather than research, because the latter should include proper procedures for data collection and analysis. A human-rights framework provides a way in which scientific research with children can be developed on the basis of novel, and highly-useful, participatory techniques.

### *Scientific principles in participatory research*

The tyranny of participation has what might be called a negative link with the tyranny of the quantitative, because participatory research is almost always associated with descriptive rather than numerical data (Beazley and Ennew, 2006). This is related to the unsystematic approach often taken to both data collection and analysis in participatory research approaches. Reports based on participatory research may over-emphasise the authenticity of 'peoples' voices' and tend to rely on descriptions, case studies and extended quotations from research participants. Interesting and enlightening as these may be, the research cannot be compared over time or between different places, and programmes based on the results are bound to be based on impressions rather than on scientific analysis.

Participatory research that can claim to be scientific entails researchers designing a research protocol, or instruction manual, for every researcher to use at all times. Such a protocol details the background to the research, research questions, ethical strategy and research tools and enables researchers to collect data that can be compared between different places, groups and times. If a research protocol is properly used, it can be replicated to monitor both ongoing situations and the effects of interventions.

Research tools typically contain exact details of the research methods used, and how to use them:

- Aim of the particular tool;
- Method(s) used, for example, children's drawings, followed by focus group discussion;
- Sample of participants for each data-collection session;
- How many researchers are required for each data-collection session (and any specific characteristics, such as gender);

- Instructions for seeking informed consent from this particular sample of research participants, for this particular research tool;
- List of equipment required: for example number of informed consent forms, number and size of pieces of paper for drawings, number and type of pencils/crayons, question sheet for focus group discussion, recording equipment – such as a tape recorder if this is to be used, including the number of cassette tapes and batteries;
- Exact instructions for researchers, including precise words to be used if this is important for comparison;
- A copy of any pre-designed equipment for this particular research tool (such as recording sheets, charts or visual stimulus).

A key tool is the standard observation sheet (CD-ROM), a copy of which is completed by researchers after every data collection session and attached to the data collected. All data are numbered and, through the standard observation sheets, can be traced back in time and space, according to the sample, the tool used and the researchers who collected the data. This makes it possible to convert apparently 'soft' or descriptive data into 'hard' numbers, using various forms of counting – including sophisticated statistical packages (Ennew and Plateau, 2004).

### *Methods used in participatory research*

How human beings are viewed – either as objects in or subjects of their lives – determines the overall research approach, or methodology, which, in its turn, determines the techniques or methods used in the research process. This is not always understood in the applied-research processes associated with development, but it is a key idea, not least because development workers are now grappling with increasing demands to be 'rights-based' in their work – which includes being rights-based in their research (Theis, 2004, for example).

This means that, despite frequent references to 'participatory methods' in the literature, there are only participatory approaches. Collecting children's drawings is not participatory unless the children know why the information is being collected, understand the methods, have given their consent and have the opportunity to

explain their drawings to researchers who record the information adequately. Questionnaires can be participatory, provided that children design them, use them to collect data and analyse the results (Beazley and Ennew, 2006; Ennew and Plateau, 2004).

Direct questions, whether in the form of questionnaires or interviews, should not be asked at the beginning of research, when researchers do not know what questions to ask or what words to use in a largely-unexplored field such as corporal punishment. First it is necessary to discover, using indirect methods:

- What people think about the research topic;
- Whether or not they see it as a problem;
- What words they use to talk about it;
- How they ask questions.

This is true for all research with adults or children, but particularly so of research on sensitive subjects such as violence. If researchers begin by asking questions they have drafted before finding out how people talk about the research topic, it is almost certain that their own ideas will be confirmed and that they will not find out much about the actual situation and what it means to research participants. By using participatory and 'indigenous' (culturally-relevant) techniques, researchers in the Philippines found that what adults see as discipline can be perceived as 'abuse' by children (De la Cruz et al, 2001).

It is particularly important to design several research tools for any protocol, using more than one method, so that data can be cross-checked between methods and samples, and the research has a better chance of obtaining valid results. Research results are not validated by feedback to the respondents but rather by cross-checking between different research methods and participant groups, a process known as 'triangulation'. The tools should avoid the familiar questionnaire format, be designed to be open-ended and elicit ethnographically-rich data about respondents' own experiences. Nevertheless, if they are designed to be administered in a systematic way by all teams, they can also produce data suitable for numerical analysis.

### *Ethical necessities in participatory research*

In addition to using methods appropriately, rights-based research entails designing and adhering to an ethical strategy, which should be integral to any protocol. Precise research ethics vary according to topic, research participants and external circumstances such as politics and culture. This meant that, in the comparative research process, a core strategy was set out in the Regional Protocol, to be adapted in national protocols to suit local circumstances (CD-ROM). Ethical principles in research had been a focus of capacity-building sessions in the second Save the Children regional strategic-planning workshop in 2004 (International Save the Children Alliance SEAP Region, 2004), which meant that several of the national team members and focal points who later attended the Protocol Workshop in 2005 were already familiar with the main principles of ethical research. In fact, the ethical strategy in the Regional Protocol benefited considerably from materials posted on the interactive webpage by the Indonesian and Vietnamese researchers.

Although adhering to essential ethical rules may be time-consuming and may not always be easy, it is obligatory in order to protect research participants and ensure that their rights are not violated. The principles are that researchers are responsible for making sure that research will do no harm; that participation in research is voluntary; and that stakeholders agree to any subsequent action programmes as well as to the dissemination of research materials and results. The chief principle is voluntarism – individuals should have given their informed consent, which means that they have been informed of and understand:

- Research aims;
- Research methods and processes;
- Research topics;
- What the data will be used for;
- That it is possible to withdraw from the research at any time.

In this last respect, ‘informed consent’ might be better termed ‘informed dissent’. No research participant should be cajoled, persuaded or intimidated into giving informed consent or withdrawing dissent (Ennew and Plateau, 2004).

It is important that researchers make sure that research participants really do understand all these issues – it is not sufficient simply to tell them and then 'get' informed consent. Respondents of any age need to understand and voluntarily to give their consent (or not, as the case may be). In addition, specific ethical considerations apply to seeking informed consent from children. Even though parents and teachers, for example, will usually need to give their consent before researchers can access children, their consent is not sufficient. Children also need to give their consent as individuals, with researchers ensuring that they can feel able to say 'No' – without any negative consequences – even if parents and teachers have consented.

Each country team in the comparative research was required to write a national ethical strategy. This required the preparation of letters or forms for seeking informed consent from parents, school principals, teachers and other adults, as well as finding the most appropriate way for children, especially younger children, to grant or withhold their consent. Further considerations included what to do if researchers encountered instances of abuse. It was necessary to establish how researchers should deal with this, as well as what local networks were in place to help abused children, and how to contact them.

### **Who carried out the research?**

The recruitment of the research team and its support by a local stakeholder group, especially through the development of research questions, is a key part of Steps 1 and 2 of the 12-Step process (Figure 1 and Ennew and Plateau, 2004). Thus, in order to understand how the vision of the comparative research process worked out in practice, it is worth describing the composition of national research teams and stakeholder groups. In this section, as elsewhere in the Report, precise references are not given to unpublished materials provided by the national teams, although these are listed in full in the bibliography.

The eight countries varied considerably in geographical, cultural, social, political and economic conditions, with respect to recent history and not least in size of population. The national sponsors also varied in the human, financial and logistical support they were able

to provide. Each country had a different research tradition. Thus it was not surprising that there were considerable differences in team composition. In some cases the researchers had substantial research experience in academic institutions. Others were students or programme officers with little experience of research. The majority had an academic background in the social sciences, psychology or social work. Some were contracted full time during the research process, others carried out this work in addition to their usual employment. One characteristic they all shared was commitment to the research, sometimes under difficult circumstances or external pressures.

In Cambodia, the research was managed by Save the Children Norway, Cambodia office, and most of the researchers were advanced students from the university – predominantly psychologists, with one sociologist. The research coordinator (who was also the national focal point on violence and corporal punishment) attended the Protocol Workshop in Bangkok in February 2005 with one team member. She had been exposed to the 12-Step process since 1999, and had long been enthusiastic about using it in Cambodia. The composition of the stakeholder group reflected the widespread activities in the children’s-rights field of both local and international non governmental organizations in the country, as well as giving a special place to consultation with children from poor communities.

Save the Children Fiji established a team of nine young Fijians (male and female) together with an impressive stakeholder group, which included government, religious bodies, human-rights organisations, media, schools, teachers and teachers associations, academics and international organizations, both governmental and non governmental. A Consultation Meeting on the Study of Physical and Emotional Punishment of Children was held in Suva before the Protocol Workshop. Stakeholders shared their essentially similar concerns about children’s protection, the need for baseline data, education in parenting skills and children’s rights. In group discussions they identified common gaps that hinder effective programme and policy development. Fijian researchers had not been involved before the Protocol Workshop, but the Save the Children Fiji Director had been involved in all three Save the Children regional

strategic-planning workshops and the organization itself had considerable experience of using Participatory Impact Assessment – a process of understanding change in a particular context through measurement by stakeholders, including children (Ali, 2004).

After several meetings with the stakeholders in Hong Kong, an alliance on child protection was formed to organize research to explore the prevalence of physical punishment. Two representatives were appointed to represent Hong Kong at the Protocol Workshop. Data collection involved the Hong Kong Committee of Children's Rights and some students from the Chinese University of Hong Kong, under the coordination of a university-based psychologist and her two assistants, with support from staff of the sponsoring agency, Against Child Abuse, a Hong Kong non governmental organization with a history of collaboration with Save the Children. As the 12-Step process is a relatively innovative approach to research, planning required considerable – but stimulating – discussion about the difference between sociology and psychology in terms of approach, especially with respect to sampling.

The large, varied population and scattered islands of Indonesia provided in many ways, the greatest planning challenges, not least because Save the Children UK staff were largely re-deployed to tsunami relief shortly before the February 2005 Workshop. Save the Children UK in Indonesia had mainly worked over the previous five years in conflict and post-conflict areas. Current programmes are based in West Timor, Maluku, North Maluku and West Kalimantan, as well as new programmes in Aceh and Nias to support tsunami recovery, and the central office in Jakarta. One important aspect of the work of Save the Children UK in Indonesia has been to enable primary schools and communities to examine ways of disciplining children and to seek alternatives to the harsh and violent punishments that are currently common. Community-based research was therefore particularly suited to programme sites in Maluku, North Maluku and West Timor (Figure 5), where some participatory research had already taken place and contacts already existed with local stakeholders. Two Indonesian research team members accompanied the research coordinator (who was a Save the Children UK staff member) to the Protocol Workshop.



Nevertheless, with three different teams working in remote locations, where there was little or no internet access, the situation proved unusually complicated to manage. Fortunately, the research support team member was able to work with some research team members in Jakarta after fieldwork had been completed.

**Figure 5: Map of Indonesia showing the location of research sites**



Save the Children UK in Mongolia had already conducted surveys on violence in 2000, 2001 and 2002, but without a specific focus on corporal punishment. In January 2005, the Gender Centre for Sustainable Development (a local non governmental organization specialising in research) was contracted to undertake the comparative research with a team consisting of a coordinator and researchers. Save the Children UK staff, the research coordinator and a researcher participated in the Protocol Workshop in February 2005 and subsequently identified key questions and tools to use in Mongolia. After receiving the draft Regional Protocol developed by the research support team, the national research team adapted it to the Mongolian context and finalised it through extensive consultation among the researchers, advisors and stakeholders. Stakeholder meetings were held in all research sites, typically involving representatives of the Education Department, Department of Social Affairs, Department of Women's Empowerment, police, community leaders and children.

The two members of Save the Children UK staff in The Philippines who attended the Protocol Workshop had attended at least one of the Save the Children regional strategic-planning workshops, but had not yet recruited a research team. Research design, fieldwork and analysis were later contracted to psychologists at the Center for Community Services of Ateneo de Manila University, a social-development unit undertaking various community-oriented programmes for the urban poor. The research covered two major cities in the Philippines, Cebu City in the Visayas Islands and Caloocan City in Luzon. In these two locations researchers collaborated with partner organizations of Save the Children UK (Bidlisiw Foundation, Inc. in Cebu City and Samahan ng Mamamayan-Zone One Tondo Organization in Caloocan City), which were especially helpful in facilitating access to both child and adult research participants. The research team consisted largely of child psychologists with considerable experience in conducting psychological research, who were initially hesitant to adopt the 12-Step process, although this was partially solved by attending a workshop in Manila conducted by the research support team member.

Research in the Republic of Korea was delayed and somewhat disadvantaged by the fact that Save the Children Korea staff members who attended the Regional Protocol workshop in Bangkok, who had prior exposure to the 12-Step process in earlier workshops, were obliged by changing responsibilities to hand over the project to a team of researchers with no experience in this research approach. Nevertheless the team members followed the process outlined in the Resource Handbook, used the Regional Protocol and successfully carried out research with children and adults connected to urban child-care facilities.

Save the Children Sweden in Viet Nam has a long experience of research, including considerable contact with the 12-Step process outside the field of corporal punishment. Staff of all Save the Children agencies were exposed to the 12-Step training in its infancy, during the piloting stage (1995 and 1996) for the first manual (Boyden and Ennew, 1997) as well as in 2004 in training associated with plans for inter-agency research on child labour. Manuals associated with the process have been translated into Vietnamese, and published by

Save the Children Sweden and partners. A parallel research process, using the same approach took place in 2004, commissioned as an evaluation by Save the Children Sweden (Beers et al, 2006). Meanwhile considerable children-focused participatory research had been taking place on various issues, most notably on child work (Theis and Huyen, 1997; Theis et al, 1998) and poverty (Bond, 1999). Plan International, which was a partner in the research along with UNICEF, has a significant presence in Viet Nam and considerable experience with participatory research.

Save the Children Sweden in Viet Nam invited potential national stakeholders to volunteer for both the research team and the stakeholder group. The research team included staff from Save the Children Sweden, Plan International in Viet Nam, the Science Institute on Population, Family and Children, the Institute of Psychology, the Ministry of Justice, and two national non governmental organizations working against child abuse. The stakeholder group included all these agencies, together with UNICEF and many other local organizations involved in child protection. The research coordinator commented that:

The experience level of the national research team members was varied, although all of them had had some experience of working with children. Some of the capacity gaps included lack of experience in using child participatory methods, designing research tools and analysing data. However, there was also a wealth of experience of various stages of research with children within the research team, which included very competent professionals. The capacity building that took place was ongoing and, thanks to the fact that all the tasks were discussed thoroughly within the team, everyone had something to learn from other team members and from the process of conducting the study. The coordinator drew on the guidance in the Resource Handbook in facilitating the research and conducting on-the-job training of the research team. The Viet Nam pilot conducted in Hanoi, together with daily debriefings throughout the data-collection period, at which researchers got feedback from the research coordinator and each other, were also important capacity-building and quality-monitoring exercises (Enkhtor, 2006, 5).

Cambodia was thus the only team in which at least one researcher had followed all the capacity-building opportunities in the three Save the Children regional strategic-planning workshops held in Bangkok and Vientiane. Indeed, one key element in success in this comparative research lay in how close the national teams remained to the content of the Research Handbook, a copy of which was provided to all researchers and some stakeholder groups. Thus a team that followed the Handbook faithfully, but had not been trained in its use, could be as close to the vision as one that had received capacity building but, for a variety of reasons, did not follow the process meticulously.

### *Children as stakeholders*

One notable feature of the comparative research project was that, from the beginning, children were included as stakeholders in five of the eight countries: Cambodia, Fiji, Indonesia, Mongolia and Viet Nam. This was particularly useful in establishing the groundwork for understanding key research issues, such as ideas about childhood and discipline, types of punishment and the reasons why children are punished, as well as designing the research questions. Children were also involved in some instances in developing the local ethical strategy. Four teams provided extensive details of the meetings through which children were facilitated to have their say in research design from the beginning of the process. It is important to note that child stakeholders had the same status in this as adult stakeholders, and quite frequently took part in meetings alongside adults, rather than in separate gatherings.

Shortly after the Protocol Workshop, the Cambodian national focal point and four researchers held one-hour meetings with children aged seven to 17 years, at the Children's House of the NGO Committee for the CRC (26 children from a squatter area and nearby school) and Cambodia Center for the Protection of Children's Rights (13 'at risk and victim' children). Children gave researchers information about what they define as punishment and were asked to respond to two questions: how important the study would be to children, and what information they needed from it. The researchers reported that these children all agreed the study was interesting and

that it is important that parents change their behaviour or reduce corporal punishment, and asked for a legal ban. They wanted to know:

- Why beating is necessary;
- What causes the physical and emotional punishment of children;
- About relationships between parents and children;
- Whether any parents discuss an offence with children before beating them;
- How to promote happiness and non violence in families;
- How serious an offence has to be before parents decide to beat a child;
- If there are non violent conflict solutions and how to use them;
- The consequences of beating children;
- If children always passively accept beatings;
- If punishment is always right;
- When and where parents punish their children;
- If parents really understand about their children's feelings, problems and interests.

Fijian researchers collaborated with a non governmental organization, Kids Link, working with children and young people between 14 and 19 years of age who are children's-rights advocates. They discussed physical and emotional punishment at school, 'and even at home where we are supposed to feel safest.' Children talked about how this had affected them by, for example, making them work harder or catch an earlier bus to school to avoid punishment. Others said that punishment had affected their self esteem and their relationships with parents and teachers; 'it actually instils more fear ... in most cases this fear leads to hate.' One youth suggested that as a result of corporal punishment children 'bottle things up' and become 'walking time bombs' ready to 'explode, releasing violence, releasing hurt, releasing anger.' This information from children was used during orientation of stakeholders before the research commenced.

In Indonesia all three teams conducted stakeholder meetings that included both children and adults, providing reports that often included information from group work, which explored the concept of child and the meaning of punishment as well as the types of, reasons for and alternatives to physical and emotional punishment.

The West Timor research team conducted the stakeholder meeting in May 2005, with 49 participants including children, government officials, teachers, nurses, doctors, police, academics and staff of intergovernmental and non governmental organizations (see Figure 6). Working in groups, they considered a number of questions about physical and emotional punishment, including meaning, type and effects. Researchers reported that children participating in the stakeholder meeting seemed to feel comfortable about expressing their views and had clear opinions about physical and emotional punishment. They stated that they are both physically and emotionally punished by adults, usually their parents and school teachers. It was clear that these children could differentiate between punishments that can help them learn, and punishments that make them more rebellious, cause them to hate other people and become brutal themselves. They suggested that reasonable rules and expectations would reduce the need for punishment.

**Figure 6: Primary school girls providing feedback to the stakeholder meeting in West Timor (Indonesian national report)**



Adults in the same stakeholder meeting identified a wide range of typical punishments. They recognised the difference between physical and emotional punishment, observing that emotional punishment is very damaging to a child's sense of confidence. They voiced a strong belief that punishment is both necessary and effective in managing children's behaviour and helping them become responsible adults, but were aware that excessive, inappropriate or unfair punishment is resented and counterproductive. Yet researchers observed that none of the adult stakeholders expressed any shame or embarrassment in recounting the punishments they had administered, or dismay, shock or criticism about any of the (often quite severe) punishments others described.

The stakeholder meeting In North Maluku was held in June 2005. A similarly wide range of people attended, including a number of school children and representatives of local civil-society organisations. In Maluku, two stakeholder meetings were held, the first in Masohi in April 2005 and the other in Ambon in June 2005, both lasting two hours and involving a mix of local government, teachers and education officials, school children and police. Unfortunately, children's responses were not recorded separately for any of these three meetings.

In Viet Nam, the research team set out to involve children from the very beginning of the study, meeting initially with two groups of 20 street children in Hanoi (mostly rural-urban migrants) contacted through Plan International Viet Nam. During these meetings the researchers explained to the children that they wanted to research 'how children are disciplined and punished by adults and how children prefer to be disciplined, in order to promote the good ways of disciplining children' (Enkhtor, 2006). Children suggested research questions based on this explanation, without being shown the research questions developed earlier by the adult research team:

- Do you get beaten and how often?
- Who beats you?
- Where do they beat you?
- How often do children beat each other?
- What is a child thinking when being beaten?
- What happens to a child after he/she is beaten?

- What do people think about beating children?
- What do children do to avoid or cope with being beaten?
- Why do adults beat children?
- What are good ways of solving a conflict?
- Why is explaining better than beating?

These questions subsequently influenced those used in the Regional Protocol.

## **Developing regional and national protocols**

The first stage of developing the Regional Protocol was the Protocol Workshop in February 2005, in Bangkok. This was necessarily very intensive, in view of the fact that, when the 12-Step process is used in single-nation research, participants usually take at least two weeks to design a protocol. Nevertheless, the Workshop developed agreement about process and ethical issues, as well as basic ideas about research tools, which continued to be worked out and finalized for several weeks afterwards, with constant feedback from national teams and dialogue with the research support team through the webpage and on email.

The Regional Protocol (CD-ROM; Beazley et al, 2005) enabled all research teams to use a core set of research tools in the same way, to collect comparable data that could be analysed through a common process. It was crucial that, although the Regional Protocol followed the 12-Step model it was co-operatively designed by members of all teams working together, coordinated by the research support team. Each research tool was written up in detail, in clear and simple language, with full instructions for researchers on how to explain the tool to children, what words to use, and what was to be done. Every researcher also kept a research diary in which to write impressions of and remarks about the process (Waterson, 2005).

The Protocol Workshop made it possible to design tools that would take account of cultural differences within and between participating countries, which could be used in the same manner in the different research locations. Some of the discussions concerned the different conceptual structures of the language of discipline and punishment.



For example, in Indonesian, the English term 'discipline' is usually directly translated as *disiplin* but all the Indonesian researchers agreed that this has definite connotations of physical punishment, and therefore does not draw the fine distinction between discipline/punish that is made in English. These discussions had value for alerting researchers to such issues. In the opinion of researchers from the Republic of Korea, after finishing data collection, 'the children did not know the meaning of child punishment ... [and] did not regard emotional punishment as punishment.'

The Protocol Workshop also helped to clarify cross-cultural differences in expectations about the objects with which children are hit; coat hangers seem to be a favourite with parents in Hong Kong, in Mongolia, the metal hook that hangs cooking pots over a fire is sometimes used, while Indonesian teachers sometimes fling a blackboard eraser at a child's head. Through these discussions, it was realised that such differences made it essential for tools to avoid any pre-conceived ideas about likely findings (for instance, by showing pictures of objects used to punish children). They were instead designed to be open-ended, in order to elicit children's own statements or illustrations.

A second instance of interesting cross-cultural differences, which emerged during internet discussions about the research design, concerned a tool modelled on the 'protection shield' previously used with success in the 12-Step process in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Cehajic et al, 2003). This tool is intended to support children at the end of a data-collection session in which they may have remembered unpleasant experiences. The 'shield' is drawn with five sections, in each of which children can enter a word or phrase to complete a sentence, each designed to remind a child of positive memories, qualities, people or experiences:

I am best at...;  
The person I love the most is...;  
I feel safe with...;  
My happiest memory...;  
If I were President/King/Prime Minister....

Researchers in the comparative research project recognized that a shield is an image with historical resonance in European cultures, but might be less appropriate in the context of research in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. In Indonesia, cultural diversity is such that shields used in traditional warfare come in a great variety of shapes and are rarely seen now other than in war dances, which are openly aggressive. In conflict areas, such as Maluku, it was felt that this image, far from being reassuring, was openly associated with violence and thus not a fitting choice. A proposal that met with wider acceptance among the teams was to use the drawing of an umbrella, which is an everyday item providing protection from the sun and rain and, in ritual contexts in a number of societies, tends to have associations with high status. However, the Philippine team members pointed out that, in their country, umbrellas tend to be used by women, so that boys who participated in the research would be unlikely to identify with or respond well to a protection umbrella image. The team members said that urban children tend to wear jackets to protect themselves from cold or from the weather. Thus they proposed a drawing of a 'magic jacket' as a more reassuring and gender-neutral image. They also administered this tool to adults, with questions dwelling on happiest moments as a parent (I am happiest as a parent when ...), or competence as a parent (As a parent, I am really good at...). The Regional Protocol contained options for shield, umbrella and jacket, in which drawings differed but the phrases for completion remained the same and occurred in the same order, clockwise from the top of the picture. As an interesting corollary to this, when a protocol was being designed by stakeholders (including children) for research on post-tsunami child protection in Thailand, researchers chose to use a drawing of a 'protecting hand' for a similar tool. Images of hands have strong resonances within Buddhist iconography, and conveniently offer five spaces for writing on each of the fingers with an additional space on the palm (CD-ROM; Beazley et al, 2005; UNICEF Thailand, 2005).

After final agreement, the text of the Regional Protocol was posted on the webpage and research teams supervised translation into national languages. The Regional Protocol established a core set of tools for use by all teams (though they were not necessarily required to use all of them), as well as allowing for teams to design some extra local tools of their own, along similar lines, if they wished.

In addition, some of the regional tools included options, which the researchers could choose from at their discretion – for example whether to administer the tool to participants in groups or as individuals. Advice on choice of options was also included in the text (CD-ROM; Beazley et al 2005). A certain amount of flexibility was thus built in to the procedure, while ensuring that there would be a core set of data that would be directly comparable across countries. A limited number of tools were included, since it was known that the teams were generally short of time and resources to carry out extensive fieldwork or analysis.

The regional compulsory tools included drawings, body maps, ranking, an attitude survey, and a protection tool. Further optional tools included essays, sentence completion, and a one-week punishment diary. For every occasion on which a tool was administered, a standard observation sheet (CD-ROM) was used, to record the country, researcher's name, date, time and location of session, identification numbers of data collected, and what factors might have influenced the collection of data during the session, including any interruptions or distractions.

Although the Regional Protocol core tools were used by some national teams without additional tools, it was still necessary for choices to be made between options, and a national ethical strategy had to be developed. Some teams developed distinctive national tools, while others chose to develop their own version of one or more of the optional tools (see Chapter 4).

### **Ethical strategies and dilemmas**

The Save the Children April 2004 regional strategic-planning workshop in Bangkok had already provided practice for some of the national team members in designing informed consent forms for use with children and adults. Ethical issues were discussed at all regional strategic-planning workshops as well as in the Protocol Workshop. Thus teams were well aware that they were obliged to develop and follow ethical strategies. The principles and advice for this were provided in detail in the Regional Protocol, in which the Indonesian team's adaptation of the Save the Children UK 'Code of conduct in research' was provided as an appendix to guide overall

researcher behaviour, while the ethical strategy was modelled very closely on that in the draft Viet Nam protocol (CD-ROM; Beazley et al, 2005).

The Vietnamese input was particularly important because the team consulted both adult and child stakeholders when drawing up their national ethical strategy. They asked children to draw up ethical rules for the research, without sharing with them the rules developed by adults. Children suggested the following:

- Be affectionate, friendly and kind to children;
- 'Keep secret' (in other words, ensure confidentiality);
- Don't tell the name of any child;
- Ask parents, family members and teachers to leave the room during data collection with children.

Although there was some overlap between the children's suggestions and those of adults, Vietnamese researchers gave prominence to the first of these rules proposed by children, reporting that they found it 'to be of utmost importance for the conduct of data collection.'

More than one national protocol recorded the need to inform, cooperate with and, where necessary, obtain formal permission from local authorities and education departments before beginning data collection.

Some national ethical additions focused on human-rights issues. Cambodia added instructions for researchers' behaviour, including respecting research participants, being honest and responsible, dressing appropriately, being flexible and remembering to act as a 'data collector rather than a trainer or teacher.' The Fijian protocol stressed that researchers needed to be trained in awareness of ethical issues. The Indonesian protocol emphasised the importance of protecting children from abuse and exploitation through proper recruitment and supervision procedures for researchers. For the safety of the research team, the Fijian protocol stated that researchers would travel in pairs into the field.

The need to make provision in advance for the possibility of children or adults becoming distressed was taken seriously. Fijian researchers

received training in basic counselling skills and were provided with an 'information kit' that listed support services and contact persons. The Philippine ethical strategy also included a mechanism for reporting and responding to any child-protection issues encountered in the course of the research.

### *Ethical challenges in the field*

After completing data collection, the Viet Nam team coordinator stressed the importance of team collaboration on developing and implementing the ethical strategy:

The extensive discussions that went into developing this ethical strategy were an important preparation for the research team prior to starting the fieldwork. During their fieldwork the research team conducted daily debriefings where any ethical issues were shared and reflected upon by the entire team, and decisions taken on how to follow up. Of course, ethical concerns of urgency were brought to the attention of the [national] research coordinator immediately and solutions had to be worked out on the spot. The team was fortunate to have a professional child counsellor among its members, who could provide counselling if necessary (Enkhtor, 2005).

The Philippine team reported 'vicarious traumatization' of researchers following data collection, noting the need for support for researchers as well as participants. During their protocol-design workshop held in Manila with the research support team member, the team agreed to a process of peer support and debriefing sessions for researchers (as discussed in the Resource Handbook), and noted that their mentor from Ateneo University had agreed to provide counselling to all researchers. Unfortunately, the comments in the draft report suggest that, in the event, the research team did not put these measures in place. Apparently the mechanism for responding appropriately to identified cases of abuse and other child protection issues did not work well. In the two instances where the mechanism was activated, the counterpart non governmental organization proved to have insufficient experience. Unfortunately, this is likely to be all too common in countries where psychological support and counselling services are under-developed, despite the best intentions of an ethical strategy.

## **The experience of data collection**

National teams were encouraged to provide feedback on the webpage about the advantages and disadvantages of research tools in different cultural settings. Piloting research tools with small groups and dealing with any problems by adapting them before using them in the research is one of the 12 Steps. In Hong Kong:

The pilot test was arranged ... at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Three children participated ... They went through the all the research tools, such as drawings of physical punishment with group discussion and ranking sheet, body maps with group discussion and ranking sheet, attitude survey and the protection umbrella (they suggested that the umbrella was more suitable for them [than a shield or a jacket]). An evaluation meeting was conducted immediately after the data collection to explore if any improvement was needed.

The Mongolian team gathered data from rural and urban settings in two phases, using the national protocol in the first phase and the 'renewed regional protocol' in the second. They piloted drawings, body maps, attitude survey, sentence completion and protection umbrella. Piloting in schools and kindergartens of one district in Ulaanbaatar showed:

- That a show of hands revealed that all children wanted to take part – so they had to work with 30 children rather than the 20 anticipated, and were short of materials;
- The majority of kindergarten children could not write or draw; and 10 to 11 year olds could not draw; this meant that the methods took a long time and children became tired and inattentive;
- Children mixed up home and school in the forms for the drawings and ranking tools;
- Children aged 10 to 11 years old did not understand the sentence completion;
- Researchers had to help children aged six to seven years by writing their responses on the protection umbrella forms;
- The attitude survey was the easiest method.

The team found solutions to the problems identified in this pilot. They asked teachers to help children who could not write or draw; gave rest periods to children within the data-collection sessions; and rephrased the sentence completion and protection tools without changing the methods.

Challenges and lessons learned in the field (as in the case of dilemmas raised by piloting) were shared through the webpage. As most teams had access to the messages posted by other teams, and the responses to queries posted by research support team members, a continuous mutual-learning process took place throughout the data-collection period.

The research teams reported a number of typical challenges of which the most common were interruptions during data collection sessions, time pressures during sessions as well as in research overall, and communication with research participants.

Interruptions took several forms. In the first place, data-collection sessions, especially in schools, might be disturbed by noise if more than one group activity was taking place in the same place, or by the sounds of children playing in school recess or even traffic. Curious children and adults, or people engaged in other activities, might enter the room where research was taking place.

Some disruptions were directly related to the research topic. One Mongolian mother destroyed her child's 'punishment diary'. But attempts to influence the research were more noticeable in schools. In North Maluku (Indonesia), the staff, after having the research explained to them, agreed not to be present in the classroom while the children were involved in the research – but one teacher left his cane conspicuously on the windowsill by the door. The researchers reported that the children were frightened to speak openly with them until the cane was removed and they were reassured that no harm would come to them as a result of taking part in the research. In other cases, the teachers needed reassurance that their jobs would not be threatened as a result of what the children might report in the research.

The Vietnamese research team reported some extreme cases of interference, by both teachers and 'head pupils' (class monitors) together with information about the way they met these challenges:

Similarly to other Asian cultures there is a strong age hierarchy in Vietnamese society. Generally, adults tend to command and instruct children, and children are expected to keep quiet and obey. Teachers who have been trained in conventional teaching methods are no exception. The research team encountered some instances when teachers appeared to have asked children not to disclose any information about being punished by their teachers, especially in cases of physical punishment. From one day to the next the same group of children would change their responses from accounts of receiving physical and emotional punishment from teachers to 'My teacher never punishes me' or 'My teacher just reminds me of my mistake.' The research team tried to deal with this challenge by explaining thoroughly the objectives of the study to both teachers and the children, asking the teacher to urge children to be open in their answers, provided that they still wanted to participate in the study, reassuring them of the confidentiality clause in the consent form. In some cases, teachers insisted on remaining in the class or hovered nearby, which visibly affected children's ease in responding. In these cases, the research team politely (and with a big smile) asked the teachers to leave the class if possible, or asked the school principal to ensure that the teachers were not present.

There were instances when a teacher must have requested the head pupil in the class to monitor and censor other children. It was quite easy to detect the children who were assigned this task by their teacher, so the researchers asked that child to respect other children's right to speak, and not to interrupt them, or to allow them to fill out their answer sheets in privacy. These children were asked to sit close to a researcher in order to prevent them from looking at other children's answer sheets and censoring them. In one instance where none of the above worked and the head pupil was seriously disrupting group work, he was taken aside by one of the researchers and asked in a polite and friendly way if he could fulfil a 'special task', which was to fill out and colour the protection umbrella.



Time was 'undoubtedly the biggest challenge' faced by the Fijian research team. Sessions with children (and around half the adults) were conducted in schools, but the team was only permitted limited time by school management. More time was needed, especially to work with children. The team was able to complete all tools successfully in a minimum of an hour-and-a-half to two hours for each session. Tools such as individual drawing, body mapping and group ranking needed considerable time for completion. At times the team would be forced to decide which tools to use. Similarly, Hong Kong researchers reported that the whole session took two hours, which meant some compromises in quality and length of discussion and/or using the protection umbrella. They also reported that some children became irritated and impatient after finishing some tasks.

When teams included ethnic groups in sampling they tended to experience problems because of both linguistic and cultural barriers, learning that they should have followed advice about using the back-translation method to translate into ethnic languages (CD-ROM), rather than using interpreters who did not understand the issues. Teams also discovered that it is important to spend time in ethnic communities to build mutual understanding and rapport before asking questions.

Researchers felt that ... there tended to be important loss of information through translation. ... it also took time for researchers to explain the objectives of the research and activities to the group. It was also difficult for researchers who could not understand vernacular languages to take notes during discussions. Facilitators would have to translate on these occasions (Fiji).

In order to improve the quality of participation by ethnic-minority children in similar studies, the researchers need to spend more time before starting research (a week or at least a weekend) in an ethnic-minority village, build rapport with the villagers, especially the children, familiarize themselves with their customs and ways of communicating and train local interpreters ... more time and resources need to be dedicated for more comprehensive preparation if truly participatory involvement of ethnic-minority children is desired (Viet Nam).

Ethnic-minority children from remote rural communes were often very shy with adults, especially with strangers ... Power relations between Kinh majority and ethnic-minority people must have also affected the extent to which children were at ease and could trust strangers, especially if they were Kinh and spoke with a different accent. ... Although local interpreters were hired to facilitate communication, the results were rather mixed given that the interpreters lacked experience in child participation. The interpreters appeared to have some problems understanding both the topic and questions, and their way of speaking to children appeared to be the traditional, top-down, adult-to-child model. However, despite all these challenges, the ethnic-minority children's responses appeared to be some of the most candid (Viet Nam).

Given the time limitations of this project, and the usually-remote areas in which ethnic communities are located, researchers are to be congratulated for the data they managed to collect under the circumstances.

Fieldwork experiences were far from negative overall. The Mongolian report states that, 'Regardless of problems faced in the data-collection phase, the research team thinks that, within the scope of research, objective data collection was complete and full.' While the Viet Nam report states:

The feedback that the research team received from children on their research experience was very positive. Children expressed their happiness at being ... asked for their experiences and opinions. They found the sessions and games interesting. Especially the body mapping exercise, where children were asked to outline a body of one of their friends and mark places where they get punished, generated a lot of giggles and fun. One of the children even wrote on his 'protection umbrella' that the happiest time in his life was the time he spent with the researcher who facilitated the study with his group ...

The main lessons learned in this study have been that first and foremost the correct attitude is important in ensuring meaningful child participation. The adults who are facilitating sessions with

children have to be humble, consider children equal to themselves, be genuinely interested in children's opinions and in protecting their best interests and be able to talk to children in a clear and children-friendly manner. It also helps if they can be fun, and know many games. Sensitising the adults who intend to work with children, providing adequate training, developing a range of children-friendly research methods and thoroughly discussing potential ethical concerns are all ways of improving the quality of children's participation.

### **Analysis and writing phase**

When the 12-Step process has been used in the past in national processes, workshops have been held to build capacity in analysis and writing skills. As this was not possible for the comparative research project, interaction through the webpage replaced such workshops. The lack of analysis and writing-up workshops was chiefly reflected in limitations on the development of categories and codes for statistical analysis. National teams and the research support team worked hard to mitigate the effects of this, by developing categories interactively through the webpage, but a further drawback was the fact that the teams were all working on different time schedules, so were not in a position to develop categories through dialogue at the same time. A solution was found by encouraging national teams to use an adaptation of the Save the Children definition of physical and emotional punishment (Tables 1 and 2 and Chapter 5) and some teams managed to do this successfully, at least in part.

Nevertheless, as will be seen in the account of regional results, lack of conformity in categories tended to make total regional comparison difficult. This might be argued to be a reason for using pre-coded categories. Nevertheless, the research support team and project manager remain of the opinion that participatory research with children or adults, especially when it is of an exploratory nature as in this case, requires an open-ended approach that allows participants to guide the researchers towards sets of categories that are derived from local understandings, attitudes and practices. This has been shown to be possible in several national research processes

(Ahmed et al, 1998; Čehajić et al, 2003 for example). In the comparative research process, pre-coded categories would have run the risk of missing various types of punishment, and attitudes to punishment and simply reproducing the classifications and preconceptions of researchers. As it was, the research revealed several previously-unknown punishments, as well as patterns of, and ideas about, punishment. In addition, as will be seen in Chapter 6, it resulted in reflections about ways of improving current definitions of physical and emotional punishment.

## **Managing the vision**

Managing a comparative, international project is never simple even when a pre-designed protocol is used and researchers are fully trained in using it. One common problem is that research tools designed elsewhere for a number of different cultural settings tend to raise difficulties in the field, usually because the concepts and language used may not be appropriate. The result is that local researchers make adjustments – more often than not without consulting those who manage the research – with the outcome that data from different sites cannot be compared.

The comparative research on the physical and emotional punishment of children addressed this challenge by working with the research teams to develop core tools – with built-in options – that would be used in all national processes. To a large extent this worked well. Data were collected in the same way, using the same tools, by most teams. Evidence that this is an effective approach is the attitude survey, which was the simplest tool of all, in which all the statements had been discussed and adapted so that all teams could use them even when translated into local languages. The resulting data were, in a sense, pre-coded ('agree', 'no opinion', 'disagree') so that few, if any, ambiguities arose. Thus this tool provided a valid (and remarkably similar) picture of attitudes to punishment in eight different countries that did not rely on preconceptions from elsewhere.

Data from the other four core tools – drawings, body maps, ranking and protection tool – were also collected and recorded in the same way, providing excellent material for national and regional statistical

analysis. Problems arose in the analysis phase not because of any fault in the 12-Step process itself but because of challenges that were integral to the analysis phase in this particular project, focusing on the development of categories and the delivery of statistical material to regional level.

The most common way of developing a cross-country report is to analyse the final reports of a number of different national teams. The 12-Step approach intended to take the national numerical data – coded through categories developed collaboratively between teams – and run the whole data set through a statistical package to examine international patterns of difference and similarities, analysing the results through the insights provided by national researchers. In some cases this was possible, and certainly the patterns that will be described in Chapters 5 and 6 are interesting and relatively reliable. Nevertheless, the analysis was far from perfect because of various practical issues:

- The comparative process was limited in time by the need to report to the UN Study;
- Most teams had a relatively short time for both data collection and analysis;
- Each team worked to a different time line, with the result that they did not all reach the stage of developing categories simultaneously, which limited opportunities to collaborate on this;
- Lacking the option for all meeting together with the research support team in an analysis workshop, national teams were not able to develop better understanding of a common approach to managing numerical data.

One consequence of this last challenge was that, although national teams produced excellent reports, generally within the time limit, the data received at regional level were already in an advanced state of statistical analysis, with the result that the accurate statistical comparisons envisaged were seldom possible between all countries. Although the research support team urged national teams to provide data inventories these proved difficult to obtain in the first instance. Requests for 'raw' numbers entered in one of two statistical packages, were met by only two teams. Despite continual reminders,

all teams seemed to focus on the delivery of their national reports, which delayed and impeded the regional analysis. The research support team suspect that the main obstacle was prior experience of the conventional model of comparative research, in which national reports are the main output. With more time, especially to familiarise all team members with the 12-Step model, and better opportunities for face-to-face collaboration between teams, this obstacle would have been avoided.

Within overall regional management of the project two features contributed to successful outcomes. The establishment of a regional research support team, with specific individuals assigned to a group of three national teams, whom they met face-to-face in the Protocol Workshop, was crucial. Each of the international researchers had considerable experience of the 12-Step process and of carrying out their own research in the region. Communication between each research support team member and her three assigned teams was aided by working together in sub groups throughout the Protocol Workshop. During the process, each research support team member reported fortnightly to the coordinator on progress of each team, using a customised form. This left the research support team coordinator free to develop an overview, as well as identify and respond to problems, reporting formally to the project manager and discussing the process with him in weekly meetings.

The reporting structures established in the project design worked well at both regional and national levels (Figures 3 and 4). A key factor in this was the researchers' webpage, which was structured on regional and national forums for discussion and reporting. This was introduced at the Protocol Workshop through a training session run by the webpage designer. Clear instructions on how to use it, as well as on the project structure and reporting mechanisms, were posted along with all project documents. National research coordinators were able to engage in question-and-answer dialogue with their support team member, and most took advantage of this opportunity regularly. The two teams who did not were hampered by lack of access to the internet, but their respective support team members were able to post on the webpage any communications and materials received from them, so that other national teams could benefit from reading them.

## Children as stakeholders

Participatory research with children tends to be limited to including their voices as research participants. Only rarely are they involved in analysing data, much less in planning the research. Deciding on research questions means owning the research, and this is usually done by those who commission research, or by academic researchers. With respect to physical and emotional punishment, children are the primary stakeholders, both in the present and the future. Yet they seldom have an opportunity to have input to research questions.

The comparative research project shows the value of providing opportunities for children to have a say in designing research – including questions and ethical strategy. It was not possible to involve them directly in the Protocol Workshop in Bangkok in February 2005, but a number of teams did involve children at a national level even before that stage and certainly during the development of the Regional Protocol. This showed that it is not necessary for children to be physically present in an international meeting for their input to a process to be significant. All the national processes through which children's ideas reached the regional level in research design were carefully planned and carried out, by people with considerable experience of facilitating children's participation, and with groups of children who have experience of working with adults as equal partners.

Although the research questions used in the Regional Protocol were based on what children said, the list was necessarily limited by the time constraints of the research. Nevertheless, some questions children wished the research to address should be taken seriously in any future research, including:

- How can happiness and non violence be promoted in families?
- Do parents really understand about their children's feelings, problems and interests?
- Do children always passively accept beatings?
- What is a child thinking when being beaten?

Because children were included in this bottom-up process within national stakeholder groups, they had meaningful input to regional research planning. They alerted researchers to their concerns about physical and emotional punishment as well as about the way the research should be conducted – listening to them while being 'affectionate, friendly and kind'.

Ideally children should also be involved in the analysis of data, which was not possible within the timeframe of this project. Children's participation is a developing process at this point in history and the lessons learned during each project of this kind should enable increased future involvement of children in all stages of research – with a greater consequent understanding of what they have to say.



# Existing information

All national teams carried out secondary research by seeking and analysing existing information about, or relevant to, corporal punishment of children in their country. Occasionally a separate consultant was commissioned to do this work, although ideally it should be carried out by the national team in Step 3 of the 12-Step process. Some of the national reports on secondary data include legal reviews alongside accounts of social-science research, which means the secondary data reports will play an important role within national offices by providing information that is basic to designing programmes to eliminate the corporal punishment of children.

Two teams provided matrices of existing research, with details of the methods used and results. The Hong Kong research coordinator commented that, by displaying key information about research chronologically in a matrix, the team was able to track changes in national understanding of corporal punishment over several decades. A gradual transformation is apparent in Hong Kong, in which corporal punishment became increasingly related to 'larger socio-economic context or problems (such as unemployment)', while research reflected a 'gradual shift from blaming the children to blaming the adults.'

## Global and regional research

Research on corporal punishment is sparse the world over. An academic literature search for the years 1995-2003 reveals only 30 journal articles concentrating on North American and, to a lesser extent, European legislation, values and practices. One result is that hitting, caning, and spanking tend to be the research focus, whereas children in studies from non-Western contexts refer to a wider variety of methods of discipline and punishment. It may be the case that children in 'the West' have the same experiences, but the fact is that research rarely asks them.

Disciplining children through physical punishment is widely regarded as evidence of 'good parenting'. Among other examples from the SEAP region, Philippine researchers found that parents considered they would be guilty of child abuse if they *did not* discipline their children. In this case 'discipline' implied physical punishment, such as spanking, which is not 'overdone', by turning into 'beating up' or 'abuse'. Children in this research agreed that 'disobeying their parents merited punishment' but also said that 'the most abusive acts were inflicted when the parents were disciplining them' (De la Cruz et al, 2001, 83, 82).

The author of UNICEF's 2003 regional review of information on violence against children concluded that adequate scientific data on violence in general were rare, and on physical and emotional punishment virtually nonexistent (Sandvik-Nylund, 2003). An expanded, follow-up review prepared by UNICEF for the Regional Consultation on the UN Global Study on Violence Against Children in 2005, which also focused on broader issues of violence rather than corporal punishment, commented that 'most of the issues around violence against children ... are typified by lack of information and, in particular, relevant quantitative data', adding that:

While studies and research have been undertaken to address many aspects of violence against children, these studies usually provide only anecdotal information and are often limited in scope, both in terms of target populations and/or the extent of geographical areas covered. In addition, many studies are also more often than not, one off studies that will not be repeated and as such cannot provide data trends on developments over time. Information on violence against children is also found in the 'margins' of studies focusing on other topics, for instance studies on domestic violence (UNICEF, 2005, 4).

This lack of 'systematic and comprehensive data collection mechanisms' has also been an ongoing concern of the Committee on the Rights of the Child (ibid).

In general, regional information on corporal punishment (as well as much of the data available at national levels) occurs in the 'margins' of research focusing on broader issues. Thus, results from a set of

questions on punishment within a regional opinion survey of children and young people, published by UNICEF in 2001, are usually taken as regional baseline data. According to this, 23 percent of children in the region said that their parents beat them when they do something wrong – the highest proportions (between 53 and 40 percent) being Timor Leste, Cambodia and Myanmar, the lowest seven percent in Mongolia (UNICEF, 2001). The results from the eight nations in the comparative research (as will be seen later) indicate far higher rates of corporal punishment, the difference perhaps being due to variations in sampling, questions asked and research methods used.

A literature review that specifically focused on corporal punishment was commissioned by Save the Children Sweden Regional Office for Southeast Asia and the Pacific, as a contribution to the UN Study as well as to provide background secondary data analysis for the comparative study (Nogami et al, 2005). Given that the overall ethnographic record on children in this region is sparse, it is not surprising that the review (which covered 19 countries) described research on corporal punishment as ‘largely empty space’ (ibid, 101). Indeed, few studies focus on childrearing, violence or discipline (Nogami et al, 2005; Ennew and Plateau, 2005). There are a number of studies of ‘abuse’ but it is difficult to separate out information on discipline from the data presented. Most data relate to family and school settings, with almost no information on discipline in institutions, justice systems and other contexts, and there is very little information about verbal violence and emotional abuse. The desk review identified three tendencies in research:

- Smack counting: prevalence and incidence;
- Symptom chasing: linking punishment with negative outcomes including social deviance;
- Parent/teacher blaming: focusing on actions of adult caretakers and their lack of knowledge about alternatives to punishment (Nogami et al, 2005).

Perhaps the most widely-reported regional characteristic is the expectation that children will be – indeed must be – ‘obedient’. They have a subordinate status in social hierarchies, which much research claims is more marked here than in other parts of the world. The

iconographic model is Chinese filial piety, which is a life-long relationship between children and their parents that continues after death in relations between the living and their ancestors (Wu, 1981). In this sense, obedience to elders is a vital key to social harmony; inter-generational hierarchy is the paradigm for all other power structures. Discipline is therefore a social imperative directly related to teaching life-long habits of submission and authority. Existing data appear to indicate that the favoured tool for teaching submission is physical assault (Nogami et al, 2005). The mistakes children make in failing to be submissive and obedient might appear to an outsider to be minor but are perceived as endangering the entire structure of social harmony and thus meriting severe reprisal:

Children are expected to be deferential to adults, be it in the family, in schools or in the general community. Children are not expected to question or challenge adults and if they do, such actions can be perceived by an adult as resulting for them in a loss of 'face' (UNICEF, 2005, 7).

Thus it is not surprising that hitting children is seen as proof of loving them in many cultures in this region. The idea of the 'loving smack' enables parents to distance themselves conceptually, and in their own self esteem, from the image of 'child abuser'. Yet, it is an interesting contradiction that, throughout the regional research record, information about corporal punishment of children seems to occur more often in the 'margins' of research on child abuse than in any other research context.

### **What children have said**

Finding out about the extent of physical punishment, and the exact forms it takes requires asking children using methods that encourage them to share their ideas and experiences, rather than questionnaires and surveys, which are not always good methods to use even with adults, unless researchers have first found out what words are used. In West Bengal, a Save the Children researcher found this out the hard way:

Initially children were asked who is violent towards you, and most answered 'no one'. However, when asked 'Who hits you as a form of discipline' children mentioned that their parents, teachers, siblings, neighbours and employers all used corporal punishment on them, but 'only when we are bad'. Violence to children meant being hurt 'when we don't deserve it, for no reason.' Corporal punishment meant 'being disciplined when we do something wrong, or are being bad.' The two categories were seldom equated (Chakraborty, 2003).

Children's views of love and punishment (when adults bother to ask them) tend to be ambiguous, but also differ noticeably from adult perceptions. The participatory research in the Philippines, already referred to, which explored the language adults and children use on the topic of abuse, reported children saying the spankings parents might view as 'loving smacks' are abusive when a child faints because of the pain, or when the spanking is 'for no reason', or when the beatings are 'too much' and hurt (De la Cruz et al, 2001, 82-83).

Punishment is often reported to be gendered. For example, in South Asia, girls are not hit as often as boys, who are most at risk. Girls are more likely to be punished by verbal abuse or having increased household chores, whereas boys are beaten. This has long-term consequences, 'Physical punishment in schools ... affects girls and boys in different ways – boys are mostly physically punished resulting in learning violent behaviours ... [while] girls ... face humiliation, ridicule and insults eventually leading to submissiveness in adulthood' (Save the Children Alliance, South and Central Asia, 2002,1). The same submissiveness no doubt explains the degree of violence in the course of domestic conflicts accepted by society and women themselves, a topic that is now being covered more widely in the regional literature.

Another factor that becomes clear when children are asked about punishment is the wide range of individuals who are responsible for discipline (including other children). In addition, children experience corporal punishment differently from adults. They may perceive the meaning of the act differently, partly because of their lack of power,

but also because their social understanding may be incomplete (Green et al, 2002). One of the clearest examples of this is that children apparently perceive verbal insults as 'hurting them most' a finding that is quite robust in research from many different countries, although there is little available on this topic from Southeast Asia and the Pacific. It is also reported that children learn to fear (and be intimidated) by watching the physical punishment of other children and of women. Nevertheless, there is little information on this aspect from the region.

## **National contexts, national research**

Consolidated results of secondary data analysis for each country are summarized in this section, providing brief digests of sometimes substantial reports. These summaries are presented in the context of equally brief reviews of national characteristics, to provide essential background for understanding the data presented in Chapter 5.

### *Cambodia*

People of the Southeast Asian mainland country of Cambodia tend to consider themselves to be Khmer, descended from the ancient Angkor Empire. Ninety percent of the 13.6 million population (37 percent being less than 14 years old) are indeed Khmer. Independent since 1953, the country has a recent history of occupation, civil war, violent struggle and disruption. Cambodia is poor, with a low standard of living – most of the population in rural areas does not have access to a potable water supply and the infant mortality rate is high; 71 children of every 1,000 will die before their first birthday.

In terms of numbers, Cambodia is more notable for non governmental organizations than academic institutions, so it is not surprising that research on violence against children has largely been carried out within the former sector. Nor is it surprising that violence is a focus of attention, because one main reason for the presence and activities of non governmental organizations is the recent history of civil violence.

Information about children in Cambodia tends to consist of research on child labour, carried out by campaigning and welfare organizations, and descriptive biographical accounts of childhood during the recent periods of civil violence. According to the UNICEF regional opinion survey (2001), about 44 percent of Cambodian children say that they have been punished by their parents. In the course of research on children's views of their rights by a non governmental organization in 2004, children were asked 'When you do something wrong, would you be punished by your teacher?'

More than nine out of ten respondents answered yes to this question. However, when asked to list what kinds of punishments they would receive, nine out of ten said the teacher would 'advise me'. ... one in five listed 'Beat me', 'Insult me' or 'Shout at me', although boys were twice as likely to list one of these options. Also 12-14 year olds were almost twice as likely to cite 'Beat me' as 15-18 year olds (Miles and Varin, 2005, 16).

Only two published research reports have focused on punishment. The first, found that 67 percent of Cambodian people equate punishment of children to educating them (Nelson and Zimmerman, 1996). The second carried out a comprehensive study of the prevalence of violence against children and children's own perceptions of this violence. This research, which was conceived in part as a contribution to the UN Study, was commissioned by a network of between 30 and 40 local and international non governmental organizations. The second section of the research report deals with children's perceptions of domestic violence against them, while the third concentrates on corporal punishment. The survey used focus group discussions and questionnaires with a sample of 1,314 schoolchildren aged 12 to 15 years, with more or less equal numbers of boys (639) and girls (671) (Miles and Varin, 2005).

In response to this study's questionnaire, 36.4 percent of girls and 50.5 percent of boys said they had been beaten by their parents at some time. Slightly less than half of all children thought that beating could sometimes be right as well as wrong. The researchers comment that, as long as most children believe this, it renders them vulnerable to being beaten (Miles and Varin, 2005). Focus group discussions with children also showed that children believed parents

had a right to beat children who had done something 'wrong', mentioning beatings with sticks, limbs being twisted and being kicked. Some thought their fathers should be educated as a preventative measure. Domestic violence against children was reported from this research to occur in all economic groups, but children living with single mothers appeared to be more likely to be beaten than children living with two parents.

### *Fiji*

The Republic of Fiji, which is a transport hub for the South Pacific, consists of around 330 islands totalling 18,333 square kilometres. According to the population census of 1996, there were then 772,655 inhabitants, 53 percent being less than 25 years of age. Current estimates suggest that the population has grown to 845,000, with increased urbanization, although most of the population still live in rural areas. Just over half are ethnic Fijians, the second main group (44 percent) being Indo-Fijians. Tourism is the mainstay of the economy in this multi-cultural, multi-religious (but predominantly Christian) country. Ethnic tensions remain after a coup in 2000, despite now having a democratically-elected government. The research team reported that:

Law and order is a key area of concern particularly the increasing incidence of violent crime. Recently, media reports have surfaced of increasingly violent and daring robberies. There has also been an increase of reports in the media of sexual offences, mainly involving children.

Both the literature and the research team's experience show that children have a subordinate position in Fijian society, within all ethnic groups. They are 'at the bottom of the patriarchal social hierarchy' until their early twenties, or they get married, playing no role in decision-making in families. Children are expected to remain in the background and may be 'scolded for speaking in the company of adults.' Research quoted in the secondary-data review shows that Fijians are less controlling than Indo-Fijians and Chinese, but more likely to hit children.



According to the research record, violence is widely accepted within Fijian society. Children commonly experience violence both as victims and as witnesses of domestic violence against women. Yet the team found a dearth of studies on the punishment of children. Existing studies were often the work of non governmental organizations and were not readily available. Nevertheless, what little they found gave a clear picture of the physical punishment of children being widely accepted and justified by social and cultural attitudes, particularly interpretations of Christian Scripture, which is commonly (mis)used to justify physical and emotional punishment of children. Punishment is believed to be beneficial for children and an adult duty. Thus there is a high tolerance of adult-to-child violence in Fijian society and corporal punishment is widely accepted within schools. Typical punishments mentioned in the reports reviewed include hitting with hands and/or implements, tweaking ears, yelling, name calling, confinement and being deprived of a meal. Public flogging is reported in schools, including being administered by children acting as class monitors.

### *Hong Kong*

The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region was handed over by the United Kingdom to the People's Republic of China in 1997, and is now governed under the 'one country, two systems' principle, with economic and, to a large extent, legal autonomy, at least until 2047. Hong Kong has a total area of only 1,092 square kilometres, but a dense population estimated at nearly 7 million in 2005 – 13.8 percent being less than 14 years of age, and most ethnically Chinese.

Only a few studies specifically dealing with corporal punishment have been carried out in Hong Kong, although research on child abuse is relatively common. Ten studies relating to punishment in homes were analysed by the national team, including research by the sponsoring agency, Against Child Abuse. Corporal punishment is common and considered to be effective (Against Child Abuse, 1986) with a rate as high as 95 percent exercised at home (Samuda, 1988) and mild injury not perceived as abusive (Lau, et al, 1999). Strict discipline is believed to be commonly applied to children after they are around four or five years old, to instil the Confucian ideal of filial piety in the younger generation (Lieh-Mak et al, 1983). It is

widely reported that corporal punishment may relate to a higher risk of depression and aggressive behaviours, and a decrease in social interaction, self-esteem and even intellectual ability. A telephone survey asking parents about their own abusive behaviour (So-kum, 1998) found admitted rates of spanking to be 47.6 percent (with mothers ranking slightly higher than fathers) and a variety of other violently-aggressive parental behaviour.

Research design is usually abuse-focused, using psychological frameworks and, quite frequently, small samples. The methods tend to rely on asking adults using questionnaires, and the occasional retrospective research with university students, while psychometric tests are administered to schoolchildren. One study seeking children's perspectives (using a questionnaire) found that nearly 40 percent of children stated that they had received corporal punishment from their parents or other carers over the past month, including slapping and twisting ears, the most common reason being related to school performance or behaviour (Mok et al, 2001). Another Against Child Abuse questionnaire, used with domestic workers, showed that a small proportion used corporal punishment on children, some with their employers' consent (Against Child Abuse, 2002).

The Hong Kong team identified certain gaps in the national literature, chief of which was the absence of studies taking the local culture and children's perspectives into account. Most previous studies, they state, are:

mainly behavioural, and have provided good understanding of the pattern of punishing behaviours but given little insight about how to stop these behaviours. In those studies in which reasons for punishment were sought, we can see that most people attribute it to the children who were punished (that they were this and that, did this and that), as if children were asking for the punishment.

## Indonesia

Indonesia is the world's largest archipelago, made up of more than 17,500 islands, of which around 36 percent are inhabited. The islands stretch across more than 3,200 miles of ocean spanning three time zones. This vast geographical spread is matched by great ethnic diversity; about 350 different ethnic groups speak distinct languages. With a population of nearly 235 million, and an estimated child population of about 96.5 million, Indonesia is the fourth most populous nation in the world.

Despite a national slogan of 'Unity in Diversity', the country has faced a spate of ethnic and religious problems since independence, with consequent internal conflict. All three of the research sites (Maluku, North Maluku and West Timor, see Figure 5) have been affected by this. Human rights, including children's rights, have recently taken a higher position on the national agenda, with demands that the government should implement the 2002 Child Protection Act.

Over 140 documents were collected by the consultant who carried out the secondary data research (Heyward, 2005). The materials analysed do not necessarily relate directly to the locations in which the research was carried out, but a general finding is that information on punishment of children is scarce and of variable quality. Research suggests parenting skills are mostly learnt from adults' experiences in their own childhoods. Anger management is suspected to be a problem for many adults, contributing to their use of physical punishment and abuse of children. One small study reported that many parents express their annoyance and anger by hitting (*memukul*), using abusive words (*mengomel*), crying (*menangis*), screaming (*berteriak*), locking themselves away in a room (*mengurung diri*), leaving home (*pergi dari rumah*), staying silent (*diam*), and throwing things (*melempar barang*) (Lembaga Pratista Indonesia, 2005).

A number of small studies in schools conducted in various parts of Indonesia have concluded that being verbally or physically abused by teachers and by other pupils contributes to children leaving school before they complete primary education (Tampubolon et.al., 2003, Ahimsa-Putra, 1999; Daliyo et al, 1999). Many teachers appear to

want to change the old habits of abusive discipline, but are learning new techniques of classroom management in the unfavourable context of overcrowded classes and limited resources. The violent role models they present have been linked to bullying.

When Save the Children UK in Indonesia, in partnership with children and local community members, conducted some small-scale research on violence against children in Central Maluku during 2005, they discovered that researchers were reluctant to record serious abuse of children because they were intimidated by people swearing, throwing stones and threatening them. They also found that parents believe they can do what they like with their children and that punishment is necessary to educate their children.

Another small study, using participatory techniques, was used to monitor teacher-pupil violence in the course of a single school day. This was conducted with 443 children from seven schools in North Maluku. The total sample was composed of 443 children from Grades 1 to 6. Most children (88 percent) were not hit by their teacher on the day of the survey, but there were some gender differences among the 53 who were hit. Girls tended to be hit only once, compared to boys being hit twice or even three times. Boys were hit on their legs or buttocks, and girls on their fingers. An implement was used more often than not, a wooden stick being the most common instrument. Girls tended to be hit with a ruler while boys received hand slaps. Other painful forms of punishment children reported teachers to have used that day were hair pulling, and slaps on ears and faces. A third of all children said they had been frightened by their teacher on the survey day, some more than once, and three quarters reported teachers scolding them (Save the Children SEAP, 2005).

Although not included in the literature review, UNICEF Indonesia carried out research at almost the same time as the Indonesian national team, basing the methods on prior experience in the 12-Step capacity-building processes in Indonesia, in which all four research support team members had been involved between 2003 and 2004. The topic of this new research was physical, psychological and sexual violence (UNICEF Jakarta, 2005).

## *Mongolia*

Strategically located between China and Russia, the landlocked country of Mongolia covers 1.5 million square kilometres of semi desert, desert plains and grassy steppes with mountains in the West and the Gobi Desert in the South. According to an estimate in 2005, 29 percent of the population of nearly three million are less than 14 years of age. The research team report that, as a result of the transition process of the last 15 years, numerous social problems have arisen, including unemployment, poverty and domestic violence. On the basis of their analysis of secondary data, they concluded that domestic violence against children and women, both physical and emotional, is on the increase.

As is the case in Hong Kong, research and public awareness have progressed in parallel in Mongolia. During the 1990s, violence against children became a social issue and the first research on the topic was conducted within projects and programmes implemented by ministries and agencies responsible for children's issues, with the assistance of national and international non governmental organizations. This showed that beatings and verbal attacks against children were very common at home, in schools and in children's institutions. In 1998, research on children and the law was commissioned by the National Center against Domestic Violence and conducted by the Population Research and Training Center. Over 1,000 children participated in the research, the purpose of which was to assess children's perceptions of violence. This research was instrumental in raising public awareness of violence against children, because it reported that they were being beaten or verbally abused or forced into sexual intercourse or being controlled with extreme severity. The picture from this national research is that such violence is considerably more common than the seven percent reported through the UNICEF opinion survey of 2001.

In 2004, research on working children aged from five to 17 years found that children were being verbally abused and otherwise mistreated by their employers. Later research with school children, street children, women and violence victims from 1,000 households, using a questionnaire, focus group discussions and interviews, concluded that children were victims of corporal punishment in their

homes, at school and on the streets. Between 2000 and 2004, within the framework of drafting and lobbying for a law on 'Fighting Against Domestic Violence' the Gender Center for Sustainable Development (which provided the team for the regional comparative research) carried out several surveys on attitudes towards and opinions about various aspects of domestic violence. Although these surveys did not focus on the physical and emotional punishment of children, they documented the domestic violence endured by children and women, as well as showing that childrearing through corporal punishment is widely regarded as both acceptable and traditional.

### *The Philippines*

The Philippine archipelago consists of many islands with a total land area of 298,170 kilometres. These are home to nearly 88 million people (35 percent being less than 14 years) of diverse ethnic groups, 80 percent of which are Christian. Family relationships are strong and Christian dogma, as in Fiji, views punishment to be an essential part of childrearing. Considerable weight is placed on parental rights and duties; parents' right to discipline their children is embedded in the Child and Youth Code, although corporal punishment and cruel and physically-harmful punishment are prohibited under the Family Code. A study by the Child Protection Unit of the University of The Philippines suggests that parents are the main perpetrators of this form of violence. Several research studies show that Philippine parents tend to equate parenting with discipline.

The research team initially found a shortage of studies on punishment in The Philippines, although – as in Hong Kong – there are many studies of child abuse. Indeed the blurring of the two categories is a feature of Philippine literature. The national secondary data review covers most areas of abuse, including sexual abuse, and reveals that much of the literature on discipline and punishment concentrates on attitudes and outcomes.

### *Republic of Korea*

The Republic of Korea was established in 1953, subsequently achieving rapid economic growth. The largely homogenous population of over 48 million (19 percent less than 14 years) occupies

a peninsular land mass of 98,190 square kilometres and is increasingly urbanized. Significant religious affiliations are Christian (26 percent), Buddhist (26 percent) and Confucian (1 percent) but 46 percent of the population is reported to have no religious attachment. Laws on education prohibit physical punishment but a loop-hole allows the practice if there is agreement within the school, so that there are many instances of rationalizing corporal punishment.

The team found a shortage of studies on punishment in Korea, initially believing information to be limited to media reports. The physical and emotional punishment of children is not an issue that has received a great deal of research attention. Nevertheless one academic attempt to classify types of physical punishment (according to body part, implement, method, type and degree) bears some similarity to the classification used for the regional comparative analysis, which will be discussed in Chapter 5 (Shin, 2003). As the Korean team commented in their literature review, these are unclear categories probably because, as found during the analysis of regional results, the various classifications cannot be neatly separated in this way.

The few studies carried out since 1998 all indicate that physical punishment is widespread in homes and at school. The team concluded that more than half the children in Korea have experienced physical punishment. However, most of the studies were conducted with older children, above elementary school level. Studies on physical punishment in the home are largely insufficient and (as in other countries) tend to concentrate on abuse rather than punishment. Studies on younger children in child care centres and preschools, which were the focus of the national team sample in the regional research, were almost nonexistent here, as in all other countries.

Despite the paucity of research, the team state that awareness is being raised and that studies of the effects of physical punishment on children have reported contradictory results, which have fuelled a 'sharp debate amongst child development experts and educators' on whether corporal punishment has positive or negative consequences for children.

## *Viet Nam*

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in its present form was established in 1973. Since 1986, economic liberalization has led to increased national prosperity, although disparities in distribution of wealth remain, notably between rural and urban areas and between the country's numerous small ethnic groups and the 86 percent Kinh majority. Most of the densely-settled population of over 83 million (27 percent less than 14 years) have no religious affiliation, although there are many traces of past influences, including Buddhism, Christianity and, especially, Confucianism.

The Vietnamese team provided an impressive account of existing information in the form of several documents containing summaries and analyses of secondary data on the physical and emotional punishment of children, as well as a 46-page table outlining all the sources of the secondary data report (newspaper reports, laws, academic reports, NGO reports, UNICEF studies, and other literature reviews). Almost all these sources appear to focus exclusively on the illegal use of corporal punishment by teachers in schools. Despite their impressive compilation of data, the team warns that little attention has been paid to the issue, that information is 'scattered', not reflecting the severity or pervasiveness of the problem, and that corporal punishment is accepted at all levels of society. The emphasis in research on corporal punishment in Viet Nam appears to be on physical punishment almost exclusively, with little attention paid to emotional punishment.

## **Methods used**

Secondary data reviews usually focus on results rather than methods used in research, which means that there is little consideration of the limits of validity. Research reports often refer to 'a questionnaire' or 'interviews' without giving further details, and may even omit information about sampling, which makes it difficult to evaluate the data and conclusions, much less to make comparisons. The overall conclusions from these national surveys mirror those of the regional desk review on discipline and punishment of children (Nogami et al, 2005). Research is limited in extent and scope and rarely asks



children for their opinions. Where children have been involved, the methods used have mostly been questionnaires, focus group discussions and psychometric tests. Information on corporal punishment tends to be found, as noted by the UNICEF literature review of 2005, in the 'margins' of other research, most notably within broader studies of child abuse, so that data are difficult to extract and compare.

One general tendency is to focus on prevalence or incidence of corporal punishment, rather than on context and meaning. Almost all the research shows a greater interest on what is happening to children from an adult perspective and according to adult concerns. Usually adults are more interested in the long-term welfare or social-deviance outcomes of physical and emotional punishment, rather than on the violation of children's rights and the pain they feel now.

An additional tendency is concentration on pathological cases ('abuse') rather than the normal, everyday violence of hitting children as part of discipline (insofar as that can be called 'normal'). The result is that research targets 'problems', using psychological and medical models, in common with the global tendency towards medicalization of work on children and violence. This leads to research that concentrates on effects, rather than violation of rights, usually using small samples and seldom replicated or compared.

### **Failure to address emotional punishment**

As noted by the Vietnamese team, although emotional punishment is often mentioned and the emotional pain associated with physical punishment often referred to, the research record in the eight countries is largely a record of physical punishment. Emotional abuse is recognized, but so poorly conceptualized that it does not as yet constitute an identifiable subject for scientific research. Two national teams specifically noted this. The Fijian researchers state that there is little information about emotional punishment, and also comment on the variety of terms used for all kinds of punishment in listings, including 'physical punishment', 'corporal punishment', 'beating/hitting/smacking', 'physical abuse', 'verbal abuse' and 'emotional abuse', while the specific term 'emotional

punishment' is not addressed. Similarly, the Philippines report states:

Verbal abuse ... is one of the least spoken-about forms of abuse. Although it does not leave any visible marks on the victim, the use of words that attack, injure, or emotionally hurt the child may result in feelings of isolation, low self esteem or even depression later on in life.

Even though emotional abuse is the most common type of abuse, it has received the least attention primarily because it is difficult to determine and define. It often precedes and accompanies all types of abuse and neglect. It happens when a parent uses words and feelings to strike out, humiliate, criticize, manipulate, intimidate, demean, or reject a child. And since it is never a one-time incident (unlike physical or sexual abuse), it slowly but systematically attacks the child's emotional development and sense of self worth until the child's spirit is crushed and he/she loses all sense of self and personal value.

## The little that children have said until now

Although children in the region have reported to researchers that they consider some forms of discipline to be abuse, it is seldom recognized as such. Yet information about corporal punishment of children hovers in the margins of research on child abuse. Children's perspectives on the issue are equally marginalized. Researchers ask adults, or collect retrospective accounts from young people, but apply psychological tests to children.

Even when children's experiences and opinions are sought, the research methods are seldom children-friendly. Nevertheless, although muted by the limited methods of questionnaires, focus group discussions and interviews, children in the eight countries tend to state four distinct messages:

- Adults have a duty to discipline us;
- But the methods used are often harsh;
- Sometimes it is abusive;
- And we get punished a lot.

The lack of information about emotional punishment equates with the lack of information from children. Psychological/psychometric tests tend to look at the emotional harm (and its social outcomes), rather than the emotional hurt (which is the cause of the harm). Only children can tell us what hurts them emotionally – and why. Only a rights-based research approach allows them to express such opinions, and facilitates them doing so, in fulfilment of Articles 12 and 13 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Some children have said almost nothing about the punishment they receive, because they are not included in research agendas. The most notable silences are younger children, children not in school and children in institutions.



---

## CHAPTER 4

---

# Rights-based research in the field

This chapter provides an overview of data collected by national teams. It describes details of sampling and of the methods used to answer the main research questions addressed by all national teams:

- What do children think about physical punishment?
- What types of punishment are inflicted on children?
- What happens in different contexts of punishment, including homes, schools and institutional care?
- Who punishes children – and why?
- What do adults think about physical punishment and discipline? (CD-ROM).

### Samples

A total of 4,364 children and adults took part in the research, 76 percent (3,322) being children aged between five and 18 years (Table 5). Although this was primarily research with children, some

**Table 5: National samples, adults and children (by gender where information is available)**

Country	Children			Adults			Total		
	male	female	total	male	female	total	male	female	total
<b>Cambodia</b>	250	254	504	122	153	275	372	407	779
<b>Fiji</b>	244	292	536	49	52	101	293	344	673
<b>Hong Kong</b>	36	36	72	n/a	n/a	51	n/a	n/a	123
<b>Indonesia</b>	n/a	n/a	813	n/a	n/a	16	n/a	n/a	829
<b>Mongolia</b>	n/a	n/a	607	n/a	n/a	40	n/a	n/a	647
<b>Philippines</b>	69	70	139	34	44	78	103	114	217
<b>Republic of Korea</b>	69	83	152	32	143	175	101	226	327
<b>Viet Nam</b>	225	273	499	85	219	306	310	579	805
<b>Totals</b>	[857] [46%]	[1,008] [54%]	3,322	[322] [35%]	[611] [65%]	1,042	[1,179] [41%]	[1,650] [59%]	
	<b>Children 76%</b>			<b>Adults 24%</b>			<b>4,364</b>		

*n/a= not available. Sample provided as total number only, without gender disaggregation.*

adults (mostly parents and teachers) were included in the sample, to compare what adults say about punishment with what children say.

Research teams did not all provide information on the gender of participants, even though they recorded this in the data. From the gender disaggregations received, it seems that the proportion of boys (46 percent) and girls (54 percent), while not equal, was at least equitable. The fact that women represented the largest proportion of adults whose gender was known (65 percent) reflects the common feature of research with ‘parents’ of children in school that mothers are more visible, and therefore easier for researchers to contact.

**Table 6: National sample age ranges (children)**

Country	Age in years																
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Cambodia																	
Fiji																	
Hong Kong																	
Indonesia																	
Mongolia																	
Philippines																	
Republic of Korea																	
Viet Nam																	

The age ranges selected by national teams varied according to the research budget and local conditions (Table 6). Children aged 10 to 14 years were included in all samples. Children aged less than five years were not included in the research, even though it is possible to collect data from younger children (Dobbs, 2002). However, as the Fijian team commented, this requires specific skills. It is also time-consuming.

**Table 7: National samples (children) according to context**

	Cambodia	Fiji	Hong Kong	Indonesia	Mongolia	Philippines	Republic of Korea	Viet Nam	Total
Home and School	444	536	72	813	552	0	0	471	2,888
Institution	0				55	0	0	28	83
Other	60					139	152	0	351
Totals	504	536	72	813	607	139	152	499	3,322

In order to maximize sample size, most national teams chose to carry out data collection in schools, but children who responded to the research in such samples also provided information about corporal punishment in homes, while children who took part in the research in their homes discussed school punishment as well. Thus 87 percent of the regional sample consisted of children who shared experiences from these two major contexts of childhood (Table 7). Other situations in which data were collected included programmes and projects for children, institutions for children, and children in the street. It was usually possible to gather additional data on punishment within families from these children. The Mongolian sample of 55 children in institutional care was drawn from four different types of facility: for child workers, for detention of children in conflict with the law, for tracing street children and for rearing children outside family care.

**Table 8: National samples (children) according to geographical location**

	Cambodia	Fiji	Hong Kong	Indonesia	Mongolia	Philippines	Republic of Korea	Viet Nam	Total
Urban	316	244	72	427	92+ 55*	139	152	238	1,735 [52%]
Semi-Urban	0	179	0	0	276	0	0	0	455 [14%]
Rural	157	113	0	63	184	0	0	159	676 [20%]
Remote	31	0	0	323	0	0	0	102	456 [14%]
Totals	504	536	72	813	607	139	152	499	3,322

\* 55 children in four institutions

Just over half the regional sample of children was drawn from urban areas (two thirds, if urban and semi-urban samples are combined). This reflects the relative ease of sampling in urban areas, as well as the high degree of urbanization in, for example, Hong Kong and the Republic of Korea (Table 8). Within the rural sample, which represented one third of the regional total, 41 percent of child participants lived in remote areas. This reflects the determination of some research teams to be collect data from groups of ethnic-minority children.

### *Country-specific sampling issues*

The Cambodian sample, which was based on population figures for the whole country, included respondents from all provinces, in urban, rural and remote locations. The original intention was to sample 1,000 respondents (60 percent of whom would have been children) but rainy and rice seasons, which resulted in loss of time, forced the team to scale down the sample size, which they chose to do by reducing the sample from the capital, Phnom Penh. The final valid sample was 779; 65 percent of whom were children (aged seven to 17 years), together with parents government officials, teachers, health workers and staff of non governmental organizations.

The Fijian team decided that working in schools would be the 'most practical way' of obtaining data from children, and would also 'ensure ... responses from a cross section of the community.' Sample sizes in schools were intended to be between 10 and 40, depending on overall numbers available in each school, with an anticipated total sample of 450 aged 10 to 17 years. Adults included teachers, members of parent-teacher associations and community members.

In Hong Kong, 72 children and 51 parents were recruited randomly from mainstream classes of primary and secondary schools. No attempt was made to select children who were known to be severely punished, from deprived families, recent migrants from mainland China, or 'children who are specifically good at drawings or academically sound.' On the other hand, 'children who participated in the study had to be fairly expressive and be able to communicate well with our researchers.'

It was beyond the scope of the comparative project to research physical and emotional punishment across the whole of Indonesia. The three provinces selected for the research were North Maluku, Maluku and West Timor, which have all been affected by community-level conflict and violence, and have significant populations of internally-displaced people. Nevertheless they also manifest considerable cultural differences. Save the Children UK in Indonesia has been working in these provinces since 1999, establishing sound relationships with the local and provincial governments as well as with local communities, through the



implementation of education and social protection projects. In all three areas, research was deliberately carried out in schools that had not previously been targeted by Save the Children UK awareness-raising programmes on children's rights. Data were largely collected in rural areas, where children contribute substantial labour to the household economy, which may affect their school attendance and performance, leading to punishments for coming late or not doing homework.

Like the Cambodian team, Mongolian researchers planned their sample to reflect national population distribution. The child respondents were 607 boys and girls in three age groups (6-7, 10-11, and 14-15 years) with two-year gaps between groups 'to make sufficient distinction for clear statistical comparison.' The children were all attending schools, with the exception of 55 living in four different kinds of institutional care. Research was carried out in rural, urban and peri-urban areas. Forty adults also took part in the research – teachers, tutors, inspectors and caretakers.

The Philippines sample consisted of 218 participants – 82 from Cebu City and 136 from Caloocan City. Of these, 140 were children, aged from five to 17 years and 78 were adults. It proved difficult to achieve gender balance among the adult participants in Cebu City because of men's work schedules, 'as well as their custom of unwinding after work or during weekends by holding drinking sessions with their friends.' Despite the research team's efforts to include more male participants by adjusting the data-gathering schedules, there were still fewer male than female adult participants. In Caloocan, research participants were randomly selected from an initial list of adults and children who were interested in participating, and 'available for the research'. The staff of the partner organization, together with community leaders and volunteers, helped draw up this list. The final participants were 'chosen by lottery'. In the case of Caloocan, where the community involved was quite large, the community leaders identified the specific areas where the research could be conducted.

The only national sample that contained more adults than children was from the Republic of Korea, where a total of 152 children (69 boys and 83 girls) participated in the research, together with 175 adults (32 men and 143 women). In the case of children, the

proportional difference between boys and girls was not that great, but in the case of adults the proportion of women was much higher, for reasons similar to those reported in the Philippines. Of the children in the research 71.1 percent were between the ages of five and 10 years, 26.3 percent were between 10 and 15 years, and 2.6 percent were between 15 and 18 years. Thus, despite having more adults in the sample, the Korean team managed to include proportionately more younger children than other teams.

In Viet Nam, the study involved 499 children and 306 adults, from the North (Hanoi, and Thai Nguyen province), Centre (Quang Ngai province) and South (Ho Chi Minh City) of Viet Nam. The sponsoring agencies chose the precise locations for fieldwork based on their current or planned programme areas. The sample included Kinh-majority children, and others from the Hre ethnic group in Quang Ngai province, H'mong, Dao and Nung ethnic groups in Thai Nguyen province, and a group of street children in Hanoi (who were Kinh). Children were aged from nine to 14 years. Age groups were chosen by stakeholders to allow for the widest possible age representation, while bearing in mind the time, human resources and budget available.

At least two evaluations of children's participation in the region have commented on the phenomenon of children who, because of their relationship to certain non governmental organizations, become 'professional participants' (Ennew and Hastadewi, 2004; Beers et al, 2006). Something akin to this was reported by the teams from The Philippines and Viet Nam. The Philippine team stated that their close collaboration with local partners raised a sampling problem, which they referred to as 'the social desirability effect', giving the following examples:

- A few of the leaders of non governmental organization and community members tended to suggest or volunteer names of children and parents whom they 'know' to be suffering from corporal punishment;
- Several children and parent participants were already anticipating the questions and activities during the data gathering, after they had been briefed about the process and procedures of the research.

Vietnamese researchers state that they encountered:

children who almost became 'professional' child participants ... who have been involved in so many child participation conferences and projects sponsored by various donors, and have been groomed by the government to represent the country's children in many of the international conferences. Given their exposure to the language of children's rights and children's participation, these children are well aware of the type of response that adults expect of them.

### **Choosing and using research tools**

When designing their national protocols, teams in all eight countries included options chosen from the Regional Protocol core tools, selected variations on the optional tools and, in some cases, distinctive national tools. The greatest variation in national protocols was between Hong Kong, where only the core tools from the Regional Protocol were used, and The Philippines and Indonesia, where a considerable number of locally-designed instruments were added (Table 9; CD-ROM).

Direct comparison was possible for six methods (Tables 9 and 10). Other – less rigorous - comparisons were possible using the results of a number of national tools, which included focus group discussions, interviews and methods modelled on participatory rural assessment approaches (see Chambers, 1994). In addition, some comparisons (in the sense of triangulation) were possible between the various, often ingenious, recall and diary methods. However, in general, these data are treated as secondary data in this Report.

**Table 9: Use of research tools from regional and national protocols by the eight national research teams**

Method/activity	Cambodia	Fiji	Hong Kong	Indonesia	Philippines	Mongolia	Republic of Korea	Viet Nam
Diary						Taped		
Drawing and discussion		Groups of 5		Groups				
Ranking drawing		Group		In two research areas		Urban only		
Body map with discussion	Groups of 6	Groups of 5		Groups of 4-6 various methods	Another method			Group
Ranking body map	Group							
Attitude		Adults only						
Sentence		Adults only				Not analysed		
Diary or recall				Various methods			Recall	Recall
Protection	Umbrella	Umbrella	Umbrella	Umbrella	Jacket also for adults not analysed	Umbrella	Umbrella and shield	Umbrella not analysed
Interviews children						'Case studies'		
Interviews adults								
FGD						With adults		With children and adults
Notebooks								
Violence chain versus peace chain; Secret boxes								
Battery of psychological tests for children and adults								

**Table 10: Research tools for regional comparisons, number of countries**

<b>Tool</b>	<b>Number of countries</b>
Attitude survey	8
Body map	7
Ranking (after either drawings or body maps)	7
Protection tool	8 (of which 6 were analysed)
Drawings (two variants)	6
Sentence completion	5 (not all analysed)

### **Regional research tools ('core tools')**

This section describes each research tool on the basis of feedback from teams, on the webpage and in their reports. The focus is on the data collected and factors that may have influenced validity, rather than on researchers' comments on the ease of using the tools, which were provided in Chapter 2.

Regional Protocol core tools were designed so that they could be used in sequence in a single data-collection session. Drawings and body maps were not necessarily used in the same session, but each of these tools integrated a progression of methods, in which the visual materials produced by children became the focus of discussion, which led to a ranking exercise. Researchers thus worked with children, as individuals or in groups, over a period of time that varied from one to three hours, enabling good rapport to be developed. Teams also used various techniques to build relationships with children at the beginning of each data-collection session, ranging from games to meditation. This usually preceded the process of seeking informed consent. The sessions were almost universally brought to closure with the protection tool.

The Fijian team commented that initially, in schools where there was insufficient time to use all three research tools, they opted to use the body mapping exercise and protection tool, because they noted that children were more responsive with the more-participatory body

maps. However, they soon found that using body maps without drawings had the opposite effect. Children 'took a lot longer to open up' when individual drawing exercises were omitted. Individual drawings relaxed children and it was an activity they usually enjoyed. After that, working in a group on body maps increased children's confidence and 'led to a rich amount of information.'

### *Research diary*

All researchers were provided with a research diary in which to record daily details of the research process:

Each day's entry was dated and each page numbered. Researchers were encouraged to have their diaries with them at all times. Researchers were to ensure that diary writing not be left to the next day. Some records were made as they happened. In instances where researchers had recorded feelings that they did not wish to share, they were advised to staple the pages together and others were asked to respect the privacy of these thoughts. However, researchers were encouraged to share as much of their ideas/thoughts as possible. This tool was found to be difficult to code and not all researchers handed in their diaries immediately upon completion of fieldwork, which held up coding and analysis. Further, some researchers did not record much about sessions or the research but rather tended to concentrate more on their personal lives (Fiji).

In fact, no national report included systematic information from research diaries and, due to the lack of an analysis workshop, team members did not receive capacity building in indexing 'qualitative' data from this or any other research tool. Nevertheless, specific instances from research diaries were used as examples in some reports.

### *Drawings*

The aim of the drawings tool was to explore the various types of physical punishment inflicted on children of different ages, and according to gender, as well as the words used for each type. This

tool was used with either individuals or groups, by six national teams, Fiji, Mongolia, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Korea, Viet Nam, which chose one of two drawings options:

- Comparing punishments at home and at school;
- 'What happens when I do something wrong'.

Drawings produced two main types of data – on forms of punishment and reasons for punishment. They also provided stimulus for discussion and, later, for ranking which punishments are 'worse'. The individual drawings tool was reported to be effective because, 'When children worked on their own they drew and wrote a lot of information' (Viet Nam). Individual drawings also proved appropriate for sensitive topics, which 'children found too embarrassing to mention in a group' (Viet Nam).

Home-versus-school drawings were particularly useful for eliciting the names of, and reasons for, different kinds of punishment, which could be categorized later although, partly due to lack of analysis skills, national teams tended to produce long lists without classifying or clustering. Nevertheless, it was possible to consolidate lists into a regional matrix using results from more than one tool (body maps, diaries, focus group discussions for example; see Table 2).

Drawings, like body maps, revealed some punishments that might not have been captured with a survey questionnaire. Cambodian researchers found 'several unusual forms of punishment.' The Republic of Korea team likewise was able to use children's drawings to illustrate exactly what was meant when a child said he had been punished by being made to 'take the motorbike position' (Figure 7).

Vietnamese researchers complained that children tended to draw 'the most common' forms of punishment. However, the objective of the research was not to concentrate on idiosyncratic, shocking or unusual forms but to establish, through methodical data collection and analysis, the range of punishments used in everyday, 'normal' discipline. Systematic recording of drawings included information about what the child said he/she had drawn. This was facilitated by using prepared forms to collect data using this tool, providing complete documentation, including location, researcher's name, children's characteristics, and a unique data-reference number (Figure 8; CD-ROM).

## *Body maps*

The aim of using body maps was identical to the drawings but, while drawings provided information about types of punishment, including verbal attacks and other emotional punishments, body maps provided a way of exploring the parts of children's bodies that are targeted with physical punishment. Children made the maps themselves by drawing round one member of each (single-sex) group to provide 'front' and 'back' outlines on which they could mark the body parts targeted for punishment (Figure 9). The choice of this method, which is widely-employed in health education, was guided by two considerations. Such body maps are 'real' in the sense that they are life-size, so that children are better able to relate to them than to pre-drawn pictures on small pieces of paper. But they are also de-personalized. Children can point to the place on a drawing that is 'not theirs' when describing punishments that have hurt them. They thus do not have to re-live, and be re-traumatized by, the experience of pain, as they might if answering direct questions from researchers, such as 'Show me where you were hit?' or 'Have you ever been hit on the head?'

In the main, the data from body maps elicited information from groups rather than individuals and are thus based on consensus; the general, rather than specific, case. Teams from Cambodia, Fiji, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Mongolia, Republic of Korea and Viet Nam used the 'draw around a body' tool from the Regional Protocol. The Filipino team and the team from West Timor (Indonesia) used pre-drawn figures, which will be described later, in the section on 'distinctive' tools.

The Vietnamese researchers reported that they found this an easy method, even with ethnic-minority children, provided that there was no cultural resistance to drawing the human body. They noted the importance of taking careful notes on the discussion between children as they marked the 'map', and also pointed out that they are somewhat cumbersome to carry and store while on fieldwork. One Fijian observation was that the more outspoken children would tend to 'take over' body mapping sessions, so that researchers had to 'draw in' quieter children, as in more-conventional focus group discussions. More than one team reported that sometimes children would refrain from indicating parts of the 'body' already drawn in by



other children, because they had 'already been marked'. Through asking additional questions, researchers would find that, more often than not, children would have been punished in a different way but in the same place, or by a different person, or for a different reason.

Fijian researchers also reported on an important lesson learned through experience in the field with this tool:

It was ... found to be a difficult tool to code. As participants tended to concentrate on the physical punishments they had received, it created difficulties in the use of categories for types of punishment ... during analysis. This is because the vast majority of responses recorded a direct assault, and did not record a variety of 'other' responses that could be easily placed within another category. Researchers' initial thoughts were that such responses meant there was something wrong with the team's information-gathering techniques. However, through discussions, the fact that so many of the various responses fell within the 'direct assault' category led researchers to believe that it was more likely to be showing something about punishment of children in Fiji, not that it meant we were doing something wrong or that the tool was somehow flawed.

Although this was a popular tool, it was not always fully analysed by national teams and did not always produce robust numerical data. Prior experience shows that this can be achieved, provided that teams are trained in the appropriate analytical skills (Cehajić et al, 2003; UNICEF Jakarta, 2004). As a warm-up activity, especially where used with groups, it provided an excellent basis for ranking because it stimulated children to think and discuss both concretely (the pictures providing a tangible and common 'reality') and supportively as a group, rather than focusing on painful individual experiences.

### *Ranking from drawings and body maps*

Ranking of 'worst' punishments was a method used in Cambodia, Fiji, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Mongolia, Republic of Korea and Viet Nam. It depended on using the visual stimulus of drawings and/or body maps made by children earlier in the data-collection

session and began with discussion about these images. Thus researchers were instructed to start the ranking process by saying 'You have drawn a lot of different punishments, which is very interesting. Now we should like to talk for a while about which punishments happen most often, and what you think about them.' They might begin the discussion by drawing children's attention to one or more pictures or aspects of pictures, ask a question such as 'Does this happen often?' and then encourage children to discuss among themselves, covering the topics of:

- Names of, or words used to describe, punishments;
- Reasons for punishments;
- Who punishes them;
- What they think about the punishments they receive;
- If they think there would be a better way of punishing them, or improving their behaviour.

When researchers felt the discussion had covered enough topics, or children seemed to have nothing more they wished to say, they wrote the names and descriptions of the punishments identified on cards in large letters. The cards were laid on a table or the floor and ranked by children according to 'which hurts most'. Children moved the cards up and down this grading system until the whole group was satisfied with the ranking order; 'Considerable debate was generated amongst participants at times, as children tried to justify why they ranked as they did' (Fiji).

Although there was not always time for this activity in a data-collection session, researchers reported that it was 'a highly effective tool, which allowed participants to express themselves' (Fiji). Nevertheless, because the number of punishments varied between groups, some teams found this difficult to analyse and were not always able to solve the problem – although the 'worst' punishments at the top of each list tended to be the same. Discussion between children during ranking made it clear that the severity with which a punishment was applied (how long or hard a beating might be, for instance) could be as important as the type of punishment when deciding on the ranking. Mere counting exercises are not sufficient to capture the full reality, and more data are required to counteract definitively the idea of a 'loving smack'.

### *Attitude survey*

The aim of the attitude survey was to explore views about physical and emotional punishment among children and adults, so that the results could be used to compare attitudes between respondents of different ages and gender. This method used standardised attitude survey forms (adapted for children or adults) using statements with which the respondent recorded agreement or disagreement.

All national teams used this tool, some only with adults, others only with children, some with both. Respondents tended to agree or disagree quite strongly; few recorded 'no opinion'. The adults in West Timor (Indonesia) seemed to think they were expected to agree with all the statements, which prompted them to write explanations if they disagreed.

As this tool is effectively pre-coded, teams found numerical analysis easy. It is worth remembering that the statements were agreed between teams during the development of the Regional Protocol, which made them appropriate for use in all eight countries.

### *Protection tool(s)*

The chief aim of the protection tool was to form part of the ethical strategy; to protect children from potential negative feelings that might have been aroused during a data-collection session by encouraging children to reflect on more positive aspects of their lives (Figure 10). Each child kept a copy, as a reminder that life is not 'all punishment'. Although this tool was used in each of the eight countries, the results were not always analysed. Teams that attempted analysis found the multiple responses difficult to categorize, and would have needed capacity building to understand how to do this.

Despite all efforts to provide a comforting, protective image, not every child saw the umbrella as a means of protection. In a group discussion in Fiji, one child mentioned being beaten by an adult using a rolled-up umbrella as an implement.

### *Optional tools*

The Regional Protocol also included suggestions for additional tools that might be included in, or adapted for, national protocols.

#### *Essays*

An option not selected by any team was collecting essay data from literate, school-attending children on attitudes to and experiences of punishment. This has been found in other contexts to result in large quantities of quality data, particularly from older children (12-18 years) (Ennew and Morrow, 1994).

#### *Sentence completion*

One option used by many teams, although the results were not always analysed, was sentence completion, an open-ended tool for exploring attitudes to physical and emotional punishment among a wide variety of respondents. This was used by Mongolia, Fiji, Philippines, Republic of Korea and Viet Nam. Respondents were asked to provide phrases to complete sentences such as 'For me, punishment is...', or 'When I am punished I feel...'.

Translation into local languages proved to be a challenge for some researchers because they did not systematically translate this tool into vernacular languages, and use back-translation procedures. Data analysis also proved quite difficult at times as researchers attempted to analyse what respondents were trying to say, rather than categorizing and counting answers.

Apart from difficulties with translation, the sentence completion tool was efficient because it was simple to follow and quite easy to understand. Although the attitude survey tool was an effective way to gauge perceptions of children, punishment, and discipline statistically, the Fijian team commented that 'it should always be accompanied with a tool such as sentence completion as a means of gathering more qualitative information.'

### *Diaries*

Although the combination of data from drawings, body maps and discussions before ranking can provide impressionistic information about what children perceive to be the most frequent punishments, only direct counting methods over time can provide accurate information about frequency. When drawing and body map data are triangulated with information from records of punishments over time a fuller picture emerges. Diaries are more accurate than recall methods, and children enjoy the empowerment of being 'in charge' of collecting data about their own lives. Nevertheless, such tools take considerable time to develop and are best constructed after a first phase of fieldwork, when types of punishment have been identified, categorized, and agreed with children. Then proper forms for recording can be designed, usually with the help of children and local artists (Ennew and Plateau, 2004).

National teams were strongly advised to develop a punishment diary tool after they had completed the first stage of data collection, on the basis of information analysed from the drawings and body maps. Charts that record punishments can be filled in by children immediately after they happen, or from recall of punishments over a period of time. Ideally, both should be designed in collaboration with children, after exploring the words used for various punishments.

The Mongolian and Indonesian protocols included diary tools. Although one week was the period of time suggested in the Regional Protocol, Mongolia developed a diary for five days, which missed out punishments at home during weekends. The Indonesia teams used one-week punishment diaries, benefiting from already having designed a tool before the development of the Regional Protocol. This consisted of a booklet ('diary') for each child, with columns for each of a range of common punishments, such as smacking, hitting with a stick and verbal attack, as well as some 'empty' columns in which children could draw any other punishments they received. These were arranged according to the days of the week, and children were given stickers to fix in the appropriate space if and when they received that punishment.

Diaries are labour-intensive but valuable tools. Indonesian researchers visited schools a day before distributing the dairies, to explain the method and seek informed consent, and returned again at the end of the week to collect completed diaries. In North Maluku, diaries were distributed in Grades 4 and 5, with a good rate of return, although the sample is small (Table 11). In West Timor, 100 children were given diaries but one child lost the diary so 99 were collected.

**Table 11: Data collected using the one-week punishment diary local tool in North Maluku, Indonesia**

Grades	Diaries distributed	Diaries returned	Boys	Girls
Grade 4	21	19	29	32
Grade 5	42	42		
<b>Totals</b>	63	61	61	

The Mongolia Team used the model chart suggested in the Regional Protocol, apparently without further development, to collect data from 247 children, although 17 rural children did not return the diary sheet explaining that they lost it, or forgot, or 'their mother saw and tore it up.'

### *Recall*

A further method for exploring frequency of punishment is asking respondents to recall incidents over the period immediately preceding research. The teams from the Republic of Korea and Viet Nam both chose to use this option, which provides less-accurate data over a shorter period (three days in both cases), compared to records of punishments 'as they happen' in diaries.

In the Korean physical punishment 'diary', children were asked to remember the past three days and write about their physical punishment experiences, including details of types of punishment, when they happened, where, who inflicted the punishment and their feelings at the time (Figure 11).

In Viet Nam, a three-day recall form was used with literate children, with seven named punishment types and one blank row for other punishments. Children were asked to fill in columns for 'Time' (for example, 'yesterday morning'), 'Why I was punished', 'Who punished me', 'Where', and 'What I think about it'. There was also a space to complete the sentence 'I was not punished because...', if this were appropriate. The researchers collected 449 pieces of data from children using this tool, listing the advantages as 'real experiences captured; children not shy; accurate and detailed information, good to include after fun activities since children feel safe to release information, it is secret from other children; and it is easy to fill in the form.' The disadvantages, they recorded were that three days is too brief a time span; ethnic-minority children found it difficult; and some children entered occurrences from a long time ago. Children's notions of time are not the same as those of adults (Piaget, 1927; Ennew, 1994; James, 2005).

## **Distinctive tools**

In addition to the research tools included or suggested in the Regional Protocol, some teams added additional local tools, occasionally substituting these for the compulsory tools, which made comparison impossible even if the results were interesting. In this Report, noteworthy data from these tools are usually used as if they were secondary data.

### *Pre-drawn body maps*

Pre-drawn shapes on small pieces of paper tend to reduce the 'reality' advantages of a life-size outline. The pre-drawn figures used in West Timor used stylized pictures of both sides of a human body, together with an extra page on which children were invited to record insults or scolding used by adults as punishment. Some of the resultant data were discarded, because researchers judged that children were not taking the exercise seriously. The research team did not analyse the remaining data. When the research support team member tried to do so, she found the information confusing, and was only able to comment that these body maps indicated high rates of punishment.

The Philippine team body-map method used a one-sided, naked, pre-drawn figure, which lacked genitalia, although it looked male in body shape and had short hair. The skin colour was pink, and the body shape more adult than childlike. The Philippine research team had been reluctant to use the Regional Protocol body map for ethical reasons; they believed this method might risk re-traumatizing a child.

Nevertheless, in addition to being used as a health-education and diagnostic tool over many years, the 'draw-the-outline' method has been successfully used with sexually-abused and exploited children, in which context it has proved to be an ethically sound method to use (Cornwall, 1992; UNICEF Jakarta, 2004). As seen in Chapter 2, Vietnamese researchers commented that children really enjoyed making body maps. No feedback from any team indicated that children had become distressed.

#### *Focus group discussions*

In addition to the discussions that focused on drawings and body maps, national reports from two teams show that they included a tool for more conventional focus group discussions, although details are not recorded in either protocol. In Mongolia, children's views on alternatives to punishment were studied this way with eight rural children and 16 city children. Viet Nam also reports data from focus group discussions carried out with children and social workers. The research coordinator writes that:

Researchers took special care not to include distressing questions and questions that might lead to disclosing information of private nature in the focus group discussions. The discussions included only questions of positive nature such as children's coping strategies and the support persons they can turn to after being punished, which was expected to make children feel empowered. The discussions ended with suggestions of positive ways of disciplining children.

#### *Interviews and questionnaires*

Although strongly advised not to use questionnaires and interviews with children, some teams did use this method, without providing details of the tools in their protocols.



### *Psychological approaches*

Given that many researchers in the regional comparative project were psychologists, it is not surprising that some brought their skills in this discipline to bear on this research, often with considerable benefit to the national research process. The team members in The Philippines were concerned that the Regional Protocol used 'sensitive and deeply-personal questions', although in fact indirect questions predominated in the research tools. The Philippine national team used only the attitude survey from the Regional Protocol, substituting a set of psychometric tests and measures. For children these included establishing rapport through a Draw a Person test, followed by Kinetic Family Drawing, both with interview-guide questions, and finally a modified Philippine Children's Apperception Test. A similar battery of tests was used with adults. As no other team used these methods, it was not possible to include The Philippines' data in regional comparisons, other than with respect to the attitude survey.

### *Beans, chains and secret boxes in Indonesia*

Save the Children UK in Indonesia had already carried out research on corporal punishment, which was reported in the third regional strategic planning workshop (Save the Children SEAP, 2005). The research used a method typical of participatory approaches, to monitor Save the Children UK's programme for a 'week of non violence in schools':

Each school was given a plastic jar and two bags of beans – if a child saw or experienced violence from a teacher, he or she could put a red bean into the jar. If a teacher saw violence from a child to a child, he or she could put a yellow cornhusk in (Armstrong, 2005, 35).

This method is obviously visual, easy and children-friendly and was also described by the Indonesian research coordinator at the Protocol Workshop. But it was not taken up by other teams and thus not adapted to a systematic tool within the Regional Protocol.

Several other participatory approaches were included in data collection in the three Indonesian research areas, although only one

was included in the national protocol. The 'Violence chain versus peace chain', was designed for use with groups of children aged nine to eleven years in Seram and Ambon. The tool describes beginning with a 'brainstorm' on 'punishment' in school, before handing out three cards to each child, depicting a circle, a hand and a child and explaining 'The circle is for things children get punished for, the hand is for the sort of punishment children get, the child shape is for how it makes them feel.' When children had filled in each card with an appropriate comment, they were to place them on a table. Two more cards would be added: a triangle for 'reasons why children might make a mistake' (for example being late for school because their mother is sick, or because they are lazy) and a heart for recording 'better ways of dealing with children than the punishment they get.' However, no information has been provided about how these data were analyzed, or even if they were collected.

Each Indonesian team seems to have added tools to the Regional Protocol, especially with respect to body maps and diaries (including an intriguing 'secret box' diary for which data are recorded with no information about how they were collected). The researchers thus demonstrated their familiarity with and skills in using participatory techniques. Unfortunately this had repercussions for the Indonesian results, which often could not be compared accurately between the three research sites or included in regional comparisons. This is particularly unfortunate because the 12-Step process had already been used in two research processes in Indonesia, both involving all four members of the research support team, and with Save the Children UK among the stakeholders, as well as in a similar process in which Save the Children UK was directly involved (Ennew and Hastadewi, 2004).

This experience of the comparative research project in Indonesia highlights the importance of following the 12-Step process in order to achieve valid comparability. It was also frustrating because the data collected by the three Indonesian teams were fascinating and seemed to reveal important local differences, which could have been interesting and important to tease out. However these could not be systematically explored, meaning that conclusions about them remain hypotheses at this stage.

On a larger scale, this issue also applied to some of the regional comparisons between countries. The form in which the data were received made multiple regression impossible at a regional level. However, both cases show that such statistical analyses would be possible in the future, if management challenges outlined in Chapters 1 and 2 could be met in any future comparative research using the 12-Step Process.

### *Fijian notebooks*

In addition to research diaries, Fijian researchers took the initiative of providing researchers with notebooks for use in the field:

Discussions and general observations during sessions were noted in these notebooks. A carbon copy was taken to enclose in envelopes containing completed tools in case researchers misplaced/lost, as a safety precaution. After each session carbon copies were removed and placed in the envelopes.

Notebooks were hard-covered books, with ruled lines on every page. Researchers divided each page into three columns labelled ID, Comments and Code. The column labelled 'ID' was to take note of date, time, place, number of participants and gender. The column labelled 'comments' was used to record discussions and observations during sessions and the final column was used when coding data.



## What children said about methods

Article 13 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child provides for children ‘to impart information and ideas of all kinds ... either orally, in writing, or in print, in the form of art, or through any media of the child’s choice.’ It is implicit in Article 13 that positive discrimination should be used to ensure that children really do have freedom of expression. In research this means using participatory techniques that may take more time, but allow them to give an account of their experiences and opinions, so that as respondents they are equal to verbally-confident adults.

Although children were not involved in designing research tools or suggesting methods, researchers provided opportunities for children to say what they thought about the research and its methods through giving them the opportunity to refuse to take part, or to withdraw later if they wished. Researchers also provided extensive feedback about children’s reactions to different methods during data collection. Children were generally eager to take part and seemed to enjoy the methods. Few withdrew, although a small number are reported to have become bored with the process.

Researchers did not report any distress amongst the research participants. On the contrary, they said that, in general, children participated enthusiastically in the process. Yet this raises a further question. Both researchers and activists often appear to think that children must enjoy participation, in the sense of ‘having fun’ or thinking they are taking part in ‘a game’. In the long run this could put children at a disadvantage if they conclude either that it is ‘just a game’, or that adults are not taking them seriously and will trivialize their input. In both cases, this could result in children not saying what they think or sharing their knowledge.

One additional observation is that, whatever children say, adults tend to want to hear about new forms of brutality rather than the common, repeated forms. Yet, learning from experience in the field, Fijian researchers were able to see that direct assault is the 'worst form' in terms of its frequency and severity as well as the fact that it affects the largest proportion of children. They learned this because they 'listened' to what children said through their body maps, rather than discounting data they had not expected to receive.

**Figure 7: Taking the motorbike position as punishment, child's drawing (Republic of Korea draft national report)**



**Figure 8: Drawing 'What happens when I make a mistake' showing the data-collection form (Republic of Korea draft national report)**

○ 처벌에 대한 그림 그리기

집에서의 처벌		학교에서의 처벌	
내가 이 그림을 그렸어요.			
이름	남/여	만 나이	
김OO	남	7세	

**Figure 9: Back and front body maps drawn according to the Regional Protocol (Republic of Korea draft national report)**



**Figure 10: Protection umbrella in Indonesia (Indonesia draft national report). Group use of the protection tool was limited to Indonesia**

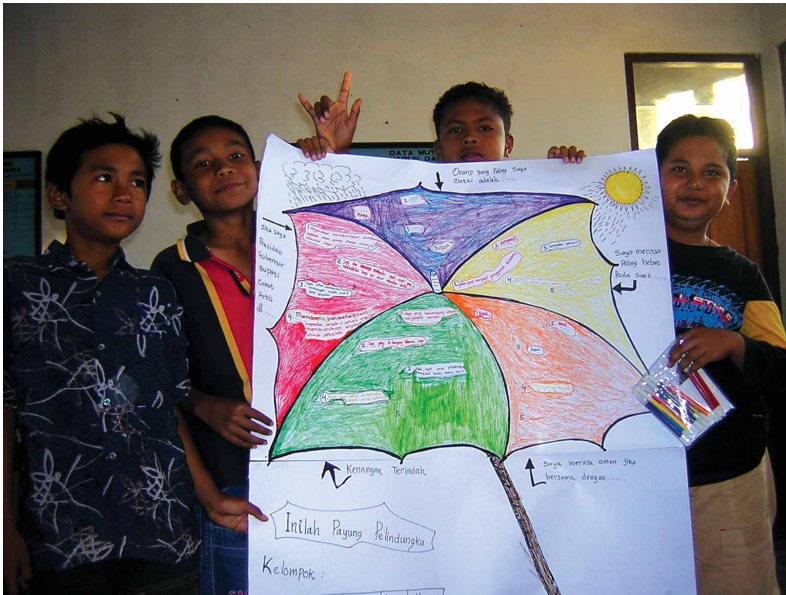




Figure 11: Example of a punishment recall sheet (Republic of Korea draft national report)

관 나이		양(2세)				
체벌	날짜	시간	왜 체벌을 받았는가?	어디서 체벌을 받았는가?	누가 체벌하였는가?	체벌에 대해 어떻게 생각해 생각하는가?
없더라 변화	9월 10월 11월	공부 시간	숙제를 안해서	학교	선생님	체벌은 기분이 안좋음
수바다	1년	공부 시간	숙제를 안해서	학교	선생님	"
어리 다들	3년	공부 시간	숙제를 안해서	학교	선생님	저도 안했다
어리 친구들은	2년	공부 시간	"	학교	선생님	기분이 안좋음
영양이 를마	1년	공부 시간	"	학교	선생님	저도 안했다



# What children and adults told researchers

Comparative analysis shows that children are punished a good deal throughout the eight countries. The main punishments recorded were direct physical assaults (such as smacking and beating), indirect physical assaults (such as confinement) and verbal attacks (Table 1). In addition, although far less frequently, children were disciplined using:

- Hazardous tasks;
- Increased chores;
- Physically challenging activities, such as running around the school, standing in the sun or doing press ups;
- Exclusion or neglect – being chased away from home, forced to sleep outside the house, or suspended from school;
- School tasks, such as copying and learning by heart, which some children described as ‘stupid’;
- Restrictions, such as ‘grounding’ (not being allowed out of the house) or being forbidden to watch television.

Restrictions were mentioned mostly by urban children and not usually coded by researchers as ‘punishment’. In other words, in children’s conceptual schema, ‘punishment’ is closely related to physical assault and emotional pain. In this chapter, punishments and patterns of punishment are examined in detail, using examples from national reports, and comparing between countries where possible. The full accounts of each country study are provided in national reports (see Bibliography). Data from both core and optional tools used in all countries show that adults produce a seemingly vast array of responses to children’s mistakes, disobedience and misbehaviour, most of which involve violence. In view of the level of aggression of

the punishments drawn and described by children, this Report refers to some forms of physical punishment as 'assaults' and to some verbal abuse as 'attacks', signifying that these are clear violations of human rights.

The subsections in this chapter use a classification similar to the one discussed in Chapter 3, which was reported in the secondary data analysis of the Republic of Korea:

- Types of punishment;
- Body parts;
- Where punishment takes place;
- Reasons for punishment;
- Who punishes whom;
- Frequency of punishment.

### **Types of punishment**

All national reports provided extensive lists of the varied and sometimes inventive ways in which children are punished. Among these, the lists from Viet Nam, where body maps recorded over 40 kinds of punishment, and children reported many injuries resulting from punishment, stand out as catalogues of the sheer brutality that can be involved. One such list, from focus group discussions with children and social workers, includes the following, more-unusual, punishments at home and at school:

At home by family members:

- Arm broken;
- Beaten on the buttocks until they are raw, then a mixture of salt and chilli rubbed in to the wounds;
- Beaten with a thick stick;
- Ear twisted until it tore and bled;
- Electrocuted with wires;
- Excess labour;
- Forced to kneel on the spiky peel of durian fruit;
- Forced to stand naked outside the house;
- Forced to stand up under the weight of a heavy, wooden buffalo yoke;

Head repeatedly submerged in water;  
Hung on a tree and beaten until unconscious;  
Hung on an electricity pole;  
Hung on a wall by the hands;  
Hung upside-down from a tree;  
Tied next to an ants' nest;  
Tied to a bicycle or motorbike and forced to run alongside it  
(dragged on the ground if the child falls);  
Whipped while hanging from a tree, or tied to a tree or a wall.

At school by teachers:

Confined under a bed (subsequently stung by ants);  
Forced to stand in front of the class while being denounced by  
classmates;  
Hit on the forehead by a ruler thrown by the teacher (sharp edge  
caused head injury);  
Hit on the head by a box of chalks weighing about half a kilo;  
Not being allowed to eat while other children do so (punishment  
administered by the teacher because parents did not pay the  
school fees on time);  
Stripped naked and beaten on the back;  
Two children forced to slap each other on their cheeks (punishment  
for talking in class).

Such actions are not confined to Viet Nam by any means. The record of discussion after body maps in Cambodia includes descriptions such as:

... we found some types of punishment were dangerous. One child (seven years old) said: 'One day, my mother twisted my hand harshly and then went on to twist my neck too, because I stole her money.' Another child (eight years old) said: 'Once my father tied both my wrists to his bicycle. Then he rode very fast ... This punishment was because I went out to play with my friends. I was ashamed.'

A ten-year-old said: 'A few months ago, I went to tend cattle at the meadow behind the village. I played some games with my friends without looking after my buffalos. In the evening, when I came back home, my mother tied me to a tree close to an ants' nest because I had lost the buffalos.'

Of particular concern is the list from children in institutions in Mongolia, which includes:

- Adults 'stomping' on a child's 'liver area' (stomach);
- Being forced to the ground;
- '*Diagramming*' also called '*degleh*': forcing children to stand in the hot sun all day or in a squatting position, or mopping the floor all day, or lining up for a head count at one- or two-minute intervals ('*diagram*' also means bullying);
- 'Gasping for air' also called 'getting drugged' or 'glucosed' (which would probably be 'winded' in English), in other words being punched 'in the liver, or on the face, arms, or calf muscles';
- Use of a rubber baton to hit children on the arms, legs and backs.

Body map results from Mongolian institutions showed that 14 out of 54 children, aged 10 to 15 years, reported being hit with a rubber baton, '*diagrammed*' and/or '*degluulekh*'. The researchers emphasized that 'these types of punishment are never administered at rural and city kindergartens or schools, but are inflicted at children's institutions.' Boys in particular are vulnerable to these physical punishments. According to children's descriptions, these punishments are not only common but also brutally applied for minor misbehaviour:

The supervisor once hit [me] with a rubber baton on my neck for not putting my blanket and mat outside. Once I went to the toilet, without knowing that it was time for lining up for the head count. When I came out of toilet, the supervisor hit my head against the wall many times (discussion of body map, boy, 15 years old, Ulaanbaatar children's institution).

All day '*degluulekh*' in the hot sun makes us dizzy, or very tired or we faint. That '*degluulekh*' occurs every day in the summer, and in the winter we get forced to mop the floor. The supervisors hit us with a rubber baton on our neck, legs and arms. If there is no rubber baton around, they use their belts to whip our backs. When we cry we are yelled at to shut up (warm-up focus group discussion with boys aged 14 to 15 years, prior to body map, Ulaanbaatar children's institution).

At summer holiday labour camp the cops slander us for misbehaving, and hit us with rubber batons and/or force us to do push-ups. They use the Mongolian proverb 'When one cow rattles its horns it causes the horns of a thousand cattle to rattle' as a reason to force all of us to do push-ups, or squats or keep our hands in the air, because one person does something wrong (discussion of body map, 15-year-old boy, Ulaanbaatar children's institution).

In addition to beating and hitting us our teacher also insults our family backgrounds. He says: 'You can just leave, you have nowhere else to go.' Also, he sends us to the shop for vodka and cigarettes at night. Once he grounded me and stomped on me, then made me wash the corridor floor (discussion of body maps, boy aged 15, Ulaanbaatar children's institution).

In interview, the chief doorkeeper of one institution explained the rationale behind this approach to punishment: 'Children need to be made to understand what they have done wrong ... Some children do not understand 'talking'. If the same child [does the same thing wrong again] there is no other choice but to punish.' Although he knew that hitting with a rubber baton is prohibited by law, he said that this punishment may be inflicted up to four times a week on the same child.

Listing some of these acts under the heading of 'punishment' or 'discipline' easily refutes any claim that corporal punishment is 'part of our cultural heritage'. The installation of electricity in homes is only a little more than a century old in developed countries, and even more recent in developing nations. In Viet Nam, for example, World Bank statistics indicate that electricity access increased dramatically in recent years, from around 51 percent households in 1995 to around 81 percent in 2003 ([www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org)). Thus it can hardly be argued that using electric shocks is a traditional form of discipline. Such treatment, especially the punishments meted out in institutions, is better defined as abuse or torture by any standards. It certainly goes well beyond any notion of the mythological 'loving smack'.

Although these punishments illustrate a degree of savagery worth recording, and some also appear in lists from other countries, they

are not the most commonly-reported. Total punishment rates, derived from different tools and samples, vary from 80 to 97 percent between countries. They tend to show a considerable amount of punishment taking the form of direct physical assaults, through hitting, punching and kicking, as well as substantial verbal abuse. Diary data collected by researchers from West Timor, in the Indonesian study, indicated that almost every child had been hit, slapped, punched and kicked in the previous week.

On the other hand, this violence is not universal. All national data include small numbers of children who say they were 'not punished', which may best be interpreted as 'not physically punished', because emotional punishment tended to be under-reported. In addition, children did report non violent forms of punishment, such as 'grounding' or suspending privileges. Half the children who mentioned punishment in the Hong Kong sample referred to punishments that are neither assaults nor attacks, which are categorized as non violent punishments in the research (Table 1). Of these children, 81 percent mentioned 'mandatory tasks' such as copying out passages of text or learning them by heart – a common choice of punishment by teachers – while 12 percent mentioned privileges being taken away and seven percent mentioned being reported by teachers to parents or guardians.

Analysis of types of punishment requires greater attention to the common forms of punishment than to idiosyncratic forms that are clear cases of abuse (Korbin, 1981). It also requires more than simple lists. The analysis by Fijian and Mongolian researchers of children's drawings under the title 'What happens when I make a mistake' used the adapted Save the Children categorization (Table 1). This produced a comparison of the types of punishment received by children in these countries according to individual drawings – although the age groups in the samples are not identical (Table 12).

Table 12 illustrates a pattern repeated in almost all country data; the majority of adults punish children by hitting them. The words of the Fijian researchers make it abundantly clear that this is no 'loving smack'. Direct assaults, they state, include 'being beaten, hit, slapped or lashed, smacked, "wacked", "given a hiding", spanked, punched, and "dinged on the head".'



**Table 12: Types of punishment reported by Fijian and Mongolian children, classified according to the definitional matrix (percentage of total punishments mentioned)**

Categories of punishment not mentioned have been omitted from this table.

Type of punishment	Fiji Age 10 to 13 years	Mongolia Age 6 to 15 years
<b>Physical punishment</b>		
Direct assault (hitting)	53.0	45.6
Other direct assault	0.5	5.0
indirect assault	6.5	9.0
Deliberate neglect	1.0	1.2
Use of hazardous tasks	16.8	0
<b>Emotional punishment</b>		
Verbal attack	11.2	33.8
<b>Non violent punishment</b>		
All types	11	5.4

Mongolian data from group body maps, used in all contexts with 10 to 11, and 14 to 15-year-olds, show that an even higher proportion of boys and girls (91.4 percent, including in institutions) are beaten at some time and 51.4 percent are kicked, with the same proportion reporting being pinched. Verbal attacks were reported by 22 percent of children using this tool. It should be remembered that body maps tend to produce data about physical punishment rather than other forms, so both emotional and non violent forms were likely to be undercounted. Similarly, the most common punishments recorded in Mongolian diaries, after physical assault and verbal attack, were beating and punching.

Results from different countries using a variety of methods are remarkably consistent. For example, body maps in all three Indonesian research areas produced widespread reports of adults making direct assaults on children in the name of discipline, using implements, fists or feet. The children who drew and discussed

slapping (smacking) using this research tool did not represent the highest percentage (Table 13). These average results from Indonesia mask considerable local variation between the three research sites, maybe reflecting the different techniques of the research teams, who had scant opportunity to work together and little supervision in the field. A small number of children, one in North Maluku and one in West Timor, also mentioned adults spitting at them as a form of punishment. Personal body mapping in Maluku, using a distinctive (local) research tool also showed 85 percent of children reporting direct assaults, and 51 percent indirect assaults (including 46 percent reporting being pinched).

**Table 13: Percentages of children depicting direct assaults in the three research areas of Indonesia, using Regional Protocol group body map tool (N = 147)**

	Pinching	Beating with implement	Kicking or being stamped on	Hitting with knuckles on back of head	Slapping using the hand (all parts of the body)
North Maluku (N=62)	27	39	2	11	11
Maluku (N=24)	70	8	66	0	4
West Timor (N=61)	100	100	83	91	100
Total (N=147)	65	59	50	43	43

The general pattern from all eight countries is that children are punished by direct assault more than by any other method. It is clear that, in almost all contexts, adults' punishment of preference is not a simple slap or smack, but more violent methods, such as using an implement to beat a child. This increases the severity of the punishment as well as augmenting the adult's physical force. It also shows a degree of pre-meditation; there is a time lapse, in which the adult seeks, picks up and uses an implement to punish a child for a particular offence.

The frequent mention of kicking and punching is shocking because these are particularly violent means of assaulting another person—particularly a much smaller person who does not have sufficient status to attempt self defence. This shows that everyday punishment should not be thought of as mild, ‘loving smacks’. The second most common punishment in general is verbal attack, which is interesting because it is perhaps less likely to be ‘described’ using visual methods. Mongolian children’s drawings, however, provided drawings of this from 55 percent of children (rather higher percentages in rural than urban areas, and especially at home).

**Table 14: Percentage of children who had been punished who mentioned direct assaults, according to whether they were administered with or without an implement (data from drawings and body maps, Hong Kong, Indonesia, urban Mongolia and Viet Nam)**

Type of punishment	Percentage of children who had been punished by direct assault who mentioned/drew this punishment					
	Hong Kong	Indonesia	Urban Mongolia	Viet Nam		
<b>Hit with a body part only</b>						
Hand on (slap)	13.3	23.6	21.4	45.5		
First (punch)	0	23.6	0	0		
Foot (kick)	0	20.4	8.2	4.5		
<b>Hit with an implement</b>						
Sticks etc	57.8	86.7	32.4	70.4	34.8	50
Whip (lash or belt)	28.9				15.2	

Adult preference for using an implement rather than a part of their own body to punish children is clear when results are compared between countries (Table 14). It seems that hitting children with an implement, such as a stick, belt, whip, or even a heavy object such as a pot hook, is preferred to simply slapping with the flat of a hand. In three of the four countries from which data on this can be compared, hitting with an implement was described as a punishment more frequently than ‘slapping’ or ‘smacking’, although there are clear differences between countries. While children in the Hong Kong

sample were less often punished by direct assault than children in other countries, on the occasions when they were hit in the course of discipline, an implement was likely to be used. The same tendency for adults to use an implement applies to Mongolian children. In Indonesia and Viet Nam, use of implements appears to be slightly higher than simply slapping or smacking, but other more aggressive use of adult bodies, such as punching and kicking, seemed more likely to be employed.

The implements listed range beyond specific tools of punishment such as whips, belts and canes. For example, Philippine researchers write:

In, general, punishment is inflicted with the use of a variety of instruments/objects other than the hands, such as belt, thin piece of wood or bamboo, broom, and whip (*'latigo'*). Bamboo/stick/thin piece of wood appear to be the most common object used for punishing children (across sexes and age groups for the Cebu participants).

Among the child participants from Caloocan, the belt and the hands are the most common objects used in punishing. Other objects used include stick/bamboo/wood, clothes hanger, broom, knife, ladle, and slippers. One boy mentioned that his grandfather used anything that he could get his hands on to punish him.

Similarly, researchers report that, during discussions after making body maps in Cambodia:

The majority of children mentioned that adults punished them with implements such as stick/cane, whips of various kinds (electronic wire, belt, whip, and chain), sharp implements (knife, axe, metal), and domestic implements without sharp edges (broom, shoe, comb, plate, spoon).

## **Body parts**

Other direct assaults mentioned in all countries seem to show a pattern of physical assault related to those parts of children's bodies that are easy to catch hold of, such as hair and ears, or limbs. The high percentage of pinching reported by Indonesian children in their group body maps is not unusual. In Maluku (Indonesia), according to

data from personal body maps, the most prevalent punishment committed by most female teachers towards pupils in Grade 5 is pinching. In the category 'other direct assaults', pinching and twisting (mostly ears and limbs) and hair pulling are the most commonly-mentioned punishments.

Where on the body a child is hit, or otherwise assaulted, probably makes a difference to the degree of both pain and humiliation. But this is unlikely to be the same in all countries because societies have distinct symbolic classifications for parts of the body, with differences according to age and gender. Specific names and meanings may be assigned to the same physiological feature for men and women, boys and girls (Turner, 1996). Hair has particularly potent meaning in all societies, often connected to constructions of both gender and sexuality (Leach, 1958), which means that hair pulling is not just painful but strikes at the heart of identity. In the case of other body parts the meaning may be more localised. Thus, Cambodian ranking data indicate children's view that being hit on head is the 'worst' punishment. This may be due not only to the resulting physical pain but also to more symbolic danger. The head is the governing body part in many East and Southeast Asian societies and often regarded as sacred. To touch someone else's head is supremely insulting, resulting in ritual impurity and symbolic danger.

Only five national reports (Cambodia, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Viet Nam and The Philippines) provided information on the parts of children's bodies targeted, and only the first four gave quantitative data. Because no regionally-agreed categories were established, it is not easy to compare the data derived on this from Regional Protocol body maps (Table 15). In other tools – particularly discussions – children mentioned other body parts. For example, although the Indonesian Regional Protocol body maps did not mention ears, some Indonesian children described or depicted ear twisting in other research contexts. The national data provided on body parts was not disaggregated by either age or gender.

Table 15 shows small incidences of genitalia being the target of punishment, although there is no mention of whether this refers to boys or girls, or both. However, whatever the child's sex, it must be emphasized that this is a particularly unacceptable form of 'punishment', being unequivocally sexual abuse. In the Hong Kong data, punishment involving genitalia was ranked the 'worst kind'.

**Table 15: Percentage of children in four countries mentioning specific body parts on which they are punished (body map data)**

Body part	Cambodia	Hong Kong	Indonesia		Viet Nam	
<b>Head and neck</b>						
Head	39.8	13 (face)	29	73	0	26
Face			20		13	
Hair			24		2	
Ears			0		11	
<b>Limbs</b>						
Arms	82.2	45	35	75	12	27
Hands			8		0	
Legs			32		15	
Feet					0	
<b>Trunk</b>						
Back	80.7	27 (back)	10	40	11	33
Buttocks	33.1				13	
Chest	2.3		15		5	
Stomach	3.3		15		4	
<b>Genitalia</b>	0	1	0		0	1

In their comments on the consolidated results of the distinctive body map tool used in both Cebu and Caloocan, the Philippine researchers record:

In general, punishment is inflicted in various parts of the body other than the buttocks (which is commonly regarded as the usual body part hit). Females from Cebu were usually hit on the hands and the side of the waist while the males are usually hit on the buttocks, legs and the back. Pinching the *singit* (groin or inner thigh) or the side of the waist was more common among female participants. The legs, followed by the buttocks then the arms, were the most commonly hit parts as reported by the children. The most commonly hit parts that were reported by the adults were the side of the waist/hips/torso, the legs, and the hands/buttocks/arms.

The Caloocan child participants point to the buttocks as the body part that gets hit the most in their experiences of punishment. Also included are the thigh, the legs, feet, side of the waist/hips/torso, etc. The responses of the adults followed the same pattern.

The use of the *Tagalog* term *singit* in this excerpt illustrates the way a specific body area may be conceptualised in one culture, while not being categorized in others.

The most certain conclusion to which these data lead is that there is no part of a child's body that cannot be the target for physical punishment. The governing factors must surely be the context of punishment, where it takes place, who punishes and the misdemeanour involved. A parent responding out of anger is likely to grab or hit the nearest part of a child's body. Punishments in school, on the other hand, are more likely to follow set rules and procedures, in which a particular implement (such as a cane) is used on a particular body part (such as palms or buttocks). It is also worth noting that some punishments (being hung upside down on a tree for example) affect a child's entire body, as well as including elements of fear and humiliation. Being hung on a tree may make a child feel helpless as well as exposing him or her to view in a particularly humiliating way. Being hung upside down will not only be more uncomfortable, it also reverses the position of the head - supposedly the superior part - and the genitals/ buttocks/feet, which are the lowliest, most shameful or symbolically unclean parts. Likewise, to be shut out of the house at night is to be rejected and rendered (at least temporarily) homeless. To be shut out of home naked is to add exposure and potential ridicule (as well as cold and lack of protection) to the punishment. Such punishments also entail considerable adult forethought; being aware of this may exacerbate a child's emotional pain.

### **Where punishment takes place**

The concrete context of punishment is also important. Humiliation may be exacerbated if a punishment takes place in a public context – for example in a school class in front of fellow pupils. But the same punishment taking place in secret, behind closed doors, may increase fear.

Types of punishment may vary even within the same context, so that some forms are more common at home, and others in schools even in the same geographical locations. The small institutional sample from Mongolia made it very clear that this context, which is separated from broader society and the dominant contexts of childhood (home and school), has specific punishment patterns. Other contexts, such as workplaces and city streets, present different patterns, although these were not targeted by the comparative research.

**Table 16: Types of punishment and frequency of depiction in drawings of urban and rural Mongolian children**

Categories not mentioned have been omitted.

Type of punishment	Urban children home and school		Rural children home		Rural children school and kindergarten	
<b>Physical punishment</b>						
<b>Direct assault</b>	Slapping 17.4	81.4	Slapping 16.3	87.2	Slapping 9.3	55.8
	Beating 57.3		Beating 67.4		Beating 45.3	
	Kicking 6.7		Kicking 3.5		Kicking 1.2	
<b>Other direct assaults ('pinching')</b>	6.7		8.7		9.3	
<b>Indirect assaults ('Wearing out')</b>	16.3		3.5		25.0	
<b>Deliberate neglect</b>	0.6		1.2		4.1	
<b>Emotional punishment</b>						
<b>Verbal abuse</b>	41.6		67.4		57.0	
<b>Non violent punishment</b>						
<b>Grounding/'house arrest'</b>	8.4		6.4		1.2	
<b>Chores, extra work</b>	2.8		7.6		0	
<b>No punishment</b>	3.4		2.3		7.6	



Vietnamese researchers report differences in punishment patterns between majority Kinh and minority ethnic groups. Ethnic-minority children in the research did not report as much violent punishment as the Kinh majority – but this may have been a reflection of different understandings and the fact that the researchers were working through interpreters. Some rural-urban differences appear to be worth further examination although, in Cambodia, researchers found no significant differences between patterns of punishment in urban, rural or remote areas, which may be a reflection of the relatively low and recent level of urbanization in that country. Mongolian data analysis specifically targeted differences between punishments in rural and urban settings, but found these may be less marked than differences according to home and school (Table 16).

**Table 17: Comparison of physical and emotional punishment frequencies at home and at school, Hong Kong, Korean and Vietnamese data from drawings**

Percentage of depictions, ignoring non violent types of punishment

Type of punishment	Home % depictions			School % depictions		
	Hong Kong	Republic of Korea	Viet Nam	Hong Kong	Republic of Korea	Viet Nam
Physical punishment	71	97	81	54	94	69
Emotional punishment	29	3	19	46	6	31

#### *Types of punishment at home and at school*

One of the options for the drawings research tool in the Regional Protocol explored types of punishment according to their incidence at home and at school. Aggregated data, compared between three countries (Hong Kong, Republic of Korea and Viet Nam), show that physical punishment predominates at home and at school (Table 17). Across all three countries the depictions of physical punishment, when compared directly to emotional punishment, averaged three quarters of the total; in homes the average was 79 percent and at school only 72 percent.

There are notable differences between countries. One of the most interesting examples is Hong Kong, where physical punishment is prohibited in school and non violent punishments, unlike the other countries in Table 17, comprise a sizeable proportion of the total shown in the drawings data. Emotional punishment in Hong Kong was drawn as more common at school than at home; 78 percent being verbal attacks. Home discipline was reported by this method to use non violent methods less than half as frequently as school punishment (19.7 percent compared to 50 percent) the preferred method appearing to be removal of privileges (including not being allowed to use computers, surf the internet or watch television). When physical and emotional punishments are directly compared, however, the predominance of physical over emotional punishment at home becomes clear.

The 152 Korean children who drew pictures of punishment at home and at school showed very high percentages of physical punishment – although slightly higher at home than at school (97.4 percent and 93.6 percent respectively). However, it is important to remember that Korean children tend not to have a concept of emotional punishment. Republic of Korea punishment diaries corroborated the drawings data but added more detail. Punishments in homes made up 60.99 percent of all punishments, with the school next, followed by after-school learning centres, playgrounds, and a range of other locations, such as the street, friends' houses and even welfare centres.

In Cambodia, over 80 percent of children in the study, of all ages, reported being punished at home. Hitting with hands, feet, canes, sticks or whips were the most common forms, although direct assaults of other kinds were also mentioned. In Vietnamese diary data, 24 percent of 499 children reported being beaten with a stick, mostly (88 percent) at home, with 38 percent being slapped (73 percent at home). Seventy-five percent reported verbal abuse – more among older children, in the Kinh majority and in urban areas.

Group drawings of punishment at home and at school in all three Indonesian locations, showed considerable physical punishment being received at home, with parents most commonly hitting (with and without an implement), pinching and kicking. Children in the three Indonesian locations reported receiving serious levels of physical punishment at school, with some children receiving

multiple punishment. Hitting (with or without use of an implement) pinching and kicking were the most commonly-used punishments in school. Diary data from Indonesia showed the most common punishment to be a beating, after which (with almost the same frequency) came being made to stand on one leg holding the ears and being scolded, both of these punishments more common than being kicked. Verbal abuse ('scolding' or *dimarahi*, which is regarded as serious in Indonesia) was a surprisingly little-reported punishment at home or at school. But a local tool in West Timor gave information about adults' insults, which included being called an animal (monkey, dog, pig), remarks about having a 'black' or 'ugly' face, and having a 'big stomach'.

Some punishments are specific to schools: standing in front of the class, with or without singing, or being made to stand in a corner facing the wall, or being hit by chalk thrown by a teacher, which is common the world over. All tend to depend on either the teacher having an implement or object to hand (or already in the hand) and the potential for humiliation provided by the classroom situation. In addition, according to some country data (Republic of Korea, Mongolia and Viet Nam in particular) a whole class may be punished for the misdemeanour of a single pupil. Two punishments – being made to stand on one foot holding their ears and being made to stand in the sun saluting the flag for extended periods of time – were given specific depiction in school punishment pictures from the Indonesian data. The latter punishment might be taken to reflect the militarization of childhood in Indonesia (Shiraishi, 1997). Nevertheless, data from Viet Nam also refer to 'standing under the flag' as a punishment. Schools in Viet Nam generally have the national flag hung on a pole in the centre of the courtyard. Children have to 'stand under the flag' for extended periods of time, in the sun during the summer and in the South, or at other times of the year in the North in bitter cold. Such punishments also enforce latent lessons about state power.

Sometimes to the surprise and dismay of researchers, the results showed that legal restrictions on the use of corporal punishment were not always implemented. In Hong Kong, where corporal punishment is prohibited in schools, some obviously does take place, although the occurrence was low. Children reported far more of both physical and emotional punishment at home than at school (half the

latter being coded as 'verbal attack'). Indeed, physical punishments at home – reported by 95.7 percent of the Hong Kong sample – included 66.2 percent direct assaults, which means that children are better protected from violence at school than at home. Almost all children in the sample (97 percent) reported physical punishment at school but – in contrast to homes – only two percent of these punishments were direct assaults.

Even in the face of bans on the use of corporal punishment in schools, teachers clearly inflict punishments that are corporal – in that they affect children's bodies – while evading the 'hitting' focus of legislation. Thus, in Viet Nam, where it is forbidden to hit children in school, teachers are reported to punish rural children by making them gather a plant that causes skin irritation, and to use this to clean the blackboard, resulting in sore, inflamed hands. The remainder of school punishments, in Hong Kong as elsewhere, tended to be punishments such as having to stand for long periods of time or being made to run around the school. Other punishments common in schools were non violent 'mandatory tasks' such as copying out passages of text.

In almost all cases, direct physical assault and verbal attacks are the most common methods of punishment reported – and more of this happens at home than in schools. Indeed the situation at home is sometimes the reverse of the situation at school, which suggests the need for state intervention in private as well as public arenas.

### *Institutional punishment*

Information about punishments in institutional contexts was only provided through data from 55 children in the Mongolian national report. Data from the small institutional sample in Viet Nam were not analysed separately. Nevertheless, as already seen, the available data are disturbing. In the four types of institutions – which varied from penal to protective – the most frequent punishment reported was verbal attack, followed by direct physical assaults, with consistent use of punishments that can be defined as torture, such as being beaten with a rubber truncheon, and forced to stand all day in the sun or to maintain a half-squatting position for long periods of time.

A quarter of child research participants from Mongolian institutions reported this kind of punishment. This research also revealed an institutional culture of bullying by adults, which is being passed on to children, who also beat up and bully each other; boys beating girls and older children victimizing younger inmates.

## Reasons for punishment

Regional categories of the reasons for punishment were derived from comparative analysis, rather than being established before data collection. National researchers listed actual faults in specific contexts, rather than analysing categories of fault. The first clue for regional analysis came from working through one of these lists, adapted for the regional comparison from data provided by adults and children to Republic of Korea researchers with respect to punishments at home and school. In the light of the ordering of lists, in this and some other national reports, the regional perspective first clustered reasons under three main headings: misdemeanours, disobedience and academic failings (Table 18).

**Table 18: The first regional classification of reasons for punishment: Reasons given by children for why they were punished (body maps, drawings and diaries, Republic of Korea)**

Category	At home	At school
<b>Misdemeanours (bad behaviour)</b>	Fighting with siblings Playing with a computer for a long time Eating an unbalanced diet Watching too much television Not liking to take a bath Coming back home late	Making a noise and disturbing the class Quarrelling with friends Saying bad things about other people Using bad language Sitting badly Scribbling in a textbook
<b>Disobedience (breaking a rule)</b>	Not doing homework Not keeping own room clean Not obeying parents Not going on an errand Not eating a meal Not keeping toys tidy	Not doing homework Not coming to school on time Breaking a school rule
<b>Academic failings</b>	Getting a bad grade Making a mistake	Getting a bad grade

The reasons listed for punishment in schools recall Michel Foucault’s comment that formal education introduces children to a social economy of often minute and apparently arbitrary rules (such as not running in a corridor) and concomitant punishments which are unknown in other contexts, and which serve the purpose of teaching children about power relationships (Foucault, 1979). Punishment at home in the Republic of Korea – where, according to children’s punishment diaries, 61 percent of punishment takes place – is ‘usually direct assault’ by smacking or with an implement, and major reasons are poor results from school work or failure to do homework. In this case, it is especially likely that children will be punished in both contexts for the same ‘mistake’.

Using this classification, the lists from the eight countries can be rationalized, as in the case of Mongolian data (Table 19). Even so, comparisons between countries, while interesting, are more indicative than reliable. In Indonesia, for example, data about the reasons for punishment were only recorded in drawings for the children from Maluku. It is interesting that punishments for failures in behaviour were more than twice as frequent in schools than in homes, while academic failure figured slightly more at home – but this was a small sample and the classification may not exactly match the regional classification. Most commonly, children reported being punished to ‘discipline’ them, for bad behaviour or being disobedient, an analysis that may be complicated by the different meaning of ‘discipline’ (*disiplin*) in *Bahasa Indonesia*. According to the aggregated results of the Regional Protocol body map in Maluku and North Maluku (N=68) 87 percent of children were punished for ‘*disiplin*’, 49 percent for bad behaviour and 12 percent for academic failings.

**Table19: Percentage of reasons for punishment at home and at school, discussion after drawings, Mongolia (N= 172)**

Reasons	Home	School
Failure of behaviour	30	22
Failure of obedience	60	46
Other	0	2
No reason	9	16
No punishment	1	2

Other data on reasons for punishment were derived from sentence completion. Seventy seven percent of Fijian adults completing the sentence 'Children are punished because...' mentioned failures of behaviour and/or failures of obedience. A further 11 percent said that children are punished 'to teach them a lesson' or 'improve their behaviour': 'We want to show them that they are wrong and we also try to improve them' (35 year old man). Eight percent claimed that children are punished 'as the last resort' when adults are faced with undesirable behaviour: 'They either don't listen after several warnings or they have a severe discipline problem' (woman, age unknown).

Although Fijian adults did not mention academic failing as a reason for punishment, Fijian children did; citing precise reasons such as 'not doing homework', 'not answering questions correctly', 'not paying attention in class', 'failing', low test or examination marks or a drop in class position. Indeed, this was the second most common reason for being punished according to discussions after body maps. Seven percent of girls and eight percent of boys in the younger age group, (10 to 13 years) also gave this as the reason for being punished at home. Among older children (14 to 17 years) the percentage rose noticeably: 21 percent of girls and 29 percent of boys gave academic failure as a reason for punishment. It can also be seen that expectations of childhood success increase with age, and may be more burdensome for boys than for girls. Comparison between results from adults and from children in Fiji may indicate that adults are not aware of the heavy burden for school success that they place on children.

The evidence seems to point to three kinds of failure, rather than three kinds of 'bad action', which determine whether or not children deserve punishment. Even though exact reasons may be equated to specific punishments, regional analysis shows that the underlying reason for punishment is failure to live up to expectations about 'being a good child' (which may be different for boys and girls), so that children must be punished to 'teach' them to be good.

These expectations refer to the general cultural concepts of what it is to be a good child, which differ according to time and place but seem to bear three general components of obedience, good behaviour and

success. The most common response from Fijian adults completing the sentence 'A good child is...' was 'displays appropriate behaviour'. As researchers commented, 'appropriate' nearly always means 'obedient'. Good children are also seen to be the result of good parenting, so that seven percent of adults reported that a 'good child' is a reflection of parenting or 'the home', while six percent said that a 'good child' learns from mistakes. A smaller percentage (four percent) felt that a 'good child' is 'seldom or never punished' with two percent claiming that he or she is able to 'think about his or her actions'. Similarly, responses to the sentence 'A bad child is...' referred to 'inappropriate behaviour' and 'disobedience', also reflecting parenting. Thus there is an underlying reason for punishment as far as parents (and other family members) are concerned. Children's behaviour and degree of success reflect on the image of the family, which means that bad behaviour, disobedience and failure must be punished because of the shame and public opprobrium that fall on the entire family.

These considerations led the regional analysis to re-categorize reasons for punishment under three main headings:

- Failure of behaviour: 'bad' behaviour includes acts that result from the child's own decisions, such as 'lying', 'stealing', 'hitting/bullying others', or 'talking back';
- Failure of obedience: disobeying rules but also not doing something they have been told to do; or 'refusing to listen' – a form of disobedience that might be regarded as children's passive resistance to adult demands;
- Failure of performance: applying in particular to academic success, which increases with age as a reason for punishment; also applying to failure to perform tasks or chores to the satisfaction of adults.

In addition to these three reasons, children often say that they are punished 'for no reason', because they are the target of the displaced anger and irritation of adults. The Philippines report refers to 'asking persistently for money' or 'breaking something accidentally'. The Cambodian report also mentions children being 'punished' as a



result of adult anger, caused by gambling and drinking. Mongolia punishment diaries over five days show that nearly a quarter of children who were punished reported that it was for 'no reason'. Interestingly there were some differences according to location. The percentage of rural children who reported this was nearly 30 percent, which is considerably more than the four in every hundred mentioned in urban areas. But the most worrying tendency of all is the 46 percent of children in Mongolian institutions who said they were 'punished for no reason'.

During focus group discussions in Viet Nam, children expressed their dissatisfaction at being punished for 'no reason'; as well as their full awareness that the fault lies with adults, rather than with them:

Parents think they have power and authority to beat children;

[Parents] often use 'big mouth' [a Vietnamese expression meaning overpowering with words] to shut children up;

When my parents are angry they beat me to release their anger.

Punishment for no reason is, of course, not punishment at all, but just plain violence. The real reasons are that parents cannot control their anger and that society says they can hit a child.

### **Who punishes whom?**

Information about the roles in which adults punish children was collected from drawings, body maps, diaries, and sentence completion. One overall conclusion from the regional analysis is that the research question 'Who carries out punishments?' would be better phrased 'Who punishes whom?' The onus for analysis is not on identifying the person, or category of person, who carries out a punishment but rather to identify the relationship between punisher and punished.

Not surprisingly, given that more punishment takes place at home than at school, parents (especially mothers) seem to do most of the punishing (Table 20). Other relatives mentioned are usually older

siblings and grandparents. Teachers are the next most frequent category. There are some intriguing differences between female and male teachers in the data from Maluku personal body maps, which indicate that female teachers more commonly punish children in Grades 4 and 5, although this may be because these children are in primary grades, where teachers tend to be female – and the sample is small. On the other hand, Viet Nam sentence completion by 298 children ('At school I get punished most by...') showed female teachers eight times more likely to punish than male teachers.

**Table 20: Which adults children say punish them, Fiji and Republic of Korea (diary and recall data)**

Category of adult	Fiji	Republic of Korea
Mothers	20	0
Fathers	18	0
Parents	10	0
All parents	48	45
Other relatives	5	20
Teachers	45	24
Others	2	11 (includes bullying)

The gender of the adult who punishes is especially interesting because mothers seem to be the main people meting out punishment at home, not always by a large percentage more than fathers, but with sufficient consistency to warrant investigation. Mothers were mentioned as punishers by Cambodian children six percent more frequently than fathers. Viet Nam drawings depicted mothers more than twice as often as fathers. The Philippines report also stated that mothers punish more than fathers, without giving any statistical evidence. The simple answer that mothers spend more time at home than fathers, and thus have more contact with children, is a true, but perhaps not sufficient, explanation.

In the Fijian data (Table 20) when the gender of the punishing parent is known, 20 percent are said to be mothers, with fathers a little lower at 18 percent. But mothers seem to be responsible for punishing girls of all ages (28 percent) more than twice as often as they punish younger boys (12 percent) and seldom punish boys over 14 years of

age (4 percent). A further tendency is emphasized in the Fiji body map data. For girls aged 10 to 13, mothers had a higher percentage of administering a direct assault as opposed to fathers and teachers. Girls were also more likely to experience 'other direct assaults' from parents and older siblings. Boys aged 10 to 13 years were the most likely of any group to receive a direct-assault punishment (hitting) from both mothers and fathers. This was slightly inconsistent with data obtained from the individual drawings exercise where boys reported fathers to be the people who usually administered a direct assault.

Viet Nam recall data shows differences in type of punishment inflicted by mothers and fathers. Mothers used a stick to beat children four percent more often than fathers, but verbal attack more than twice as frequently. Completing the sentence 'At home I get punished most by...', 62 percent of 298 Vietnamese children mentioned mothers, and only 38 percent fathers. Recall data showed some regional differences – fathers are the chief beaters in rural areas, while verbal abuse has the same overall pattern as in urban data: 66 percent from mothers, 31 percent from fathers, nine percent each from female teachers and grandparents. This may reflect the fact that adults who have the least physical strength are still able to wield power through a 'tongue lashing'. Yet kicking is the main resort of grandparents (40 percent), far more than 25 percent from siblings, 17 percent from mothers and teachers, with no mention of fathers kicking in data from this method. On the other hand, when it comes to humiliation (where elders do 'have the whip hand'), grandparents once again predominate - 34 percent of children (more boys than girls) said they had been humiliated by a grandparent, compared to 27 percent by each of fathers and mothers. In what seem to be complex power dynamics, older children recalled being humiliated mostly by their fathers and younger children mostly by grandparents.

Mongolian body maps show only a three percent difference between mothers and fathers in terms of frequency of punishment, but there are also variations in the types of punishments used (Table 21). In addition, Mongolian drawings from rural children depicted mothers punishing 10 percent more frequently than fathers. Thus it seems that fathers do less of any kind of punishing, not (as might be expected) that mothers are responsible for 'lighter' slaps, and fathers for more violent and aggressive punitive actions.

**Table 21: Who punishes children? Mothers and fathers compared by percentage of type of punishments in all contexts according to children's body maps (Mongolia)**

Type of punishment	% administered by		
	Mothers	Fathers	Others
Slap	40	27	33
Punch	40	32	38
Beating	31	25	44
Kick	31	25	44

### Frequency of punishments

Data on frequency of punishments are derived from body maps and punishment diaries and possibly show the greatest national divergences, although this may be due to differences between national diary tools and thus illustrate the need for comparative research to be systematic.

Nationally-designed diary tools were used in Mongolia, Republic of Korea, Viet Nam and Indonesia (where they differed between research sites and correlated with information from body maps). Only the diaries from Indonesia and Mongolia could actually be used to determine frequency.

Indonesian researchers in North Maluku commented that the frequency of punishment in punishment diaries seemed to them to be low, which they assumed was because teachers and parents had reduced their normal level of punishment during the week, to avoid being 'reported by the children to Save the Children UK staff.' This is only assumption. Yet it is interesting because it indicates that physical punishment of children is common, and accepted by education authorities, teachers and parents, as well as perhaps showing that adults are aware that the practice is 'questionable'.

In West Timor 100 children were given diaries for seven days; one child lost the diary so 99 were collected. Only 10 types of punishment were recorded, which may reflect the choices provided in the diaries. The average rate of punishment for these children was five a day.

In Mongolia, punishment diaries were filled out by children aged 10 to 15 years, in schools and institutions, over five days, and showed a surprising weekly pattern with 54 percent of children punished on Monday, reducing over the week to 23 percent on Fridays. The most frequent punishment throughout the week was verbal abuse (24 percent on Monday and 27 percent on Tuesday but reducing by a sudden drop to nine percent on Friday). This contrasts with the data from West Timor, which showed an even distribution of punishments throughout a seven-day period.

Extremely frequent hitting was not found in many cases other than the West Timor study. Around half the children in most data (slightly more boys than girls) received a significant punishment once a week. Some Cambodian data seem to indicate that children are usually punished less than once a week, only around one percent being punished every day. On the other hand, infrequent punishment rates seem to be rare. Overall the research indicates that there are differences between frequency of punishment at home and at school. While being hit and verbally abused are the most common punishments, they seem to be more frequent at home. Mongolian researchers report, for instance, that 'the chance of children getting punished on a regular basis at home is three times higher than at schools.' In the private arena of the home it is easier to assault a child in the name of discipline than it may be in the public arena of school, where tongues take the place of other means of meting out punishment.

## **Gender and generation**

All the data already discussed lead not only to the conclusion that the relationship between punisher and punished is crucial for understanding patterns of punishment, but also to the need to focus on certain characteristics of any child who is punished. A dynamic interaction between age and gender shows up in many national reports. In Cambodia, during group discussion after body maps and before ranking, children declared that different punishments are used on boys and girls, that boys are punished by kicking, hitting with object, and punching, while girls are punished by pinching, pulling, and joint twisting.

Two of the statements in the attitude survey were intended to explore such gender differences. The first of these was 'Boys need to be hit or they get out of control'. The regional results show a marked divergence between children and adults. More adults (67 percent) and children (40 percent) disagreed with the statement, Korean adults disagreed most strongly (87 percent). In Viet Nam, a difference of opinion among children on gender issues showed up between urban Kinh children (don't hit boys) and rural/ethnic children (do hit boys). There were also differences according to age: as children grow older they show a greater tendency to disagree that boys need to be hit. But there were no other major national differences. Few adults had no opinion – only three percent, compared to 22 percent of children. Perhaps children's view of gender difference does not yet encompass the idea that boys need to be controlled. The main question raised by this result is that, if two thirds of adults disagree with this statement, how can it be explained that (as in Fiji) younger boys bear the brunt of punishment by direct assault?

The second gender-related attitude survey statement was 'Girls should never be hit'. Although 43 percent of both adults and children agreed with this statement, once again nearly a quarter of children had no opinion, and fewer children (35 percent) than adults (50 percent) disagreed. Thus half the adults surveyed in the eight countries thought it acceptable for girls to be hit. There were some national differences; more than half of both Cambodian adults and children agreed, while 60 percent of Fijian adults and 63 percent of Korean adults disagreed.

Hong Kong results show significant gender differences (which increased with age) among children in their attitudes to gender difference in punishment (girls thought they should not be punished, boys less so). But there were no significant differences in opinions on punishment among adults by gender, and both parents and children overall were against the idea that corporal punishment should be imposed on boys and not girls – significantly more children than adults rejecting this gender bias.

The results of attitude surveys can be compared with what children say actually happens. While the attitude survey showed nearly two thirds of Korean adults stating that it is acceptable for girls to be hit, girls appear to receive a higher percentage of direct-assault punishments than this, both at home and at school (Table 22).

**Table 22: Punishment by gender, home and school, Republic of Korea (recall)**

Punishment	Home				School			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Physical punishment	50	100	64	95.5	44	93.6	556	93.3
Emotional punishment	0	0	3	4.5	3	6.4	4	6.7
Total	50	100	67	100	47	100	60	100

It is unwise to make hasty gender analyses, especially using simplistic Western stereotypes as models. The small sample of Indonesian adults generally disagreed with statements that only boys and not girls should be hit. This is probably due to four factors, which demonstrate the complexity of gender analysis and the importance of understanding cultural nuances:

- Boys and girls are seen as basically similar beings (in line with what some researchers see as a general muting of gender differences in Indonesian societies);
- Girls are expected to be particularly respectful;
- Girls who are undisciplined are in danger of getting into (sexual) trouble;
- Boys may run away from home if you are too harsh with them.

Crucial factors in gender analysis of childhood are age and physical development. In the case of the two main forms of punishment drawn by children (beating and verbal attack), there are interesting differences by age and gender. A particularly important result from some cross tabulations is that 'generation', or age differences, cut across gender differences. In Mongolian drawings and body maps the average percentages according to gender show only a small difference between girls and boys when it comes to being beaten, while girls appear to be far more vulnerable to verbal attack. When Mongolian researchers cross-tabulated data on people who punish and data on gender and age, they found that boys were being mostly punished by their fathers and older brothers, whereas girls were being punished either by their mothers or older sisters. Mothers appeared to have the main responsibility for punishing younger children. However, these differences masked important distinctions

between home and school as well as between urban and rural locations. The least likelihood of verbal attacks, according to body maps, is for boys in urban areas, in contrast to rural girls at home – where it is the second highest percentage recorded by this method, the highest being beating for rural boys at school. Urban girls on the other hand are more likely to be subject to direct assault than verbal attack.

According to Mongolian drawings, the age of a child influences adults’ choice of punishment. Beatings decrease with age, while verbal attack increases (Table 23). Mongolia body maps also showed the importance of age as a factor in whether children are punished physically or emotionally, the percentage distribution of the children from senior Grades getting verbally punished was nearly twice that of children from primary Grades.

**Table 23: Comparison of frequency of depiction of beatings and verbal attacks in Mongolian children’s drawings, by age**

Average rural and urban %	Age group (years)		
	6-7	10-11	14-15
Beating	20.3	17.5	18.9
Verbal	13.6	18.5	23.3

Sophisticated analysis by the Hong Kong researchers revealed a significant difference among age groups with respect to non violent punishment. There was also a significant difference by gender; more girls than boys drew these kinds of punishments. This pattern was repeated at home with respect to age, but not with respect to gender. When home and school punishments were combined, increasing age was a factor in physical punishment and non violent punishment, but gender (more girls) was only significant with respect to non physical punishment.

As in Mongolian children’s drawings, Fijian drawings by 10 to 13 year olds showed a marked difference between the direct assaults experienced, with 82 percent of boys reporting a direct assault compared with 52 percent of girls. In the 14 to 17 years age group these percentages dropped dramatically to 36 percent among boys (with a marked increase in indirect assaults) but rose to 42 percent among girls. The Fijian



drawings results were confirmed by body map data. Both older and younger boys experienced a higher percentage of physical punishment than girls. Ninety percent of the punishments drawn by boys aged 10 to 13 years depicted some form of physical punishments (including direct assaults, other direct assaults, indirect assaults and hazardous tasks). Boys between the ages of 14 and 17 years experienced more indirect assaults, with 13 percent of their responses showing that they were given exercise-related punishments such as 'running around the ground', 'press-ups' and 'sit-ups'.

Responses from younger Fijian girls (10 to 13 years old) illustrated that they received increased chores as a form of punishment. Fifteen percent of their responses showing that they received tasks they regarded as a punishment. Although the tasks they mentioned are not in themselves dangerous (gardening and rubbish collection), they may be beyond the children's strength, be performed for too long a period or have hidden risks. Older children also described more strenuous tasks such as 'scrubbing corridors and footpaths' or 'cleaning toilets and drains'.

In general, girls in Fiji reported more emotional punishment, increasing as they grew older and taking the form of both verbal attack and humiliation: being scolded, sworn at, or wearing notices around their necks. Although boys reported a smaller percentage, they too experienced more emotional punishment by the time they were teenagers. The form taken by boys' emotional punishments might be gender specific; standing on a chair, standing in front of the class holding their ears, being expelled from the classroom. All of these could be categorized as 'indirect assault'.

Non violent punishments drawn by Fijian children included 'counselling', 'grounding', 'extra chores' and 'withdrawal of privileges'. Responses from girls between the ages of 10 and 13 years were highest in this category (20 percent). Boys between the ages of 10 and 13 years experienced the least non violent punishments with only four percent of their responses being some form of alternative punishment; this is the age group bearing the brunt of direct assault.

Drawings from both Fiji and Mongolia also show that reasons for punishment vary for girls and boys of different ages (Table 24).

**Table 24: Reasons for being punished by age and gender, Fiji and Mongolia (drawings)**

Reason for punishment	Girls 10-13 years (%)		Boys 10-13 years (%)		Girls 14-17 years (%)		Girls 14-17 years (%)	
	Fiji	Mongolia	Fiji	Mongolia	Fiji	Mongolia	Fiji	Mongolia
Failure of behavior	26	9	29	15	25	13	18	22
Failure of obedience	61	71	61	70	50	62	48	47
Failure of performance	7	19	8	11	21	22	29	30
Other reasons	2	1	1	4	4	3	5	1
Reason unclear/not given	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The gender and generation patterns of childhood show that direct assaults (hitting) are more likely on younger children, especially boys, but lessen as children get older. For children over about 14 years of age, the rate of direct assaults in the name of punishment is reduced, while punishment by indirect assaults and enforced hazardous tasks increases. Older girls are slightly more likely to be hit than older boys. Verbal assaults are always slightly more likely for girls, and increase overall with age. The age and gender of children also affect who punishes them. Mothers punish all children more than fathers, except for older boys. Teachers punish all boys more than all girls, punishing older children of both sexes about twice as much as young children.

**Punishment patterns**

Consideration of the patterns revealed by the comparison of data from the eight countries leads to a general conclusion about the original research questions. Although these are fairly standard questions employed to design research on corporal punishment, it can be argued

that they are in fact incorrectly framed. Questions such as ‘What punishments’, ‘Who punishes?’ and ‘Where?’ and ‘With what?’ are too simplistic. It is not possible to answer one without reference to the others. Understanding the physical and emotional punishment of children requires more than lists and classifications of acts, actors, contexts and implements, but rather recognition and comprehension of the interrelationships between these and other factors. The child’s body that is hit is not neutral, it has characteristics: biosocial attributes such as age and gender, as well as social attributes determined by culture, family form and various markers of status. These determine what a particular adult (with particular characteristics) can and will do to punish failure to obey, failure of behaviour or failure to succeed. A network of conscious and unconscious decisions, socially-determined by existing hierarchies, takes over in any retribution for these failures. Anger-management capacity, for example, is only one factor and the offence only a catalyst. There are no general punishments but there are general rules – a grammar of punishment. The apparently straightforward relationship between adult, offence and child is mediated by a number of dynamic factors operating simultaneously, translated into what the punishment is and the severity with which it is applied. The data from the eight countries show that these include:

- Child’s age;
- Child’s gender;
- Power relationship between adult and child;
- The written and unwritten rules governing the place (home, school, institution);
- The means available to the adult (laws, implements, space and time).

Attitude survey results, from statements about the need to hit boys and whether it is proper to hit girls, make it clear that the general feeling in all countries is that both sexes can be physically assaulted in the name of discipline. There was very little mention that no children should ever be hit. Indeed, there was a significant absence of comment from either adults or children that corporal punishment is a violation of children’s rights, which is somewhat disappointing given the amount of children’s-rights training that is taking place in the countries involved. Children appear to tolerate punishment, and even expect this as part of an adult’s role. But this is likely to be influenced by the fact that punishment is part

of 'normal', everyday life as well as being due to the guilt some of children express about disobedience or making mistakes. Guilt and shame are learned responses.

In general terms, direct assault seems to be more common on younger children, especially boys, while older children, especially girls, are subjected to verbal abuse and humiliation or less-punitive disciplinary measures, such as 'grounding'. As parents told researchers in Viet Nam, 'You can reason with an older child'. But once again there are national and local differences: girls are hit a little more frequently than boys in the Mongolian sample, while in Fiji small boys seem to bear the brunt of direct physical assault as punishment. In Hong Kong, the pattern seems to be physical punishment for younger children and emotional punishment for older children.

### **Attitudes to punishment**

Failure to obey is a major reason for a child to be punished, and given justification in various religious dogmas. As observed in the 19-country literature review, the Christian adage 'spare the rod and spoil the child' has penetrated many societies in the Southeast Asia and Pacific region, not only Christian societies such as Fiji and the Philippines, but also societies with no predominant religion, such as the Republic of Korea and Viet Nam (Nogami et al, 2005). The Confucian ideal of filial piety is another cultural expression of an overall stress on obeying elders in the region. 'Obedience' is indeed a general idea, and disobedience is a reason for punishment, but obedience appears to operate as an ideal.

In recognition of reality perhaps, the statement 'A good child is obedient at all times' was not widely supported in the attitude survey by either adults or children. Regional responses to this statement show a marked difference between adults, 58 percent of whom disagree, and children, 68 percent of whom agree. Analysis leads to the suggestion that children perhaps 'agree' because they have repeatedly been told that they must be obedient, while adults have learned from reality and are willing to recognize that a 'good child' is not *always* obedient. Cambodian children and adults especially agreed (over 90 percent in both cases) and there was also high agreement in the Philippines.

Mongolian children scored significantly higher than adults. In Hong Kong significantly more female than male participants (actually all the females) disagreed with unconditional obedience as an essential attribute of a good child.

The statement 'Adults have a duty to discipline children' was also one about which adults and children differed. One third of the children in the eight countries agreed. Once again this may be because they feel they should agree. But children's expectation of being taught how to behave by adults has been noted in other societies, in research that shows that children feel let down by parents who do not take seriously their duty to discipline (Diop Tine and Ennew, 1998). The fact that 37 percent of adults disagreed with this statement is surprising, because it might be interpreted as meaning that they do not perceive any need to discipline, or are simply denying that they personally have a duty in this respect. Another factor could be the extent to which respondents (and even researchers) actually understood this statement. 'Discipline' and 'punish' are not easy words to translate, which was noted as a general regional problem; specifically in this research with respect to the term *disiplin* in Indonesia, and the Fijian research team who reported that it was difficult to know what 'discipline' meant to respondents. Duty, likewise, has many nuances in the way it can be translated but, as research teams had been involved in developing the attitude survey statements and overseeing the translations into local languages, it is probable that respondents grasped the essential meaning.

Most Cambodian children who participated in the body map method stated strongly that adults should not punish them (physically and emotionally) even if they were at fault. Instead, adults should discuss with children the reason for making a mistakes and give advice about future behaviour. Nevertheless, as in other countries, a few agreed with punishment because they thought it is a way of learning from their mistakes and is administered out of love.

Comments in two national reports reflect on responses to this statement. Korean researchers state that:

due to the influence of traditional social ideology in Korea, it could be thought that there are cases where children blindly accept the presumption that physical punishment holds meaningful educational intentions by which they consider it a means to make them reflect on their wrongfulness.

The Mongolian researchers write that there is a connection between traditional ideas and current research doctrines:

Data collected by the attitude survey show that adults still hold a traditional tendency to believe that punishment plays a positive role in disciplining children. Especially when children disobey, it [is] acceptable either to beat them or shout at them in order to teach them lesson or 'put sense' into them ... Secondary data analysis also showed that the traditional tendency of disciplining children through punishment was dominant in social psychology, and both adults and children agreed that physical and emotional punishment is one way of disciplining children.

The indistinct concepts of 'discipline' and 'punishment' were further explored in the attitude survey using more precise and concrete statements. Two statements (separated in the attitude survey form) examined the basis for the necessity of punishment. The first of these, 'Punishment is needed to make children behave well' did not specify what is meant by 'punishment', although it is likely (judging from comments in all the national reports) that this would be equated with physical punishment. Children and adults responded in similar ways, although children had a larger proportion of 'no opinion' answers. Around half (49 percent children and 51 percent adults) agreed with this statement. The relatively even spread of agreement and disagreement shows that attitudes are mixed.

The second statement of this kind, 'Punishment is needed so children know right from wrong', returned similar results – including an equal percentage of children who recorded 'no opinion'. Forty six percent of children and 58 percent of adults agreed with this statement. In both cases, a significant proportion of children would probably agree with Cambodian children's comments during discussions after making body maps. Some children, especially girls, said:

Children who do not obey parents' advice should be punished by their parents, because parents want them to be good children. If parents do not hit, children will not understand about their mistakes, then they will still make the same or more mistakes.

Further attitude survey statements explored the idea of hitting children in the course of discipline, rather than using the vague term 'punishment'. The results are worth detailed consideration (Table 25).

**Table 25: Regional data from attitude survey, percentage responses to the statements 'If you do not hit children they will not learn good behaviour', 'Being hit is worse than being told you are a bad person', and 'When children do not listen, adults need to shout at them' (children and adults)**

Statement	Children			Adults		
	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree
If you do not hit children they will not learn good behaviour	45	20	35	76	6	16
Being hit is worse than being told you are a bad person	36	22	42	41	15	44
When children do not listen, adults need to shout at them	38	17	45	58	6	36

A relatively large percentage of children did not have an opinion about any of these statements, and the remainder were more-or-less evenly split between agreeing and disagreeing in each case. This appears to confirm results from other attitude survey statements, which indicate that children are not entirely sure where they stand on punishment. On the one hand it hurts but, on the other, they have been told it is good for them by the very people on whom they are dependent for their upbringing and whose opinions they are encouraged to trust. Yet these are the very people who subject them to physical assaults and verbal attacks. Thus, a certain amount of psychological contradiction is only to be expected. It is interesting that about two thirds of Mongolian children (who are hit a lot) and of Korean children (who are not hit so much) disagree with this statement.

By contrast, three quarters of adults were quite clear that they disagree with the statement 'If you do not hit children they will not learn good behaviour.' National differences are not particularly marked except that more Korean adults tend to disagree (over 90 percent). This result is even more startling than the children's equivocation. Throughout the eight countries most adults say that you do not have to hit children to ensure they learn good behaviour. And yet evidence from all other tools is that adults hit children a good deal in the name of discipline. Even if it might be the case that adults were saying what they thought researchers wanted to hear (and that is only an assumption), it would indicate that they know hitting children is regarded as wrong in some circles. Even if they believe it is part of their cultural tradition, chinks might have appeared in their certainty. It is also worth mentioning that among the 'good behaviours' children learn by being hit is the implicit principle that hitting other people is acceptable.

The statement 'Being hit is worse than being told you are a bad person' views the topic of 'hitting' from the perspective of the person being punished, or against whom violence is being practised. The relatively even spread of opinions shown in responses from both children and adults, together with the percentages of 'no opinion' could be seen as indicating that this is not an issue, or that 'being told you are a bad person' does not occur. But children did include name-calling of various kinds among emotional punishments. Or it might be that 'being hit' is experienced as a demonstration of indeed being 'a bad person', so that this statement does not appear to be logical.

The final statement in this group moves away from the notion of hitting to the verbal attacks described by many children: 'When children do not listen, adults need to shout at them'. Once again more adults than children disagreed with this statement, even though it tends to be what adults do, and indicates a degree of discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour. Children either agreed or to had no opinion, which raises the question 'Are children so accustomed to being shouted at that they just take it as normal?'

According to responses to one of the last set of attitude statements, considerable – but variable – proportions of adults said they feel unhappy after punishing a child (Table 26).



**Table 26: Percentage of adult responses to the statement 'After I punish a child I feel unhappy' (Fiji, Hong Kong and Republic of Korea).**

Country	Disagree	No opinion	Agree
Fiji	38	5	57
Hong Kong	0	0	100
Korea	16.6	18.3	65.1

Fijian researchers comment 'this illustrates that punishing children frequently leads to negative emotions such as unhappiness and sadness among adults'; although this only reflected the opinions of just over half the Fijian adults surveyed. This is a larger proportion than the 45 percent of adults who completed the sentence 'When I punish children I feel...' by saying that they felt 'sad' or 'unhappy'. One respondent stated she felt 'bad, because it shows that I am not capable of using other means of motivation to get the child to do something.' Other responses included feeling 'remorseful' or 'depressed'. But 38 percent of adults (the same proportion as in the attitude survey) completed this sentence by citing positive emotions, such as happiness, because they felt they were doing their duty and expressing their love for children:

- [I] do something which makes me love my children dearly' (Adult male, age unknown);
- [I am] satisfied because they'll know that I don't agree with what they have done' (30 year old female);
- [I feel] good because I am helping to mould a child into a responsible citizen (25 year old male).

A smaller group of respondents (17 percent) stated that although punishment hurt them or made them feel bad, it was for the child's benefit. One 42-year old man stated that '[I feel] sorry inside because I love them but I have to hide it from them because I want them to be good persons.' Similarly, a younger woman said she feels '... guilty, but then again I want the child to be a better person in the future.'

In this respect, Korean researchers commented on a link between public and private attitudes:

... physical punishment by parents and teachers in accordance with the traditional Confucian ideology has been beautified and accepted as an educational means, labelling it as 'the method to make a human being,' or 'cane of love' ... However, according to recent studies, extreme physical punishment can easily cause negative effects in children both physically and emotionally. In addition, it is not forgotten, even in adulthood, and is remembered in a negative way for a long period of time. As these negative effects of physical punishment are revealed, re-examinations of its use are being conducted, and the 'for' and 'against' theories are in sharp contradiction.

### **What is worse – hurt inside or hurt outside?**

The results from children's responses to the statement 'Being hit is worse than being told you are a bad person' are surprising in that this differs from reports of what children say elsewhere in the world (Chapter 3). Maybe it reflects verbal abuse being relatively low in incidence compared to hitting. Maybe being told you are 'a bad person' is not a form of verbal abuse in these eight countries. The results from different ethnic groups in Viet Nam show that nearly three quarters of urban Kinh children disagreed, while rural, ethnic-minority children agreed. This may demonstrate the influence of different cultural notions of 'the person' and 'self-esteem' (both largely Western notions). On the other hand, it could be argued that children of minority groups, which are low in national hierarchies, already have reduced ideas about their own worth and are thus more sensitive to activities that confirm this.

Children's feelings after punishment were explored using the statement 'After I am punished I feel unhappy', in Cambodia, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Mongolia and Republic of Korea. Nearly two thirds of children agreed. Adults from Cambodia, overwhelmingly attested (96 percent) that after they had been punished as children they felt unhappy. When asked to reflect on punishment when he was a child, a 30-year old Fijian man remembered experiences that were 'emotionally upsetting and [produced] a chilly sensation in body and mind.'

The link between bodily and mental pain was explored in various ways in the comparative research to test the suggestion in some earlier

international research that children find the emotional injuries of punishment more painful than physical damage. Ranking exercises after drawings and body maps provided group consensus on the worst punishments according to children's perceptions. Because these replies resulted from drawing and body map methods, physical punishments tended to predominate, although some of the comments made during group ranking exercises and other discussions indicate other aspects affecting how children grade punishments. There also appears to be a tendency in individual responses to recall the most recent painful experience of punishment, which may limit the validity of these data. However, some general conclusions can be drawn from this open-ended method.

Analysis showed that children tend to rank punishments according to three sets of criteria, which are often combined in their comments:

- Danger, pain and fear;
- Form of punishment;
- Where on the body;
- How the punishment was inflicted.

When children ranked the punishments they had described in both methods, direct assault was ranked as the worst punishment across all age, gender, ethnic, geographical samples. Indonesian researchers commented that children argued during the ranking sessions that all types of physical punishment are 'painful and potentially dangerous because they can result in serious injury and sometimes bleeding.'

The relatively low occurrence of emotional punishment within the ranking order may be a consequence of the association of ranking methods and drawing – it is not easy to draw verbal attacks, although some children did. Ranking tools also showed the need for better understanding of the meaning of 'punishment'. Adults tend to conceive of 'punishment' as physical, and to include a smaller range of practices – usually confined to direct assaults. Children tell another story, including punishments such as ear twisting, which is generally reported to 'hurt a lot' and be quite prevalent in all countries. One contrast to the general pattern in ranking punishments was reported from the Republic of Korea, where emotional punishment was not frequently reported because, as researchers commented, children 'did not regard emotional punishment as punishment.' Similarly, Hong Kong children, who counted confinement and isolation as 'emotional'

punishment, said that this hurts more than any other kind of punishment *except being hit* (which occurred infrequently in this sample).

*Ranked by danger, pain and fear*

According to children's ranking from North Maluku body maps, the most painful and at the same time the most dangerous type of punishment is 'being hit', particularly on the head or face, followed by being kicked, and pinching or twisting skin. The researchers observed that most children argued all types of punishments are dangerous, because they occasionally result in injury, 'sometimes even bleeding', and they are usually painful. Some Fijian children ranked 'direct assaults' as the punishment that hurt the most due to the fear of serious injuries: 'leaves marks on your legs', 'blood comes out', 'hurt some internal organs', 'you can get killed' and also 'Makes you fear the person that punches you.' Older boys tended to express this last fear more than girls of any age.

Cambodian children in discussions after making body maps emphasized minor pain (swelling, bruises and sprains), severe injury (broken arm/leg), high fever or other illness, permanent disability, unconsciousness, emotional disability/depression/lack of self esteem, and sometimes death. In addition, they indicated that physical punishment also has negative emotional effects – including suicidal feelings. Fijian researchers also concluded that the reason for ranking verbal assaults and denigrating treatment as 'hurting most' was the emotional effects of the punishment: 'We noted that respondents made statements such as 'it hurts our feelings', 'lowers our self esteem', 'stays with you for years', 'feel embarrassed', 'makes you commit suicide ... you don't forget.'

Children's comments during the discussion before ranking and in focus group discussions in Viet Nam, tended to be more revealing than any numerical accounts. Children in all groups stated that they would prefer adults to explain to them what they did wrong and give them advice instead of scolding or beating them, 'I wish parents would talk to me and analyse my mistakes, so that I can understand my mistake, and guide me so that I don't commit the mistake again,' and 'My parents overpower me with words so I cannot explain myself'. However, they also wanted to be scolded in a few sentences, and not to be humiliated, or to be scolded and punished 'very gently': 'When I have children, I'll explain their mistakes to them, but if they don't behave I'll beat them gently on the bottom.'

*Ranked by form of punishment*

Fijian children ranked all kinds of direct physical assault, from beating to having objects thrown at them, as the punishments that 'hurt the most'. Second in their list were verbal attacks – which included denigration and humiliation. The third most common form of punishment ranked as hurting most was described as 'a deliberate neglect of a child's physical needs', meaning 'being chased out of home', 'being kicked out of the house', 'locked out of the house at night'. North Maluku and Maluku children decided that direct assault (hitting) was worst, followed by verbal attack, and then by other direct assaults (pinching, twisting). In Hong Kong, where direct assaults are not common in schools, emotional punishment was the worst punishment that emerged from ranking after drawings, followed by physical punishments, among which the worst was 'use of external substances'.

Direct assault by hitting (in one form or another, but usually with an implement, and occasionally specifically linked to being hit on a specific part of the body) was universally ranked as the worst punishment well ahead of any other punishments, although results varied according to age. Older children, who receive more verbal punishment, tended to rank this higher than younger. In general, verbal attacks were rated relatively high compared to other types of punishment. It should not be forgotten that these rankings are gained from drawings and body maps, neither of which tend to produce emotional punishment information – although in discussion children would often say (in all countries) that the reason they ranked a particular punishment high was the associated emotional pain. Two Fijian discussion groups ranked direct assaults and verbal assaults together as the punishments that hurt the most. A group of boys (14 to 17 years old) ranked being 'belted and emotionally hurt (by words)' and a group of girls ranked 'being lectured and hit with hosepipe' as the punishment that hurt the most.

*Ranked by body parts*

Cambodian children discussed and ranked punishments after making group body maps and concentrated on the body parts affected, ranking head as first, followed by limbs, and then punishments affecting the body as a whole.

The initial focus on the head could be because it is insulting to touch another person's head in this region – although only Cambodian children focused on heads and the researchers do not record any mention of this cultural taboo. Indeed the reason given by children is the possible long-term damage. These actions, they said, can lead to severe injuries or even 'mental retardation'. Likewise, their second worst location for punishment – on the limbs including hands – could lead to damage such as sprains (from twisting) or to disability, even though punishment to these parts of the body are not always the most painful.

Finally they chose to highlight violent punishments to the whole body – kicking that makes children fall and hurt themselves, blows to the chest that take away their breath and ability to speak.

#### *Punishments that hurt the least*

Fijian researchers reported the punishments children placed at the bottom of their ranking lists. The most common was some form of extra chores, such as 'picking up rubbish', 'weeding', 'sweeping' and 'washing walls'. Some children even commented that such punishment was 'fun', for example in the case where girls who had been told to wash walls said 'just standing there and wiping, gives us a chance to *'talanoa'* (chat)'.

In some cases of the punishment identified at the bottom of the list the respondents felt that the punishment was for their own good. For example a group of girls, 14 to 17 years old, stated 'its for your benefit, it does not hurt.'

### **During and after punishment**

Regional comparisons of what data from different countries say about children's feelings during and after punishment are mostly results from completing the sentence, 'After I am punished I feel...'. The range of reactions to the most common punishment of direct assault is listed in the report from the Republic of Korea: children feel physically ill, angry, guilty and/or ashamed, unhappy, resentful and scared as well as saying they need to reflect. Researchers commented that these children 'recognized physical punishment in a positive way as a means to reflect, educate, and for their well being in the future.' But 'most

children showed negative reactions, with some saying they felt violent, that punishment is an abuse or a crime', and 'most answering that it is bad, painful, something that shouldn't be done, wrong and unfair.'

During group discussion after making body maps and before ranking, Cambodian children were asked 'What are your feelings after being punished?' Most of children did not immediately respond and needed encouragement by researchers, but finally most replied that they were very hurt and angry. Others felt ashamed and some wanted to fight back or run away. In the most extreme cases they said that they felt like hitting out at other children, or even committing suicide. A few indicated that they were puzzled about why they were punished. Only a small number said that, if they have made a mistake, they should be punished by adults. These results are very similar to the Korean sentence completion results. When Cambodian children were asked in an interview what they did in response to punishment (as opposed to what they felt) most children (61 percent of boys and 76 percent of girls) answered that they stand still and endure the punishment. Only 1.8 percent of boys – and no girls – 'fight back'. A few girls ask someone else for help (less than one percent), while more boys (27 percent) than girls (23 percent) escape from the punishment. Considerably more boys (16 percent) than girls (4 percent) said they beg not to be punished.

The Fijian conclusion on children's feelings and thoughts about the punishments they received, based on data from individual drawings exercises, was that the most common response from children across all age categories was some form of 'emotional distress'. It was interesting to note that responses were similar to Fijian adults' responses in relation to how they felt when they themselves had been punished as children. Once again age and gender differences were noted. Boys between 10 and 13 years seemed to experience the highest level of physical pain from the punishment received and also seemed to experience the greatest distress when punished. The level of physical pain reported across the groups was relatively low when compared to emotional distress and hurt. Girls were more likely to state that they 'deserved the punishment' in comparison to boys. Girls were also more likely than boys to state that they had experienced a 'positive change' in their behaviour or had improved or learnt a lesson from a punishment. However it was interesting to note that responses from girls for 'disapproval of the punishment' were higher than responses from boys.

The Viet Nam research examined the response to different types of punishment by boys and girls from recall data. Thirty nine percent of children who were beaten with a stick reported feeling sad (mostly girls), 19 percent reported feeling guilty (mostly boys) and 11 percent reported being angry, seven percent felt pain (mostly girls), seven percent felt ashamed. When smacked, 31 percent of children said they felt sad (mostly girls), 18 percent guilty (mostly boys), 16 percent angry (mostly girls) and eight percent ashamed (no difference between girls and boys).

With respect to verbal abuse, 39 percent of these Vietnamese children reported feeling sad, 33 percent guilty and 11 percent angry. More boys felt angry than girls. Twenty nine percent of children who recalled being humiliated reported feeling sad, 26 percent guilty, 18 percent ashamed and 17 percent angry, seven percent felt distress and cried, seven percent felt the punisher was bad. More boys felt guilty and angry, more girls were ashamed and distressed and wept. Equal percentages of girls and boys reported feeling sad. Thirty three percent of children who were kicked reported feeling sad, 24 percent were frightened, 12 percent felt guilty, 11 percent felt pain, eight percent felt distressed and cried. More boys felt sad and distressed, more girls felt pain, were angry and ashamed.

There were also ethnic differences in the Vietnamese recall data. Generally, a higher percentage of Kinh and older children reported feeling angry, whereas more ethnic-minority children reported feeling guilty.

The Vietnamese sentence completion data also showed some differences by gender in reaction to punishment in general. Completing the sentence 'When I am punished I feel...' 53 percent of 388 children reported feeling guilty, 52 percent feeling sad, 13 percent regret and five percent physical pain. Girls mostly reported feeling sad and guilty, whereas more boys felt regret. Completing a sentence on their thoughts on being punished, 76 percent of 378 children wrote 'that I am guilty' and 29 percent 'about the pain in my body'. There were no significant gender differences. The completion of the sentence 'When I am punished I wish...' revealed that 26 percent of 386 children wished they were not punished or that they might receive light punishment (mostly boys), 25



percent wished to correct their mistake or apologize, 18 percent wished that parents would understand, calm down or forgive (mostly girls), and 10 percent (once more predominantly girls) wished to have someone with whom to share their thoughts and feelings.

Finally, focus group discussion data from Viet Nam provided comments from individual children, who gave a variety of responses to being punished, clearly depending on both punishment and offence, as well as temperament:

I feel irritated because I am blamed for the wrong reasons;

I sit in the corner and cry;

I apologize to my parents and promise not to make the mistake again and try to complete the task they gave me;

I throw objects in anger, hit my head on the pillow and go to sleep;

I shout and cry;

I stay alone and listen to music;

I ask my friend to go out with me;

I stand in front of a mirror and ask why my life is so horrible;

I try to forget and not to think about it.

Based on these focus group discussions, after being punished girls try to talk to other people, whereas boys try to engage in some activity, (games, exercises, music). If they are punished at school, children sit hanging their heads in shame. Children also reported going to sit on the sidewalk, trying to stay alone. Some children sleep or pretend to sleep. Girls appear to feel guilty more often, and boys feel angry more than girls.

Sometimes parents were wrong when they beat me, maybe because they were angry. They view us as an outlet to relieve pressure. I felt frustrated but can't do anything because I am so small;

Although I apologize, I feel really frustrated because they beat me for wrong reasons;

I am very scared, puzzled and hurt. I was whipped by my mother, I begged her for forgiveness but she still beat me;

I feel fear, fear of being thrown out of home;

Feel like getting out of the house;

They beat me so many times that I am used to it, I hate my father very much.

### **Children's coping mechanisms**

Given the heavy burden of everyday violence that seems to be a large part of childhood learning experiences at home, at school and in other contexts, how do children cope? To whom can they turn for support? In sentence completion in Viet Nam, children indicated that they would turn to friends rather than family, but in focus group discussions children said that after they are punished they turn to a family member who has not punished them; but with some nuances. One group of girls said that if they are punished at school they would turn to their mother, if they are punished at home they would turn to their best friends. A boy's group said that if they are punished at school they turn to friends, if they are punished at home, they turn to grandparents – to punish their parents. If they had been punished by their mother, they turn to their father but, if they are punished by their father, the mother cannot ask him to stop. If they are punished by their parents, they turn to their grandparents for support, demonstrating the age hierarchy in a typical Vietnamese family. In urban areas children said they turn to their pet animals or cuddly toys for comfort, whereas in rural areas they tend to go alone to reflect by a stream or in a secluded area. Most children said they do not tell anyone when they get punished. Punishment can be an isolating experience.

The protection tool concentrated on factors that may help children feel good about themselves. It was used by all teams as an ethical measure, but only analysed as data by some, or only partially (Tables 27-31). The protection umbrella was used with children by teams in Cambodia, Fiji, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Mongolia, Republic of Korea (which also used the shield) and Viet Nam; while in The Philippines the protection jacket was used with both adults and children. The protection umbrella was used in the three locations in Indonesia, with almost 320 children, but differences in the local collation of data impeded direct comparison between locations.

The people children loved most or felt safe with were mostly family members, particularly parents (Tables 27 and 28). Friends were also identified, with more boys than girls mentioning romantic partners of the opposite sex. Some children referred to God or religion as the source of love and safety – more frequently girls than boys.

**Table 27: The person I love most (%)**

<b>The person I love most</b>	<b>Cambodia</b>	<b>Fiji</b>	<b>Mongolia</b>	<b>Republic of Korea</b>
Family in general	1	46	42	87
Mother	76	26	38	
Father	15	11	5	
Grandparent(s)	3	0	4	
Sibling(s)	3	6	2	
Friend(s) including boy or girlfriend	1	7	7	7
Teacher	0	1	0.5	2
Religion	0	3	0	4
No Answer	1	0	0.5	0

Safety comes from family members in general, but varies. Mothers were sometimes less important than fathers as a source of safety, especially in Mongolia. Table 28 hides same gender differences. Only four percent of Cambodian girls indicated that their primary source of safety is their mother, 'both parents' and 'at home' scoring far higher. In contrast, 54 percent of boys indicated their mothers, only 19 percent their fathers, and they might qualify feeling safe at home by

'as long as I am not punished there'. In North Maluku, children felt safe with their parents. In Maluku, mothers were specifically identified. By contrast, in West Timor children did not nominate their parents at all, but indicated that their siblings made them feel safest.

**Table 28: I feel safe with (%)**

<b>I feel safe with</b>	<b>Cambodia</b>	<b>Fiji</b>	<b>Mongolia</b>
Family in general	39	69	45
Mother	29	15	17
Father	10	11	20
Grandparent(s)	5	0	3
Siblings	6	0	7
Friend(s)	4	3	6
Religion/God	0	2	
Other/no answer	7	0	2

Responses to the phrase 'I am best at...' were very varied, probably reflecting culture and opportunities (Table 29). The Fijian data showed that younger children, both boys and girls, have considerably greater confidence in their creative abilities, while boys of all ages are far more confident in their sporting abilities. With respect to Cambodia, it is interesting that more boys than girls mentioned being good at household chores, but as these are not specified one can only speculate about the reasons or the tasks. Children generally seemed to feel that they were good at school work, and various school subjects scored highly. Interestingly, in West Timor a large proportion of children felt they were best at singing, while children in North Maluku felt they were best at reading poetry, both of which might possibly reflect the presence of a particularly-gifted teacher in these subjects.

Happiest memories (Table 30) also varied considerably, possibly related to available opportunities – so that television rated highly in Republic of Korea but not in Cambodia. Given the pressure towards academic success in the Republic of Korea, a lack of expressed happiness about academic achievements may be all too

understandable because children are too sensitive to the burden of academic success to take any real pleasure in achievements. Non stressful people, such as grandparents, and events, such as receiving gifts, holidays and excursions, provided children with many of their happiest memories.

**Table 29: I am best at (%)**

<b>I am best at</b>	<b>Cambodia</b>	<b>Fiji</b>	<b>Mongolia</b>
Helping others	50	0	4
School/homework	0	21	28
Artistic activities	13	19	16
Household chores (includes childcare)	34	3	14
Sport	0	39	0
Leisure and social activities	3	18	9
Working	0	0	28
Other	0	0.5	0
No answer	0	0.5	1

**Table 30: My happiest memory (%)**

<b>Memory</b>	<b>Cambodia</b>	<b>Fiji</b>	<b>Mongolia</b>
Family event (includes meeting family members, birth of sibling etc)	36	20	38
Ceremony includes birthdays	41	11	27
Presents	0	5	0
Leisure and sport, includes travelling	0	15	10
Being with friend(s) includes boy or girlfriend	20	2	4
A dream	0	0	19
Winning	0	9	0
Academic achievements	3	28	0
Other	0	9	0
No answer or don't know	0	1	2

The final space on the protection tool gave children an opportunity to speculate on what they would do if they had power (as president, prime minister or some other leader). Table 31 shows some of the ideas from Fiji and Mongolia. It is worth noting that the most powerless group in the research – institutionalized children in Mongolia – recorded distinctly different responses, of a more practical than altruistic nature. For one child in the Republic of Korea ‘other’ included having a slave and eliminating school, but such egocentric notions were not common. Children had clear ideas about what they would do if they had power. Overwhelmingly they said that their intention would be to help other people (including their families). Children as leaders of their country would want to deal with corruption, defend their countries, help the sick, rebuild schools and teach children. In the Fijian results all the children’s issues to be ‘solved’ concerned eliminating violence against children.

**Table 31: If I had power (%)**

<b>If I had power I would...</b>	<b>Fiji</b>	<b>Mongolia</b>
Develop country (includes end poverty, corruption and discrimination)	52	42
Solve children’s issues	21	22
Support or do things with family	0	12
Fulfil dreams	0	8
Fulfil personal desires	17	0
Other	10	13
No answer	1	3

### **Alternatives to punishment**

Two attitude survey statements explored alternatives to direct assault and other violent methods of punishment. Both adults (86 percent) and children (72 percent) in the eight countries strongly agreed that ‘Instead of being hit, children should be told what they have done.’ Despite this apparent agreement between adults and children, it seems that the majority of adults agree with something they clearly do not do. Evidence from all other research tools shows that they do hit children, while few children provided information, in their drawings of ‘What

happens when I make a mistake', about having their faults explained to them instead of being punished by violent methods. Indeed nearly a fifth of children (18 percent) seem to 'expect' to be hit, perhaps because they do not have any experience of having their mistakes and misdemeanours explained to them, which is a possible reason why 10 percent had no opinion about this statement. There were quite considerable national differences between what children said through this method. In Cambodia, Mongolia and Viet Nam more than 90 percent of children agreed, while slightly more than half the Indonesian children agreed, which would be worth investigating further, because direct assault rates are high in all four countries. There were only small national differences between adults.

The statement 'Children must have it explained to them if they do something wrong' elicited strong, but slightly lower, agreement of children (67 percent) and adults (75 percent). Explanation is not, of course, necessarily exclusive – children may be punished as well as having their faults explained. It is also of concern that one fifth of adults disagreed with this statement although, once again, this result appears to show that adults seem to have an attitude they do not implement in practice. National differences are quite marked. In Cambodia, where both children and adults agree over 90 percent, and Mongolia, where 95 percent of children agreed compared to only 55 percent adults. The small sample of Indonesian adults all agreed, whereas children were equivocal. But, as already seen, Indonesian researchers commented that these adults tended to think they should agree with all the statements.

The Cambodian results from these attitude statements can be compared with the results from earlier research with Cambodian children relating the punishments children say adults use with those children think they should use (Table 32). According to the results of the survey reported in Chapter 3, a large number of children do experience explanation after they have done something adults consider to be wrong, although they would still prefer more explanation and less hitting.

**Table 32: Punishments teachers do use and punishments they should use, according to Cambodian schoolchildren aged 12 to 15 years (N=2,915; percentages do not add up to 100 because children gave more than one response)**

Adapted from Miles and Varin, 2004, 72-3.

<b>Response</b>	<b>Punishments children say teachers do use (%)</b>	<b>Punishments children say teachers should use (%)</b>
Beating with a cane	46.8	19.8
Smacking with the hand	27.1	17.9
Explaining to children about their mistakes	83.5	91.4
Other	66.9	69.4

Children's views on alternatives to the punishments they receive were not part of the Regional Protocol, but were explored in some countries through focus group discussions and in stakeholder meetings. Adult views were also explored. Mongolian children's views on alternatives to punishment were studied through focus group discussions with eight rural children, 16 city children and children from institutions, all aged between 10 and 15 years. This method produced no evidence of differences between rural and urban children, and the same principles for non violent discipline were also expressed by children in institutions. The researchers clustered the suggested alternatives into two categories:

- Peaceful discussion and explanation of wrongdoing:

Adults should:

- o Ask children for explanations; understand the situation or behaviour;
- o Use good manners when explaining to children – 'such as the word please';
- o Not insult children or use 'bad and bitter words';
- o Not order children around;
- o Trust children;
- o Be a role model and a friend.



- Soft punishment:

Adults should:

- o Warn children before punishing them;
- o Observe the law;
- o Not beat children.

The views of Mongolian adults on alternatives to violent punishment were elicited during interviews with 16 teachers (eight from rural areas and eight from cities, including supervisors and a doorkeeper from institutions). Some of these adults appeared to be barely able to contemplate alternatives. In one case, a female teacher in an institution did refer to 'peaceful discussion' but then added that she threatens children that they will be discussed at the Teachers' Board Meeting. Another suggested a mixture of restorative justice and explanation: 'make children correct (fix) what they did wrong, make him/her glue pages of book if he/she has torn them out and train them to accept what they did wrong by themselves (without being told).' A further suggestion was training in moral understanding: 'Children should be encouraged to read books and stories teaching them a lesson. They should be taught to apologize.' The 'soft' types of punishment included either slapping or being made to work, grounding and more severe control. The unavoidability of punishment was referred to by a kindergarten teacher in Ulaanbaatar, a teacher in an institution and a school teacher in a rural area, all of whom were female:

There is no way not to inflict punishment ['shouting or spanking'] and the main point is the child learns a lesson. In special cases, physical punishment ... should be inflicted. In cases of many children I reproach and/or scare them by shutting them in a dark room.

There is no way not to punish a child, but punishment should not be exceeded. A child can be shouted at if he or she does something wrong. In worst cases, soft punishment like hitting him/her on the arms can be inflicted. Also, forcing him/her to stand or raise their hands for a few minutes until he/she understands what they did wrong. For instance, warn him/her that he/she will be made to mop floor if he/she comes home late.

Mutual understanding with kindergarten children is hardly possible without punishment being inflicted.

Nevertheless, some of these adults did mention the need for legislation on punishment that would define the mutual roles and responsibilities of adults and had suggestion for how these might be implemented, including:

- Cooperation between children's organizations and police and schools about in disciplining children;
- Including traditional customs into the school curriculum;
- Training in disciplinary methods and better behaviour patterns for parents and adults who work with children;
- Media campaigns about disciplining children, such as television programmes and competitions.

Children who took part in the West Timor stakeholder meeting described in Chapter 2 said they felt that physical and emotional punishment is inappropriate, harmful and often counterproductive. They put forward concrete ideas about alternative non violent punishments, fitting the punishments to the 'crimes' so that lessons could be learned and harmony restored (Table 33).

**Table 33: West Timor stakeholder children's ideas about alternative punishments**

<b>Misdemeanour</b>	<b>Actual punishment</b>	<b>Alternative punishment suggestion</b>
Spending too long playing	Beating	Give us sufficient time to play
Fighting with other children		Ask us to draw or to write a short paragraph with the topic- 'What are friends for?'
Not attending class		Give us homework such as copying a friend's notes from the lesson not attended
Coming late to school		Give up time to explain the reason why we came late, don't immediately punish us by hitting
Not doing homework	Kneeling	Explain the homework again because we have not understood it
	Hit on the hand with an electrical antenna	Revise the question of the homework, because we found it too complicated

Through taking part in the same exercise, adults in the West Timor stakeholder meeting showed that they do know about alternatives to violent punishment. This is particularly interesting because the researchers had sought participants who had not been involved in the awareness-raising programmes of Save the Children UK. Although these adults were able to identify alternative non violent punishments for children, some of their suggestions for alternatives to physical and emotional punishments reveal the need for public education to assist parents and teachers to adopt other, more appropriate, methods of teaching children and managing their misbehaviour (Table 34).

**Table 34: West Timor alternative punishments suggested by adult stakeholders**

<b>Misdemeanour</b>	<b>Actual punishment</b>	<b>Alternative punishment suggestion</b>
Not doing homework	Kneeling in front of the class	More homework Rewrite both question and answer
Coming late to school	Cleaning the toilet	Copying out: I will not be bad mannered again Lead the morning flag-raising ceremony for a week. Cleaning the classroom for a week
Not attending the flag ceremony	Salute the flag for a long time in the sun	Take part as an organizer at the morning flag-raising
Making too much noise in class	Slapping	Sit in the teacher's chair Re-do class work
Fighting with friends	Hit and forbidden to play together Ear tweaked	Give advice and pray together Working together in a learning group Sing a song and collect used bottles
Running away from the classroom	Walking on knees	Take responsible as class captain Teacher talk to parents Clean the school yard
Running away from home		Get less money for snacks Take the lead in family prayers
Sleeping in class	Hit with thrown piece of chalk	Sing a song Teacher get them to wash their faces
Breaking a plate	Ear tweaked Sworn at	Give good advice

<b>Misdemeanour</b>	<b>Actual punishment</b>	<b>Alternative punishment suggestion</b>
Steal	Beaten	Advice Public confession to the rest of the class, and returning the stolen possessions to the owner
Having a boyfriend or girlfriend	Suspended from school Grounded at home	Get counselling from teachers Teacher consult with parents
Making a noise in class	Kneel down for protracted period of time	Sing a song



## What children said

Regional comparisons between results of research tools used in eight different countries show that children say quite similar things about physical and emotional punishments. One clear message from this research is that a contradiction is revealed when what children say is compared with what adults say. Although adults say direct assaults are not an appropriate way to punish children, children report the main form of punishment they receive is direct assaults. Adults do not act according to what they say they believe. This leaves children with a range of problems when they try to assimilate the obvious contradictions in the discipline they receive, which is supposed to be teaching them to behave well, be obedient and to succeed in life.

On the one hand, children are told that punishment is for their own good and is administered out of love. On the other hand they have to make sense of being sometimes badly hurt by, and afraid of, the people who say they love them, on whom they are dependent for their upbringing, and whom they have little choice but to love. Yet these are people who do not listen to their point of view and sometimes punish them to release their own anger. This can neither be described as discipline that respects children's dignity (Articles 19 and 28 of the CRC), nor as education in the spirit of understanding, peace and tolerance (Article 29 of the CRC). Nothing could be more indicative of the fact that physical and emotional punishment of children is a human-rights issue than children saying that they want to be respected when they are disciplined.

In more specific terms, the research revealed what children say in response to the questions addressed by the comparative research.

- What types of punishment are inflicted on children?

Despite the huge variety of punishments described, children are overwhelmingly punished by direct physical assault, frequently using an implement, but also by violent bodily contact such as kicking and punching. Next most common is 'verbal attack', the most usual forms being scolding, yelling and swearing. Children did not say that gentle smacking is the main form of physical punishment or even that it is used at all.

- What happens in different contexts of punishment, including homes, schools, and institutional care?

Homes are the location for more violent punishment than schools. This difference increases when punishment has been abolished at school, although such bans do seem to be correlated with an overall diminished rate of physical punishment.

The small sample of children in institutions provided evidence of torture and other brutal violations of their rights.

- Who punishes children - and why?

Not unsurprisingly, parents and teachers are responsible for most punishment. There seems to be evidence that mothers are at least as violent as fathers, and punish children more often. But gender and age differences are notable. What children say about who punishes them, how and why, leads to better understanding of patterns of punishment by age and gender. This is crucial for programme design, so that interventions aimed to change attitudes should target beliefs about and practices for the age/gender hierarchies of childhood.



- What do children think about physical punishment?

Children say punishment hurts, physically and emotionally, leaving them with feelings of fear, pain and confusion, as well as sometimes with injuries. Few say that punishment helps them learn how to behave, obey or succeed;

The results of punishment are often not productive – children are physically and emotionally hurt, sometimes to the extent of wanting to commit suicide. A common reaction is anger resulting in violence, hatred or aggression towards other people.

Although some children say punishment is good for them, that they deserve it and they learn from it, they would rather be treated with respect, and are capable of recommending alternative, respectful punishments.

The most important generalization to be made from what children in the eight countries say is that adults refuse to use alternative approaches, which they do know about even though they say they do not. This refusal to give up violent discipline teaches the next generation that violence against other human beings is acceptable and inevitable.



# Reflections

This final chapter is entitled reflections rather than conclusions because the data were not intended to be used to draw causal inferences. The research sought a 'regional' account of what children say about corporal punishment, based on eight national accounts of research using the same children-friendly, systematic and ethical methodology and tools.

The Report has been transparent about the limitations of the data and of the comparative process. Yet some themes stand out with particular force, on which it is perfectly proper to reflect, in the light of previous research in SEAP and elsewhere. These include:

- The widespread and violent occurrence of corporal punishment reported in all country reports and all data, with home-based 'hitting with an implement' heading a list of often brutal practices. A far higher proportion of children is subjected to these brutal attacks than might have been imagined from previous region-wide comparisons;
- Adult cognitive dissonance on the topic of punishment;
- Mothers hit children more than any other category of adult; yet children say they love and feel safe with mothers more than any other listed category of adult;
- Children provide widespread descriptions of verbal attacks, but adults (including researchers) have little understanding of the idea of 'emotional punishment'.

The first of these observations confirms the widespread nature of violence against children in homes, identified by a UNICEF desk review as 'increasingly a major problem' in the Southeast Asia and Pacific region (UNICEF, 2005, 6). Largely because no baseline data are available, this Report cannot comment on whether or not corporal punishment of children is increasing or decreasing. However, the data do indicate a level of violence, masquerading as discipline, which is

surely unacceptable in any country. The Fijian researchers' comments on the culture of violence against children can represent the conclusions of all eight countries in the comparative research:

there is a high level of tolerance of adult-to-child violence in society at large. Physical punishment or 'beating' is sometimes justified as an indication of love for one's children ... Parents and other caregivers administer corporal punishment as a form of discipline because they believe that this benefits children and they feel that discipline in this manner is a part of their duty to children.

Yet, according to the data, this kind of discipline is not effective – it leads to children learning individual, painful lessons about anger and violence, which amount to intergenerational reproduction of dysfunctional social conflict.

### **Adults' conflicting thoughts, feelings and actions**

The most notable and universal result of this regional research process arose from comparing what adults say they feel and think about punishing children, with what children say adults actually do. This became clear through triangulation of data from different tools, samples and locations, particularly through comparing results within the attitude survey data, and between this tool and data from both children's body maps and the optional sentence completion tool.

Throughout the research results there is a consistent double contradiction, which psychologists would describe as 'cognitive dissonance', operating among adults in all countries. 'Cognitive dissonance' is the term applied to the universal human psychological trait of living with contradictions between what is thought, felt, done or said. Cognitive dissonance leads to individuals trying to justify behaviour that they would otherwise consider to be 'bad', in order to maintain a sense of personal emotional coherence and comfort.

In the first place, this research showed dissonance between adults' attitudes towards punishment and their practices when disciplining the children in their care. For example, in the results from The Philippines and Viet Nam, both teachers and parents said that direct physical

assaults were the 'last resort' of discipline but, when this was cross-checked with what children said, only a small number of children validated this assertion. Philippine researchers, who refer specifically to cognitive dissonance in their national report, state that 'adults regarded [hitting and scolding] with distaste ... yet these were the same forms that were reported by children.'

When adults were encouraged by researchers to reflect on their own childhood experiences of punishment there was a notable similarity between what they remember and what the children in their care report now. According to responses to the attitude survey tool, 87 percent of adults feel unhappy after they punish a child, yet they continue to punish in the same ways they remembered themselves. The fact that they recall personal pain does not seem to have moderated their behaviour when called upon, in their turn, to administer discipline to the next generation.

The discomfort resulting from this double dissonance is also shown in other data. A general agreement among adults in the research, that punishment is integral to discipline, was contradicted by equally general agreement that 'explanation and counselling' are the best responses to misbehaviour. Eighty percent of children and 91 percent of adults indicated that children should be counselled rather than hit when they have done something wrong. Nevertheless, according to their drawings and body maps, few children in this research seemed to have encountered adult counselling and explanation in response to their faults. It is interesting that, according to this evidence, adults do indeed know about 'alternatives to corporal punishment', which, according to the results of other research, they claim not to know. Thus it appears that adults adopt the quick-and-easy option of hitting children, instead of taking the time to explain – even if their actions make them feel uncomfortable. But they do not do this out of ignorance.

In the data from core research tools, violent behaviour between adults that acts as a trigger to violent actions against children was directly mentioned in Cambodian and Vietnamese data. As children commented, such adult violence (including that resulting from drunkenness) does not provide them with good role models. Indeed, drunks are not well-known for their ability to explain. In Maluku, one of three research

locations in Indonesia all of which were in post-conflict areas, a small group of adolescents interviewed each other (four girls and 10 boys). Eleven of these children commented that violence in the community exacerbated parental violence towards children; alcohol and substance abuse, as well as inter-village feuding were mentioned as causal factors. These children's explicit desire for peace points to a need to pay attention to anger management among parents and teachers. But, just as important, is an implicit question that neither research respondents nor researchers posed: Why do adults not make a habit of explaining the rules before they are broken? This might not only prevent some breaches of good behaviour but also avoid having to try to explain and counsel afterwards, when tempers may be frayed.

A further contradiction is that, although some adults say they experienced shame and negative feelings during their own experiences of physical punishment in childhood, many still appear to think that physical punishment is an educational necessity for proper child development. Thirty seven percent of adults agreed with the statement 'Punishment is needed to make children behave well', and 56 percent that it is necessary so that they 'know right from wrong'. To deal with discomfiting cognitive dissonance, other adults go further and claim to be happy after punishing children, because they have thus fulfilled what is widely-perceived to be their duty. The idea of the 'cane of love' described in Republic of Korea, and the notion in The Philippines that punishment is a demonstration of love, may in fact be impermanent cures for the psychological unease of cognitive dissonance.

### **Effects of punishment: The hit-hurt learning process**

Despite not generally ranking emotional punishments among the 'worst' kinds, children referred in all tools to the emotional discomfort of physical assault. Apart from actual physical harm (bruises, swellings, headaches), the reported effects of being hit included fear of serious injury, feeling sad, feeling bad, feeling ashamed or embarrassed in front of peers, low self esteem and thoughts of suicide: 'The pain stays with you, you don't forget, it doesn't matter if you forgive [the punisher] – it stays with you,' was the comment of one 14-year-old Fijian boy. Sometimes children also commented on being puzzled by the punishment they received.

Adults and children seem to have contradictory attitudes towards punishment. When the responses are combined, the majority of children and adults disagreed with statements that punishment is necessary either to make children behave well or so that they can 'learn right from wrong'. These results challenge the frequently-reported 'fact' that children approve of punishment, which is sometimes used to justify physical assaults.

One argument against the contention that punishment must be good for children because they approve of it, is derived from children's rights. To take children's opinions (usually termed their 'voices') as some kind of authentic truth is to place a tendentious gloss on Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Article 12 says we should 'take into consideration' children's 'opinions'. But this does not give unrepresentative 'children's voices' an irrefutable authority. In addition, adults have a responsibility to weigh these opinions against children's evolving capacities, which includes the learning experiences (including punishment) to which they have been exposed.

One clue to unravelling this apparent conundrum is that girls appear to be more likely than boys to accept punishment by saying that it 'changed them for the better', or they 'deserved it' – although girls were also more likely to complain that a particular punishment was unfair, unjust or just plain stupid. Boys in this research were more likely to respond to punishment with feelings of anger. Girls' acceptance of adult authority to punish, and of blame for the 'fault' for which they have been punished, particularly as they get older, is surely related to the way their self-esteem is lowered during the process of learning gender roles. Thus, teenage girls in this research were the only group that tended to rank emotional punishment (verbal assaults and humiliation) as worse than other punishments.

In addition, the differences between younger and older children were as significant – if not more so in some national studies – than differences by gender. To put it another way, these differences, between younger and older, female and male, highlight the cross-cutting power relationships between gender and generation that constitute the basis of social and political structures. Statistical analysis of the Hong Kong data specifically shows a trend by which, as age increases, so does children's acceptance of punishment.

Acceptance of corporal punishment is thus learned throughout childhood, as part of psychological accommodation to power relationships, of which gender roles are only one part. 'It is OK to hit weaker people' is closely related to 'Females are weaker' as well as to 'Children are weaker'. In all three cases, 'weakness' not only correlates with lower physical strength but also with lack of social power. Thus, adults seem to fit the punishment more to the age/gender pattern than to any specific failure of behaviour. Patriarchy constructs a grammar of punishment in which adults tend to choose the punishment that will hurt the most for the social category (age/gender) to which the child involved belongs, while at the same time imparting lessons about who has power and who has not.

Vietnamese sentence completion data show the gradual acceptance of these lessons in violence as children grow up. It was found that, although children begin by saying that they explain and advise children younger than themselves, a higher percentage of older children resort to hitting. The Philippine researchers report that older children (from 13 to 17 years of age) regard punishment more positively despite acknowledging the hurt and pain that they suffered. The researchers add that:

From another perspective one could say that this tendency of older child participants to rationalize/justify punishment could be explained as a coping mechanism. Despite the fact that children from this age group are aware of their rights as children, they hardly have the chance to claim these rights because they [are] dependent on adults/parents ... Dependency means restricted autonomy and little or no decision-making power, plus living up to expectations for total obedience as dictated by societal norms.

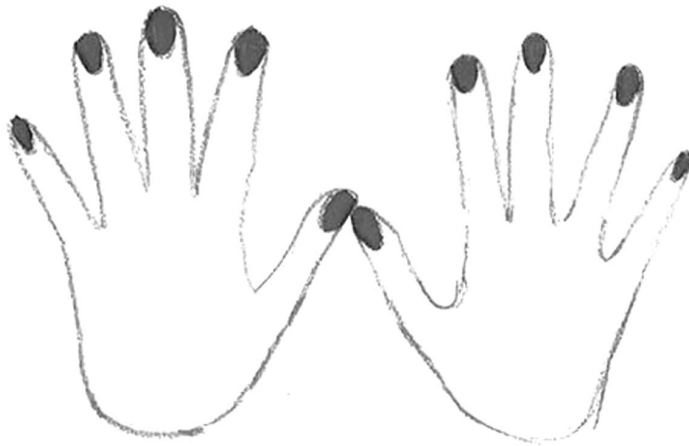
Thus children who say that corporal punishment is good for them have learned to think this way, often because they have never been exposed to other practices. Children who have greater freedom to think, and more exposure to alternatives, are able to argue cogently that respect should be at the heart of all their educational experiences at home, at school and in all other contexts of childhood.



### *Loving mothers who hit you*

One reaction to the conjunction of contradictory data that 'my mother hits me most' but 'I love my mother best' might be to use this as an apologia for the 'loving smack' or to say that 'punishment is proof of love'. The conclusion of this Report, however, is that children, like adults, have to deal with cognitive dissonance with respect to punishment. Children are forced to make sense of the adult contradictions, which they perceive very clearly and are summed up in the picture drawn (although not for this research) by a Vietnamese child and used in a series of Save the Children Sweden posters. It consists of a single image of hands, repeated twice, and the captions 'With these two hands my mother holds me, cares for me: this I love'; and 'With these two hand my mother hits me: this I hate'.

**Figure 12: Drawing by Vietnamese girl, Vu Thanh Quyen, 'With these two hands, my mother holds me, cares for me: this I love', but 'With these two hands, my mother hits me: this I hate'**



Children try to make sense of this contradiction. If the 'sense' they make is that love and violence are inseparable, it is no wonder that when they become adults they not only show cognitive dissonance about punishing their own children, but also are resistant to any 'awareness raising' that might open up difficult questions about two of

the most potent emotional areas of human life. Love is a 'powerful' and 'violent' emotion as illustrated in the following testimony of one child during Cambodian group discussion:

My mother punishes me almost everyday because I am the obstinate one in family. Sometimes she punishes me so hard that I nearly die. No one can help me, except my father.

I am very hurt and angry with her, but I can not go against her, because she is my mother. Thus I must respect her, accept her and follow her all the time. Besides this, when I make a mistake and she punishes me I'm not angry with her because I know she wants me to be a good child.

But I wish all parents would stop punishing their children. They should respect children's rights and educate children using non violent methods.

Of course, cultural contexts differ greatly and little is known beyond anecdotal evidence about the dynamics of interactions between fathers, mothers and children in countries of the SEAP region. It can be assumed that, in most instances, mothers spend more time with children. But the basic idea that children get caught up in trying to figure out adult contradictions before falling into the same trap themselves as they approach adulthood, could be worth pursuing with respect to understanding corporal punishment. If adults could be encouraged to think about how puzzling their behaviour appears in the eyes of children, it might encourage them to change their attitudes and, more importantly, their practices.

#### *Gender, generation and power*

Obviously mothers spend more time with children, so the greater frequency of the punishment they inflict is not surprising. But the in use of implements (canes, whips, belts and worse), rather than a 'loving smack' or explanation is puzzling.

It might be that, simply because of the extended time they spend with children compared to fathers, mothers are more likely to exhibit violent or aggressive behaviour out of irritation or frustration. In addition, as

Japanese research indicates, mothers (indeed parents) who feel under social pressure to raise 'good' or 'obedient' children, may feel that they are failing and blame the child for this, lashing out in despair, or justifying a smack because it produces the 'correct result' (Ohinata, 1995).

In more general terms, it is possible to speculate further about the cross-cutting power relationships of patriarchy. Women (like men) use power when they can and because they can. But they are in general 'weaker' physically than men, so they may be more likely to pick up and use an implement to hit children, increasing both physical and symbolic power. Or it might be that, out of unconscious guilt for administering physical punishment on children they love, mothers prefer to pick up a stick or belt to hit with, rather than touching children directly. Verbal attacks, which are characteristic of punishment by mothers of older children, are also expressions of power – command over words emphasized by injunctions to children to be 'seen and not heard'.

Female teachers apparently scold older boys more than male teachers do, as well as hitting younger children more. In the first case their physical power is diminished because the boys are now physically 'men', so words are more effective. In the second case, frequency probably reflects the larger numbers of female teachers in primary schools; yet these women still have physical and symbolic power, which can be augmented by using hitting implements.

An interesting corollary is the possibility that all adults (whatever their gender) who are themselves low in existing power hierarchies might be more likely to punish the children in their care with severity.

This Report has focused throughout on adult/child generational differences, which does not mean being unaware of 'punishment' administered by children on other children. In some national reports, the category 'punishment by other children' would be best translated as 'bullying'. But this was not always the case. Older siblings and school monitors also often fulfil childrearing or disciplinary roles on behalf of adults. In these cases, as well as cases of bullying, our analysis would seem to indicate evolving awareness of power relationships within childhood, based on age, gender and other

sources of power. In other words, this is part of the process of learning adult inter-relationships, even of practising for adulthood or following adult role models. Children who physically or emotionally punish or bully other children do not seem to be proof of theories such as 'innate aggression' or 'original sin'. The failure of teachers to intervene when one child bullies another, which has been identified as a form of violence in itself by the Committee on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF, 2005, 8), is surely related to teaching the lesson 'it is OK to hit someone weaker' – which is also part of the latent content of education systems.

### **What is emotional punishment?**

The fragility of the notion of 'emotional punishment' has been clear both throughout the comparative research process and in writing this Report. The single attempt to clarify the notion in the SEAP region is discourse analysis by researchers in Singapore seeking to clarify social workers' constructions of emotional abuse through examining relevant documents (Elliott et al, 2002). Researchers' analyses of verbal attacks and other emotional punishments in the comparative research amount to listings, rather than concepts or categories. For example, the Fijian research team writes:

The second worst form of punishment, verbal attack, included punishments such as being scolded, yelled at, made to stand in front of the classroom with a notice around their neck and made to wear a notice that said 'I am in Class [X] and cannot speak English' for the whole day. Older children (14 to 17 years old) listed punishments such as 'lectures from parents', threats of expulsion from school', having 'harsh words' said to one, being 'growled at', being lectured and 'told off'.

In group discussion, child stakeholders in West Timor said that emotional punishment means 'Some action which does not directly impact to one's body [physically] but hurts one's feelings' and gave the examples of 'mocking, being shouted at by teachers, made to feel scared, embarrassed, or being called "a dog".' They said emotional punishment differs from physical punishment because the effects last longer 'we just keep it in our heart.'

During the same stakeholder meeting, adults responded by saying that emotional punishment consists of verbal actions such as mocking, discriminating and stereotyping, which have negative impacts on children, as well as actions that cause a child to be scared, lose self confidence, or become traumatised. They gave examples of threatening a child, being sarcastic, making unfavourable comparisons with other children, discriminating against particular children or groups of children, assigning more work than it is possible to do, and preventing children from expressing their ideas. In their view, both physical and emotional punishment amount to violence. But this does not seem to be the general view in the eight countries, among either children or adults.

This uncertainty about emotional punishment was paralleled by some shifting definitions and terminologies during the life of the comparative research process. As discussions were taking place in the context of the UN Study, 'emotional punishment', 'psychological punishment' and 'humiliating punishment' all competed at various times for terminological space. The data examined in this Report, albeit scant on the topic of what is referred to as 'emotional punishment', indicate that there are different cultural meanings attached to 'emotional' and 'humiliating' punishment, while 'psychological punishment' is not commonly-used terminology – especially by children. Even the notion of 'humiliation' is likely to have a distinctive texture in the SEAP region, where ideas of shame and loss of face are the currency of every day life, and can apply to families as well as to individual members. Likewise, the idea of 'loss of self esteem' may not be correct when applied to children. Far from having a complete sense of self, children are in the process of developing a self image that includes an estimation of their own value as individuals. Both physical and emotional punishment may prevent optimal development of self esteem.

One result of systematically listening to what children say is that it has generated new research ideas, not only with respect to 'emotional punishment' but also indicating other areas of research in which with more precisely-targeted research questions, information can be gathered that will be useful for programme development, attitude change and legal reform.

## **Disrespect for children**

Finally, the regional results produce a picture of disrespect for children as well as violence against them. Kicking, punching, hitting with an implement, mishandling bodies by pinching and twisting, verbal attacks, even spitting, are indeed acts of aggression and ungoverned anger, against which children have little or no defence and for which they can seek little recourse. Their response is to learn, in the case of boys by externalizing their feelings of anger and of girls by internalizing them as guilt. These swift, angry responses to children's perceived faults are supreme acts of disrespect on the part of adults and thus a fundamental violation of the human rights of children. Discipline should recognize children's dignity through explanation, patience, listening and giving them time. Taken overall, the results of this regional comparative research reveal that the main challenge is not to address 'man's inhumanity to man' but rather adults' inhumanity to children.

## **Main messages**

The messages from this analysis of data from the comparative study of physical and emotional punishment of children are divided under two main headings: first the conclusions reached through analysis of what children and adults said in the course of the research, and second the recommendations consequent on those conclusions.

### *Conclusions*

- The research shows the widespread prevalence of (often barbaric) corporal punishment of children in all eight countries;
- The research results also demonstrate that it is essential to ask children about their experiences and attitudes. Specific information provided by children not only identified previously unknown (or unacknowledged) forms of corporal punishment. It also revealed patterns of violence against children that must be addressed in legislative changes and programme interventions;
- The research revealed differences between countries but, more importantly, highlighted notable similarities, which show that corporal punishment is a near-universal violation of rights against which the trump card of cultural specificity should not be played; a

conclusion also reached in the companion desk review of legislation and research in 19 countries in the region;

- The results highlight widespread physical violence towards children in their homes in the name of discipline; predominantly direct assaults, especially hitting with an implement;
- The study of children in a variety of institutions in Mongolia reveals punishments that can be clearly identified as torture under the UN Convention against Torture;
- Analysis reveals considerable dissonance between what adults say they think and what children say adults do;
- Gender differences seem to be less marked than ethnicity and location, but most differences are linked with age;
- Patterns of physical punishment are the framework through which children learn about and assimilate ideas about power relationships and violence;
- Where direct comparison is possible, children tend to agree with adults about the function of punishment, but less strongly, repeating what they have been told or taught to think;
- Some form of legislation on violence against children usually exists. This is often not well-formed, and not as strong as it could or should be. It often takes the form of broader legislation against assault. But existing legislation tends to be poorly-enforced and few teachers or parents seem aware of it. Nevertheless, it seems that legislation against hitting children in schools may lower the rate of corporal punishment overall, without preventing it altogether;
- Some children in all countries are not subjected to corporal punishment; some adults must therefore have found, and be using, other means of discipline.

### *Recommendations*

- The human-rights obligations of states should be fulfilled:
  - o Implement an explicit and immediate ban on physical and emotional punishment of children in all contexts: families and homes, schools and all other places of education, institutional care, alternative family care, penal systems and workplaces;
  - o Take corporal punishment out of the notion of 'culture' and 'tradition' and treat it as what it is – a violation of the human rights of children;
  - o In view of the greater prevalence of corporal punishment in

- homes compared to schools, intervene with laws (and measures for implementation) in the private arena;
  - o Accept, with maximum speed, the state responsibility under Article 25 of the CRC for research, supervision and monitoring of punishment in private and state institutions for the care of children outside families;
  - o Create an enabling environment for change, so that legal changes are effectively implemented, through public education, research, monitoring and advocacy.
- Public education is an urgent necessity for both states and civil society:
    - o Parent education (especially within Early Childhood Development programmes) would seem to be the best way of effecting intergenerational change, especially if boosted by legal reform and public education. Education in anger management and conflict resolution is probably more important than suggesting 'alternatives' (which parents already know about);
    - o Teacher education in alternative classroom management skills;
    - o Both parents and teachers, should be encouraged to understand that 'better at' school tasks does not mean 'better than' other children, and to have patience with those who are slower academically, combined with respect for a variety of other skills, abilities and achievements.
  - Emotional punishment must be taken seriously. Advocacy against this disrespectful form of violence against children should be based on further research on the forms it takes and on the consequences of verbal attacks and humiliation.



## What children recommend to adults

This Report has described what children said about physical and emotional punishment in research that sought their perspectives in eight countries in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. The researchers and report writers were all adults, but they spent months during data collection and analysis 'listening' to and concentrating on what children said. It was not an aim of the research to compile a list of children's recommendations about corporal punishment. Nevertheless, on the basis of statistical analysis of what children told researchers, this Report concludes that, if children were to make recommendations, they would be:

- We are dependent on you to love and teach us. Please don't confuse us and hurt us in the name of discipline;
- Treat us with respect and courtesy, if you want us to respect and obey you;
- Be good role models, so that we can learn from what you do as well as what you say;
- Manage your anger, don't use us as easy targets for venting your frustration about your problems;
- Remember how much punishment hurt you as children, and try to find ways of dealing with your pain by teaching us it is wrong to hurt other people, whatever the reason;
- Sometimes we have good ideas, because we know about the realities of our lives, please make it easy for us to tell you;
- Discipline us softly, taking time to explain what you want us to do, and to listen to what we say.

Finally, as Cambodian children said in discussion after making body maps:

Physical punishment is illegal because it does not respect children's rights; and it is the worst possible model for the younger generation. Both government and people should determine the appropriate approaches for banning the physical and emotional punishment of children immediately.



---

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

Against Child Abuse, 1986, *Survey report on child rearing in Tuen Mun*, Hong Kong, Against Child Abuse.

Against Child Abuse, 2002, *Survey on child alone - Can be a tragedy*, Hong Kong, Against Child Abuse.

Ahimsa-Putra, H. S. et. al., 1999, *A Focused Study on Child Abuse in Six Selected Provinces in Indonesia*, unpublished report, Jakarta, UNICEF.

Ahmed, S., Bwana, J., Guga, E., Kitunga, D., Mgulambwa, A., Mtambalike, P., Mtunguja, L., and Mwandayi, E., 1997, *Children in need of special protection measures: A Tanzanian Study: Fieldwork Protocol, Phase I, Participatory research instruments*, Dar es Salaam, UNICEF Tanzania.

Ahmed, S., Bwana, J., Guga, E., Kitunga, D., Mgulambwa, A., Mtambalike, P., Mtunguja, L., and Mwandayi, E., 1998, *Children in need of special protection measures: A Tanzanian study*, Dar es Salaam, UNICEF.

Ali, I., 2004, 'Participatory Impact Assessment: A tool for understanding' in International Save the Children Alliance SEAP Region, 2004, *National challenges, resource and information needs in addressing corporal punishment of children in Southeast, East Asia and Pacific: Proceedings of the International Save the Children Alliance Regional Workshop on Corporal Punishment of Children, 5-9 April 2004, Bangkok, Thailand*, Bangkok, International Save the Children Alliance: 109-110.

Armstrong, Y., 2005, 'One week without violence to children', in Save the Children SEAP, 2005, *Strategy to address the physical punishment and emotional abuse of children in schools: Proceedings of the International Save the Children Alliance regional workshop, 8-11 November 2004, Vientiane, Lao PDR*, Bangkok, Save the Children Southeast, East Asia and the Pacific: 26-40.

Beazley, H., and Ennew, J., 2006, 'The two tyrannies', in Desai, V., and Potter, R. (eds.), *Doing Development Studies*, London, Sage Publishing: 189-199.

Beazley, H., Bessell, S., Ennew, J., and Waterson, R., 2005, *Comparative research on physical and emotional punishment of children in Southeast Asia and the Pacific: Regional protocol*, Bangkok, Save the Children Sweden Regional Office for Southeast Asia and the Pacific.

Beers, H. V., Chau, V. P., Ennew, J., Khan, P.Q., Long, T.T., Milne, B., Nguyet, T.T.A., and Son, V.T., 2006, *Creating an enabling environment: Capacity building in children's participation, Save the Children Sweden, Viet Nam, 2000-2004*, Bangkok, Save the Children Sweden.

Bond, T., 1999, *Ho Chi Minh City: A participatory poverty assessment*, Hanoi, Save the Children UK Viet Nam.

Boyden, J., and Gibbs, S., 1993, Unpublished survey of methods used to research children in armed conflict, Stockholm, Radda Barnen.

Boyden, J., and Ennew, J. (eds.), 1997, *Children in focus: A manual for participatory research with children*, Stockholm, Save the Children Sweden.

Čehajić, S., Cvijetić, V., Đarmati, I., Dupanović, A., Hadziosmanović, and Vuković, S.S., 2003, *Unaccompanied children and children at risk of being institutionalized in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo, UNICEF Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Chakraborty, K., 2003, *A comparative study on violence in three slum communities in Kolkata*, Save the Children UK, West Bengal Office, India.

Chambers, Robert, 1994, 'The origins and practice of participatory rural appraisal' in *World Development* 22 (7): 953-969.

Cornwall, A., 1992, 'Body mapping in health RRA/PRA' in *RRA Notes*, IIED, London, 16: 69-76.

Daliyo, Guest, P., May, M., and Tirtosudarmo, R., 1999, *Child labour and education planning in Eastern and Western Nusa Tenggara Barat*, Jakarta, AusAID.

De la Cruz, T.C., Balanon, F.A.G., Protacio, E. P., Yacat, J.A., and Francisco, C.T., 2001, *Trust and power: Child abuse in the eyes of the child and the parent*, Manila, UP-CIDS Psychosocial Trauma and Human Rights Program.

Diop Tine, N., and Ennew, J., 1998, *The African contexts of children's rights*, Dakar, CODESRIA, Oslo, Childwatch International.

Dobbs, T., 2002, *The missing voice: What are children's views of physical discipline?* A research study submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the postgraduate diploma in child advocacy, Children's Issues Centre, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Elliott, J.M., Sian, C.Y., and Thomas, J.I., 2002, *Emotional maltreatment of children in Singapore: Professional and public perceptions*, Singapore, Singapore Children's Society.

Enkhtor, D., 2006 (forthcoming), 'Paving a two-way street: Experiences in encouraging children's participation in the study on the physical and emotional punishment of children in Viet Nam', *Children, youth and environments* 16 (2) <http://www.colorado.edu/journals/cye/index.htm>.

Ennew, J., 1994, 'Time for children or time for adults?' in Qvortrup, J., Bardy, M., Sgritta, G., and Wintersberger, H. (eds), *Childhood Matters: Social Theory, Practice and Politics*, Aldershot, Avebury Press: 125-143.

Ennew, J., and Hastadewi, Y., 2004, *Seen and heard*, Bangkok, Save the Children Sweden.

Ennew, J., and Milne, B., 1996, *Methods of research with street and working children: An annotated bibliography*, Stockholm, Rädda Barnen.

Ennew, J., and Plateau, D.P., 2004, *How to research the physical and emotional punishment of children*, Bangkok, Save the Children Southeast, East Asia and Pacific Region.

Ennew, J., and Plateau, D.P., 2005, *Childrearing for peace: A search for solutions*, Bangkok, Black on White Publications.

Ennew, J., and Morrow, V., 1994, 'Out of the Mouths of Babes', in Verhellen, E., and Spiesschaert, F. (eds.), *Children's Rights: Monitoring Issues*, Mys and Breesce: 61-84.

Foucault, M., 1979, *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*, New York, Vintage.

Green, L., Butt, T., and King, N., 2002, 'Taking the chaste out of chastisement: An analysis of the sexual implications of the corporal punishment of children', in *Childhood* 9 (2): 205-224.

International Save the Children Alliance, Child Participation Working Group, 2003, *So you want to consult with children? A toolkit of good practice*, International Save the Children Alliance, Child Participation Working Group.

International Save the Children Alliance SEAP Region, 2003, *Towards a strategy to address corporal punishment of children in Southeast, East Asia and Pacific: Proceedings of the International Save the Children Alliance Regional Workshop on Corporal Punishment of Children, 6-9 October 2003, Bangkok, Thailand*, Bangkok, International Save the Children Alliance.

International Save the Children Alliance SEAP Region, 2004, *National challenges, resource and information needs in addressing corporal punishment of children in Southeast, East Asia and Pacific: Proceedings of the International Save the Children Alliance Regional Workshop on Corporal Punishment of Children, 5-9 April 2004, Bangkok, Thailand*, Bangkok, International Save the Children Alliance.

James, A., 2005, 'Life times: Children's perspectives on age, agency and memory across the life course', in Qvortrup, J. (ed.), *Studies in modern childhood: Society, agency, culture*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan: 248-266.

Korbin, J., (ed.), 1981, *Child abuse and neglect: Cross-cultural perspectives*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

Lau, J.T., Liu, J.L., Cheung, J.C., Yu, A., and Wong, C.K., 1999, 'Prevalence and correlates of physical abuse in Hong Kong Chinese adolescents: A population-based approach', in *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 23 (11): 1159-74.

Leach, E.R., 1958, 'Magical hair' in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 11 (2): 147-164.

Lembaga Perlindungan Anak and Perempuan dari Tindak Kekerasan, 2005, Domestic violence, cited in Heyward, below (unpublished materials).

Lieh-Mak, F., Chung, S.Y., and Liu, Y.W., 1983, 'Characteristics of child battering in Hong Kong: A controlled study', in *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 142 (January): 89-94.

Miles G., and Varin, S., 2003, *Act Now to Stop Violence Against Children!, A preliminary national research study into the prevalence and perceptions of Cambodian children to violence against children in Cambodia, Summary Report*, Phnom Penh, Tearfund.

Mok Joyce W.S., Ip Patricia L.S., Cheung S.L. and KM S.K., 2001, 'An empirical study of children's perception of corporal punishment and their psychological functioning in a Chinese community', Hong Kong, United Christian Hospital, Department of Health and Hong Kong Police Force.

Morrow, V., and Richards, M., 1996, 'The ethics of social research with children: an overview', in *Children and Society* 10: 90-105.

Nelson, E., and Zimmerman, C., 1996, 'Household Survey on Domestic Violence in Cambodia', Ministry of Women's Affairs and Project Against Domestic Violence with the International Research Centre, Canada, cited in Miles G., and Varin, S., 2003 (above).

Nogami, N., Ennew, J., and Plateau, D.P., 2005, *Discipline and punishment of children: A rights-based review of laws, attitudes and practices in East Asia and the Pacific*, Bangkok, Save the Children Sweden.

Ohinata, M., 1995, 'The mystique of motherhood: A key to understanding social change and family problems in Japan', in Fanselow, K.F., and Kameda, A. (eds.), *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, New York, City University of New York, The Feminist Press.

Piaget, J., 1927, *Le développement de la notion de temps chez l'enfant*, Paris, P.U.F.

Robinson, G. L., 2000, *Capacity building on child research: A documentation of the CNSPM study*, Dar es Salaam, UNICEF Tanzania.

RWG-CL, 2003, *Handbook for action-oriented research on the worst forms of child labour including trafficking in children*, Bangkok, Regional Working Group on Child Labour.

RWG-CL, 2004, *Handbook for action-oriented research on the worst forms of child labour including trafficking in children: Version for translation*, Bangkok, Regional Working Group on Child Labour (unpublished).

Samuda, GM, 1988, 'Brief Communication: Child discipline and abuse in Hong Kong', in *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 12: 283-287.

Sandvik-Nylund, M., 2003, *Regional assessment: Violence against children in East Asia and the Pacific Region: A desk review*, Bangkok, UNICEF East Asia and Pacific Regional Office.

Save the Children SEAP, 2005, *Strategy to address the physical punishment and emotional abuse of children in schools: Proceedings of the International Save the Children Alliance regional workshop, 8-11 November 2004, Vientiane, Lao PDR*, Bangkok, Save the Children Southeast, East Asia and the Pacific.

Save the Children Alliance South and Central Asia, 2002, *Update on corporal punishment*, Kathmandu, Save the Children Alliance South and Central Asia (unpublished).



Shin, C., 2003, 'Recent debate on corporal punishment in schooling: A philosophical examination', in *Educational Research*, 23(1): 81-105.

Shiraishi, S.S., 1997, *Young heroes: the Indonesian family in politics*, Ithaca NY, Cornell University Southeast Asia Program Publications.

So-kum Tang. C.S., 1998, 'The rate of child abuse in Chinese families: A community survey in Hong Kong', in *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 22 (5): 381-91.

Tampubolon, L. H., Adi, R., Nur Hayati, E., and Hasyim, N., 2003, *Pengkajian Mengenai Kekerasan Terhadap Anak di Kabupaten SIKKA and ENDE*, NTT, UNICEF Jakarta, unpublished report.

Theis J., and Huyen, H.T., 1997, *From housework to gold mining: Child labour in rural Vietnam*, Hanoi, Save the Children UK Vietnam.

Theis, J. (ed.), 2004, *Promoting rights-based approaches: Experiences and ideas from Asia and the Pacific*, Bangkok and Stockholm, Save the Children Sweden.

Theis, J., Huyen, H.T., Chau, L.T.M., Ha, D.N., Lai, N.V., Nen, T.T., Nguyen, N.T., Te, N.D., 1998, *Child Labour in Ho Chi Minh City*, Hanoi, Save the Children UK Vietnam.

Turner, B., 1996, *The body and society*, London, Sage Publications.

UNICEF Jakarta, 2004,.

UNICEF Jakarta, 2005, *Kekerasan terhadap anak di mata anak indonesia*, (Violence against children in the eyes of Indonesian children), Jakarta, UNICEF.

UNICEF, 2001, *Young voices, main findings: opinion survey of children and young people in Europe and Central Asia*, Bangkok, UNICEF EAPRO.

UNICEF, 2005, *Regional assessment on violence against children in East Asia and the Pacific Region*, Bangkok, UNICEF EAPRO.

Waterson, R., 2005, 'Comparative study of the physical and emotional punishment of children: Experiences from research co-operation between nine countries in Southeast Asia and the Pacific', Paper presented at the 6th ISPCAN Asian Regional Conference, Singapore 16-18 November 2005.

Wu, D.Y.H., 1981, Child abuse in Taiwan, in Korbin, J. (ed.), 1981, *Child abuse and neglect: Cross-cultural perspectives*, Berkeley, University of California Press: 139-165.

### **Unpublished materials provided by national research teams**

This account of preliminary results of the regional comparative research process would not have been possible without the dedication, hard work and insights of the teams of national researchers, not least in the draft national reports on which this regional analysis is based. This list does not include national protocols.

#### **Cambodia:**

*Fact-finding draft: Study on physical and emotional punishment of children* (Draft 5 December, 2005).

Findings of qualitative research.

Minutes of a meeting with children: March 2005, at Children's House and CCPRC Center.

Study on physical and emotional punishment of children – Cambodia: Sampling process.

#### **Fiji:**

*Consultation meeting of stakeholders on the study of the physical and emotional punishment of children in Fiji* (February, 2005, Suva).

Khan, N., 2005, *Secondary data analysis report: Fiji*.

*A study on the physical and emotional punishment of children in Fiji* (Draft 24 December, 2005).

**Hong Kong:**

*Comparative research on the physical and emotional punishment of children in SEAP: A Hong Kong study* (Draft October 2005).

Hong Kong table for mapping secondary data from different sources: 16 February, 2005.

UN Study on Violence Against Children: Comparative research on corporal punishment of children in Hong Kong: Progress report on 26 July, 2005.

**Indonesia:**

*Final report: Violence research report: Maluku.*

Heyward, S., 2005, '*Corporal Punishment in Indonesia: Secondary Data Collection and Analysis, A Report for Save the Children UK*' (September 2005).

*Local tools, West Timor.*

*Physical and emotional punishment of children in Indonesia: A study of three locations – Maluku, North Maluku and West Timor* (Draft November 2005).

*North Maluku: Secondary data report, as part of SEAP-SCUK North Maluku punishment research report.*

*North Maluku: Punishment research report.*

*Report: Data collection analysis of a research on physical and emotional punishment of children in Maluku.*

**Mongolia:**

Intervention against corporal punishment of children (2001-2005): Country progress report – Updated April 2005.

*Report of research on the physical and emotional punishment of children in Mongolia* (Draft February, 2006).

*Summary of PEPC in Mongolia.*

**Philippines:**

*Comparative research on the physical and emotional punishment of children in Southeast Asia Pacific (SEAP) (Draft December 2005).*

**Republic of Korea:**

*The study on physical and emotional punishment of children in Korea (Draft 9 December 2005).*

**Viet Nam:**

*Educating or abusing? Study on physical and emotional punishment of children in Viet Nam (Draft 19 January 2006).*

---

## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

---

**Harriot Beazley** is a Lecturer in Youth Studies and Community Development in the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences at the University of Queensland. She is also an occasional consultant for Save the Children and UNICEF Indonesia. Her current research explores youth subcultures and female transgression in Indonesia, continuing the focus on children and young people's participation. Harriot was the research support team member for Cambodia, Lao PDR and Viet Nam.

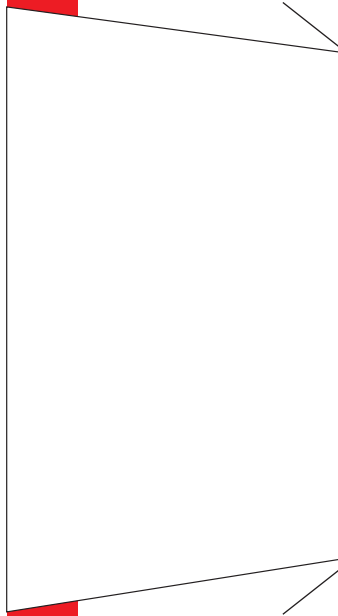
**Sharon Bessell** is a Senior Lecturer at the Asia Pacific School of Economics and Government at The Australian National University. Sharon's research focuses on the social policy and the human rights of children, with a particular focus on children's participation. She has worked in Southeast Asia and Australia as a researcher, with non-government organizations, and as a consultant. Sharon was the research support team member for Fiji, The Philippines and the Republic of Korea.

**Judith Ennew** is a Senior Research Associate in the Centre for Family Research, University of Cambridge, and Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Wales, Swansea. She has been an activist and researcher in children's rights issues since 1979. Judith was the research team coordinator for the comparative research project.

**Roxana Waterson** is an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore. She is a social anthropologist by training, with long-term fieldwork experience in Indonesia, particularly with the Sa'dan Toraja people of Sulawesi. In addition to childhood, her research interests include gender, social memory, life histories and visual research. Roxana was the research support team member for Hong Kong, Indonesia and Mongolia.



This CD-ROM contains the *Comparative research on the physical and emotional punishment of children Southeast Asia and the Pacific, 2005: Regional Protocol*. This Regional Protocol serves as an Annex to *What children say: Results of comparative research on the physical and emotional punishment of children*, the full text of which is also included on the CD-ROM. Both publications are presented in Adobe pdf format.



During 2005, more than 3,000 children and over 1,000 adults from Cambodia, Fiji, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Mongolia, the Philippines, Republic of Korea, and Viet Nam took part in a project of comparative research on physical and emotional punishment. The research was part of Save the Children's overall strategic intervention to promote the abolition of corporal punishment of children in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, and was implemented according to the Save the Children handbook *How to research the physical and emotional punishment of children* (2004). The resultant data can be used by policymakers and programme staff to develop campaigns and actions.

The phrase 'What children say' in the title does not imply that the research focused on collecting 'children's voices' through anecdotes, 'case studies' and illustrative quotations. In contrast, the research used a systematic, scientific approach, which sought information about children's knowledge, experiences and views, using appropriate methods through which they could express themselves easily and without risking further trauma.

*What children say: Results of comparative research on the physical and emotional punishment of children in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, 2005* provides a statistical and descriptive account of what children say about the everyday violence – both physical and emotional – used as punishment against them within the context of childrearing, discipline and education in the eight countries. It is a Save the Children Sweden Regional Office for Southeast Asia and the Pacific contribution to the United Nations Secretary General's Global Study on Violence against Children as well as the outcome of Save the Children commitment to finding rights-based approaches to research with children, including their meaningful participation in research processes.

## 2001-2010 United Nations International Decade for A Culture of Peace and Non Violence for the Children of the World

---

### **Save the Children Sweden**

Regional Office for Southeast Asia and the Pacific

14th floor, Maneeya Center, South Building

518/5 Ploenchit Road, Bangkok 10330, Thailand

Tel: +662 684 1046/7

Fax: +662 684 1048

Email: [scs@seap.savethechildren.se](mailto:scs@seap.savethechildren.se)

Web address: [www.scswedenseap.org](http://www.scswedenseap.org)

### **Save the Children Sweden**

SE – 107 88 Stockholm Sweden

Tel: +46 8 698 9000

Fax: +46 8 698 9012

Web address: [www.savethechildrensweden.org](http://www.savethechildrensweden.org)



**Save the Children**  
Sweden