

Child Disciplinary Practices at Home

Evidence from a Range of Low- and Middle-Income Countries





A child's drawing depicts a face, drawn as part of an art therapy session at Beautiful Gate, a centre for abused and abandoned children in Lower Crossroads, a neighbourhood of the city of Cape Town. During the art therapy process, abused children often render violent self-portraits, and progress to happier expressions as recovery continues. Beautiful Gate Ministries is an international religious organization that works with local NGOs to provide medical, physical and psychosocial care to children in need.

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Foreword

The protection of children from violence is a fundamental right the international community has solemnly pledged to safeguard for all children, everywhere and at all times. Unfortunately, however, violence remains a harsh reality for millions of children around the world and leaves long-lasting consequences on children's lives. Violence hampers children's development, learning abilities and school performance; it inhibits positive relationships, provokes low self-esteem, emotional distress and depression; and, at times, it leads to risk taking, self-harm and aggressive behaviours. Moreover, violence carries with it very serious economic costs for society, reducing human capacity and compromising social development.

Although widespread and pervasive, violence against children remains hidden and socially condoned. Widely perceived as a social taboo or a needed form of discipline, it is seldom reported; official statistics remain limited in their ability to capture the true scale and extent of this phenomenon; and, openly or implicitly, children feel pressed to conceal incidents of violence and abuse, particularly when perpetrated by people they know and trust.

Solid data and research are crucial to break the invisibility and social acceptance of violence against children, to understand social attitudes and risk factors, and to enhance the protection of those at risk.

Data and research are also indispensable to support government planning and budgeting for universal and effective child protection services; to inform the development of evidence-based legislation, policies and actions for violence prevention and response; and to ensure a steady monitoring process to assess results and impacts. Without good data, national planning is compromised, effective policy-making and resource mobilization are hampered, and targeted interventions are limited in their ability to prevent and combat violence against children.

The *United Nations Study on Violence against Children* recognized this important knowledge gap and called upon States to improve data collection and information systems, to develop indicators based on internationally agreed standards, and to ensure that data are compiled, analysed and disseminated to monitor progress over time. The Study further called for the development of a national research agenda on violence against children across settings where violence occurs.

The UNICEF report on *Child Disciplinary Practices at Home* addresses this important area of concern. Violent disciplinary practices, including physical punishment and psychological aggression, are socially accepted and often perceived as needed for children's upbringing, although they seriously threaten children's mental and social development and violate their fundamental rights.

With data from 35 low- and middle-income countries, this report provides new and sound evidence on the nature and extent of child disciplinary practices within the home, a setting where children are expected to enjoy a secure environment and special protection.

The report confirms the widespread use of violence. On average, three in four children between 2 and 14 years of age experience some form of violent discipline at home. All children, regardless of their family background and personal characteristics, are at risk of violent discipline. Psychological violence is more common, but it often coexists with physical punishment.



The report also provides reasons for hope. Most caregivers believe that physical punishment is not needed for child rearing, and most routinely use non-violent practices. In fact, non-violent methods are generally the most common form of discipline.

The findings of this UNICEF report show the way forward. The sound evidence provided can become a rallying point for the development of new laws, policies and programmes to reduce the prevalence of violent child discipline and help prevent its occurrence. Changing beliefs and attitudes – through legislation and communication – is important although insufficient to change behaviour. Equally important is assisting families in their child rearing responsibilities and promoting good parenting and the use of positive discipline to ensure children’s healthy growth and comprehensive development.

I am confident that this report will encourage new research and the consolidation of child data systems and will stimulate steady action for children’s protection from all forms of violence, everywhere and at all times.

Marta Santos Pais,
Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Violence against Children





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Acronyms

CIDI	Composite International Diagnostic Interview
CTS1	Conflict Tactics Scale version 1
CTSPC	Parent-Child Conflict Tactics Scale
DHS	Demographic and Health Surveys
HOME	Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment
ICAST	ISPCAN Child Abuse Screening Tools
ICD	International Classification of Diseases
ISPCAN	International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect
ITN	insecticide-treated mosquito net
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys
NGO	non-governmental organization
ORS	oral rehydration salts
PPS	probability proportionate to size
PSU	primary sampling unit
UNGASS	United Nations General Assembly Special Session
WHO	World Health Organization
WorldSAFE	World Studies of Abuse in the Family Environment
WR	with replacement





Executive Summary

Child discipline is an integral part of child rearing in all cultures. It teaches children self-control and acceptable behaviour. Although the need for child discipline is broadly recognized, there is considerable debate regarding violent physical and psychological disciplinary practices. Research has found that these have negative impacts on children's mental and social development. Violent discipline is also a violation of a child's right to protection from all forms of violence while in the care of their parents or other caregivers, as set forth in the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Relatively little is known about how parents discipline their children, especially in low- and middle-income countries. Without data, it is difficult to describe the nature and extent of violent disciplinary practices; to identify social and demographic factors that may contribute to their use; and to develop effective strategies to promote positive parenting and prevent violence against children. To address the need for more data, a module on child discipline was added to the third round of the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) programme. The same questions were also included in two Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS).

This report analyses findings on child discipline from 35 MICS and DHS surveys conducted in low- and middle-income countries in 2005 and 2006. Questions on child discipline were addressed to the mother (or primary caregiver) of one randomly selected child aged 2–14 years in each household. The questionnaire asked whether any member of the household had used various disciplinary practices with that child during the past month. The survey covered eight violent disciplinary practices, some of which were psychological (such as shouting and name calling) while others were physical (such as shaking and hitting). The surveys also collected information on three non-violent forms of discipline, such as explaining why a behaviour is wrong. Finally, interviewers asked the mother (or primary caregiver) about her or his personal beliefs regarding the need for physical punishment in child rearing.

Key findings

Complete data are available for 33 countries, which comprise around 10 per cent of the total population of children in developing countries. Results show that non-violent practices are the most common form of discipline. Households used non-violent disciplinary practices with the overwhelming majority of children (93 per cent, on average).

However, violent disciplinary practices are also extremely common: On average, three in four children between the ages of 2 and 14 were subjected to some kind of violent discipline, more often psychological than physical. The prevalence of any violent discipline was less than 50 per cent in only one country: Bosnia and Herzegovina. While almost three fourths of children experienced psychological aggression, about half experienced physical punishment. The most severe forms of physical punishment (hitting the child on the head, ears or face or hitting the child hard and repeatedly) were less common: 17 per cent of children, on average, were subjected to these practices.

For the most part, households employed a combination of violent and non-violent disciplinary practices, reflecting caregivers' motivation to control children's behaviour by any means possible. Households used only non-violent disciplinary methods with a minority of children overall (20 per cent), but the prevalence of a purely non-violent approach to child discipline ranges from as low as 4 per cent in Cameroon and Yemen to as high as 57 per cent in Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Physical punishment is not considered necessary by most caregivers: Less than one fourth of mothers/primary caregivers believed physical punishment was a necessary part of raising children in half of the countries surveyed. There were only two countries, the Syrian Arab Republic and Sierra Leone, where a majority of mothers/primary caregivers considered physical punishment to be needed.

Yet the data show that violent physical discipline is widely used, indicating that many households practise physical punishment even when it is not considered necessary. Nevertheless, beliefs do influence everyday discipline. In almost every country, households are significantly more likely to employ violent physical discipline if the mother/primary caregiver believes in the need for physical punishment. The converse is also true: Households are significantly more likely to employ only non-violent discipline if the mother/primary caregiver rejects the need for physical punishment.

The surveys collected information on a wide range of socio-demographic characteristics – such as wealth, living arrangements, levels of education of the household members and household size – that researchers have suggested may be risk factors for violent disciplinary practices. The analysis highlighted the fact that none of these characteristics had a significant relationship with violent discipline in all the countries surveyed. Actually, in most countries no association was found with the different factors analysed; this confirms the widespread use of violent disciplinary practices in households of different backgrounds. The analysis by personal characteristics of the child also confirmed that in most countries all children are at risk of violent discipline. In about half of the countries surveyed, there is no difference in the prevalence of violent discipline between boys and girls. In the remaining countries, boys are slightly more likely to be subjected to violent disciplinary practices. In most countries, the prevalence of violent discipline is highest among children aged 5–9.

Recommendations

The data presented in this report are among the few resources available to develop a more complete understanding of the prevalence and nature of child discipline across regions and countries. Even more importantly, the findings can help guide efforts to prevent violent discipline and encourage positive parenting.

The analysis suggests that promoting broad changes in attitudes and norms regarding the need for physical punishment in child rearing can help reduce levels of violent discipline. However, given that a considerable majority of mothers and primary caregivers in most countries already reject physical punishment in theory, if not in practice, a comprehensive strategy is needed to prevent and address violence against children. Such a strategy would include the following key actions:

- Ensure legal prohibition of all forms of violence against children in all settings, including within the home, and provide support for effective enforcement measures.
- Develop and implement a comprehensive, well-coordinated and resourced national strategy to address violence against children in all its forms, supported by quality services for the effective protection, recovery and reintegration of children, and by child-sensitive counselling, reporting and complaint mechanisms.



- Develop culturally appropriate and gender sensitive good-parenting programmes, and promote positive, non-violent disciplinary practices and participatory forms of child rearing.
- Strengthen the capacity of professionals who work for and with children and their families so that they can better prevent, detect and respond to violence against children.
- Promote awareness raising and public education on children’s rights to break down the cloak of invisibility surrounding violence against children and protect them from its harmful effects.
- Engage children in all aspects of prevention, response and monitoring of violence against children in order to ensure that interventions take their views into account and are guided by the best interest of the child.



A young child is seen from behind, sitting in a classroom. The child is wearing a white t-shirt with the word "VIOLENCES" printed in large blue letters. A large, hand-painted red "X" is drawn over the word. Below it, the French phrase "Protégeons nos Enfants" is printed in smaller blue letters. The background shows other children in a classroom setting, slightly out of focus.

VIOLENCES
Protégeons nos Enfants



I. Introduction

Overview

This report describes the use of child disciplinary practices by parents and other caregivers in 35 low- and middle-income countries, based on data collected by household surveys in 2005 and 2006. Child discipline is an integral part of child rearing in all cultures. It can be thought of as deliberate actions that are designed to teach children self-control and acceptable behaviour. The need for child discipline is generally recognized, but there is considerable discussion and debate concerning violent physical and psychological disciplinary practices.

Few data are available on how parents and other caregivers discipline children, especially in low- and middle-income countries. This makes it difficult to describe the nature of child disciplinary practices, their extent and their consequences – and to develop evidence-based strategies that can improve those practices. Additional data on the nature and prevalence of child disciplinary practices worldwide are needed to establish baselines, inform the development of strategies to prevent violent disciplinary practices and monitor progress. Such data could also guide the development and improvement of educational efforts to address norms, attitudes and behaviours harmful to children and improve laws, policies, regulations and services that contribute to children’s well-being and protection.

To address the need for more data, the third round of the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) included a module on child discipline in 33 countries, making MICS the most comprehensive effort to collect such data from developing countries. Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) in two countries also collected data on child discipline in those years. The questionnaire used by the MICS and DHS surveys measures violent and non-violent disciplinary methods employed by all caregivers in a household. Violent disciplinary methods include forms of psychological aggression and physical punishment (also referred to as corporal punishment). The questionnaire also examines attitudes towards the need for physical punishment.

The data presented in this report are among the few resources available to help develop a more complete understanding of the prevalence and nature of child disciplinary practices in a cross-national context. As such, these data are an important source of information for policy-makers and professionals working with children and their families – including health, education and social service practitioners, researchers and the general public. The data have clear and important country-specific and global policy implications for preventing violence against children.

Child maltreatment and violent discipline

Violence against children within the family is one of the most common forms of child maltreatment. The latter is defined by the World Health Organization (WHO) as follows:

Child maltreatment, sometimes referred to as child abuse and neglect, includes all forms of physical and emotional ill-treatment, sexual abuse, neglect, and exploitation that results in actual or potential harm to the child’s health, development or dignity. Within this broad definition, five subtypes can be distinguished – physical abuse; sexual abuse; neglect and negligent treatment; emotional abuse; and exploitation.¹

A key concept running throughout this discourse is that child maltreatment results in harm to the child. The definition of maltreatment from the International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (ISPCAN) is a case in point:

Any acute disruption caused by the threatened or actual acts of commission or omission to a child’s physical or emotional health.²

> **Protecting children from violence starts at home.**



➤ Violent disciplinary practices are violations of human rights.

At the country level, however, definitions of child maltreatment vary. This complicates efforts to operationalize the concept of child maltreatment and has significant implications for the development and implementation of policies and programmes aimed at preventing and responding to it. The existence of such differences can be explained by the role that local cultures play in the definition of socially accepted principles of child rearing and child care and in the identification of what acts constitute forms of abuse and neglect. ChildONEurope surveyed 27 European Union countries and collected information from 72 informants regarding country-level definitions of child maltreatment. There was a strong consensus that sexual abuse and physical abuse constitute child maltreatment. In addition, 88 per cent of informants considered emotional abuse to be a form of child maltreatment, but agreement on what constitutes emotional abuse was not universal.³ A comparison of the definitions employed by six national programmes that collect data on child maltreatment found that none mentioned harsh psychological discipline as a form of psychological maltreatment because these practices were not considered harmful.⁴

A fundamental question for any study of child discipline is whether and what kinds of disciplinary practices result or have the potential to result in harm to the child and can therefore be considered forms of child maltreatment. Studies have found that exposing children to violent discipline does indeed have harmful consequences, which vary according to the nature, extent and severity of the exposure. The consequences range from immediate impacts to long-term damage that children carry forward into adult life. Research findings indicate that even mild forms of physical discipline are harmful to children.⁵ They can reduce cognitive capacity and increase the proclivity for future violent acts. Violent psychological discipline, such as denigration, ridicule, threats and intimidation, has also been shown to have a range of negative impacts on children's behaviour and later adult functioning.⁶ In particular, exposure to prolonged, severe or unpredictable stress can physiologically alter brain development during infancy and childhood and affect the child's physical, cognitive, emotional and social growth.⁷ Given these harmful impacts, violent disciplinary practices – including both physical punishment and harsh psychological discipline – can be viewed as clear forms of maltreatment with significant consequences for both individuals and society.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child

With the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child by the United Nations General Assembly in 1989, the international community specifically recognized that children are rights holders. The Convention is the most widely ratified human rights treaty. By ratifying the Convention, States Parties commit to respect and fulfil the rights, needs and aspirations of the world's children. A fundamental principle of the Convention, contained in its preamble, is that the family is the natural environment for the growth and well-being of all of its members, particularly children.⁸ Thus, the Convention recognizes the pivotal role of the family in protecting children and safeguarding their physical and emotional welfare.

Article 5 of the Convention clearly acknowledges the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents and other caregivers in providing appropriate direction and guidance in the process of children's development:

States Parties shall respect the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents or, where applicable, the members of the extended family or community as provided for by local custom, legal guardians or other persons legally responsible for the child, to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child, appropriate direction and guidance in the exercise by the child of the rights recognized in the present Convention.



Article 18 of the Convention emphasizes that parents have the primary responsibility for the upbringing and development of the child and that States Parties shall render appropriate support to parents in the performance of their child rearing responsibilities:

1. States Parties shall use their best efforts to ensure recognition of the principle that both parents have common responsibilities for the upbringing and development of the child. Parents or, as the case may be, legal guardians have the primary responsibility for the upbringing and development of the child. The best interest of the child will be their basic concern.
2. For the purpose of guaranteeing and promoting the rights set forth in the present Convention, States Parties shall render appropriate assistance to parents and legal guardians in the performance of their child rearing responsibilities and shall ensure the development of institutions, facilities and services for the care of children.

At the same time, Article 19 protects children from all forms of violence, exploitation and abuse, while in the care of parents and other caregivers:

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.
2. Such protective measures should, as appropriate, include effective procedures for the establishment of social programmes to provide necessary support for the child and for those who have the care of the child, as well as for other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting, referral, investigation, treatment and follow-up of instances of child maltreatment described heretofore, and, as appropriate, for judicial involvement.

Thus, while the Convention recognizes and respects the responsibility of parents and other caregivers to provide "direction and guidance" to children, there is an explicit understanding that such guidance should not involve any form of violence. The Committee on the Rights of the Child has stated that the "interpretation of 'appropriate' direction and guidance must be consistent with the whole Convention and leaves no room for justification of violent or other cruel or degrading forms of discipline."⁹

The Convention also ensures that children should be protected from violent discipline while at school. According to Article 28(2):

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention.

The child's right to be protected from all forms of violence is further strengthened through Article 37(1), which calls upon States Parties to ensure that no child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.



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> **“No violence against children is justifiable, and all violence against children is preventable.”**
 — UN Study on Violence against Children

The United Nations Study on Violence against Children

In 2001, the United Nations General Assembly, acting on the recommendation of the Committee on the Rights of the Child, requested the Secretary-General to conduct an in-depth study on the question of violence against children and to recommend appropriate actions by Member States. The Secretary-General appointed Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro as independent expert to lead the study. In 2006 he submitted the United Nations Study on Violence against Children (A/61/299) to the General Assembly and presented a complementary report, the World Report on Violence against Children.¹⁰ The study analyses various forms of violence against children in five settings, including violence at home and in the family, and makes recommendations to Member States on how to prevent and respond to violence against children in these settings. It draws on comprehensive information from many sources, including: reports by governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs); regional and national consultations, field visits and interviews at all levels, including with children themselves; scientific studies; and policy documents. Different forms of violence are analysed including physical violence, neglect, sexual violence, harmful traditional practices and psychological violence.

A key finding is that most violence against children takes place in the home. It is also clear that negative consequences of violence against children – including impacts on brain development, substance misuse, psychological consequences ranging from depression to suicide, and further victimization – are widespread in every country studied. The study also shows that violence against children results in significant costs to society. In the short term, these costs include health services to address disabilities, treatment and other services to address mental illness, and incomplete education. In the long term, societies suffer from losses in individuals' productivity and their capacity to be financially self-sufficient, not to mention the lasting costs associated with being victims of violence. The study concludes that although violence against children is widespread, it is preventable and the world has the resources to effect its elimination. It therefore calls on governments, in collaboration with all actors of society, to urgently act to ensure the protection of children from all forms of violence.

Describing and measuring child discipline

Classifying child disciplinary practices

According to Butchart and colleagues, child discipline includes training directed at developing judgement, behavioural boundaries, self-control, self-sufficiency and positive social conduct.¹¹ Child disciplinary practices have broad implications for overall child well-being, and appropriate discipline is viewed as being a necessary part of child rearing.

The systematic study of child disciplinary behaviours in a multi-cultural context began with Margaret Mead's studies of enculturation in the South Pacific in the late 1920s. She was the first to show how culture and caregiving interact to influence children's development and their experience of developmental stages. Since then a great deal of research on caregiving has focused on child discipline, based primarily on studies conducted in high-income countries. Yet our capacity to translate this understanding into changing norms and behaviours has lagged behind, in part due to the lack of cross-cultural research.

For many years, research has frequently focused on two dimensions of caregiving, either separately or in combination: parental warmth and parental control.¹² Parents who are high in warmth are accepting, responsive, supportive and nurturing. Parents who are high in control set limits and enforce rules consistently, maintaining discipline with the child.



Although parental warmth and parental control are separate dimensions of caregiving, they combine to form different parenting styles that reflect the amount and type of child disciplinary practices employed by parents. The four possible parenting styles can be summarized as follows:

- Authoritative parents are warm and use firm control.
- Authoritarian parents exert firm control, but do so in a rejecting or unresponsive manner.
- Permissive parents are warm, but exert little control.
- Rejecting/neglecting parents not only set few limits, they are also unresponsive.

Caregivers who engage in violent child discipline most closely resemble authoritarian parents. Their discipline tends to be harsh and punitive. Instead of discussing misbehaviour with the child, they are more likely to immediately punish. Research has shown that children raised by authoritarian parents have less academic success, are more hostile and aggressive and less popular with peers, and are less independent and engage in more substance use as adolescents.¹³

Violent child discipline may be either physical or psychological in nature. Both forms matter with respect to children's rights and childhood outcomes. Indeed, these two forms of violence overlap and frequently occur together, which may exacerbate the short-term and long-term harm they cause.¹⁴ Violent physical discipline (which is also known as corporal punishment) uses physical means to control children, such as spanking or physically forcing children to do things. The Committee on the Rights of the Child defines corporal punishment as "any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light."¹⁵ Even at low intensity, corporal punishment has been associated with adult mental health problems, delinquency and adult criminal behaviour.¹⁶

Violent psychological discipline involves the use of guilt, humiliation, the withdrawal of love, or emotional manipulation to control children. It, too, has repercussions for children. In a study of Chinese families, for example, fathers who used physical control had sons who were more physically aggressive with their peers, and mothers who used psychological control had daughters who were both more physically and emotionally aggressive.¹⁷

Understanding child discipline requires an appreciation of the full range of disciplinary behaviours, including non-violent as well as violent practices. Non-violent child disciplinary practices include acts that are closely associated with authoritative parenting, such as taking away privileges or explaining why something is wrong. Authoritative parents monitor their children closely, have clear standards and high expectations, use disciplinary methods that are supportive, and allow the lines of communication to go both ways between parent and child. While such parents are understanding and supportive, they set boundaries and institute appropriate consequences if the child does not behave. Children raised by authoritative parents enjoy greater academic success, are less hostile and more popular with peers, have higher self-esteem, and show more purpose and independence.¹⁸

Encouraging non-violent parenting behaviours is essential to creating and implementing effective prevention efforts. A recent review examined proven parent education programmes, mostly in the United States but also in some low-income countries.¹⁹ The authors identified several key parental behaviours that are associated with decreased violent discipline and increased non-violent discipline. These include ignoring and use of distraction or redirection before behaviour escalates, reducing the use of parent directives and commands, and using specific behavioural approaches such as loss of privileges.



Measuring child discipline

Measuring child discipline is complicated. Researchers have to determine what kind of measure is called for: Should the measurement assess actual disciplinary events and behaviours, or should it assess attitudes and beliefs about discipline? Should it encompass all types of disciplinary behaviours, or should it focus only on harsh practices that can serve as a measure of child maltreatment? If the measurement is being used to assess child maltreatment, should it gather information on the incidence, point prevalence or cumulative prevalence of child maltreatment? The answers to these questions have implications not only for what kinds of information are collected, but also for how the information is gathered.

Identifying appropriate respondents – that is, children, young adults or caregivers – presents a further complication.²⁰ The choice of respondent may influence the results and also has ramifications for the design and objectives of a study. For example, asking older children or young adults about discipline they experienced in the past, over an extended period of time, takes a retrospective approach that can provide information on cumulative prevalence, but may be influenced by recall bias. In contrast, asking caregivers about current behaviours or asking children about how they have been disciplined recently can provide information about prevalence and possibly incidence, depending on the study design. However, reporting bias can affect the apparent prevalence of certain practices, as different responses can be obtained from children and their caregivers.

The lack of prevalence data to identify and monitor violence against children emerged as a primary concern in the *UN Study on Violence against Children*. The study recognized important knowledge gaps and called upon States to improve data collection and information systems and to ensure that data are properly analysed and disseminated to monitor progress over time. The study further called for the development of a national research agenda on violence against children across settings where violence occurs. Similar recommendations are included in the WHO *World Report on Violence and Health* and the WHO publication on *Preventing Child Maltreatment: A Guide to Taking Action and Generating Evidence*.²¹ The latter advocates for the development of multifaceted surveillance data collection programmes, including epidemiological and case-level data collection systems. It recommends epidemiological data collection in the form of surveys, as well as the use of the International Classification of Diseases (ICD) system in health settings. Key considerations in selecting data collection tools include the psychometric properties of the instrument, primarily reliability and validity. Also of concern are related limitations, such as the applicable age range of subjects, subject recall and other factors.

- > **“States [should] improve data collection and information systems in order to identify vulnerable sub-groups, inform policy and programming at all levels, and track progress towards the goal of preventing violence against children. States should use national indicators based on internationally agreed standards, and ensure that data are compiled, analysed and disseminated to monitor progress over time. States should develop a national research agenda on violence against children across settings where violence occurs, including through interview studies with children and parents, with particular attention to vulnerable groups of girls and boys.”**

— UN Study on Violence against Children

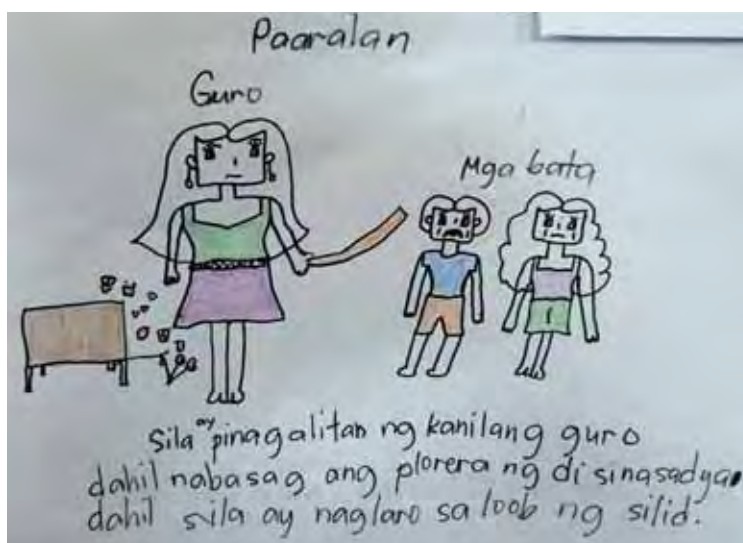


Researchers have developed many instruments to measure child discipline, reflecting different research questions and objectives. While it is beyond the scope of this report to fully describe these measures, commonly used instruments include the following:

- Alabama Parenting Questionnaire²² and Alabama Parenting Questionnaire-Preschool Revision²³
- Discipline Survey²⁴
- Harshness of Discipline²⁵
- Parent Behavior Checklist²⁶
- Parenting Practices Interview²⁷
- Parent Questionnaire²⁸
- Parenting Scale²⁹
- ISPCAN Child Abuse Screening Tools (ICAST)³⁰
- Parent-Child Conflict Tactics Scale (CTSPC)³¹

A systematic review of 55 parental discipline measures found that all of them assessed both positive and violent disciplinary practices – but only 5 covered the age range from toddler through adolescence.³² Additionally, most of the instruments were not designed with epidemiological studies in mind and were developed and used only in high-income countries.

The Parent-Child Conflict Tactics Scale (CTSPC) is the single most widely used instrument to measure child discipline. A modified version of the short form of the CTSPC forms the basis for the Child Discipline Module used in MICS and adopted by some DHS surveys. This module builds on previous efforts to gather information on some forms of violence against children at home and represents a significant undertaking to collect data on a multi-national basis. Incorporating a measure of child discipline into larger household surveys such as MICS and DHS offers significant advantages. It enables researchers to associate other factors (such as wealth and education) with child discipline or, conversely, to use child discipline to inform the analysis of other variables. The drawback is that certain decisions on data collection instruments and protocols may be dictated by the objectives of the larger survey and practical considerations related to its size. The CTSPC and the Child Discipline Module developed for MICS are described in more detail in Chapter II.







II. Methods

Sample selection and data collection

The Child Discipline Module was administered in 33 MICS surveys and 2 DHS surveys in 2005 and 2006. All together, the surveys covered around 10 per cent of the population of children in the developing world.

MICS

Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) are a UNICEF-supported initiative to assist countries in collecting and analysing data to monitor the situation of children and women. This international household survey programme was originally developed in response to the 1990 World Summit for Children as a way to measure progress towards an internationally agreed upon set of mid-decade goals. The first round of MICS (MICS1) was conducted around 1995 in over 60 countries. Since then MICS has developed into one of the world's largest household surveys of social indicators for women and children. MICS has enabled many countries to produce statistically sound and internationally comparable estimates of a wide range of indicators in the areas of health, education, child protection and HIV/AIDS. The surveys constitute a key source of information for UNICEF and United Nations global reports, for country reporting to the United Nations and for national systems. MICS is also a monitoring tool for other international goals, including targets set by A World Fit for Children, the United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) on HIV/AIDS, and the African Summit on Roll Back Malaria in Abuja. MICS findings have been used extensively as a basis for policy decisions and programme interventions and to influence public opinion on the situation of children and women around the world.

MICS surveys are typically carried out by government organizations, with technical support and financial assistance from UNICEF and its partners. UNICEF develops a standard set of survey tools and provides training and technical support through a series of regional workshops, which review questionnaire content, sampling and survey implementation, data processing, data analysis, report writing, data archiving and dissemination. UNICEF develops the MICS survey tools after consultations with relevant experts from various United Nations organizations as well as with interagency monitoring groups. UNICEF works closely with other household survey programmes, in particular the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), to harmonize survey questions and ensure a coordinated approach to survey implementation. The objective is to provide comparability across surveys and avoid duplication of effort. Results from MICS surveys, including national reports and micro-level datasets, are widely disseminated after the surveys are completed and can be downloaded at www.childinfo.org.

With each round of MICS, the survey instruments have become longer and more complex and covered more subject areas. The third round of MICS (MICS3) was carried out in over 50 countries from 2005 to 2006 and has been an important data source for monitoring the Millennium Development Goals and other international commitments. UNICEF is currently providing assistance to countries to conduct a fourth round of MICS surveys from 2009 to 2011. The Child Discipline Module, which was first made available for MICS3 surveys, continues to be part of MICS4 surveys.

Data were collected during face-to-face interviews conducted by trained interviewers using 22 different languages. For the Child Discipline Module, interviewers first identified all eligible children in the household. These were defined as children aged 2 to 14 years in every country but two: In Kyrgyzstan children aged 3 to 14 years were eligible for the Child Discipline Module, while in Egypt, the questionnaire covered children aged 3 to 17. If a household included more than one child in the appropriate age range, the interviewer was instructed to select one child at random to be the subject for the Child Discipline Module. The module provided a tool to select a child at random by using a combination of the number of children in the household and the last digit of the survey number assigned to the household



questionnaire.* The interviewer recorded the selected child's name and line number, so that the data on disciplinary practices could be associated with other information collected by the survey about the subject child and his or her household.

After identifying the subject child for the Child Discipline Module, the interviewer asked to speak with that child's mother or, if the mother was not residing in the household or was deceased, with the child's primary caregiver. This person acted as the respondent for all questions on child discipline. The questionnaire asked about disciplinary methods used by any member of the household during the month preceding the interview. In contrast, the final question regarding attitudes toward physical punishment reflected the respondent's personal views.

MICS3 Questionnaires

MICS questionnaires are modular tools that can be adapted to each country's particular needs. For MICS3, as for previous survey rounds, three model questionnaires were developed:

- a household questionnaire,
- a questionnaire for women aged 15–49 and
- a questionnaire regarding children under age five, which is addressed to the mother or primary caregiver.

The MICS3 questionnaires collected a wide range of information, much of which can be associated with the data collected by the Child Discipline Module. The household questionnaire listed all members of the household and gathered information on household characteristics, education, child labour, water and sanitation, salt iodization, insecticide-treated mosquito nets (ITNs), and support to children orphaned and made vulnerable by HIV/AIDS. In addition to child discipline, optional modules were available on disability, security of tenure and durability of housing, source and cost of supplies for ITNs, and maternal mortality.

The women's questionnaire gathered information on women's characteristics, child mortality, tetanus toxoid, maternal and newborn health, marriage, contraceptive use, HIV/AIDS knowledge, malaria, polygyny, female genital mutilation/cutting and sexual behaviour. Optional modules were available on contraception and unmet need, security of tenure and attitudes toward domestic violence.

The children's questionnaire gathered information on birth registration, early learning, vitamin A, breastfeeding, care of illness, malaria, immunization and anthropometry. Optional modules were available on child development and on the source and cost of supplies, such as oral rehydration salts (ORS), antibiotics and antimalarials.

Because the Child Discipline Module was fielded as a part of larger surveys, it relied on MICS and DHS methodology and sampling strategies. A detailed description of the sampling strategy can be found in Annex 1.

The number of children for whom data on child discipline were collected ranged from 1,043 in Belize to 19,141 in Algeria, as shown in Table 1. In most participating countries, approximately half of the children screened were male, and the children were roughly evenly distributed across age groups.

* In Egypt, questions on child discipline were included in the Woman Questionnaire and were asked to all women with at least one child aged 3-17 living in the same household.



Table 1. Number of children surveyed, by country

Country	Weighted number	Unweighted number
Albania	4,526	2,481
Algeria	42,098	19,141
Azerbaijan	6,565	3,718
Belarus	2,787	3,097
Belize	2,493	1,043
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2,779	2,907
Burkina Faso	14,944	4,575
Cameroon	16,255	5,859
Central African Republic	21,179	7,874
Côte d'Ivoire	20,617	6,506
Djibouti	8,368	3,189
Egypt	32,790	13,638
Gambia	16,838	4,736
Georgia	7,014	4,311
Ghana	8,739	3,942
Guinea-Bissau	15,507	4,781
Guyana	6,459	3,165
Iraq	39,019	13,003
Jamaica	4,267	2,233
Kazakhstan	10,659	6,864
Kyrgyzstan	6,367	3,391
Lao People's Democratic Republic	11,814	4,905
Mongolia	8,014	4,508
Montenegro	1,888	1,183
Serbia	4,319	3,939
Sierra Leone	16,435	6,016
Suriname	5,502	2,773
Syrian Arab Republic	36,246	12,847
Tajikistan	13,862	5,178
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	3,463	3,564
Togo	11,190	4,606
Trinidad and Tobago	3,477	2,063
Ukraine	2,388	2,935
Viet Nam	4,017	2,433
Yemen	9,927	2,869
TOTAL	419,335	180,273

Note: Weighted numbers are adjusted to account for the unequal probability of selection of sampling units. Annex 1 describes the sample weights used in this analysis.



Survey instrument

The Parent-Child Conflict Tactics Scale

The CTSPC is an epidemiological instrument that has proven effective in measuring violence in different cultural contexts. The current version of CTSPC was introduced in the mid-1990s as a modification of the Conflict Tactics Scale version 1 (CTS1), which dated back to 1979.³³ The CTSPC was designed to support both clinical and epidemiological studies of child maltreatment. It contains 22 items across three domains: non-violent discipline, psychological aggression and physical assault. It also includes 13 optional items in the domains of weekly discipline, neglect and sexual abuse. With the exception of items on weekly discipline and sexual abuse, each item is scored on an eight-point scale reflecting frequency within the past year. Possible responses range from 'once in the past year' up to 'more than 20 times within the past year'. There are also responses for 'ever' and 'no event'. Scoring methods have been developed to obtain estimates of prevalence and frequencies.

The CTSPC offers many advantages. First is its reliability and validity. Evaluations of the CTSPC have yielded moderate to good indicators of test-retest reliability, as well as discriminant and construct validity.³⁴ Results from national surveys are also consistent with theoretical expectations for at risk-populations. Second, the CTSPC and its precursor, the CTS1, have been used extensively – including in international settings, where the instrument has been translated into several languages. The first major study using the CTSPC was a Gallup survey conducted in 1995 in the continental United States. Over 70 peer-reviewed articles employing some version of the CTSPC were identified in a cursory check of the literature. The CTS1 has been used even more widely, with more than 132 studies cited. Third, the CTSPC has had considerable influence on how child discipline and child maltreatment have been measured and defined in a range of countries. It has proven valuable in helping to identify risk factors that may benefit policy-makers in devising strategies to improve prevention.

While it is not possible to provide a complete review of research applying the CTSPC, certain studies are of particular interest. For example, Dietz³⁵ used logistic regression to explore the relationship between the characteristics of caregiver households in the United States and their use of corporal punishment, as measured by the appropriate subscale in the CTSPC. Data from the 1995 Gallup survey were used as the basis for the analysis, which found that over 57 per cent of US children were subjected to corporal punishment and 26 per cent were subjected to severe corporal punishment. Characteristics associated with greater odds of severe corporal punishment included: male children, low income, African-American caregivers, caregivers with less than a high school education and residents of southern states. The likelihood of all forms of corporal punishment was higher for younger children (ages 2–5), African-American caregivers, male children, female respondents, caregivers never abused by their own parents and respondents aged 30 or older. Findings like these have important implications for focusing prevention efforts.

Several studies have applied the CTSPC outside of the United States. After translating and validating the scale for the Sri Lankan context, de Zoysa and colleagues used the CTSPC in a cross-sectional study of 12-year-old school children, who reported a high prevalence and frequency of corporal punishment.³⁶ Leung and colleagues conducted a school-based survey of abusive treatment of high school students by parents in southern China, using a self-administered Chinese version of the CTSPC.³⁷ The response rate for these students, whose mean age was 14, was over 99 per cent. The prevalence of child disciplinary practices over the previous six months was 78 per cent for psychological discipline, 23 per cent for minor physical discipline, 15 per cent for severe physical discipline and 3 per cent for very severe physical discipline. Child age, parental education, place of origin and type of housing were associated with violent physical discipline. Hunter and colleagues implemented the CTSPC in rural India as part of a cross-sectional, population-based survey.³⁸ Almost



half of mothers reported using violent psychological discipline, while 42 per cent reported using severe physical discipline. Risk factors associated with corporal punishment included low educational attainment, household crowding, younger child age, husband's alcohol abuse and spousal abuse.

A modified version of the CTSPC has been developed for use in the Composite International Diagnostic Interview (CIDI) formulated for WHO.³⁹ The CIDI is used to assist with clinical diagnosis and collect epidemiological data regarding mental illness. The CTSPC was integrated into the CIDI to help describe childhood experiences with respect to discipline.

Content of the Child Discipline Module

During the development and testing of the Child Discipline Module, the original CTSPC was shortened. Some of the CTSPC items did not prove suitable for cross-cultural contexts, while other items were not considered suitable for MICS3 and DHS surveys due to the gravity of the actions described. Annex 3 lists the original items from the CTSPC, while Table 2 presents the standard items selected and modified for use in MICS3 and DHS surveys.

The first 11 items of the Child Discipline Module enquire about caregivers' behaviours in three domains: non-violent discipline, psychological aggression and physical punishment. The questions ask whether each disciplinary practice has been employed:

- recently (defined as at least once in the past month),
- by any member of the household, not just the mother (or primary caregiver) who acts as the survey respondent.

The respondent answers either 'yes' or 'no'. No information is collected about the frequency of the behaviour.* The last item in the Child Discipline Module probes the personal attitudes and beliefs of the survey respondent about the necessity of using physical punishment to raise the subject child.

Among the 35 countries that collected data on child discipline in MICS3 and DHS surveys, two (Egypt and Mongolia) adopted a modified version of the standard Child Discipline Module. The survey in Egypt included only three, rather than eight, items measuring violent discipline (shouting/yelling/screaming, slapping the child on the body with hand or hard object, and slapping the child on face, head or ears) and only one item measuring non-violent discipline (explaining why a behaviour is wrong). Moreover, questions were addressed to mothers aged 15–49 and asked only about their own disciplinary practices in regard to their child/children aged 3–17. No information was collected about the respondent's attitudes towards physical punishment. The survey in Mongolia included questions on three violent practices (shouting/yelling/screaming, calling the child dumb/lazy, and beating the child up) and two non-violent practices (explaining why a behaviour is wrong and giving the child something else to do).

Like many other measures of child discipline, the Child Discipline Module relies entirely on self-reports. This is an important limitation of the instrument, because there is no way to independently verify whether the respondents are honest or accurate in reporting their own behaviour or the behaviour of other members of the household.

*In the Syrian Arab Republic data were collected on the frequency of disciplinary practices using two categories: 'sometimes' and 'always'. These two responses were combined and recoded into a 'yes' response for this analysis.

**Table 2. Questionnaire for the Child Discipline Module**

Identify eligible child aged 2 to 14 in the household using the tables on the preceding page, according to your instructions. Ask to interview the mother or primary caretaker of the selected child (identified by the line number in CD6).	
CD11. Write name and line no. of the child selected for the module from CD3 and CD2, based on the rank number in CD9.	Name ----- Line number_ _
CD12. ALL ADULTS USE CERTAIN WAYS TO TEACH CHILDREN THE RIGHT BEHAVIOUR OR TO ADDRESS A BEHAVIOUR PROBLEM. I WILL READ VARIOUS METHODS THAT ARE USED AND I WANT YOU TO TELL ME IF YOU OR ANYONE ELSE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD HAS USED THIS METHOD WITH (name) IN THE PAST MONTH.	
CD12A. TOOK AWAY PRIVILEGES, FORBADE SOMETHING (name) LIKED OR DID NOT ALLOW HIM/HER TO LEAVE HOUSE).	Yes1 No2
CD12B. EXPLAINED WHY SOMETHING (THE BEHAVIOR) WAS WRONG.	Yes1 No2
CD12C. SHOOK HIM/HER.	Yes1 No2
CD12D. SHOUTED, YELLED AT OR SCREAMED AT HIM/HER.	Yes1 No2
CD12E. GAVE HIM/HER SOMETHING ELSE TO DO.	Yes1 No2
CD12F. SPANKED, HIT OR SLAPPED HIM/HER ON THE BOTTOM WITH BARE HAND.	Yes1 No2
CD12G. HIT HIM/HER ON THE BOTTOM OR ELSEWHERE ON THE BODY WITH SOMETHING LIKE A BELT, HAIRBRUSH, STICK OR OTHER HARD OBJECT.	Yes1 No2
CD12H. CALLED HIM/HER DUMB, LAZY, OR ANOTHER NAME LIKE THAT.	Yes1 No2
CD12I. HIT OR SLAPPED HIM/HER ON THE FACE, HEAD OR EARS.	Yes1 No2
CD12J. HIT OR SLAPPED HIM/HER ON THE HAND, ARM, OR LEG.	Yes1 No2
CD12K. BEAT HIM/HER UP WITH AN IMPLEMENT (HIT OVER AND OVER AS HARD AS ONE COULD).	Yes1 No2
CD13. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT IN ORDER TO BRING UP (RAISE, EDUCATE) (name) PROPERLY, YOU NEED TO PHYSICALLY PUNISH HIM/HER?	Yes 1 No2 Don't know/no opinion8

Data analysis: Measurement scales

For the most part, this report does not present results for individual items in the Child Discipline Module. Instead, multiple items have been combined into a series of measurement scales that summarize the findings. There are two overall scales: violent discipline and non-violent discipline.

The Child Discipline Module includes eight items on violent discipline, all of which are included in the overall scale for any violent discipline*. Within the category of violent discipline, the analysis employs

* Most of the analyses presented in the report are based on the broadest scale of any violent discipline. As described above, this refers to all forms of violent discipline, including both psychological aggression and physical punishment.



three subscales: psychological aggression, physical punishment and severe physical punishment. Psychological aggression refers to two disciplinary practices: (1) shouting, yelling and screaming at a child and (2) calling a child offensive names such as ‘dumb’ and ‘lazy’. Physical (or corporal) punishment includes the six remaining violent disciplinary practices: (1) shaking the child, (2) spanking or hitting the child on the bottom with a bare hand, (3) slapping the child on the hand, arm or leg, (4) hitting the child on the bottom with a hard object (5) hitting the child on the face, head or ears, and (6) beating the child with an implement over and over as hard as one can. These last two practices are particularly harsh and have the potential for causing severe, immediate physical injuries. Therefore, they can be considered severe forms of physical punishment and are treated as a separate subscale within the physical punishment category.

The Child Discipline Module also includes three items on non-violent discipline: (1) explaining why a behaviour is wrong, (2) taking away privileges or not allowing the child to leave the house, and (3) giving the child something else to do.

Table 3 lists which items are included in each of these measurement scales and subscales. If the caregiver responded ‘yes’ to at least one of the items included in a scale or subscale, the child is considered to have experienced that form of discipline and the scale is given a positive score. Of course, the caregiver may have responded ‘yes’ to multiple items in a given scale.

Table 3. Child discipline measurement scales and subscales

Scales and subscales	MICS3 items included in the scale
Violent Discipline	
Psychological aggression	CD12D. SHOUTED, YELLED AT OR SCREAMED AT HIM/HER. CD12H. CALLED HIM/HER DUMB, LAZY, OR ANOTHER NAME LIKE THAT.
Physical punishment	CD12C. SHOOK HIM/HER. CD12F. SPANKED, HIT OR SLAPPED HIM/HER ON THE BOTTOM WITH BARE HAND. CD12G. HIT HIM/HER ON THE BOTTOM OR ELSEWHERE ON THE BODY WITH SOMETHING LIKE A BELT, HAIRBRUSH, STICK OR OTHER HARD OBJECT. CD12J. HIT OR SLAPPED HIM/HER ON THE HAND, ARM, OR LEG.
> Severe physical punishment	CD12I. HIT OR SLAPPED HIM/HER ON THE FACE, HEAD OR EARS. CD12K. BEAT HIM/HER UP WITH AN IMPLEMENT (HIT OVER AND OVER AS HARD AS ONE COULD).
Any violent discipline	ALL EIGHT ITEMS LISTED ABOVE : CD12C, CD12D, CD12F, CD12G, CD12H, CD12I, CD12J, CD12K
Non-Violent Discipline	
Any non-violent discipline	CD12A. TOOK AWAY PRIVILEGES, FORBADE SOMETHING (name) LIKED OR DID NOT ALLOW HIM/HER TO LEAVE HOUSE. CD12B. EXPLAINED WHY SOMETHING (THE BEHAVIOR) WAS WRONG. CD12E. GAVE HIM/HER SOMETHING ELSE TO DO.



Table 4. Percentage of household questionnaires missing the entire Child Discipline Module or certain child discipline items, by country

Country	Percentage of household questionnaires that are missing:			
	Entire Child Discipline Module	One or more items from the Child Discipline Module	One or more violent discipline items	One or more non-violent discipline items
Albania	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Algeria	0.7	2.2	1.8	1.2
Azerbaijan	0.2	1.8	1.3	0.6
Belarus	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.3
Belize	1.7	3.5	3.1	1.3
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.3
Burkina Faso	5.6	7.6	7.3	6.1
Cameroon	0.6	6.2	5.7	0.9
Central African Republic	0.7	1.8	1.6	0.9
Côte d'Ivoire	0.5	4.6	3.9	1.2
Djibouti	2.5	4.0	3.7	2.7
Gambia	0.8	3.3	2.8	1.0
Georgia	0.5	3.0	2.5	0.7
Ghana	0.5	3.0	2.6	0.7
Guinea-Bissau	1.2	5.5	4.8	1.8
Guyana	2.9	11.4	9.9	3.6
Iraq	0	0.1	0.1	0
Jamaica	0.7	4.3	2.9	1.9
Kazakhstan	0	0	0	0
Kyrgyzstan	2.4	4.3	3.9	1.9
Lao People's Democratic Republic	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1
Montenegro	0.8	1.9	1.7	0.8
Serbia	1.0	2.2	1.9	1.0
Sierra Leone	0	0	0	0
Suriname	1.8	6.5	5.9	1.7
Syrian Arab Republic	0.9	6.0	4.9	2.6
Tajikistan	0	0	0	0
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2
Togo	0.3	1.0	0.8	0.5
Trinidad and Tobago	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Ukraine	0	0	0	0
Viet Nam	0	0	0	0
Yemen	0.7	1.7	1.6	0.8
TOTAL	0.8	2.7	2.3	1.1

Note: This table does not include values for Egypt and Mongolia because of the use of different questionnaires.



Completion rates

Completion rates for the Child Discipline Module were very high across all countries (Table 4). The entire module was completed for at least 94 per cent of participating households in every country. Indeed, completion rates exceeded 99 per cent in 25 of the 33 countries included in the main analysis.

Further analyses were conducted on the completion rates for individual items and sets of items, taking into account missing data and non-response to one or more items within a 'completed' Child Discipline Module. As shown in Table 4, less than 3 per cent of households across all 33 countries were missing one or more items from the Child Discipline Module.

The item-by-item summary in Table 5 shows that there was virtually no difference in the rates of missing data for each of the 11 items assessing the incidence of disciplinary practices. The item assessing attitudes towards physical punishment was slightly more likely to be missing. Annex 2 presents additional details on the missing data.

Table 5. Minimum, maximum and average percentage of missing values, by item

Item	Minimum	Maximum	Average
Took away privileges	0	5.6	0.7
Explained why something was wrong	0	5.7	0.7
Shook	0	5.8	0.9
Shouted, yelled at or screamed at	0	5.7	0.8
Gave something else to do	0	5.8	0.9
Spanked, hit or slapped on the bottom with bare hand	0	6.0	0.8
Hit on the bottom or elsewhere with a hard object	0	5.9	0.7
Called dumb, lazy or another name	0	5.9	0.7
Hit or slapped on the head, face or ears	0	5.8	0.9
Hit or slapped on the hand, arm or leg	0	5.8	0.9
Beat up with an implement	0	5.8	0.8
Believes that physical punishment is necessary	0	8.6	3.5





III. Results

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section presents estimates of the use of violent and non-violent disciplinary methods for each of the countries surveyed. The second section looks at mothers' (or primary caregivers') attitudes toward physical punishment. The final section analyses variations in the use of violent disciplinary practices within countries, focusing on socio-demographic characteristics of children and their families that may predict which children are most at risk of violent discipline.

The analysis uses the measurement scales and subscales described in Chapter II to summarize the prevalence of various forms of child discipline across and within the countries surveyed. The analysis by socio-demographic characteristics included in this chapter focuses on estimates of any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression). Annex 4 presents the results of the analysis by socio-demographic characteristics for severe physical punishment.

The countries included in the analysis cover only around 10 per cent of the total population of children in developing countries. Therefore the findings presented in the following pages cannot be generalized to the developing world as a whole. Rather, the summary results and averages should be interpreted as an indication of the disciplinary practices used in the countries with survey data.

Technical note on the charts

The charts presented in the following pages rank countries by the percentage of children who experienced a given disciplinary practice. An error bar shows the 95 per cent confidence interval for each country estimate. The confidence interval can be interpreted as follows: If 100 samples were taken, 95 per cent of them would produce an estimate within the confidence interval shown by the error bar. Narrower confidence intervals suggest more precision in the estimate.

The charts by background characteristics of the child and his/her family present estimates only for those countries where there is a significant association between violent discipline and a certain socio-demographic factor. Where the direction of the association is not consistent, the charts group the countries accordingly. The asterisks following the name of each country represent the p-value and indicate the strength of the association. The p-value indicates the likelihood that the observed relationship or difference between variables occurred by chance. The lower the p-value, the more likely it is that the result is valid or representative of the population. If the p-value is $\leq .05$, the probability that the findings are due to chance is 5 per cent or less; if the p-value is $\leq .01$, the probability that the findings are due to chance is 1 per cent or less; and if the p-value is $\leq .001$, the probability that the findings are due to chance is 0.1 per cent or less. The p-value presented is for a two-tailed test. A two-tailed test assesses whether there is a difference between variables in either direction, that is, whether an increase in one variable is associated with either an increase or decrease in the other variable.

The number of countries included in the analysis of each of the socio-demographic factors varies, depending on what data are available. Only countries with at least 25 children per variable category (for example, urban and rural) are included in each analysis. The total number of countries with available data is noted at the foot of each chart. The results for all countries with available data – regardless of whether or not the results were significant – are presented in Annex 5.



WorldSAFE Project

An earlier effort to collect population-based data on the incidence of child disciplinary practices across countries – the World Studies of Abuse in the Family Environment (WorldSAFE) project – developed and administered a common core protocol to population-based samples of mothers in six countries: Brazil, Chile, Egypt, India, the Philippines and the United States. The surveys, which were conducted from 1998 to 2004, used a modification of the Parent–Child Conflict Tactics Scale (CTSPC) to establish incidence rates for a broad range of child disciplinary practices. Mothers were asked how often they and their husband or partner had used specific disciplinary acts over the previous year, if ever. Table 6 presents findings from the WorldSAFE surveys.

Over 90 per cent of parents in every country but Egypt used non-violent approaches to discipline their children. In fact, this was the most common type of discipline in all six countries. Explaining why a behaviour was wrong and telling the child to stop were the two most common non-violent disciplinary practices. The use of other non-violent disciplinary practices varied. For example, a majority of parents in Chile and the United States reported taking privileges away, but this practice was almost non-existent in the Philippines.

Moderate verbal and psychological discipline, especially shouting, was the next most common type of discipline. From 70 per cent to 95 per cent of parents reported shouting at their children. Harsher forms of psychological discipline – including name calling, cursing, and threats – were roughly twice as common in Egypt, India and the Philippines as in Brazil, Chile and the United States. Egypt is notable for high rates of cursing (50 per cent), name calling (44 per cent) and refusing to speak to children (47 per cent); name calling is also common in some Indian communities. The Philippines and certain communities in India stand out for frequent threats to abandon children or kick them out of the household.

Moderate physical punishment was common everywhere, but the incidence of specific practices varied widely. Spanking children on the buttocks was the most common form of physical discipline reported in Brazil, Chile, the Philippines, and the United States. In contrast, rates in Egypt were higher for shaking, pinching or slapping on the face or head, while parents in most communities of India were also more likely to slap their children than to spank them.

In all six countries, parents were far less likely to employ harsh physical discipline than any other type of discipline. In every country but Egypt, by far the most common such practice was shaking a child under the age of two years. In Egypt, shaking young children occurred half as often as beating a child (12 per cent versus 24 per cent). Extremely harsh practices, such as burning, choking and smothering, were rarely reported anywhere.

Source: Runyan, D.K., V. Shankar, F. Hassan, W.M. Hunter, D. Jain, C.S. Paula, et al., 'International Variations in Harsh Child Discipline', *Pediatrics*, vol. 126, 2010, pp. 701-711.

Table 6. Percentage of children experiencing different types of child discipline practices at least once in the previous year, WorldSAFE study, 1998–2004

Type of discipline ^a	Incidence (%)					
	Brazil	Chile	Egypt	India ^b	Philippines	United States
Non-violent discipline	96	97	86	89–99	98	92
Moderate verbal and psychological	77	85	77	76–96	87	76
Harsh verbal and psychological	39	32	64	40–81	71	26
Moderate physical	70	69	81	63–89	83	55
Harsh physical	2	5	28	3–39	10	1

^a Non-violent discipline includes: explaining why a behaviour is wrong, taking away privileges, telling child to start or stop doing something, making child stay in one place and giving child something to do. Moderate verbal and psychological discipline includes: shouting, screaming or yelling, refusing to speak to child and withholding food. Harsh verbal and psychological discipline includes: cursing child, calling child names, threatening to abandon child, threatening to invoke evil spirits, locking child out of the house or threatening the child with a knife or gun. Moderate physical discipline includes: slapping face, spanking with hand on buttocks, hitting head with knuckles, pulling hair, pinching, twisting ear, forcing to kneel or stand in one position, hitting buttocks with an object, hitting elsewhere other than buttocks with an object, putting hot pepper or spicy food in child's mouth and shaking children aged 2 years and above. Harsh physical discipline: includes kicking, choking, smothering with hand or pillow, burning or branding, beating, and shaking children aged less than 2 years.

^b Separate rates are reported for each of the seven study sites in India. The values presented here correspond to the lowest and highest estimates.

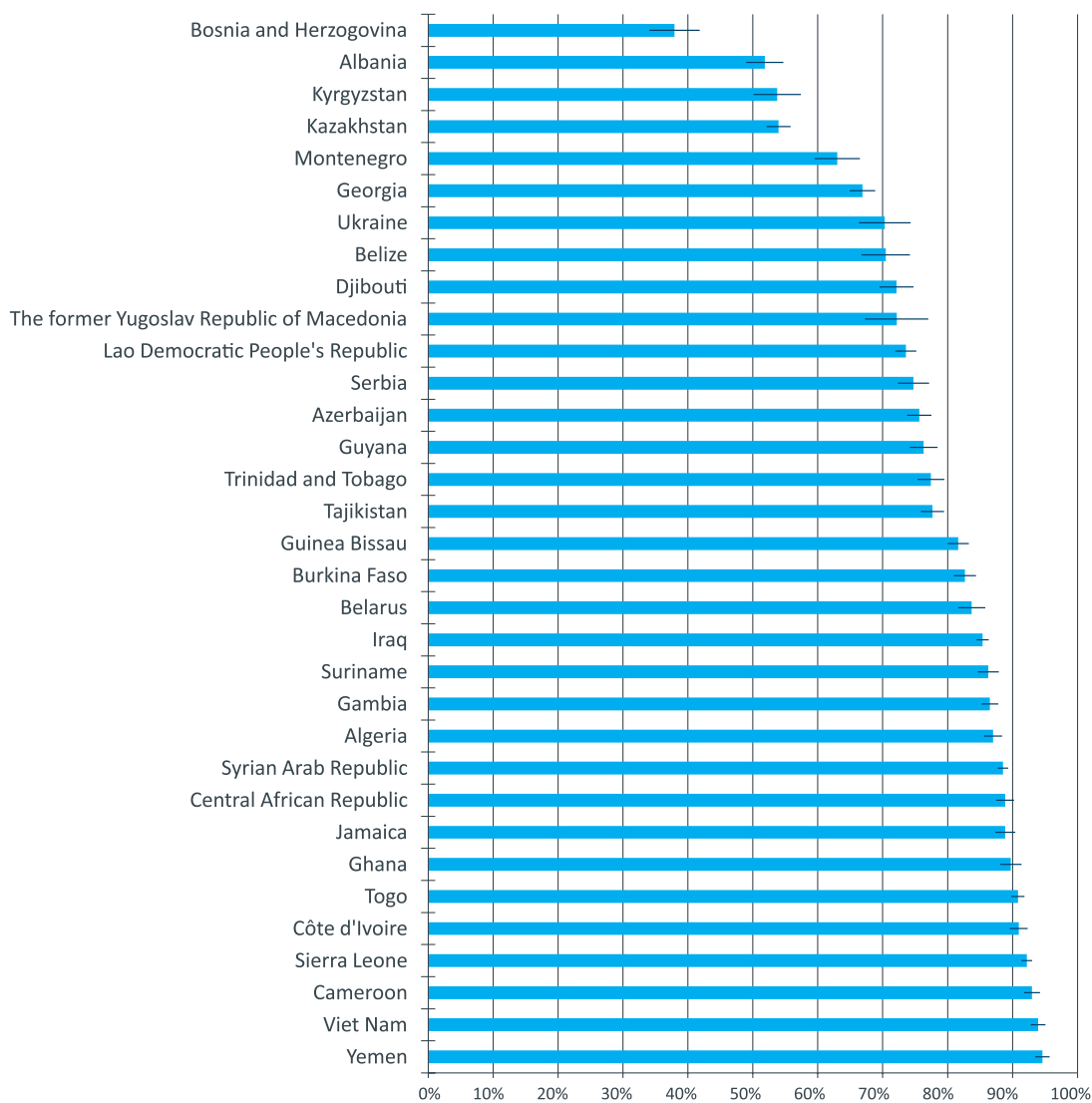


Prevalence of disciplinary practices

Violent discipline

Violent disciplinary practices are extremely common in most countries, as illustrated by Figure 1. MICS and DHS surveys found that, on average, 76 per cent of children aged 2–14 had experienced some form of violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month. The percentage of children experiencing any violent discipline ranges from a low of 38 per cent in Bosnia and Herzegovina to a high of almost 95 per cent in Yemen. The rate of any violent discipline exceeds 70 per cent in three fourths of the countries surveyed and exceeds 80 per cent in half of the countries. Only one country, Bosnia and Herzegovina, has a rate less than 50 per cent. These estimates of any violent discipline are comparable to the levels found in other countries, including high-income countries.⁴⁰

Figure 1. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by country, 2005–2006



> On average, three out of four children experience violent discipline at home.



A closer examination of the individual items that comprise the measurement scale for any violent discipline reveals that one item – shouting, yelling or screaming at a child – is far more common than any other violent disciplinary practice (Table 7). Nearly three fourths of households reported shouting at the child. In contrast, no more than 35 per cent of households reported engaging in any of the other violent disciplinary practices. Given the findings in the literature, the high rate of yelling at children is not surprising. For example, in a study of psychological aggression in the United States, 88 per cent of the 991 families interviewed admitted shouting, yelling or screaming at their children in the previous year, and the proportion rose to 98 per cent in families with seven-year-old children.⁴¹ A deeper examination is needed concerning the nature, frequency and effect of yelling. For example, it is possible that some caregivers in the MICS and DHS surveys interpreted this item to mean raising their voices to the child. If that is the case, there is a distinct difference between this act and other violent disciplinary practices.

Table 7. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced specific forms of violent discipline in the past month, 2005–2006 (weighted average based on the 33 countries with available data)

Violent disciplinary practice	Estimate
Shook him/her	35
Shouted, yelled at or screamed at him/her	73
Spanked, hit or slapped him/her with bare hand	27
Hit him/her on the bottom or elsewhere on the body with something like a belt, hairbrush, stick or other hard object	4
Called him/her dumb, lazy or another name like that	22
Hit or slapped him/her on the face, head or ears	16
Hit or slapped him/her on the hand, arm or legs	20
Beat him/her up with an implement (hit over and over as hard as one could)	4

As mentioned earlier, two countries, Egypt and Mongolia, did not administer the standard Child Discipline Module. Because of the differences in their questionnaires, the surveys in Egypt and Mongolia cannot produce estimates of violent discipline that are fully comparable to each other or to the other countries surveyed. Therefore, the summary charts and tables in this chapter do not include data for Egypt and Mongolia. Instead, the findings on any violent discipline for these two countries are presented in Table 8. Despite the differences in the number and wording of the items, the prevalence of any violent discipline falls within the same range as the other countries.

Table 8. Percentage of children aged 2–14 (Mongolia) and 3–14 (Egypt) who experienced any violent discipline in the past month, 2005

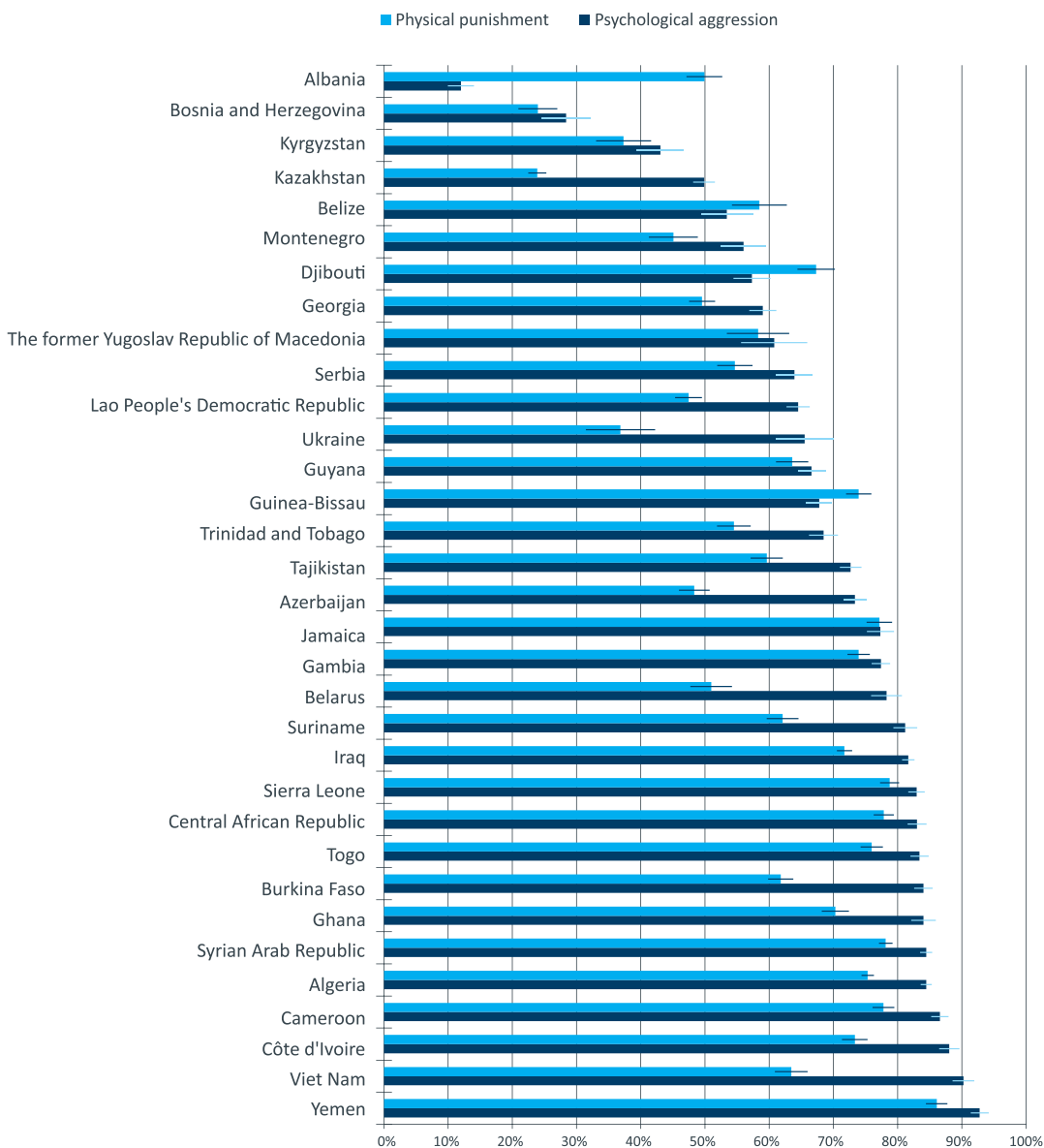
Country	Estimate
Egypt	92
Mongolia	80



Psychological aggression and physical punishment

As Figure 2 illustrates, psychological aggression is more prevalent than physical punishment in most countries, although both forms of violent discipline are widespread. On average, almost three in four children experienced psychological aggression in the previous month, while about half experienced physical punishment. The rate of psychological aggression is highest in Yemen and Viet Nam, where it exceeds 90 per cent. Yemen also has the highest rate of physical punishment, 86 per cent.

Figure 2. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced psychological aggression and percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced physical punishment in the past month, by country, 2005–2006



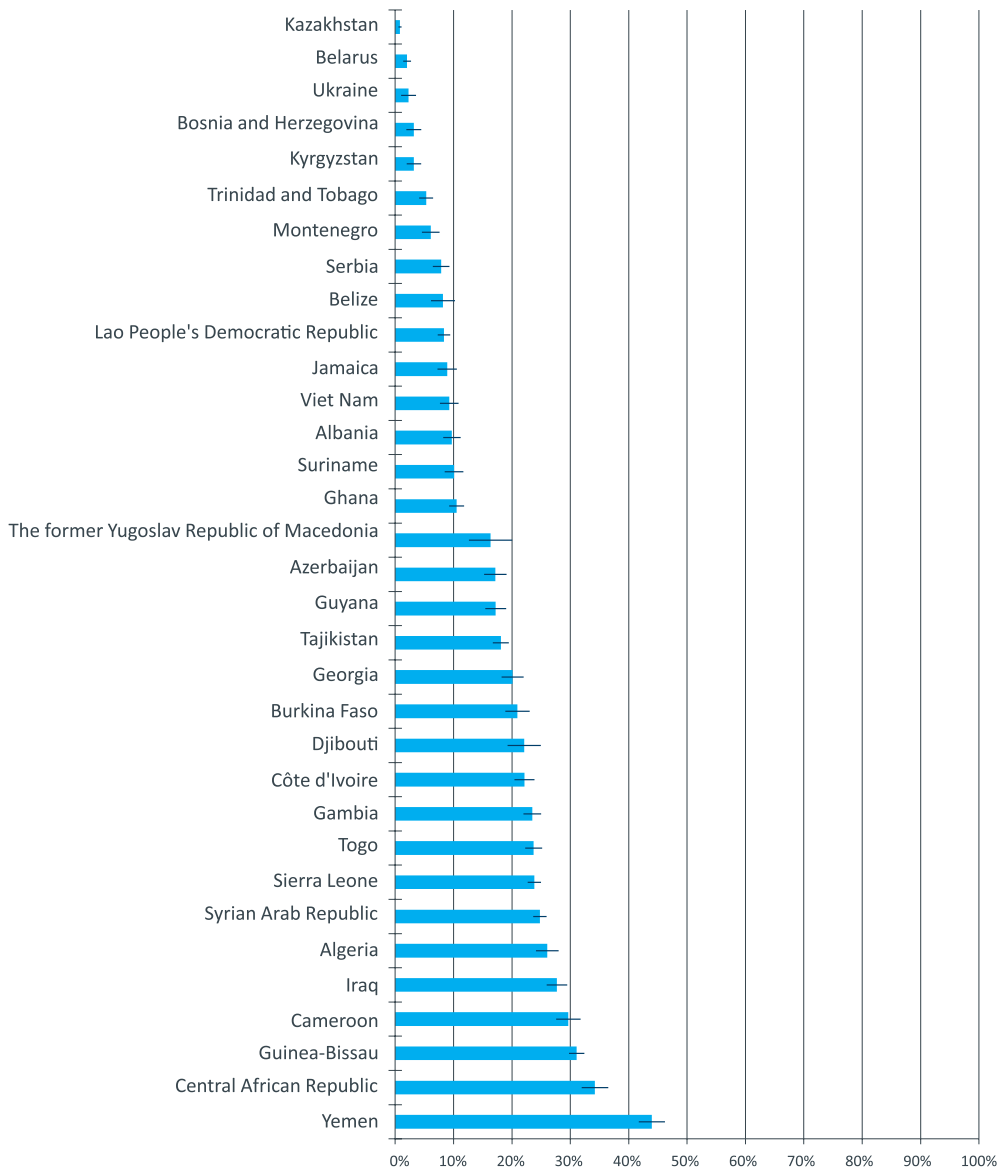
> Psychological aggression is more common than physical punishment.



Severe physical punishment

It is encouraging that the prevalence of severe physical punishment is relatively low in most countries, as shown in Figure 3. Rates for this extreme form of violent discipline range from a low of less than 1 per cent in Kazakhstan to a high of 44 per cent in Yemen. In about one fourth of countries, less than 8 per cent of children have experienced severe physical punishment in the past month. Rates exceed 16 per cent in only about half of countries. By comparison, the rate of severe physical punishment in a high-income country like the United States is approximately 26 per cent.⁴²

Figure 3. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by country, 2005–2006



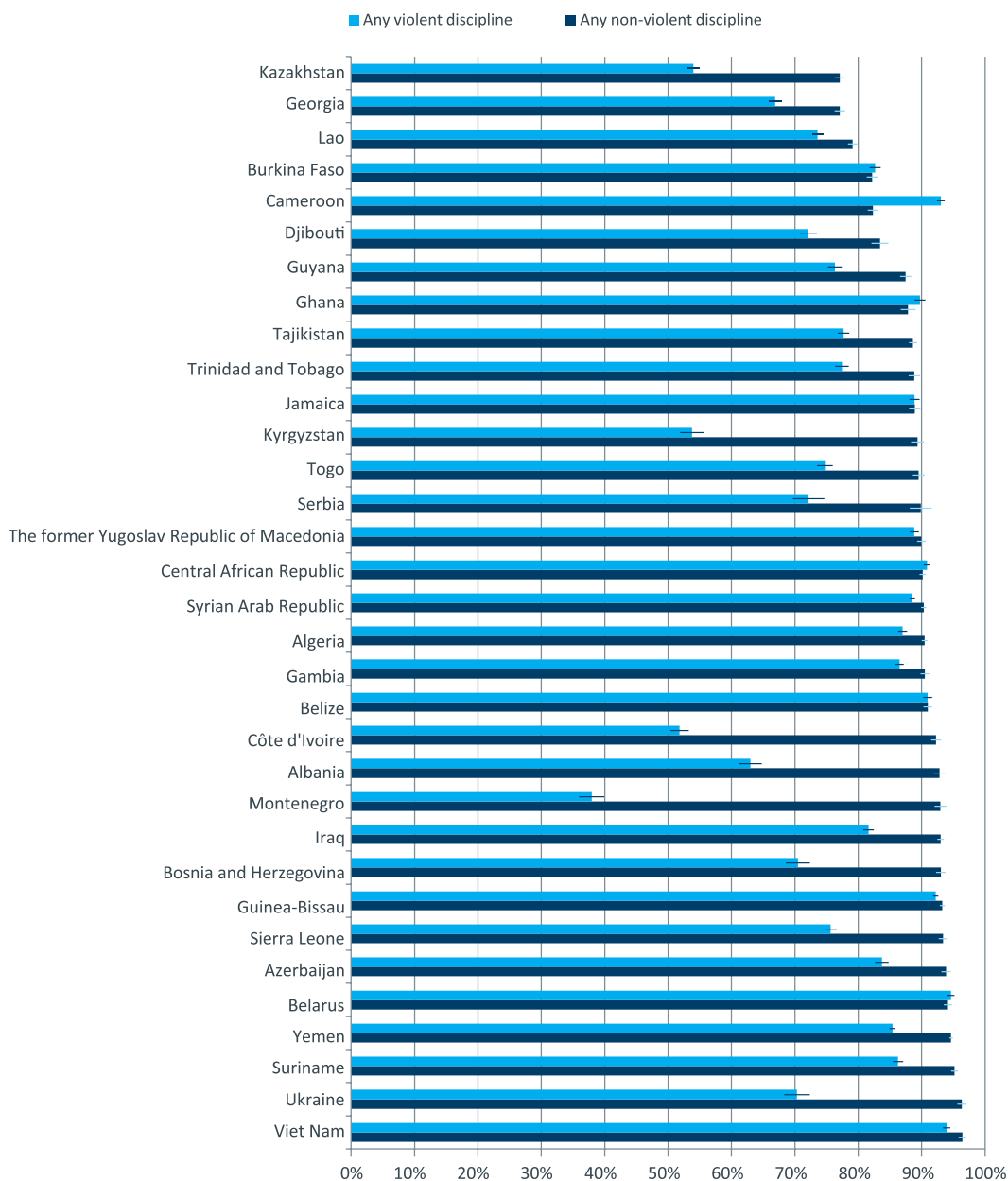
> **More than one in five children experience severe forms of physical punishment in 13 countries.**



Non-violent discipline

Non-violent disciplinary methods are used with almost all children. Rates for non-violent discipline range from about 77 per cent in Georgia and Kazakhstan to 96 per cent in Viet Nam and Ukraine. In only three countries are rates of non-violent discipline below 80 per cent. Additionally, as Figure 4 clearly shows, non-violent methods are more common than violent methods in the majority of countries surveyed.

Figure 4. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline and percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any non-violent discipline in the past month, by country, 2005–2006



> **Non-violent methods are the most common form of discipline in the majority of countries.**



A closer examination of the three items that comprise the scale for non-violent discipline reveals that one item, 'explained why something was wrong', dominates the results (Table 9). On average, caregivers told over 90 per cent of children why they were wrong. Far fewer engaged in the other two non-violent disciplinary methods.

Table 9. Percentage of children who experienced specific forms of non-violent discipline in the past month, 2005–2006 (weighted average for the 33 countries with available data)

Disciplinary practice	Estimate
Explained why something was wrong	91
Took away privileges	58
Gave him/her something else to do	53

Caregivers' reliance on non-violent discipline does not preclude them from also engaging in violent disciplinary practices. While the vast majority of households employ some non-violent disciplinary methods, considerably fewer rely only on non-violent discipline, to the exclusion of all violent forms of discipline. The proportion of households using only non-violent discipline ranges from 4 per cent in Cameroon and Yemen to 57 per cent in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Figure 5). Only in three countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania and Kyrgyzstan) do one third or more households rely solely on non-violent discipline. Less than 10 per cent of households in 13 countries use only non-violent discipline, while 10 to 20 per cent of households in another 12 countries rely solely on non-violent discipline.

Thus, violent and non-violent disciplinary practices appear to operate hand-in-hand. The widespread use of both violent and non-violent forms of discipline in most countries may reflect caregivers' motivation to control children's behaviours by whatever means possible, regardless of whether the methods are violent or not. Yet the data do suggest a slight preference for non-violent discipline.

Combinations of disciplinary practices

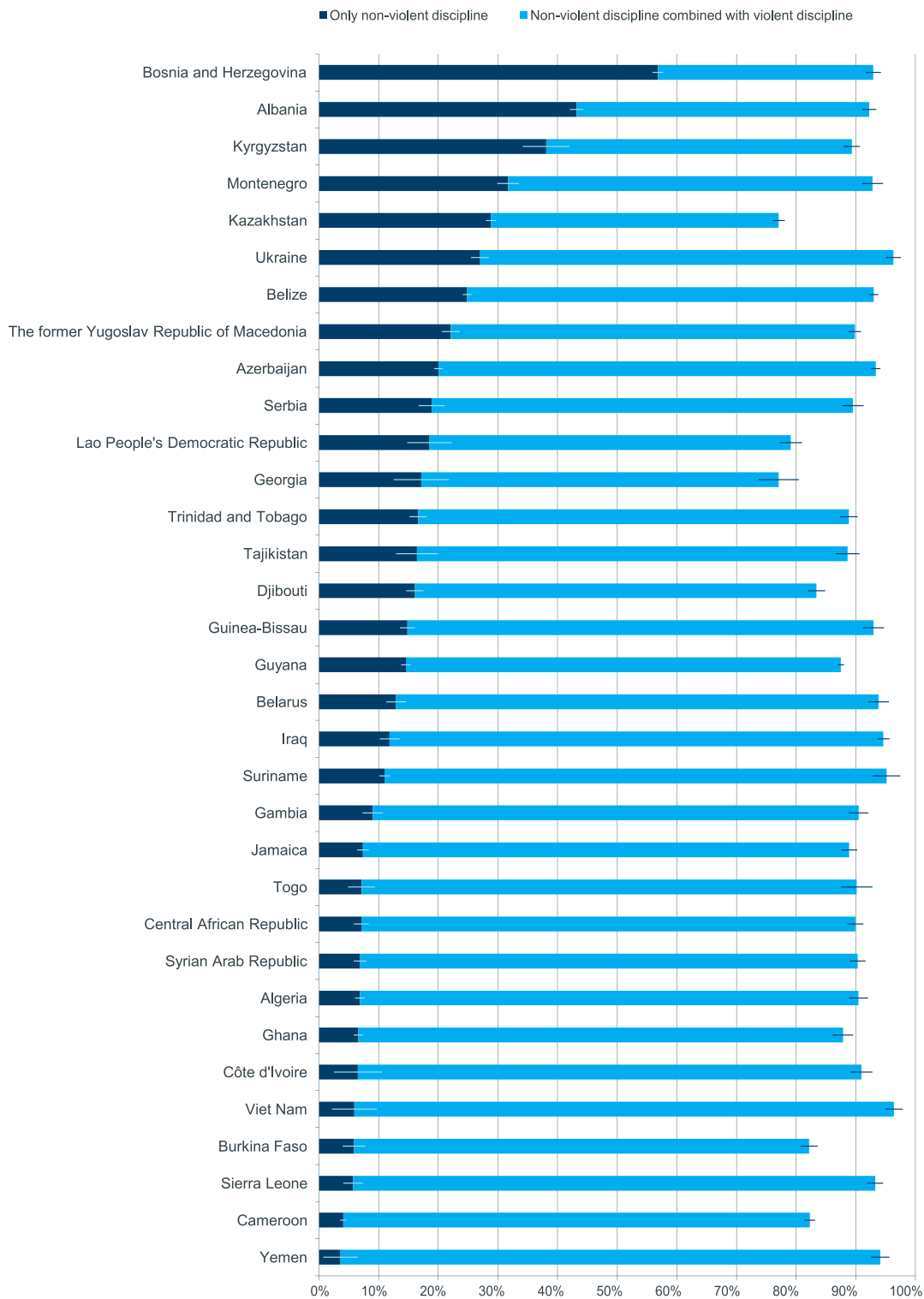
As illustrated earlier, the vast majority of children are subjected to both violent and non-violent disciplinary methods. Additionally, most respondents reported that children experienced more than one form of violent discipline. Certain combinations of disciplinary practices are more common than others. For each country surveyed, Figure 6 shows the distribution of the following five mutually exclusive forms of child discipline:

- Only non-violent discipline,
- Psychological aggression without physical punishment (with or without non-violent discipline),
- Physical punishment without psychological aggression (with or without non-violent discipline),
- Both psychological aggression and physical punishment (with or without non-violent discipline), and
- No form of discipline listed in the Child Discipline Module.

Figure 6 shows that in almost all of the countries surveyed, the majority of children experience both physical punishment and psychological aggression. This confirms that these two forms of violence are linked and occur together.



Figure 5. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced only non-violent discipline or non-violent discipline combined with violent discipline in the past month, by country, 2005–2006



> The majority of children are subjected to both violent and non-violent disciplinary methods.



➤ **Psychological aggression and physical punishment go hand in hand.**

Figure 6. Percentage distribution of children aged 2–14 by types of discipline experienced in the past month and by country, 2005–2006

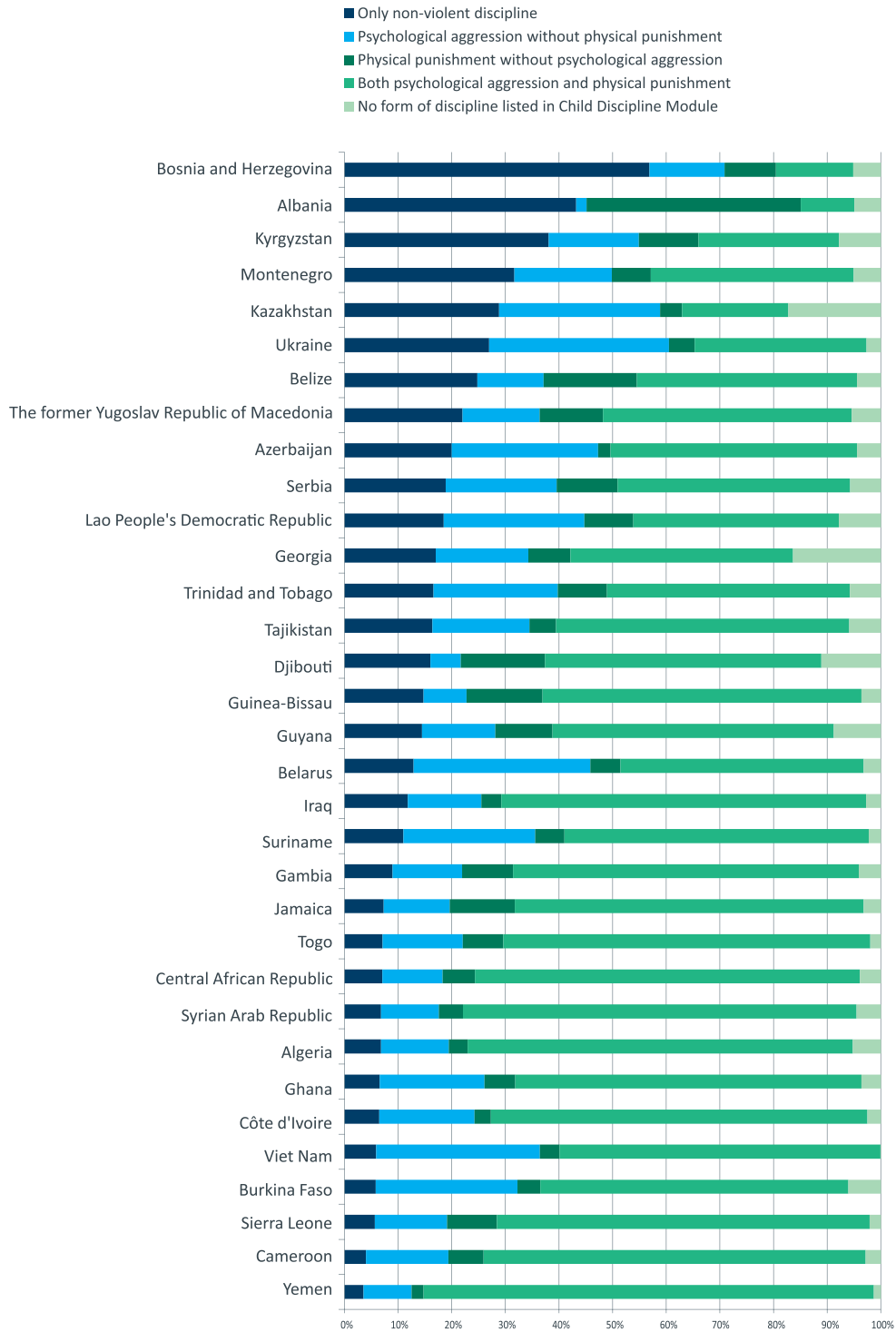




Table 10 presents summary data for additional combinations of disciplinary methods that are not mutually exclusive. In other words, certain children may be included in more than one of the categories listed in this table. This table presents the weighted average prevalence rate across all 33 of the countries included in the analysis.

On average, almost three in four children (73 per cent) experience both violent and non-violent disciplinary methods. Generally, children are more likely to experience both physical punishment and psychological aggression (46 per cent) than either one by itself. They are also far more likely to experience only psychological aggression (27 per cent) than only physical punishment (2 per cent). While 17 per cent of children, on average, are subjected to severe physical punishment, this form of discipline never occurs by itself and is always combined with some other form of discipline (data not shown).

A small number of children, 4 per cent on average, had not been disciplined in the past month using any of the methods listed in the Child Discipline Module. In Georgia and Kazakhstan, one in six children had not been disciplined with any of the methods listed. It is possible that caregivers were using other forms of discipline that were not included in the module. It is also possible that some of the children were absent from the households during the reference period for the questionnaire (i.e., the month preceding the survey) so the questions on child discipline were not applicable.

Table 10. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced different combinations of disciplinary methods in the past month, 2005–2006 (weighted average for the 33 countries with available data)

Combinations of disciplinary practices experienced by children	Estimate
VIOLENT DISCIPLINE	
Physical punishment, with or without psychological aggression and with or without non-violent discipline	48
Physical punishment without psychological aggression (with or without non-violent discipline)	2
Severe physical punishment, in combination with other forms of discipline	17
Psychological aggression, with or without physical punishment and with or without non-violent discipline	73
Psychological aggression without physical punishment (with or without non-violent discipline)	27
BOTH physical punishment and psychological aggression, with or without non-violent discipline	46
ANY violent discipline, with or without non-violent discipline	76
ONLY violent discipline	3
NON-VIOLENT DISCIPLINE	
ANY non-violent discipline, with or without violent discipline	93
ONLY non-violent discipline	20
BOTH VIOLENT AND NON-VIOLENT DISCIPLINE	73
NEITHER VIOLENT NOR NON-VIOLENT DISCIPLINE	4



Attitudes towards physical punishment

Understanding caregivers' beliefs about the best way to bring up a child is essential to interpreting the prevalence of violent discipline. It is also important for developing appropriate policy responses to the issue of violence in the home. Therefore, the Child Discipline Module asked the mother (or primary caregiver) of each child if she believed that in order to bring up (raise, educate) that child properly, she needed to physically punish him or her.

Responses vary widely across countries, as shown in Figure 7, but overall the data suggest that the belief in the need for physical punishment is not commonly accepted. In the 33 countries with available data, the percentage of mothers/primary caregivers who think physical punishment is necessary is consistently lower than the percentage of children aged 2–14 years who are subjected to this disciplinary method. The proportion of mothers/primary caregivers who believe in physical punishment ranges from a low of 5 per cent in Montenegro to a high of nearly 92 per cent in the Syrian Arab Republic. In half of the countries surveyed, less than one fourth of them believe in physical punishment. Only in two countries, the Syrian Arab Republic and Sierra Leone, do a majority of mothers/primary caregivers believe that physical punishment is a necessary aspect of child discipline.

These findings must be reconciled with the high rates of physical punishment documented by the surveys in most countries (see Figure 2). The data indicate that physical punishment is used in households where mothers/primary caregivers do not necessarily believe in the practice. Figures 8–9 provide some insight into this issue. They show the results of an analysis conducted at the country level to see whether mothers/primary caregivers' attitudes toward physical punishment are correlated with actual disciplinary practices in the household. The charts report the prevalence of physical punishment and non-violent discipline according to the respondent's belief in the need for physical punishment.

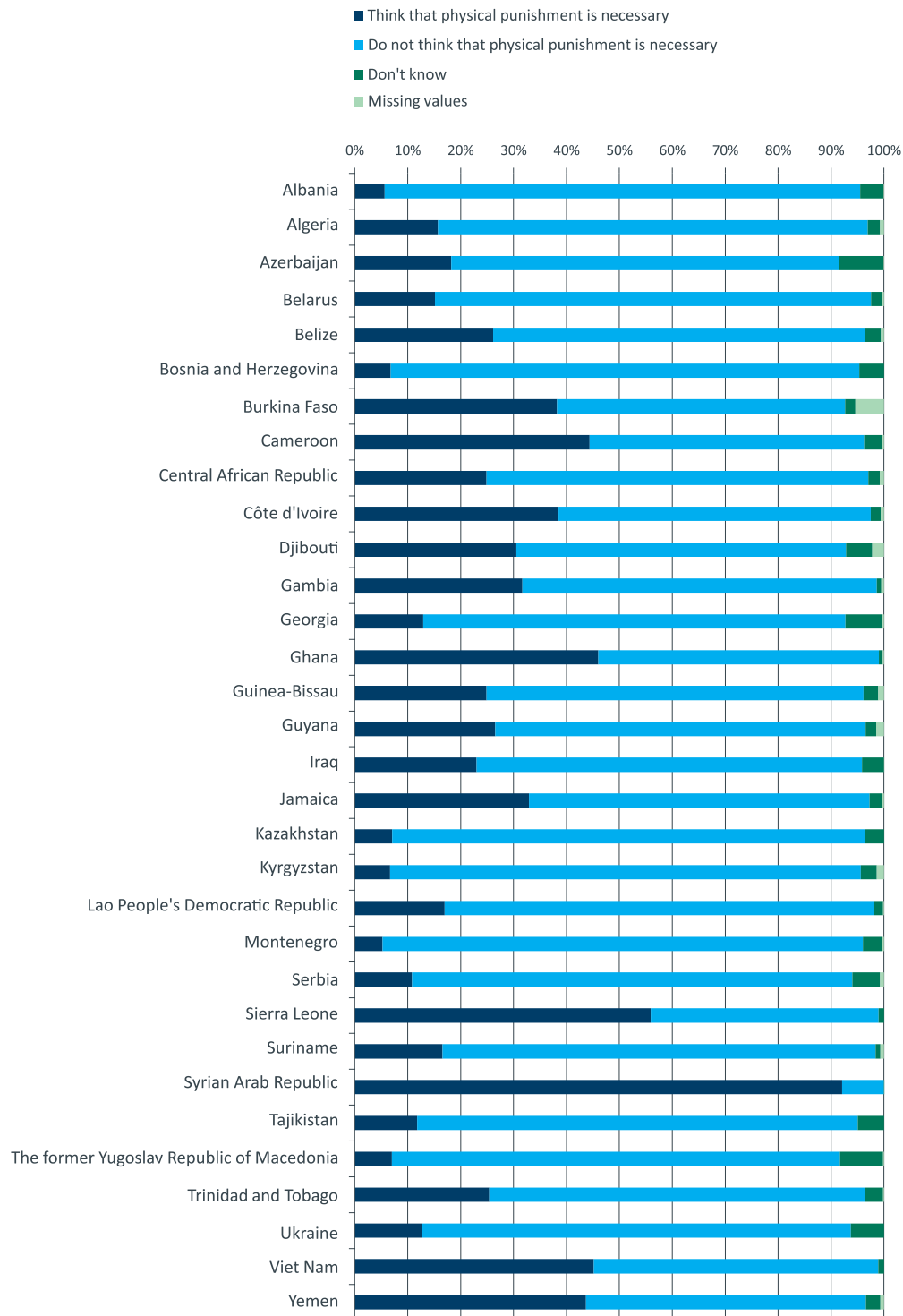
The results suggest that mothers/primary caregivers' beliefs do influence overall rates of violent discipline. In all but one country (The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), there is a significant association between the respondent's attitudes and the child's experience of physical punishment. Additionally, the direction of the association is the same in every country but one: Children are more likely to experience physical punishment by any member of the household if their mother/primary caregiver believes that physical punishment is necessary (Figure 8). In households where the mother/primary caregiver does not believe in physical punishment, the child is less likely to be subjected to it. The only exception to this pattern is the Syrian Arab Republic, where the mother/primary caregiver's belief in physical punishment is associated with lower levels of actual physical punishment. The results are similar for severe physical punishment (Figure A1, Annex 4). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that a significant proportion of children are still subjected to physical punishment even if their mother/primary caregiver does not consider physical punishment to be necessary.

The analysis of non-violent discipline shown in Figure 9 complements these results. In every country but the Syrian Arab Republic, children are more likely to experience only non-violent discipline if their mother/primary caregiver does not believe physical punishment is a necessary part of child rearing. The results are statistically significant for all countries.

Differences between attitudes and practices may be due to the fact that mothers/primary caregivers are not entirely responsible for a child's discipline. Fathers, older siblings and other relatives living in the household may use physical punishment even when mothers/primary caregivers do not support the practice. It may also reflect the perceived absence of alternative, non-violent methods for disciplining children.



Figure 7. Percentage distribution of mothers/primary caregivers according to their belief in the need for physical punishment, by country, 2005–2006

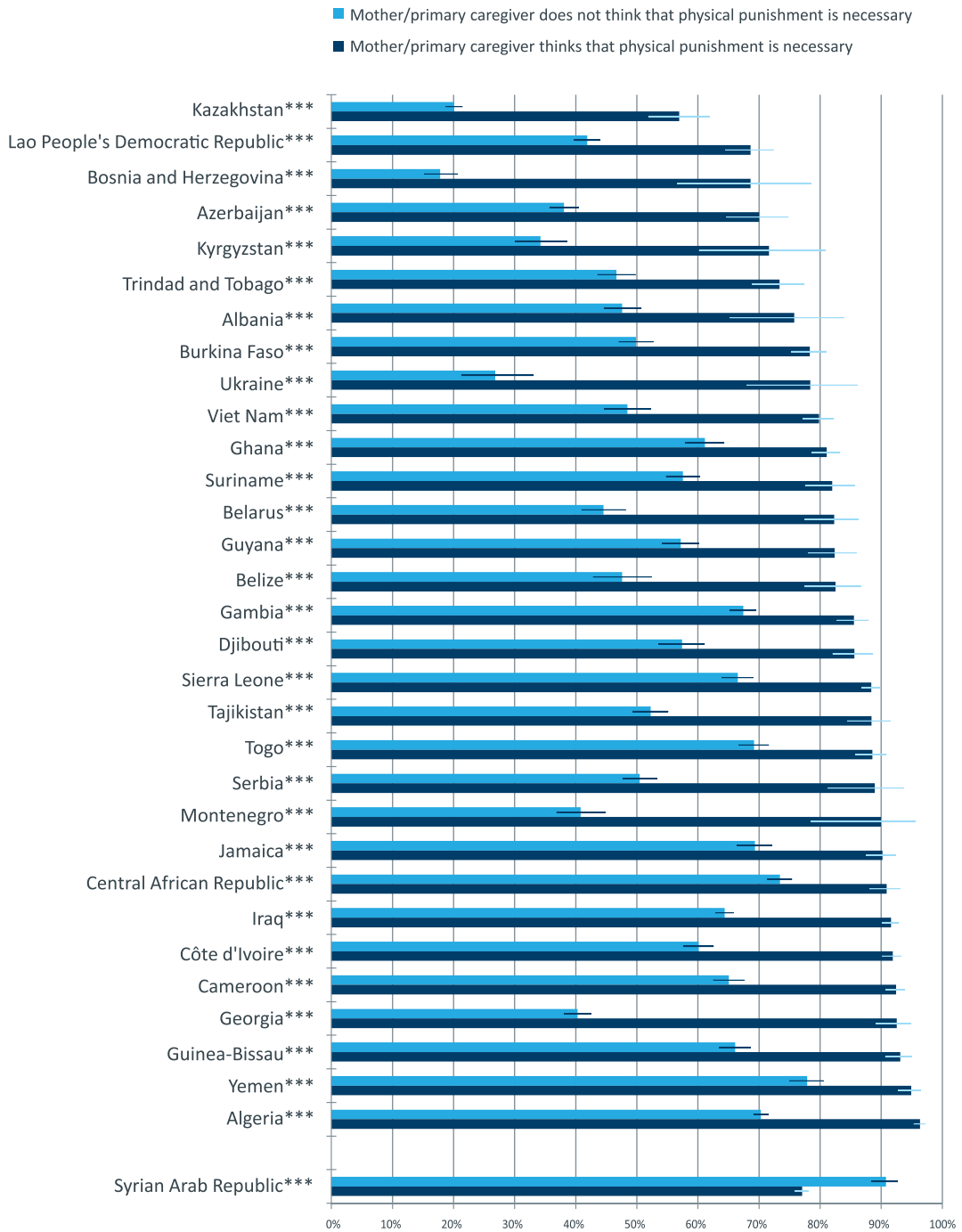


> **Most mothers and primary caregivers do not think that physical punishment is necessary.**



> A significantly smaller proportion of children is subjected to physical punishment if their mother or primary caregiver does not consider physical punishment to be necessary.

Figure 8. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced physical punishment in the past month according to the mother/primary caregiver’s belief in the need for physical punishment, in the 32 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006

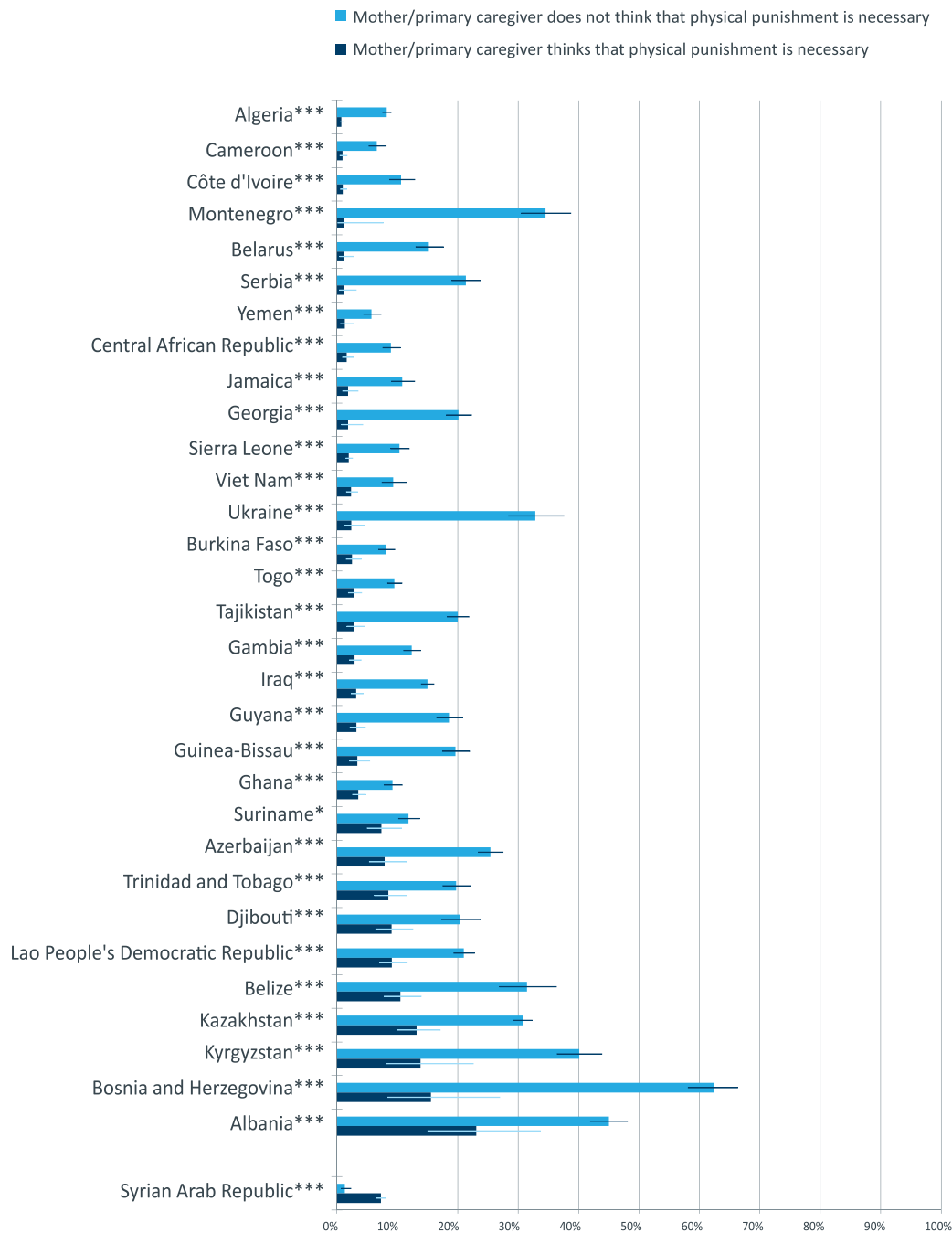


Note: The analysis included all 33 countries.

*** p ≤ .001 (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** p ≤ .01 (statistically significant at the 1% level); * p ≤ .05 (statistically significant at the 5% level).



Figure 9. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced only non-violent discipline in the past month, by mother/primary caregiver’s belief in the need for physical punishment, in the 32 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



> A purely non-violent approach to discipline is more likely when mothers and primary caregivers do not consider physical punishment necessary.

Note: The analysis included all 33 countries. *** p < .001 (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** p < .01 (statistically significant at the 1% level); * p < .05 (statistically significant at the 5% level).



Attitudes towards wife-beating and physical punishment

Many MICS and DHS surveys collect information on women's attitudes regarding wife-beating. The information is used to assess the acceptance of social norms regarding gender roles. Women are asked whether a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife if she goes out without telling him, neglects the children, argues with him, refuses sex with him or burns the food. These questions are posed to all women aged 15–49, regardless of their marital status or experience of domestic violence. Positive responses do not necessarily mean that women approve of wife-beating, but rather that they accept social norms that condone such practice.

Of the 33 countries that included the Child Discipline Module, 27 also asked about women's attitudes towards wife-beating. The data show that, on average, about two in five women justify wife-beating in at least one of the five circumstances listed above. By comparison, only one in five mothers/primary caregivers believe in the need for physical punishment of children. In 17 countries, the proportion of women who justify wife-beating was higher than the proportion of mothers/primary caregivers who consider physical punishment to be necessary; the reverse was true in 5 countries. Similar proportions justify both types of violence in the remaining countries.

A further analysis examined a subset of women who responded both to questions about wife-beating and to questions about child discipline. These women were aged 15–49, and each had a child aged 2–14. On average, only 15 per cent of these women justify both forms of violence (Table 11). Another 28 per cent did not justify either form of violence. Most women justify one form of violence but not the other: They were four times more likely to justify wife-beating (46 per cent) than physical punishment (11 per cent).

Table 11. Percentage of mothers/primary caregivers aged 15–49 who believe in the need for physical punishment and/or justify wife-beating, 2005–2006 (weighted average based on 27 countries with available data)

Type of violence justified	Estimate
Physical punishment only	11
Wife-beating only	46
Both physical punishment and wife-beating	15
Neither physical punishment nor wife-beating	28

Relationship of socio-demographic characteristics with disciplinary practices

This section analyses the variability in violent discipline within countries. It uses socio-demographic data gathered by the MICS and DHS surveys to examine whether various factors at the individual and family levels affect the likelihood of violent disciplinary practices in the countries surveyed.

Research in both developed and developing countries has identified a series of family-related risk factors for the use of violence in child rearing practices. Children from families with low parental



education, low income and overcrowding are more likely to experience violent discipline. All three of these factors are indicative of low socio-economic status and lack of resources, which, in turn, often contribute to parental stress and violence.⁴³ Young and single parents also tend to be more violent,⁴⁴ and the likelihood of violent child disciplinary practices is heightened by the presence of other forms of violence in the home.⁴⁵

Certain characteristics of children themselves are also associated with victimization. Previous studies have found that boys are more likely to be punished violently than girls.⁴⁶ Violent disciplinary methods are more often used with younger children than adolescents.⁴⁷

Sex of child

Previous research has indicated that boys experience greater rates of violent discipline than girls.⁴⁸ The analysis of the MICS and DHS data confirms that boys do tend to be at greater risk than girls, but only in a subset of countries. There is no significant difference in the prevalence of violent child discipline by the child's sex in 17 of the 33 countries surveyed. In the remaining 16 countries, which are shown in Figure 10, a slightly higher percentage of boys than girls experience violent discipline. Ukraine exhibits the greatest difference in rates of violent discipline between boys and girls: over 11 percentage points.

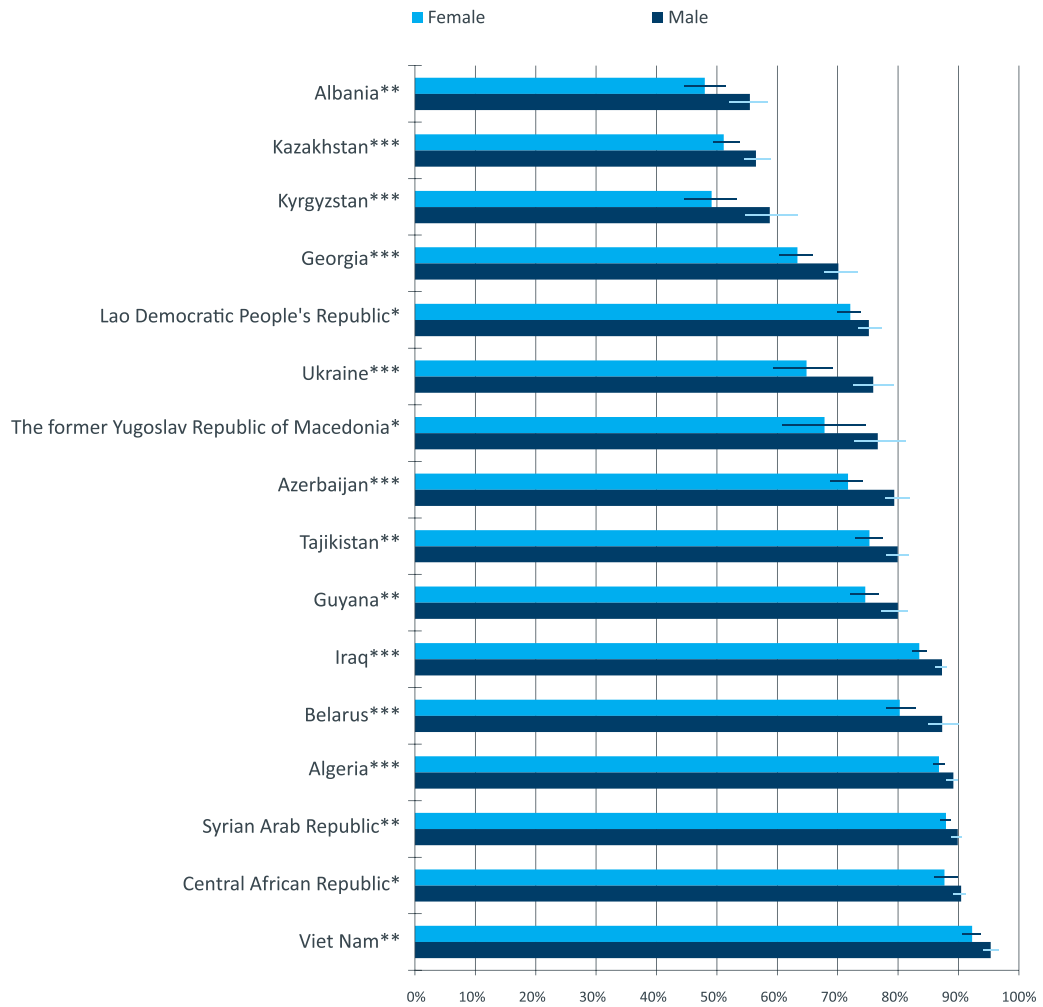
Table 12 presents a further analysis of differences by sex of the child, using various subscales of violent discipline. In most countries the disparity in how boys and girls are treated is smallest for psychological aggression and greatest for severe physical punishment.





➤ In half of the countries surveyed, there is no difference in the prevalence of violent discipline between boys and girls. In the remaining countries, boys are slightly more likely to be subjected to violent disciplinary practices.

Figure 10. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by sex of child, in the 16 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included all 33 countries.
 *** p ≤ .001 (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** p ≤ .01 (statistically significant at the 1% level); * p ≤ .05 (statistically significant at the 5% level).



Table 12. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced different forms of violent discipline in the past month by sex of child and male-female ratio, by country, 2005–2006

Country	Psychological aggression			Physical punishment			Severe physical punishment		
	Per cent		Male-female ratio	Per cent		Male-female ratio	Per cent		Male-female ratio
	Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female	
Albania	12	12	1.0	54	46	1.2	11	8	1.3
Algeria	86	83	1.0	78	73	1.1	27	23	1.2
Azerbaijan	77	70	1.1	52	45	1.2	19	15	1.2
Belarus	82	75	1.1	55	46	1.2	2	2	1.3
Belize	53	54	1.0	61	56	1.1	9	7	1.2
Bosnia and Herzegovina	31	26	1.2	26	22	1.2	3	4	0.7
Burkina Faso	85	83	1.0	64	60	1.1	22	20	1.1
Cameroon	88	86	1.0	79	77	1.0	28	27	1.1
Central African Republic	84	82	1.0	79	76	1.0	35	33	1.1
Côte d'Ivoire	88	88	1.0	74	73	1.0	22	23	1.0
Djibouti	58	56	1.0	68	66	1.0	25	19	1.3
Gambia	77	78	1.0	75	73	1.0	24	23	1.1
Georgia	62	56	1.1	53	46	1.1	23	17	1.3
Ghana	85	83	1.0	72	69	1.0	10	11	1.1
Guinea-Bissau	68	68	1.0	75	73	1.0	31	28	1.1
Guyana	69	64	1.1	67	60	1.1	17	17	1.0
Iraq	84	80	1.1	75	69	1.1	32	30	1.1
Jamaica	79	76	1.0	80	75	1.1	11	6	1.8
Kazakhstan	53	47	1.1	27	21	1.3	1	0.4	2.6
Kyrgyzstan	49	37	1.3	39	36	1.1	3	3	1.0
Lao People's Democratic Republic	66	63	1.0	50	45	1.1	9	8	1.1
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	63	58	1.1	61	55	1.1	20	13	1.6
Montenegro	58	54	1.1	48	41	1.2	8	4	2.1
Serbia	64	64	1.0	57	53	1.1	9	6	1.4
Sierra Leone	83	83	1.0	79	79	1.0	23	24	1.0
Suriname	82	80	1.0	65	60	1.1	12	8	1.5
Syrian Arab Republic	86	83	1.0	80	76	1.1	25	22	1.1
Tajikistan	75	71	1.1	62	57	1.1	20	16	1.3
Togo	83	84	1.0	76	76	1.0	29	24	1.2
Trinidad and Tobago	68	69	1.0	57	52	1.1	6	5	1.3
Ukraine	71	60	1.2	41	32	1.3	2	2	1.0
Viet Nam	91	89	1.0	69	56	1.2	13	7	1.8
Yemen	93	93	1.0	87	85	1.0	47	41	1.2

Note: A ratio of 1.0 indicates that males and females are equally likely to experience a violent disciplinary method. Ratios greater than 1.0 indicate that males are more likely than females to experience violent discipline. Values less than 1.0 indicate the opposite, that females are more likely than males to experience violent discipline.



Age of child

Previous research has found that younger children, especially those aged 5–9, are more likely to experience violent punishment than older children.⁴⁹ To examine the association between age and the prevalence of violent discipline, children were divided into three age groups: 2–4 years, 5–9 years and 10–14 years.

Child's age is associated with violent discipline in most of the countries in the current study, and as research suggests, violent discipline generally peaks in the 5–9 year age group. In 12 of the 33 countries included in the analysis there is no association between violent discipline and child's age. Figure 11 illustrates the results for the other 21 countries, where child's age is significantly associated with the likelihood of violent discipline. In all but three of these countries, the association between age and violent discipline is not linear. Rather, the prevalence of violent discipline initially increases with age, peaks at age 5–9, and then falls in the oldest age group. The three exceptions are Djibouti and Sierra Leone, where the prevalence of violent discipline consistently rises with age and peaks among 10- to 14-year-olds, and Trinidad and Tobago, where violent discipline is highest among 2- to 4-year-olds and then consistently decreases with age. The greatest difference in violent discipline by child's age can be observed in Ukraine, where an 18-percentage-point gap separates the two younger age groups and a 12-percentage-point gap separates the two older age groups.

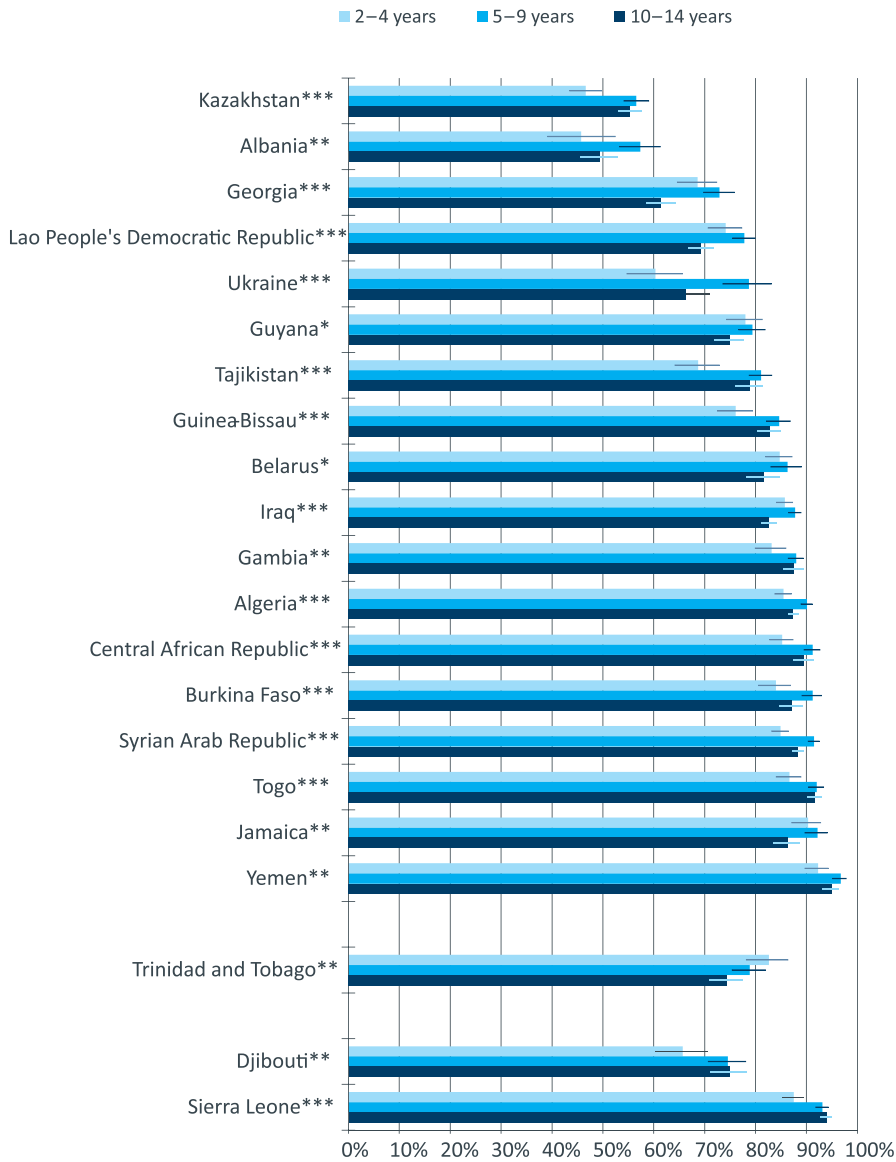
A comparison of the 2–4 year and 10–14 year age groups shows that very young children are less likely to experience violent discipline than adolescents in 14 countries, while the reverse is true in 7 countries. Further research is required to better understand why the prevalence of violent discipline generally peaks among children aged 5–9.



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Figure 11. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by age of child, in the 21 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



> Children aged 5–9 years are more likely to experience violent discipline in the majority of countries.

Note: The analysis included all 33 countries.
 *** p ≤ .001 (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** p ≤ .01 (statistically significant at the 1% level); * p ≤ .05 (statistically significant at the 5% level).



Table 13 analyses violent discipline by both age and sex of the child. It indicates that boys aged 5–9 are at greater risk of experiencing violent discipline than all other children (i.e., younger and older boys as well as girls of all ages). In contrast, girls aged 10–14 are less likely to be subjected to any form of violent discipline than all other children. Compared with younger children, both boys and girls aged 10–14 are more likely to experience only psychological aggression without physical punishment, although differences between age groups are slightly greater for boys than for girls.

Table 13. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced different forms of violent discipline in the past month, by sex and age of child, 2005–2006 (weighted average based on the 33 countries with available data)

Age group	Any violent discipline		Physical punishment		Psychological aggression only	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
2–4 years	75	74	50	49	24	25
5–9 years	82	76	58	50	24	27
10–14 years	79	67	48	39	31	29

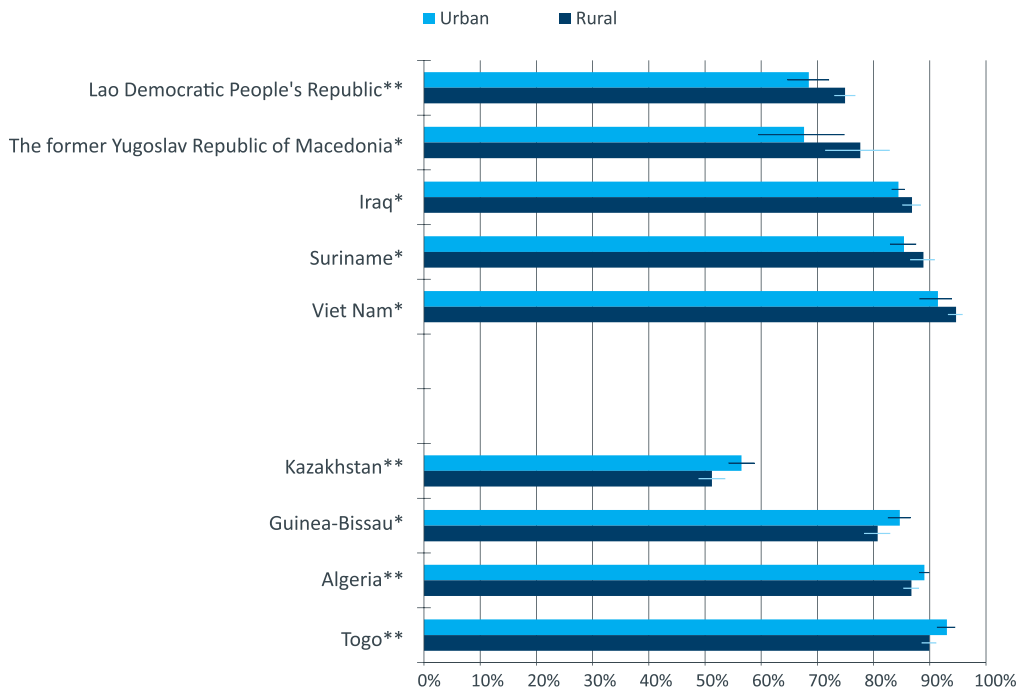
Place of residence

Previous research is not conclusive regarding the association between urban-rural residence and the prevalence of violent child discipline. While some studies have found that rural children experience more violent discipline than urban children,⁵⁰ other studies have failed to find any significant difference between rural and urban areas.⁵¹

This analysis does not show a consistent relationship between urban-rural residence and the prevalence of violent child discipline. Every country but Trinidad and Tobago collected information about urban-rural residence. There is no significant difference in the prevalence of violent discipline between urban and rural areas in 23 of these 32 countries. In the remaining nine countries, presented in Figure 12, there is a significant association between residence and child disciplinary practices, but the direction varies. Rural children are significantly more likely than urban children to be subjected to violent discipline in five countries: Iraq, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Suriname, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Viet Nam. In contrast, rural children are significantly less likely than urban children to experience violent discipline in four other countries: Algeria, Guinea-Bissau, Kazakhstan and Togo. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia shows the greatest difference in the use of violent discipline by place of residence: 10 percentage points.



Figure 12. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by place of residence, in the nine countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



> **Urban-rural residence is not significantly and consistently associated with violent discipline.**

Note: The analysis included 32 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (urban and rural).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

Household size

Previous research has identified household size and overcrowding as risk factors for violent discipline against children.⁵² MICS and DHS surveys recorded the number of people living in the household. For the purposes of analysis, households were divided into the following three categories based on the number of their members: two to three people, four to five people and six or more people.*

Larger household size is a risk factor for violent child discipline in less than half of the countries surveyed. All 33 countries surveyed were included in the analysis, but no significant difference in the prevalence of violent child discipline by household size was found in 19 countries. Figure 13 shows the results for the other 14 countries, where there is an association between household size and the use of violent disciplinary practices. All but one of these countries exhibits the same pattern: The smaller the number of people in the household, the less likely it is that a child will experience any physical punishment or psychological aggression. This is consistent with findings from other countries such as the United States and India.⁵³ Yemen is the one exception to the prevailing pattern: Children in mid-sized households are the least likely to experience violent discipline.

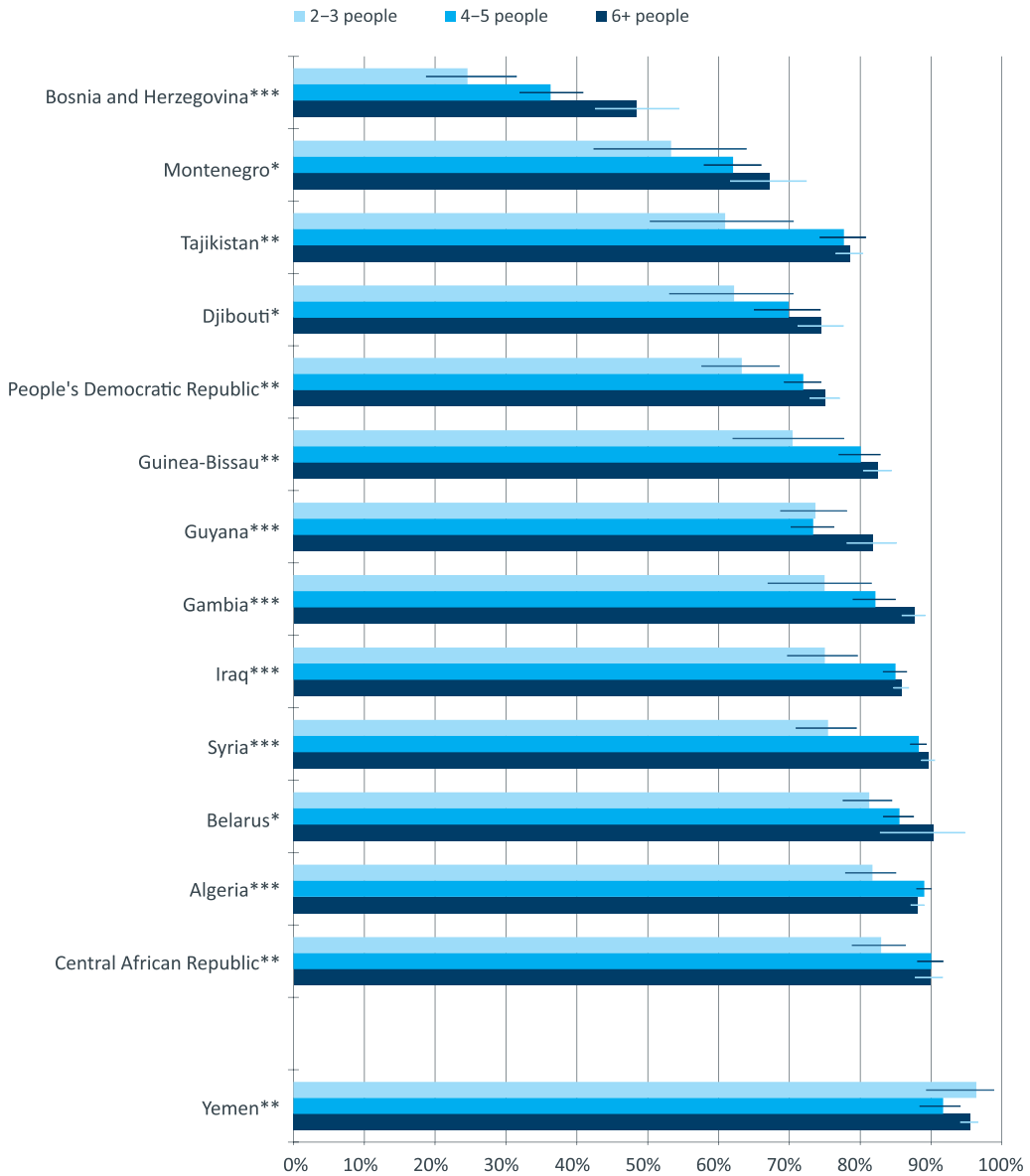
When interpreting these data, it must be remembered that the standard MICS and DHS questionnaire measured child discipline administered by all members of the family, not just the mother/primary

* Because the sampled child is counted as a household member, there are a minimum of two members per household..



caregiver. Presumably, the more people there are in a household, the greater the chance that a child will receive violent discipline from one of them. A further analysis found that the prevalence of violent discipline is also significantly associated with the total number of children in the household in some of the countries surveyed.

Figure 13. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by number of household members, in the 14 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



> Larger household size is a risk factor for violent discipline in less than half of the countries.

Note: The analysis included all 33 countries.
 *** p ≤ .001 (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** p ≤ .01 (statistically significant at the 1% level); * p ≤ .05 (statistically significant at the 5% level).



Presence of parents in the household

Previous research suggests that children in single-parent households are more likely to experience violent discipline than children living with both parents.⁵⁴ To test whether children's living arrangements are a risk factor for violent child discipline, the sampled children were divided into three categories depending on whether they lived with both biological parents, only one of their biological parents (either the father or the mother) or neither parent.

In 20 of the 33 countries surveyed, at least four fifths of children live with both biological parents, and very few children have no parent at home. Children are less likely to live with both biological parents in the remaining 13 countries, which include all 5 of the countries surveyed in Latin America and the Caribbean and 8 out of 9 countries surveyed in West and Central Africa (Burkina Faso is the exception). Only 36 per cent of children live with both biological parents in Jamaica, while 58 per cent to 70 per cent of children live with both biological parents in the other countries. In Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone and Togo, about one fifth of children have only one parent at home and one sixth do not live with either parent. The high rates of children living with just one or no biological parents in Africa may reflect socio-economic conditions, generalized social unrest or the spread of HIV/AIDS. In Jamaica, about half of all children live with only one parent. This is largely due to the practice of matrifocality – in which women and their children are the fundamental family unit – among Afro-Caribbean families.⁵⁵

The analysis failed to find a consistent relationship between children's living arrangements and the likelihood of violent discipline. Eight countries were excluded from the analysis because so few children had no parents at home. In 15 of the remaining 25 countries, there is no association between children's living arrangements and the likelihood of experiencing violent discipline. Figure 14 presents the findings for the ten countries where the use of violent discipline varies significantly with the presence of parents in the home. In seven of these countries, the percentage of children with no biological parents at home who experienced violent discipline is significantly smaller than the percentage of children living with one or both parents who experienced violent methods.

When single-parent households are compared with two-parent households, the findings are mixed. Violent discipline is more common in single-parent households in the six countries of Azerbaijan, Ghana, Jamaica, Kazakhstan, Togo, and Trinidad and Tobago. It is less common in single-parent households in the other four countries, especially in Georgia and Tajikistan. The results from these four countries, as well as the lack of association between the number of parents and the use of violent discipline, differ from previous findings of vulnerability of children in single-parent families and call for further examination.

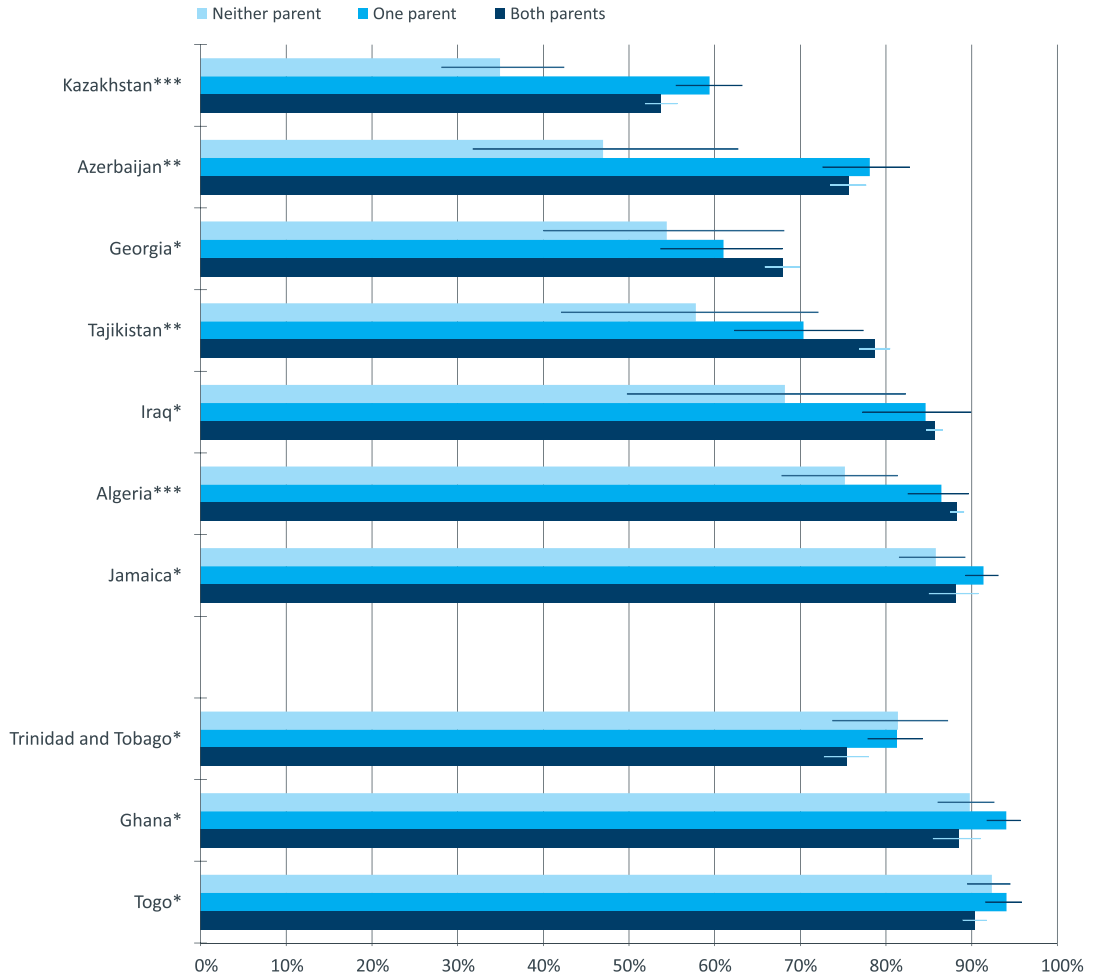


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> There is no association between parents' presence in the home and the likelihood of experiencing violent discipline.

Figure 14. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by presence of biological parents in the home, in the 10 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 25 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (neither, one and both biological parents in the home). *** p ≤ .001 (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** p ≤ .01 (statistically significant at the 1% level); * p ≤ .05 (statistically significant at the 5% level).



Marital status and type of marital union

Previous studies have found that single mothers are somewhat more likely to use violent discipline than married mothers.⁵⁶ The MICS and DHS women's questionnaire asked women aged 15 to 49 if they were currently married, living together with a man as if married or not in union. For the purposes of analysis, the first two categories were combined and coded as 'in union'. Since marital status was only known for women between the ages of 15 and 49, children of younger or older mothers were not included in the analysis. Information on marital status was available for 29 of the 33 countries surveyed. The percentage of mothers/primary caregivers who were not in union was highest in three countries of Latin American and the Caribbean: Jamaica, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago. In these countries, over one fifth of women were not in union.

The results show no consistent relationship between marital status and the likelihood of violent child discipline. In the vast majority of countries in the analysis, 25 of 29, there is no association between violent discipline and mother/primary caregiver's marital status. Findings in the remaining four countries are divided (Figure 15). Children of women who are not in union are less likely to experience violent discipline in Tajikistan and The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, but they are more likely to experience violent discipline in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

Marital violence and violent child discipline in Egypt

The literature suggests that violent child discipline is more likely to occur in households where domestic violence is practised. To test the association between domestic violence and violent discipline, a further analysis examined data from the 2005 Egypt DHS survey. This survey asked women about various forms of marital violence, including physical violence (such as slapping, arm twisting, shaking, punching, kicking and choking) and emotional violence (such as public humiliation and threats of harm). The questions were posed to one ever-married woman aged 15–49 in each household selected for anaemia testing.

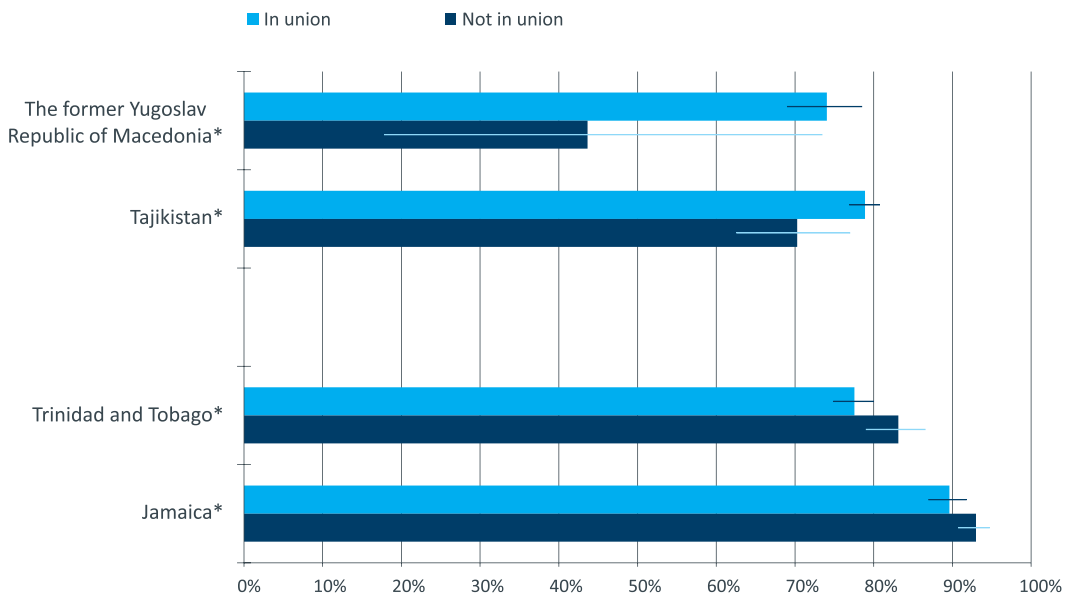
The analysis focused on a subsample of women who answered questions regarding their experience both with marital violence and child discipline; this subsample included ever-married women aged 15–49 with a child aged 3–14. It should be noted that the 2005 Egypt DHS only asked about disciplinary methods used by the mother herself and not about disciplinary methods used by other household members.

Overall, about one in five women in the subsample had been subjected to emotional or physical violence in the past 12 months, and 95 per cent of the women reported using violent discipline disciplinary practices with a child in the past month. The findings show a small, but significant, positive relationship between mothers' experience of domestic violence and their use of violent disciplinary methods. Given the high rate of violent child discipline, the differences are necessarily small: Children were only slightly more likely to have experienced violent discipline if their mothers were victims of domestic violence (97 per cent) than if they were not (94 per cent). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the rate of domestic violence was almost double among women who practised violent discipline (23 per cent) than among women who did not (12 per cent). These findings seem to support the notion that violent behaviours directed at any household member are associated with violence against other household members. This suggests that eliminating one form of violence in the home may have a positive impact on all members of the household.



➤ **Mother/primary caregiver's marital status is not significantly and consistently associated with violent discipline in most countries.**

Figure 15. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by marital status of mother/primary caregiver aged 15–49, in the four countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



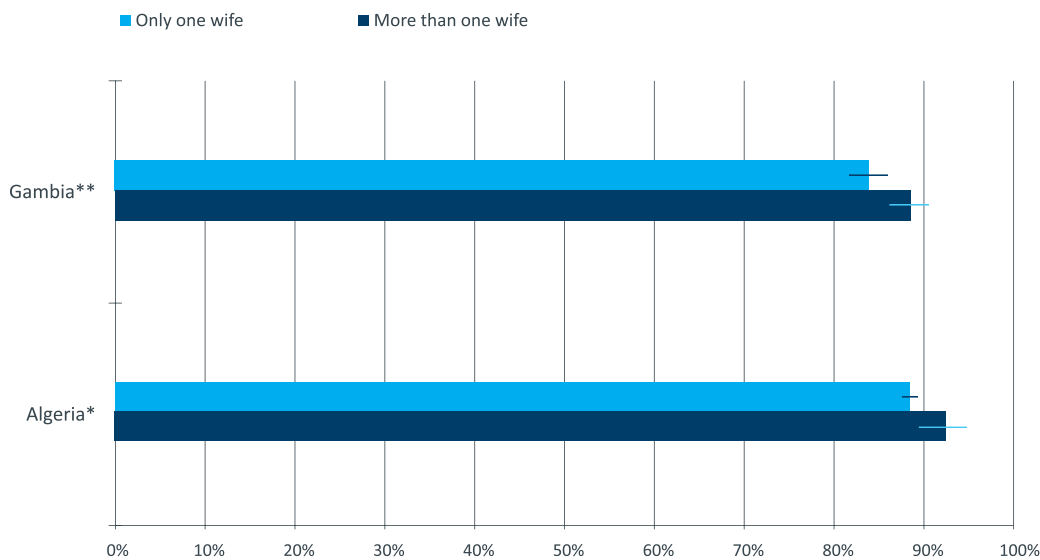
Note: The analysis included 29 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (in union and not in union).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

Another analysis examined whether the prevalence of violent discipline is related to the type of marital union, i.e., monogamous or polygamous. At least one study suggests that the practice of polygyny – in which a man takes more than one wife – has negative effects on the psychosocial adjustment of male adolescents.⁵⁷

Nine of the countries that administered the Child Discipline Module also collected data on polygyny as part of the women’s questionnaire. The findings suggest that polygyny has no or little impact on violent child discipline. There was no significant association between polygyny and violent discipline in seven of the nine countries with data available. In the remaining two countries, Algeria and the Gambia, violent discipline was more common in households practicing polygyny, but the differences were small (Figure 16).



Figure 16. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by polygyny, in the two countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



> Polygyny has no or limited impact on violent discipline.

Note: The analysis included 9 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (one wife and more than one wife).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

Age of caregivers

It is difficult to tease out the unique effect of parental age on violent discipline because age is associated with other risk factors, such as substance use and impulse control problems, that may be more closely tied with violent discipline. Some studies have found that younger mothers are more likely to use violent disciplinary practices,⁵⁸ while others have failed to find significant associations between mother's age and the use of violent discipline.⁵⁹

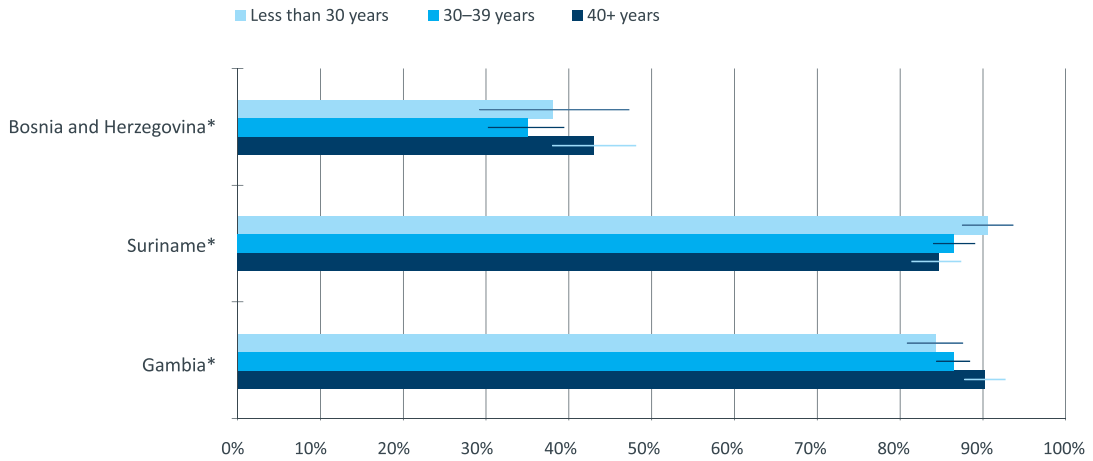
Unlike previous studies, the analysis presented here does not focus only on mother's age. Instead, the ages of all adult household members (defined here as those aged 15 or older) were averaged, because the standard questionnaire gathered information on disciplinary practices employed by all household members, not just the mother/primary caregiver. Average adult age in the household was recoded into three categories: 15–29 years, 30–39 years and over 39 years.

The analysis found that younger caregivers do not pose a risk factor for violent child discipline. A statistically significant association between the average age of all adults in the household and violent discipline is found in just 3 of the 33 countries surveyed, and each of those 3 countries exhibits a different pattern (Figure 17). In Suriname the likelihood of using violent discipline consistently decreases with age, while in the Gambia it consistently increases with age. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the use of violent discipline is lowest in the 30–39 year age group.



> Age of caregivers is not a risk factor for violent discipline.

Figure 17. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by average adult age in the household, in the three countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included all 33 countries.
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

Education of caregivers

Previous research has found that less educated parents are more likely to engage in violent discipline than their peers.⁶⁰ Education has been found to have a significant effect on parenting that is independent of its association with socio-economic status, as indicated by occupation or income.⁶¹ A study by Tapia Uribe and colleagues⁶² suggests that maternal education influences both women’s preferences (e.g., reducing the number of children desired) and their behaviours (e.g., limiting family size and increasing verbal responsiveness with their young children), even after controlling for the effects of socio-economic status. These preferences and behaviours are associated with less violent forms of discipline. Tapia Uribe and colleagues propose that the emphasis placed by schools on verbal interaction and language use provides the mechanism through which education eventually influences parenting. By teaching children to use language and interact with the world verbally, schools provide the foundation needed later in life for parents to be able to deal with their children through non-violent language, rather than resorting to psychological aggression or physical punishment. Alternatively, it is possible that the effect of higher education on child discipline is related to the information and attitudes to which students are exposed in school.

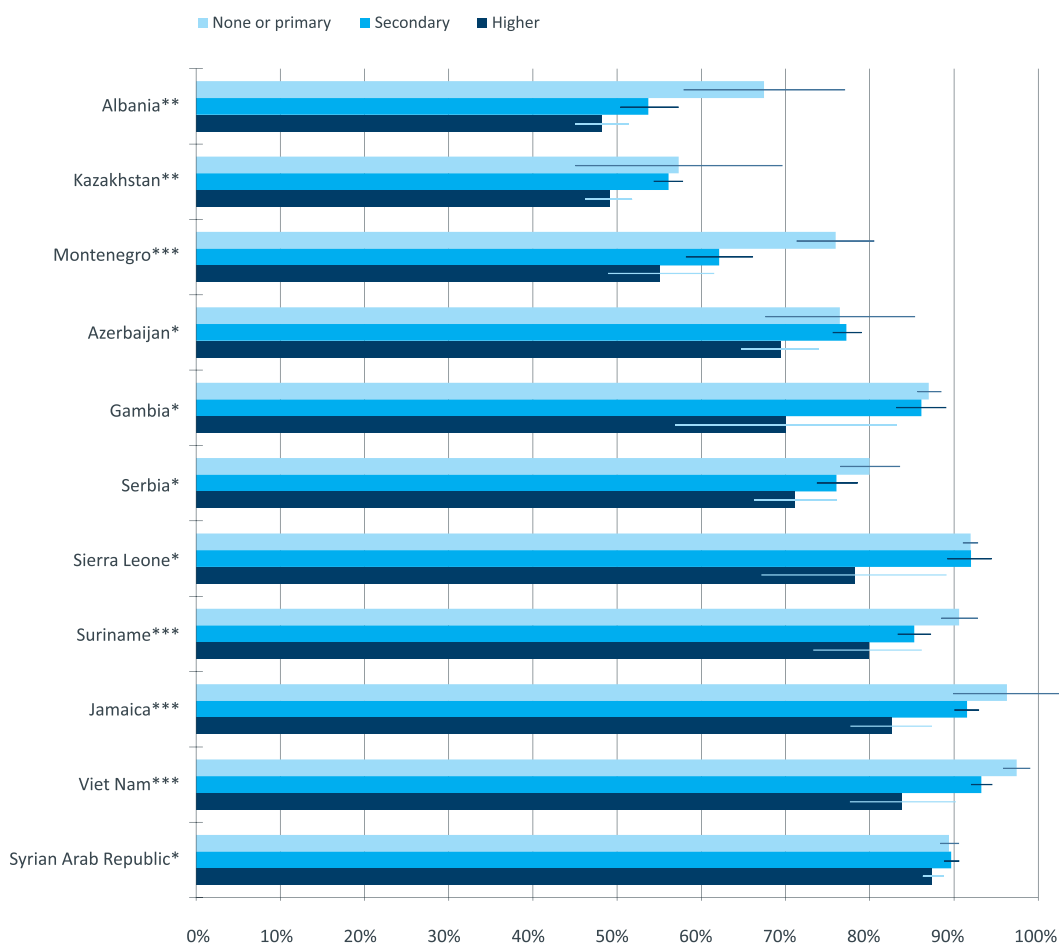
The MICS and DHS surveys collected information on the educational level of each household member. Most countries divided education into the following four categories: none (including any education up to kindergarten); primary; secondary; and higher. Some countries had a separate category for university. For the purposes of this analysis, none and primary are combined into a single category, as are higher and university education. This yields a total of three educational groups: none or primary, secondary, and higher. Because the Child Discipline Module collected information on disciplinary practices employed by all household members, the initial analysis looks at average education for all adults in the household. A further analysis focuses on the educational level of the primary caregivers, including mothers.



The findings confirm that limited education is a risk factor for violent child discipline, but only in some countries. There is no association between average household education and the use of any violent discipline in 15 of the 26 countries included in the analysis. In each of the remaining 11 countries, higher education is significantly associated with lower levels of violent discipline (Figure 18). Furthermore, the difference in levels of violent discipline between educational groups is at least 5 percentage points in every country but one (the Syrian Arab Republic) and reaches 21 percentage points in Montenegro.

Figure 19 shows the results of the further analysis of the educational level of mothers/primary caregivers. The findings are slightly more marked than those for average household education. The mother/primary caregiver's education is significantly associated with the use of violent discipline in just over half of countries with available data (13 of 24 countries), such that children of mothers/primary caregivers with higher education are the least likely to receive violent discipline. The difference between educational groups is at least 5 percentage points, with a high of 17 percentage points in Azerbaijan.

Figure 18. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by average household education, in the 11 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



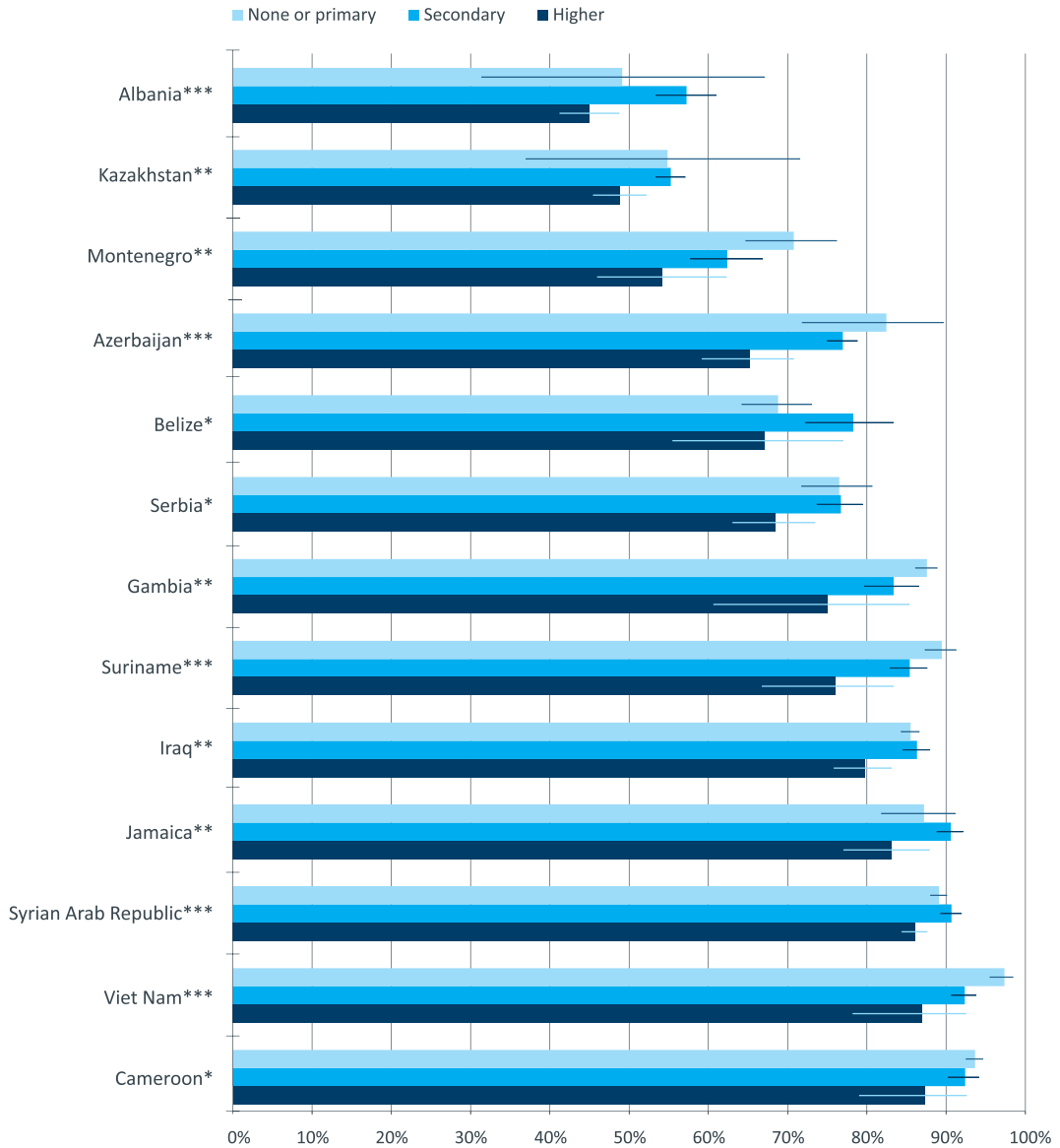
> Children raised in more educated households are less likely to experience violent discipline in fewer than half of the countries.

Note: The analysis included 26 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (none/primary, secondary, and higher education).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).



> Children raised by more educated mothers/primary caregivers are less likely to experience violent discipline in slightly more than half of the countries.

Figure 19. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by education of mother/primary caregiver, in the 13 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 24 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (none/primary, secondary, and higher education).
 *** p ≤ .001 (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** p ≤ .01 (statistically significant at the 1% level); * p ≤ .05 (statistically significant at the 5% level).



Family wealth

Wealth is an important, but complex variable that may encompass and reflect the possession of tangible assets as well as access to knowledge and other intangible privileges. There are many potential links between wealth and child discipline. One possibility is that wealth allows parents to provide children with additional stimulation inside and outside of the home, for example, by supplying more toys or paying for assistance with child care; this may reduce child misbehaviour and make parenting easier. Alternatively, wealth may be associated with some intangible mediating variable that is closely tied to how parents behave. For example, wealthy parents may be more knowledgeable about alternative parenting methods because of their greater access to books and health care resources. Poverty, on the contrary, can contribute to pervasive stress in the environment and the home, which tends to increase the use of violent discipline. Thus, there is reason to believe that wealthier households may resort to violent disciplinary practices less often.

Previous research has revealed an association between family wealth and parenting practices. A meta-analysis of risk factors for physical abuse of children found that socio-economic status had a small but significant effect.⁶³ Hashima and Amato found a negative relationship between income and violent parenting in a national sample in the United States.⁶⁴ Belsky and colleagues found that all five indicators of socio-economic status (income, maternal education, maternal age, lone parenthood and ethnic status) were correlated with all three measures of parenting (warmth, negativity and positive control), such that low socio-economic status was associated with poor parenting.⁶⁵ They concluded that parenting significantly mediated the effect of socio-economic status on children's general health.

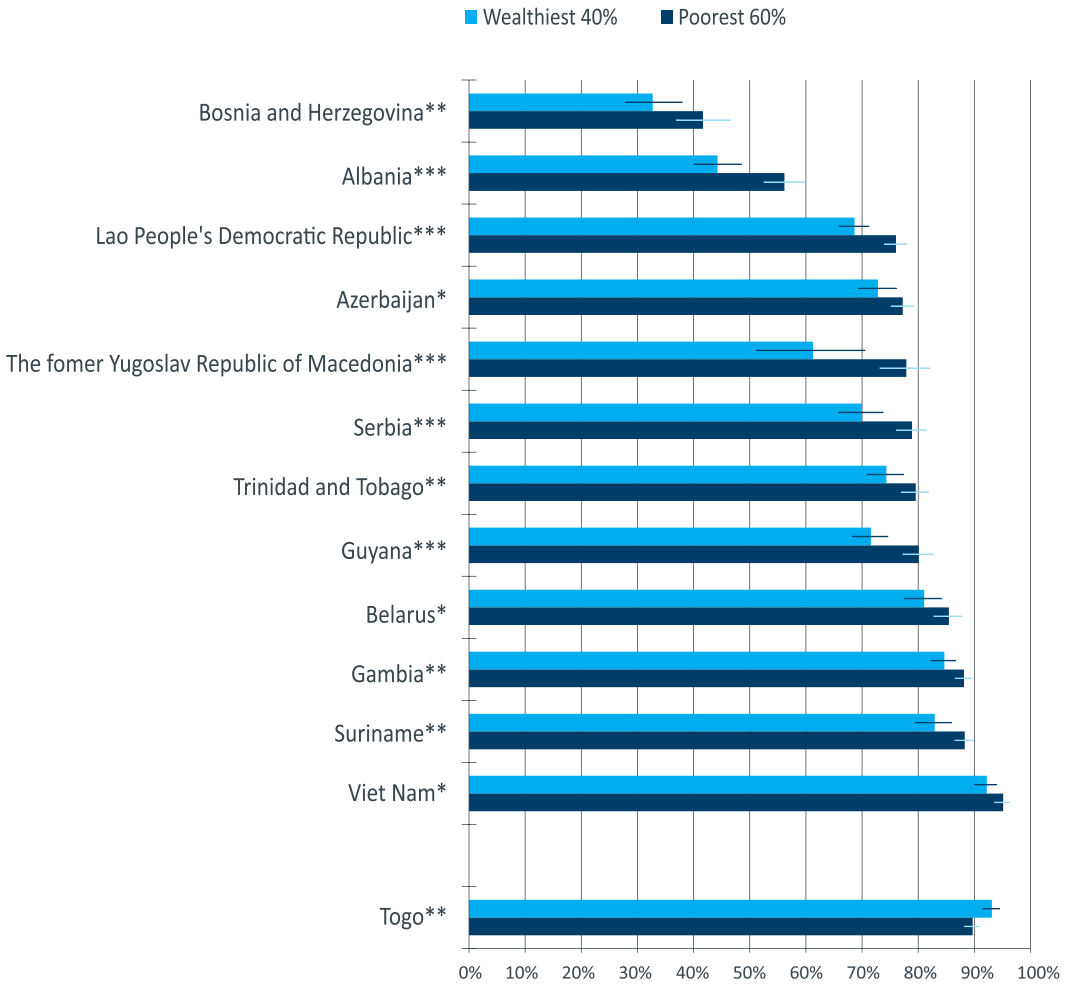
The current analysis employs the MICS and DHS index of family wealth, which assesses relative rather than absolute wealth. The wealthiest 40 per cent of households in a country, based on household assets, are grouped together and contrasted with the poorest 60 per cent of households in that same country. Although the relative economic position of a household can be compared across countries, the absolute level of wealth varies from country to country.

The findings indicate that wealth does tend to reduce the use of violent disciplinary practices, but it does not have a significant impact in every country. There is no association between family wealth and any violent discipline in 17 of the 30 countries included in the analysis. In all but one of the remaining 13 countries, children from poorer households are more likely to experience violent discipline than children from wealthier households (Figure 20). The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has the greatest difference in the prevalence of violent discipline by wealth, 17 percentage points, but the difference is at least 5 percentage points in seven other countries. Togo is the one exception to the general pattern: Wealthier households report greater use of violent discipline than poorer households, although the difference is relatively small.

A further analysis shown in Figure A12 (Annex 4) examines differences in severe physical punishment by family wealth. The direction and magnitude of the results are similar to those found for any violent discipline. Significant differences exist in 12 of 28 countries, and poorer households consistently have higher levels of severe physical punishment than wealthier households in all of them. Differences in the use of severe physical punishment exceed 5 percentage points in seven countries and range as high as 12 percentage points in Yemen.



Figure 20. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by family wealth, in the 13 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



➤ **Wealth reduces the likelihood of violent discipline, but only in less than half of the countries.**

Note: The analysis included 24 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (none/primary, secondary, and higher education).
 *** p ≤ .001 (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** p ≤ .01 (statistically significant at the 1% level); * p ≤ .05 (statistically significant at the 5% level).

Child labour

As already noted, low socio-economic status may be associated with the use of violent discipline. Child labour may be one indicator of such status because it is often associated with poverty and other forms of exploitation. However, not all forms of child work are exploitative. Child labour is defined according to the age of the child and the productive activities he or she undertakes. According to the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the International Labour Organization’s Conventions on the Worst Forms of Child Labour and on Minimum Age for Admission to Employment, children should be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous, to interfere with their education, or to harm their health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. Violence in the home, but also in schools and in institutions, is a factor that pushes children into child



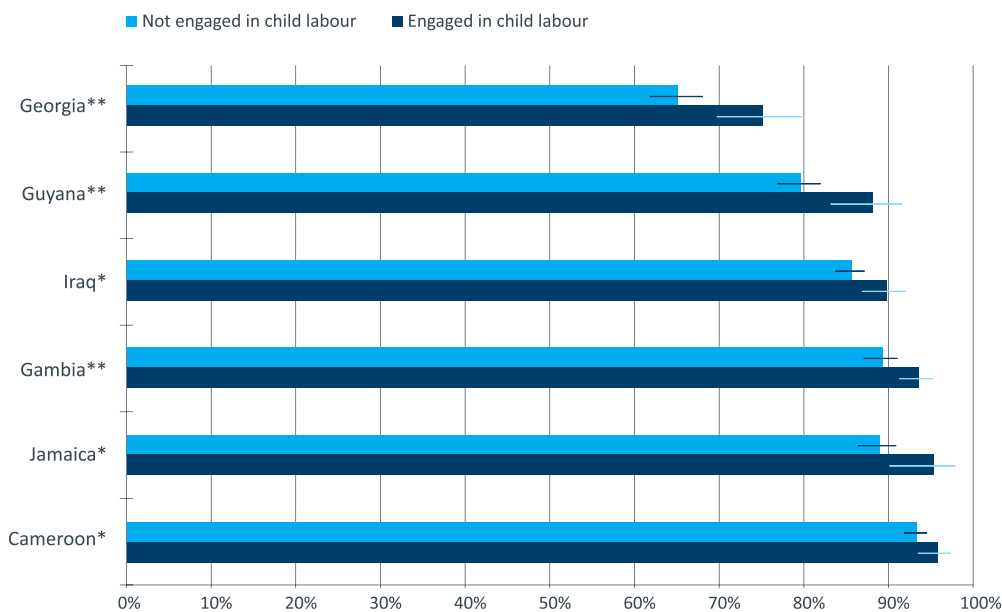
labour, particularly its worst forms. Violence is also a means to coerce children to work, to exploit them and to keep them in servitude.⁶⁶

MICS surveys collected information on child labour for children between the ages of 5 and 14 years and used two different age-based definitions of child labour. Both address economic work (i.e., paid or unpaid work for someone outside the home or work for the family farm or business) and domestic work (i.e., household chores). For children aged 5–11, child labour is defined as at least 1 hour of economic work or 28 hours of domestic work in the past week. For children aged 12–14, child labour is defined as at least 14 hours of economic work or 28 hours of domestic work in the past week.

The analysis suggests that there is no association between child labour and violent discipline in the majority of the countries included in the analysis (23 of 29). In each of the remaining six countries, children involved in child labour are more likely to experience violent child discipline than their peers (Figure 21). Differences in the levels of violent discipline by child labour exceed 5 percentage points in Guyana and Jamaica and 10 percentage points in Georgia.

A further analysis of severe physical punishment found an association with child labour in 8 of 17 countries analysed. The prevalence of severe physical punishment is significantly higher among children involved in child labour in each of these countries (Figure A13, Annex 4). Differences in the use of severe physical punishment exceed 5 percentage points in all eight countries and 10 percentage points in three: Yemen, Suriname and Algeria.

Figure 21. Percentage of children aged 5–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by whether the child was engaged in child labour, in the six countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



> **Children engaged in labour are more likely to experience violent discipline in only a few countries.**

Note: The analysis included 29 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (engaged and not engaged in child labour).
 *** p ≤ .001 (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** p ≤ .01 (statistically significant at the 1% level); * p ≤ .05 (statistically significant at the 5% level).



Support for learning: Books in the home

A MICS module on child development was administered in certain countries to families with a child under the age of five years. This module gathered information on three factors of interest for child discipline:

- support for learning, as indicated by the number of books in the home,
- the involvement of parents and other caregivers in educational and play activities, and
- inadequate supervision of children.

These data are only available for the youngest cohort of children who were subjects of the Child Discipline Module, those aged 2–4.

A study in Ecuador sheds light on the relationship between reading to children and parenting practices. It attempted to tease apart the effects of reading to children, parental education, wealth and violent discipline. A close examination of the data revealed that a combination of reading to children and violent discipline was most closely tied to children's cognitive development. These two factors may interact to create a vicious cycle, in which limited reading negatively impacts children's cognitive development, making them harder to parent and resulting in violent discipline and less quality time spent interacting.⁶⁷

While MICS surveys did not directly measure reading to children, two questions in the under-five module assessed the number of books in the home. Respondents estimated how many children's and non-children's books (including books for adults and non-picture books for children) were in the home. The analysis considers the total number of books of any kind available in the home, and households are divided into the following three categories: no books, 1–10 books and 11 or more books.

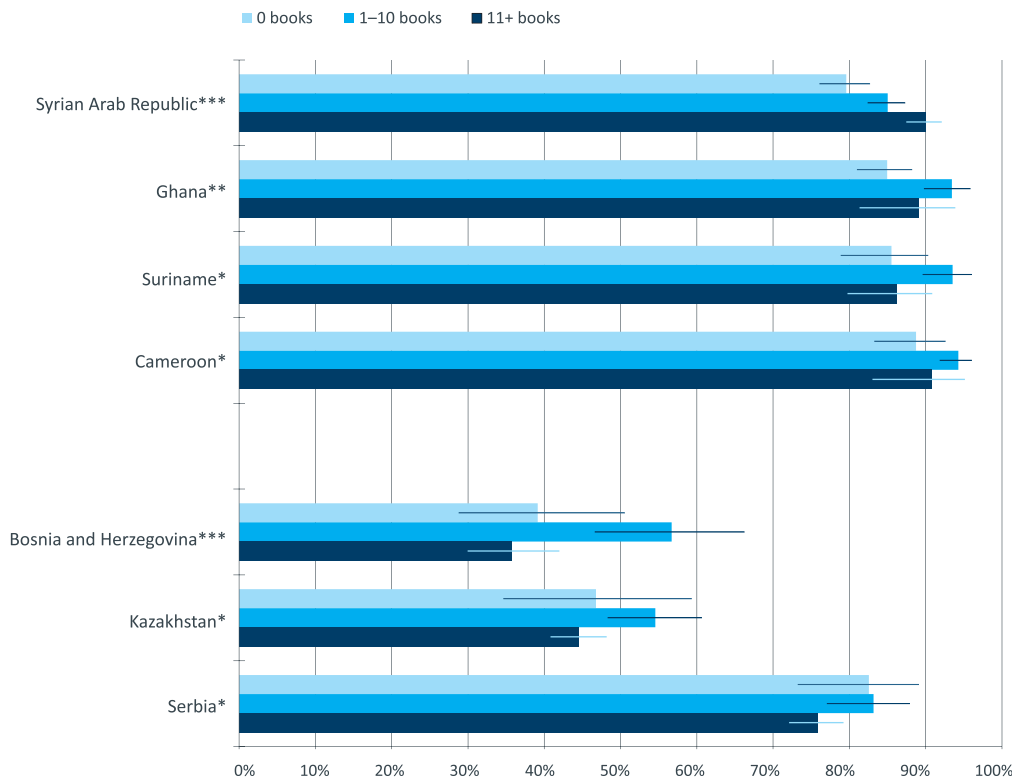
Results are mixed for any violent discipline. The number of books in the home is associated with violent discipline in 7 of 21 countries analysed, but the direction of that association varies. In three countries, homes with the most books have the lowest levels of violent discipline. In four countries, homes with the fewest books have the lowest levels of violent discipline (Figure 22).

In contrast, the findings do link book ownership with reduced use of severe physical punishment in some countries. Book ownership is associated with severe physical punishment in 4 of 10 countries. In each of these countries, households with the most books are the least likely to employ severe physical punishment with young children, and differences between groups amount to at least 5 percentage points (Figure A14, Annex 4). The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia shows the greatest difference in the prevalence of severe physical punishment by book ownership: 15 percentage points.





Figure 22. Percentage of children aged 2–4 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by number of books in the home, in the seven countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



> **Book ownership is not consistently associated with violent discipline of young children.**

Note: The analysis included 21 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (0, 1–10 and 11+ books in the home).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

Parental involvement and the home environment

Playing with a child is an example of positive parenting, as are teaching and engaging in educational activities with a child. Research consistently shows a positive relationship between positive parenting and effective discipline and a negative relationship between positive parenting and violent discipline.⁶⁸ Studies of abusive parents have found them to use less reasoning, have less interaction with and be less responsive towards their children.⁶⁹ Furthermore, positive parenting has been shown to buffer the effects of risk factors such as poverty; it can predict children’s academic readiness, self-regulation and social competencies even when controlling for socio-economic status.⁷⁰

Studies show a link between parents’ educational level and socio-economic status and the educational and play activities they engage in with their children. Greater education among both mothers and fathers is associated with increased levels of sensitive parenting.⁷¹ Studies of Mexican mothers have found that parents with higher levels of education are more likely to actively promote language development in a didactic manner.⁷² In another study, Mexican mothers with more education were more verbally responsive to their babies.⁷³ Socio-economic status is also associated with stimulation by parents in the home environment.⁷⁴



In order to capture how parents educate, play with and express sensitivity to their children, the analysis combines three items from the MICS module on child development. These three items are similar to key elements of a widely used measure of the social, emotional and cognitive support provided to children in the home: the Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment (HOME).⁷⁵ Parent-child interaction, parental involvement with the child, and materials and stimulation provided are all assessed within this one measure, and all are highly interrelated.

The three survey items asked:

- Whether caregivers engage in educational activities, including reading books, telling stories, naming, counting and drawing (possible score: 1–4);
- Whether caregivers engage in play activities, including singing songs, taking children outside or playing with them (possible score: 1–9); and
- What items are available for children to play with at home, including household items (e.g., bowls and pots), objects and materials found outside the living quarters (e.g., rocks and leaves), homemade toys (e.g., dolls and cars) and toys that came from a store (possible score: 1–9).

The scores for these three items were summed, and households were divided into three relatively equal-sized groups based on the distribution of the results. The bottom third scored from 3 to 8; the middle third scored from 9 to 15; and the top third scored 16 and over.

There is an association between parental involvement, the home environment and violent discipline of two- to four-year-old children in 5 of the 15 countries included in the analysis. In four of these five countries, the use of violent discipline is lowest in households with the most actively involved parents and stimulating environments (Figure 23). Differences exceed 5 percentage points in all four countries and range as high as 33 percentage points in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Contrary to expectations, levels of violent discipline in Kyrgyzstan were lowest in households with the least involved parents and least stimulating environments.

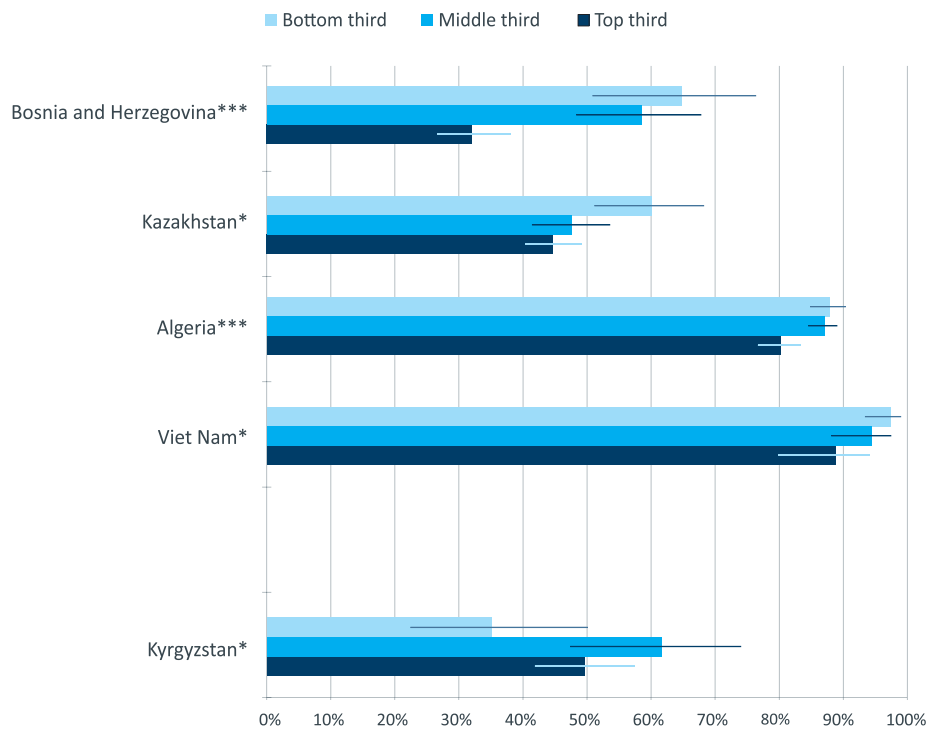
Only seven countries have sufficient data to analyse the relationship between severe physical punishment of two- to four-year-olds, parental involvement and the home environment. Significant associations are found in five countries. Four of these five countries show the expected pattern, with less use of severe physical punishment as parental involvement and the quality of the home environment increase (Figure A15, Annex 4). Differences between groups were at least 5 percentage points in all four countries and ranged as high as 17 percentage points in Guyana. Contrary to expectations, levels of severe physical punishment increased with parental involvement and the quality of the home environment in the Central African Republic.



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Figure 23. Percentage of children aged 2–4 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by parental involvement and the quality of the home environment, in the five countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



> **Parental involvement and a stimulating home environment reduce the risk of violent discipline of young children, but only in a few countries.**

Note: The analysis included 20 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (bottom, middle and top thirds).
 *** p ≤ .001 (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** p ≤ .01 (statistically significant at the 1% level); * p ≤ .05 (statistically significant at the 5% level).



Supervision of children

The literature suggests that, along with stress, a lack of parenting knowledge may be associated with violent discipline. Leaving a child without appropriate supervision (for example, leaving them alone or in the care of an older child) may indicate more general deficiencies in parenting knowledge. Hence failing to meet children's need for supervision may be intimately tied to a lack of an understanding of how to deal effectively with child misbehaviour, resulting in higher levels of violent discipline.

Some studies have examined parental characteristics associated with inadequate supervision. For example, a Mexican study found that more educated mothers were less likely to leave a baby alone or in the care of an older child.⁷⁶ Other studies have focused on the effect of parental monitoring on developmental outcomes, including delinquent behaviour among adolescents.⁷⁷ For example, a study of male adolescents in Puerto Rico found a significant negative relationship between parental monitoring, as measured by time spent with family, and delinquency.⁷⁸ Parental monitoring has also been shown to partially buffer the effect of exposure to violence on children's psychological functioning.⁷⁹

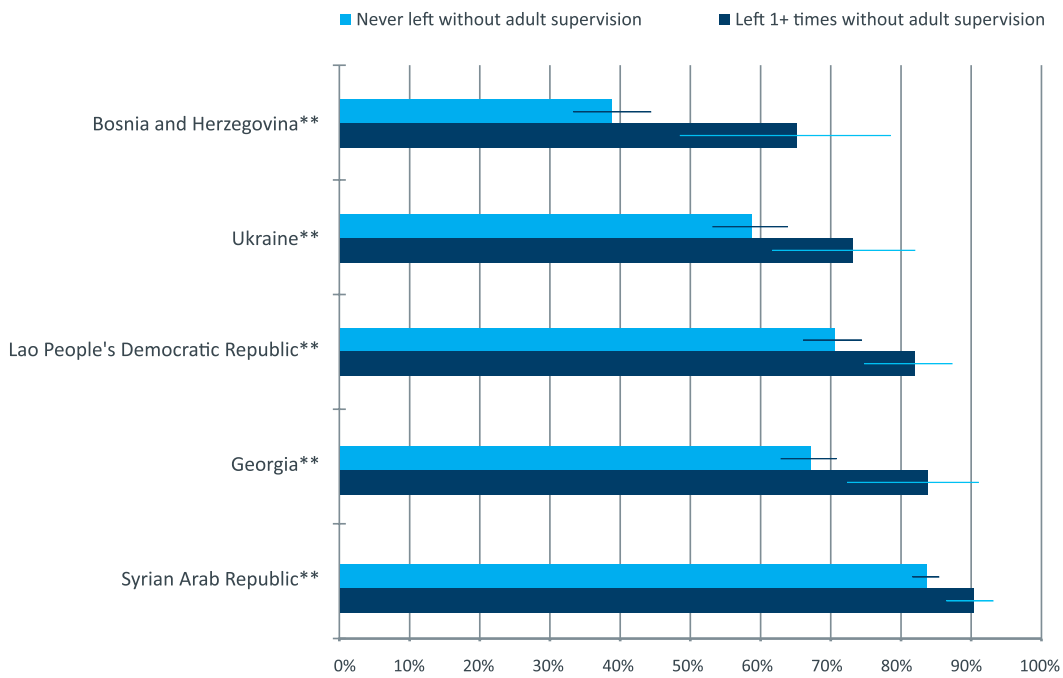
The MICS module on child development asked whether a child under age 5 was left in the care of another child less than 10 years old or was left alone during the week before the survey. Among the 24 countries included in the analysis, 19 show no association between inadequate supervision and any violent discipline of two- to four-year-olds. In the remaining five countries, levels of violent discipline are significantly higher in households where children have been left without proper supervision one or more times (Figure 24). Differences between groups exceed 5 percentage points in all five countries and range as high as 25 percentage points in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Far fewer countries – a total of 12 – have sufficient data to analyse the relationship between severe physical punishment and inadequate supervision of young children. In five of these countries, levels of severe physical punishment are significantly higher in households where young children have been left without proper supervision (Figure A16, Annex 4). Differences between groups exceed 5 percentage points in all five countries.





Figure 24. Percentage of children aged 2–4 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by whether child was ever left without adult supervision during the week before the survey, in the five countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



> **Poor supervision is associated with violent discipline of young children in a few countries.**

Note: The analysis included 24 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (never left without adult supervision and left at least once without adult supervision).
*** p ≤ .001 (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** p ≤ .01 (statistically significant at the 1% level); * p ≤ .05 (statistically significant at the 5% level).





IV. Key Findings and Recommendations

Obtaining meaningful data on violence against children is challenging not only in low- and middle-income countries, but also in high-income countries. Nevertheless, such data have an important role to play in cross-country comparisons and the evaluation of global policy initiatives. They can help identify leverage points where specific prevention policies and programmes can be implemented. They can also help monitor the effects of interventions.

The analysis of MICS and DHS data shows that caregivers use non-violent methods to discipline almost all children. In fact, non-violent practices, especially explaining why a behaviour is wrong, are generally the most common form of discipline used by households. Caregivers use other forms of non-violent discipline (taking away privileges and/or giving the child something else to do) to a lesser extent, with 33 per cent to 83 per cent of children in each country.

Yet the analysis also demonstrates that violent disciplinary practices are common across all of the countries in this sample. While overall rates of violent discipline are high, ranging from 39 per cent to 95 per cent of children, they do not appear to be unusual. Comparable levels have been found in high-income countries using similar methods. Among children who experienced violent discipline, a fraction (ranging from 1 per cent to 44 per cent) were subjected to severe forms of physical punishment.

For the most part, households employed a combination of violent and non-violent disciplinary practices. Households used only non-violent disciplinary methods with a minority of children overall (20 per cent), but the prevalence of a purely non-violent approach to child discipline ranges from as low as 4 per cent in Cameroon and Yemen to as high as 57 per cent in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Physical punishment is a widespread practice even when mothers/primary caregivers do not consider it necessary. A key finding of the study is that, on average, only one in four mothers/primary caregivers believe that physical punishment is needed in order to bring up children properly. Although the percentage of those who believe in physical punishment varies significantly across countries, it is consistently lower than the percentage of children who are subjected to physical punishment. Nevertheless, the cross-national analysis revealed that mothers/primary caregivers' belief in the need for physical punishment is highly correlated with overall levels of violent physical discipline: Children were more likely to experience violent punishment, including severe physical punishment, if their mothers/primary caregivers considered physical punishment necessary. Yet among children whose mothers/primary caregivers do not think physical punishment is needed, a large proportion of children are still subjected to it, according to these data. These findings not only highlight discrepancies between attitudes and actual practices, but also show that there is potential for change. Further investigation is needed to better understand the factors behind such discrepancies, especially the reasons why caregivers administer violent discipline even though the practice is not considered necessary.

All children, regardless of their personal characteristics and family background, are at risk of violent discipline. In about half of the countries surveyed, there is no difference in the prevalence of violent discipline between boys and girls. In the remaining countries, boys are slightly more likely to be subjected to violent disciplinary practices. In most countries, the prevalence of violent discipline is highest among children aged 5–9.

An examination of socio-demographic characteristics at the household level shows that violent disciplinary methods occur in all settings and are used by families with differing backgrounds. In the majority of countries surveyed, characteristics such as wealth, age of caregivers, and household size are not associated with the prevalence of violent discipline: Children are equally likely to experience violent discipline regardless of the family setting and socio-economic status. Yet these characteristics are related to violent discipline in a minority of countries and, for the most part, the direction of the relationship is consistent.



For example, rich and poor households are equally likely to use violent parenting methods in 17 of 30 countries with available data. In the remaining 13 countries, the prevalence of any violent discipline is higher among poorer households. A similar pattern holds for family composition: Household size is associated with child discipline only in a minority of countries, but in those countries the use of violent discipline consistently increases with the number of household members – perhaps, as other researchers have suggested, because it increases the likelihood that a child will encounter an adult willing to administer violent discipline. The prevalence of violent discipline also tends to increase with the number of children in the household in some countries. Likewise, the level of education of the household members is not linked with the prevalence of violent discipline in most countries, but higher levels of education are associated with lower levels of violent discipline in the remaining 11 countries. Children raised by more educated mothers/primary caregivers are less likely to experience violent discipline in slightly more than half of the countries with available data.

Finally, the analysis shows that characteristics such as place of residence, marital status of the mother/primary caregiver, and type of marital union are not significant in the majority of countries surveyed. Additionally, these characteristics did not have a consistent relationship with child discipline in the remaining countries. For instance, children living in urban and rural households were equally likely to experience violent discipline in most countries surveyed. The remaining countries were divided, with higher risks in rural areas in five countries and in urban areas in four countries.

Recommendations

This analysis of MICS and DHS data on child discipline points to areas where investments are needed to prevent violent discipline. The mothers/primary caregivers' belief that proper child rearing requires physical punishment proved to be strongly associated with the prevalence of violent discipline. This points to the importance of addressing attitudes and norms in society regarding child rearing and child discipline in order to change behaviours. However, the results of the study also indicate that a large majority of mothers/primary caregivers in most countries already reject the need for physical punishment in theory, even if physical punishment is still practised in their households. It is thus essential to provide alternative disciplinary methods that are non-violent and to strengthen existing positive methods and participatory forms of child rearing. Training programmes and educational materials can teach parents how to interact with their children in a positive manner and how to use non-violent disciplinary methods. Parents can learn skills such as positive reinforcement (for example, offering praise for desired behaviours), effective limit setting (issuing clear commands and employing non-violent punishments for noncompliance), and response cost strategies (for example, removing reinforcers).

Equally important to bringing about changes in norms, attitudes and behaviours is the strengthening of legal frameworks, policies and services for the prevention of and response to violence against children. Prohibiting all forms of violence against children in the home sends a clear message to society that such violence is unacceptable. Legal reforms, however, need to be accompanied by informational and educational campaigns in order to raise awareness of children's rights, prompt discussion of what is appropriate child discipline, break down the cloak of invisibility surrounding violence against children and help shift social norms.⁶⁰ Legal reforms also need to be backed up by comprehensive, child-sensitive, and good quality services for child victims, including reporting and complaint mechanisms. The capacities of professionals who work for and with children and their families also need to be strengthened to better prevent, detect, and respond to violence against children. All these efforts must be part of a comprehensive, well-coordinated and resourced national strategy to address violence against children in all its forms, including in the family and the home. The strategy needs to engage different stakeholders – including government authorities,



civil society, communities and families – and needs to be monitored on a regular basis. Children and adolescents should be engaged in all of the various aspects of prevention, response and monitoring to ensure that the interventions take their views into account and are guided by the best interest of the child.

Promoting parenting skills

UNICEF has supported different initiatives aimed at promoting non-violent child disciplinary practices at home. Many of the interventions incorporate discussions about appropriate child discipline into parenting education programmes. Since 1999, for example, the Lifestart Better Parenting Programme has been offered at Early Child Development Centers in marginalized communities in Macedonia. Included among the materials and activities are tools to monitor participants' progress in developing better parenting skills. The Better Parenting Programme in Jordan is a nationwide effort to equip parents with the skills and information they need to promote the psychosocial, cognitive, and physical development of their children from birth to age eight. More than 130,000 parents and caregivers have participated in the programme, and a 2008 evaluation found that the use of negative disciplinary practices, such as beating and name calling, decreased after caregivers attended the programme.

Other interventions support the development of manuals and counselling for parents. The Ministry of Education in Yemen has developed a national manual on alternatives to physical punishment that is being widely distributed to parents as well as teachers and social workers. Oman's Ministry of Social Development has established a Family Consultation Help-Line targeting both parents and children; it offers support in resolving social and behavioural problems. Macedonia's National Plan of Action on Rights of Children (2005-2015) supports counselling for parents in dysfunctional families to complement programmes for responsible parenthood.

UNICEF has also supported community-oriented interventions intended to raise awareness of violence against children and change attitudes about what is appropriate child discipline. In Iran, for example, the Ministries of Health and Education began implementing a National Communication Strategy to Prevent Child Abuse in 2004. It promotes positive parenting, including non-violent disciplinary practices, and enhanced parent-child relationships through a wide array of communication channels, including a storybook, brochures, facilitator's guides, films, and public service announcements. UNICEF has also worked with religious leaders and institutions in Iran to develop materials discussing Islam's views on the treatment of children. A 2007 booklet on 'Disciplining Children with Kindness: A Shiite Shari'a Perspective' presents the views of several high-profile religious leaders on non-violent child rearing.

Some awareness-raising initiatives involve children themselves. In Yemen, for example, five Young Media Correspondents have been trained to report on child rights violations as part of ongoing advocacy efforts. Macedonia's 2008-2011 National Strategy for Prevention of Domestic Violence has targeted schools in order to help young people recognize and respond to violence in the home.

Source: UNICEF Regional Office for Middle East and North Africa; UNICEF Office in The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.



Legislation banning corporal punishment

Violence against children remains legal throughout much of the world, although some countries have moved to ban or limit violence in the home, at school, in care institutions or in the penal system. In order to legally ban all forms of violence against children, including violent discipline, countries must explicitly prohibit the practice and also eliminate any provisions that may allow its continued use.

As of October 2010, 29 countries had prohibited corporal punishment in all settings, including in the home; the practice remained legal in another 168 countries. Sweden became the first country to ban corporal punishment of children when it added the following provision to its Parenthood and Guardianship Code in 1979:

Children are entitled to care, security and a good upbringing. Children are to be treated with respect for their person and individuality and may not be subjected to corporal punishment or any other humiliating treatment.

Among the 35 countries covered in this report, only Ukraine has legally prohibited corporal punishment in the home. Article 28 of Ukraine's Constitution supports the right of every person, including children, to protection from torturous, cruel, inhumane, or derogatory treatment or punishment. The Family Code bans "corporal punishments of children by parents" and "other kinds of punishments that derogate human dignity of the child" (Article 170, clause 7). The Civil Code states that "Corporal punishment by parents (adoptive parents), guardians, tutors of children and those under wardship is not allowed" (Article 289, clause 3). Despite these regulations, corporal punishment remains common in Ukraine, as demonstrated by the data presented in this report. Conflicting definitions of key terms (such as 'cruel treatment of children') in the regulations and differing interpretations by the courts present a major challenge to fulfilling the intent of the legislation.

Experience from Sweden suggests that legal bans on corporal punishment can have a positive impact on reducing the use of violent disciplinary methods, when the adoption of the law is linked with other interventions aimed at changing attitudes and promoting alternative non-violent parenting methods. Sweden's 1979 law sought to raise public awareness of the problem presented by violence against children at home. The legislation was followed by a large-scale media campaign and mass distribution of a pamphlet on appropriate child discipline. The most profound effects of the legislative change were felt not in the justice system, as parents did not face any immediate threat of sanctions, but rather in the change of attitudes and norms towards the need for violent discipline.

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Annexes

Annex 1. Sampling strategies

Most countries that participated in MICS3 adopted the multistage stratified cluster sampling strategy proposed by UNICEF. Typically, the sampling frame is based on a recent national census and is divided into a number of primary sampling units (PSUs), or enumeration areas, each of which includes a similar number of households. The PSUs are stratified based on geographical or administrative region, as well as on urban and rural residence. The purpose of stratification usually is to acquire equally reliable estimates within separate areas (i.e., strata or sampling domains). During first stage sampling, a predetermined number of PSUs are selected from each stratum through systematic sampling with probability proportionate to size (PPS). In the second stage, a systematic sample of households is usually selected from each PSU. Some countries may have intermediate stages of sampling in addition.

Unlike simple random sampling, the analysis of complex survey data must take into account stratification and clustering of the sample, as well as sampling weights, in order to obtain reliable estimates of the variances of sample means, proportions and other relevant statistics.

The analysis of the MICS3 data used the ultimate cluster variance estimate method; this assumes that PSUs are selected with replacement (WR) within the first-stage sampling domain. The WR sampling plan needs only to identify the first stage strata and PSU, without considering later stages of sampling. This is also the estimation method recommended by UNICEF and adopted by countries participating in MICS3 for their national analyses. Although region and urban-rural residence were used to stratify PSUs in MICS3 surveys, they were not used directly as stratification variables. Instead, pseudo-strata were created based on region and residence, and these were used as the stratification variables. Since the population of PSUs in each sampling domain or stratum was ordered by geographical proximity, when the sample of PSUs was selected through systematic PPS sampling, implicit geographic stratification was achieved within each domain. Thus, two neighboring PSUs in a domain constitute a pseudo-stratum. If a domain had 10 PSUs, a total of five pseudo-strata were created. If there were an odd number of PSUs such as 11, one pseudo-stratum had to have 3 PSUs because a pseudo-stratum must include at least 2 PSUs. Adoption of pseudo-strata in the analysis yields more efficient variance estimates since it incorporates the implicit stratification of the survey design.**

For most of the 33 countries included in the analysis of the Child Discipline Module, region and area indicators are used to create the pseudo-strata. Six countries used sampling strategies that deviated from the standard approach, that is, stratifying the population of PSUs by region and urban-rural residence and following implicit stratification in selection of PSU samples. Bosnia and Herzegovina stratified sample households only by whether a household included children under age five or not; this indicator was used as the stratification variable in the current analysis. Albania and Burkina Faso stratified their samples only by urban-rural residence, which was used to create the pseudo-strata. Cameroon also stratified its sample only by urban-rural residence, but it did not follow implicit stratification in PSU selection. Therefore, urban-rural residence was used directly in the analysis, without creating any pseudo-strata. Guyana stratified sample households by a coastal-inland indicator, in addition to region and urban-rural residence. All three of these variables were used to create the pseudo-strata for analysis. For Trinidad and Tobago, only the region indicator was used to create the pseudo-strata because urban-rural residence was not available.

** Further information on the WR method of survey analysis and pseudo-strata creation can be found in: Brogan, D., 'Sampling Error Estimation for Survey Data', in Household Sample Surveys in Developing and Transition Countries, ST/ESA/STAT/SER.F/96, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistics Division, New York, 2005, pp. 447-490.



Sample weights

Sample weights are required in the analysis of complex surveys to account for the unequal probability of selection of sampling units. The household was the ultimate sampling unit in MICS3 surveys, and a sample weight was computed for each sample household based on the unequal probability of selection, unit non-response and non-coverage. Most countries used household weights in the analysis of MICS3 data on child discipline for their national reports. Using the sampling design described above and the household weights, results were replicated for estimates of sample means, standard errors, design effect and other statistics. For the analysis of the Child Discipline Module in the context of this report, the research team agreed to use child-based weights, which were computed by multiplying the household weight by the number of children aged 2–14 in the household. Alternative examinations of the data found that the analytical results using child-based weights better represented the prevalence of violent child discipline than results using household weights. Unlike the MICS3 Child Labour and Child Disability Modules, which are administered to all children in a given age range in a household, the Child Discipline Module is administered to only one, randomly selected child aged 2–14 in each household. Therefore, if household weights are used to compute the prevalence of violent discipline, the results will only be applicable to the sampled children rather than to all children aged 2–14. Using child-based weights makes the findings representative of all children aged 2 to 14 years in a given country.

Analyses using household and child-based weights produce different estimates of child discipline, unless children from households with smaller and larger numbers of children have the same probability of experiencing violent discipline. In fact, previous research has established that overcrowded housing is a major risk factor for harsh child discipline. Therefore, the results of the current analysis are slightly different from those presented in the national MICS3 survey reports.

Table A1 calculates the percentage of children aged 2–14 in each country who have experienced any violent discipline in two ways: using household weights and child-based weights. With the exception of four countries, the estimates generated using child-based weights are 1 to 3 percentage points higher than the estimates produced using household weights. This difference is a clear indication that children who have more siblings at home are more likely to experience violent discipline.



Table A1. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression), by country, calculated with household and child-based weights, 2005–2006

Country	Household weights	Child-based weights
	Percentage	Percentage
Albania	49	52
Algeria	87	88
Azerbaijan	73	76
Belarus	83	84
Belize	68	71
Bosnia and Herzegovina	36	38
Burkina Faso	88	88
Cameroon	92	93
Central African Republic	88	89
Côte d'Ivoire	90	91
Djibouti	71	73
Gambia	85	87
Georgia	66	67
Ghana	89	90
Guinea-Bissau	81	82
Guyana	75	77
Iraq	84	85
Jamaica	88	89
Kazakhstan	52	54
Kyrgyzstan	52	54
Lao People's Democratic Republic	71	74
Montenegro	62	63
Serbia	73	75
Sierra Leone	92	92
Suriname	85	87
Syrian Arab Republic	88	89
Tajikistan	74	78
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	70	73
Togo	90	91
Trinidad and Tobago	75	78
Ukraine	70	.70
Viet Nam	93	94
Yemen	95	95



Annex 2. Missing data

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Table A2. Percentage of household questionnaires missing specific child discipline items, by country

	Took away privileges	Explained why something was wrong	Shook	Shouted, yelled at, or screamed at	Gave something else to do	Spanked, hit or slapped on the bottom with bare hand	Hit on the bottom or elsewhere with a hard object	Called dumb, lazy, or another name	Hit or slapped on the face, or ears	Hit or slapped on the hand, arm, or leg	Beat up with an implement	Believes that physical punishment is necessary
Albania	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Algeria	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.7
Azerbaijan	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1
Belarus	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3
Belize	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.1	0.9	1.0	1.7	1.0	1.3	0.6
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Burkina Faso	5.6	5.7	5.8	5.7	5.8	6.0	5.9	5.9	5.8	5.8	5.8	5.4
Cameroon	0.3	0.3	1.0	2.4	0.8	1.0	0.4	0.3	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.3
Central African Republic	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8
Côte d'Ivoire	0.6	0.5	1.4	0.6	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.5	1.4	1.0	0.7	0.6
Djibouti	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.3	3.0	2.4	2.4	2.2
Gambia	0.5	0.6	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.5	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.5
Georgia	0.0	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.3
Ghana	0.3	0.3	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.5	0.2
Guinea-Bissau	0.9	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.9	0.9	0.9	1.9	1.8	1.2	1.1
Guyana	1.4	1.9	3.8	2.5	3.1	2.4	1.5	1.6	2.0	5.1	2.2	1.5
Iraq	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Jamaica	0.5	0.6	1.0	0.6	1.6	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.4
Kazakhstan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Kyrgyzstan	1.4	1.6	2.2	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.9	1.7	1.9	1.4
Laos People's Democratic Republic	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Montenegro	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.4	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.3
Serbia	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.1	0.7
Sierra Leone	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Suriname	0.9	0.9	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.2	1.0	0.8	2.1	2.3	1.0	0.7
Syrian Arab Republic	1.5	1.1	1.3	0.9	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.5	1.6	1.4	1.6	0.0
Tajikistan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Togo	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2
Trinidad and Tobago	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Ukraine	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Viet Nam	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Yemen	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7
TOTAL	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.1



Annex 3. Parent-Child Conflict Tactics Scales (CTSPC): Items arranged by scale and subscale

Non-violent discipline

- Explained why something was wrong
- Put him/her in “time-out” (or sent to his/her room)
- Took away privileges or grounded him/her
- Gave him/her something else to do instead of what he/she was doing wrong

Psychological aggression

- Threatened to spank or hit him/her but did not actually do it
- Shouted, yelled, or screamed at him/her
- Swore or cursed at him/her
- Called him/her dumb or lazy or some other name like that
- Said you would send him/her away or kick him/her out of the house

Physical assault

Minor assault (corporal punishment):

- Spanked him/her on the bottom with your bare hand
- Hit him/her on the bottom with something like a belt, hairbrush, a stick or some other hard object
- Slapped him/her on the hand, arm, or leg
- Pinched him/her
- Shook him/her (this is scored for Very Severe if the child is <2 years)

Severe assault (physical maltreatment):

- Slapped him/her on the face or head or ears
- Hit him/her on some other part of the body besides the bottom with something like a belt, hairbrush, a stick or some other hard object
- Threw or knocked him/her down
- Hit him/her with a fist or kicked him/her hard

Very severe assault (severe physical maltreatment):

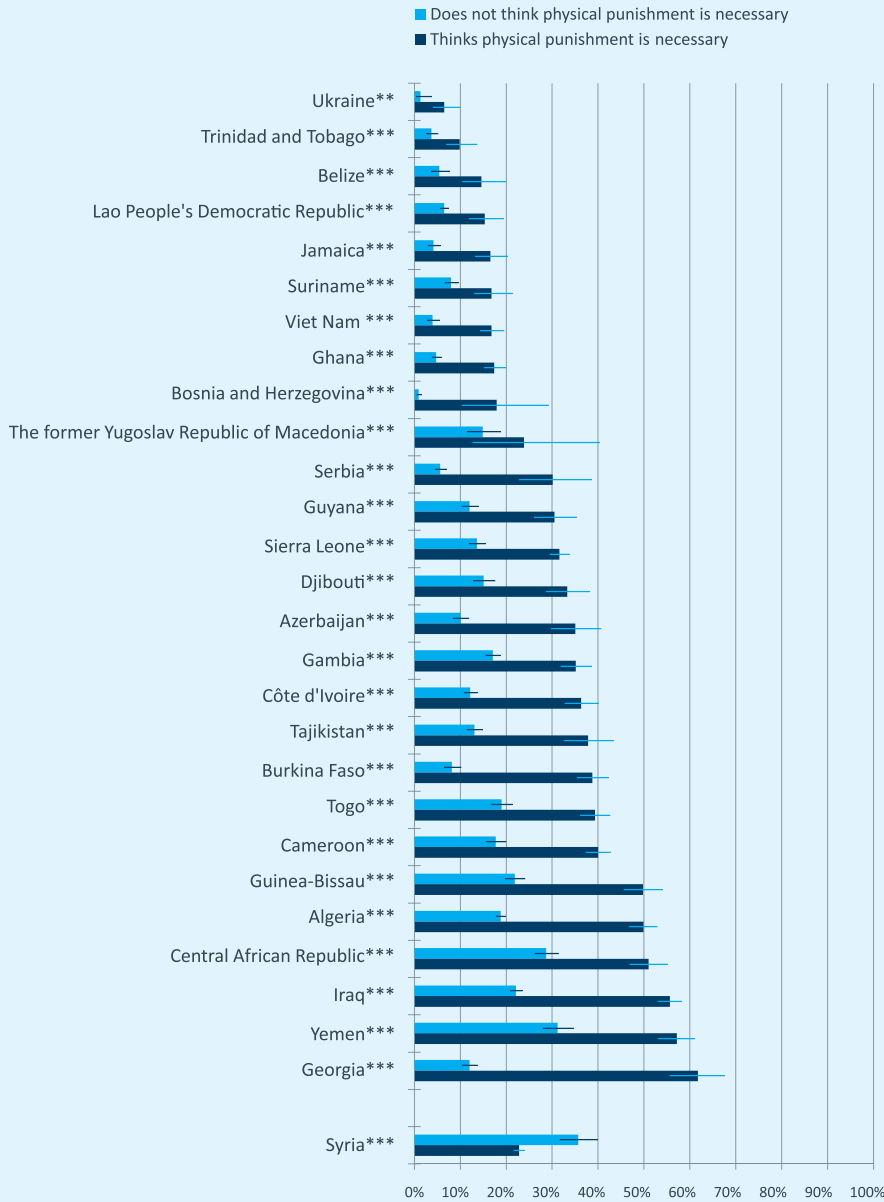
- Beat him/her up, that is you hit him/her over and over as hard as you could
- Grabbed him/her around the neck and choked him/her
- Burned or scalded him/her on purpose
- Threatened him/her with a knife or gun

Source: Straus, M.A., S.L. Hamby, D. Finkelhor, D.W. Moore, and D. Runyan, 'Identification of Child Maltreatment with the Parent-Child Conflict Tactics Scales: Development and psychometric data for a national sample of American parents', *Child Abuse and Neglect*, vol. 22, 1998, pp. 249-270.



Annex 4. Additional data on severe physical punishment

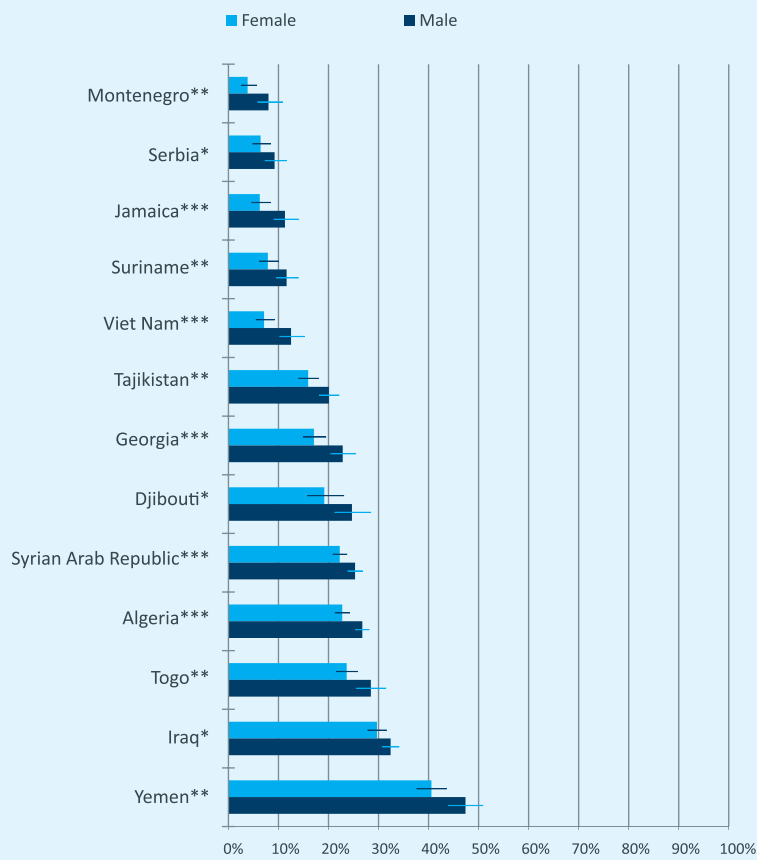
Figure A1. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month by mother/primary caregiver’s belief in the need for physical punishment, in the 28 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 31 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (mother/primary caregiver think physical punishment is necessary and mother/primary caregiver does not think physical punishment is necessary).
 *** p < .001 (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** p < .01 (statistically significant at the 1% level); * p < .05 (statistically significant at the 5% level).



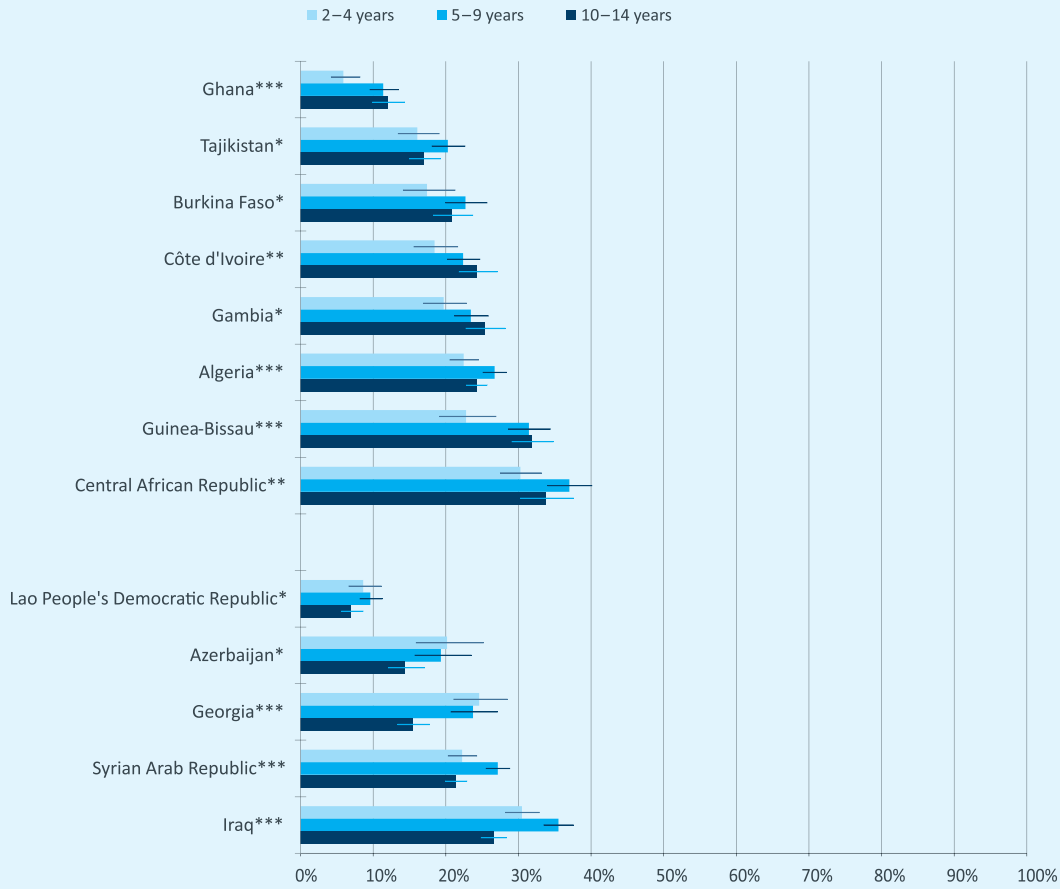
Figure A2. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by sex of child, in the 13 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 31 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (mother/primary caregiver think physical punishment is necessary and does not think physical punishment is necessary).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

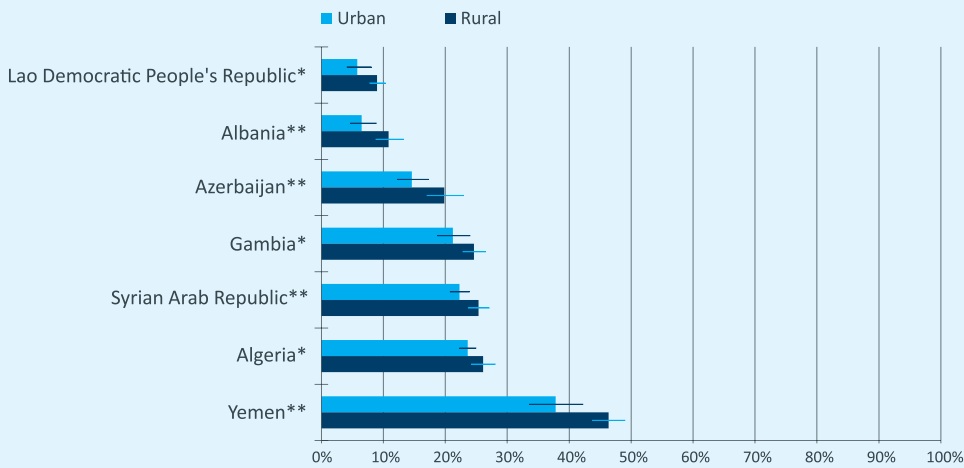


Figure A3. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by age of child, in the 13 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 24 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each age group.
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

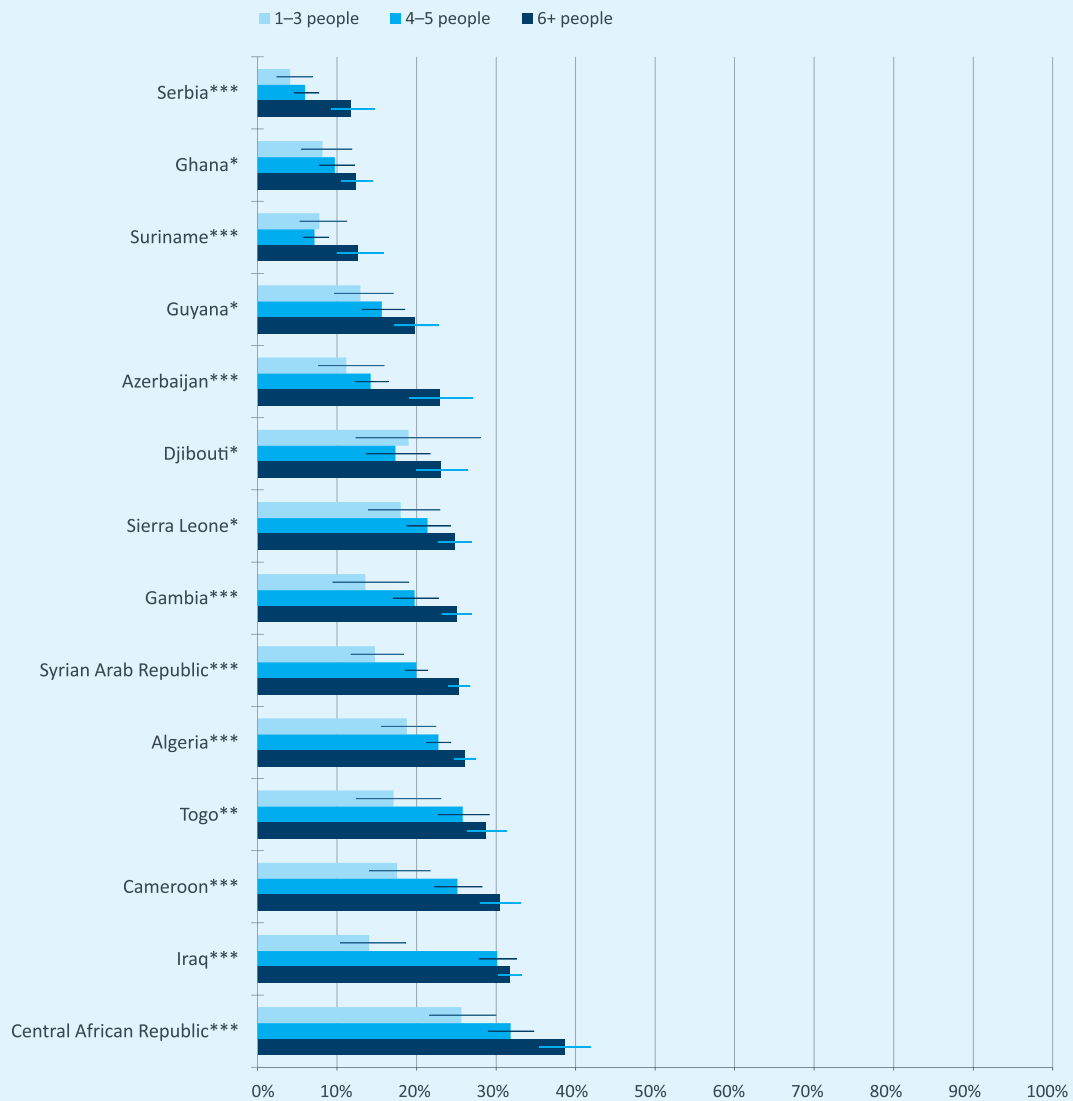
Figure A4. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by place of residence, in the seven countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 30 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (urban and rural).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).



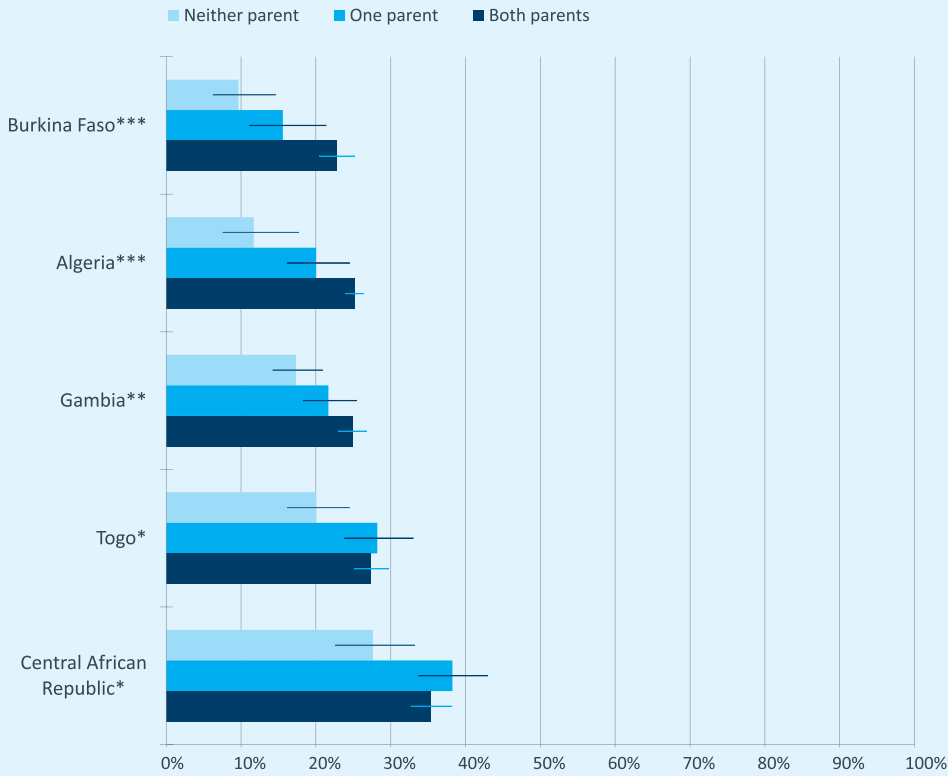
Figure A5. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by number of household members, in the 14 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 19 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (1–3, 4–5, and 6+ household members).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

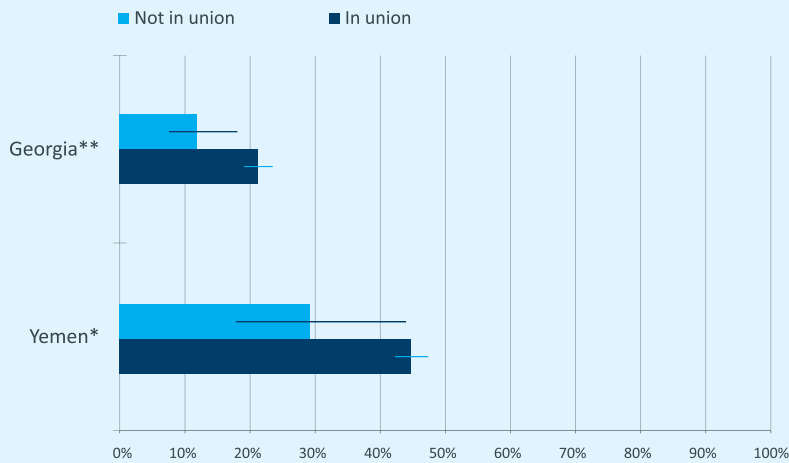


Figure A6. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by presence of biological parents in the home, in the five countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 11 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (neither, one, or both parents in the home).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

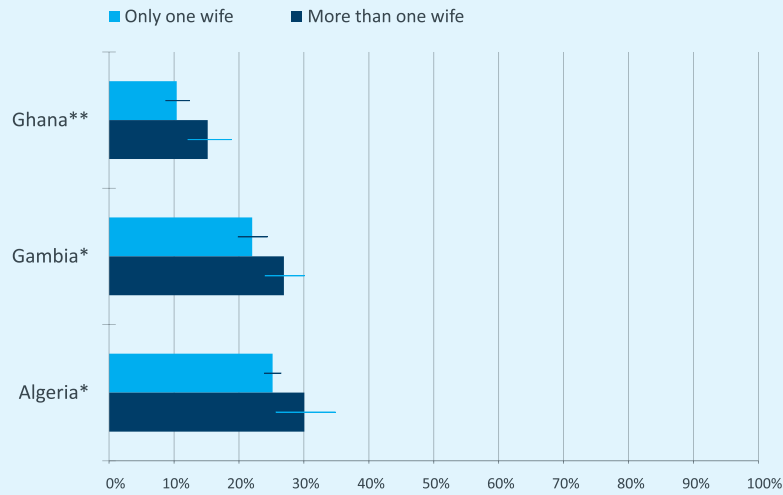
Figure A7. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by marital status of mother/primary caregiver aged 15–49, in the two countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 15 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (not in union and in union).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

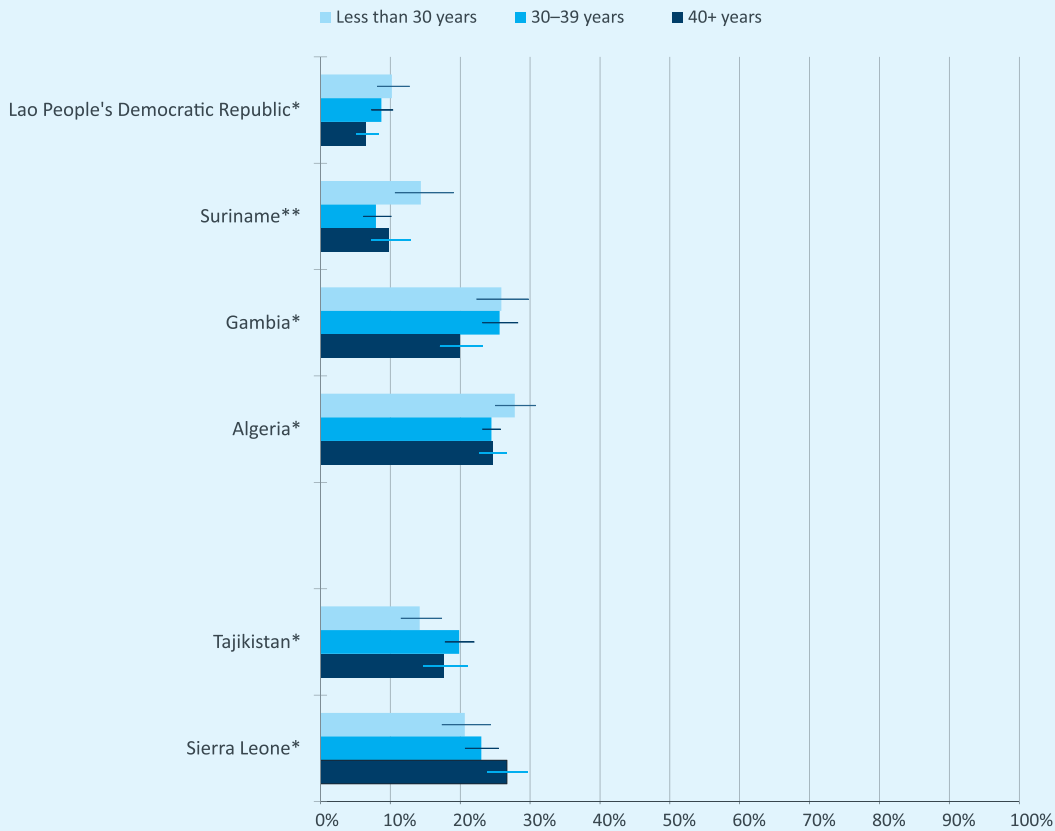


Figure A8. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by polygyny, in the three countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 8 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (one wife and more than one wife).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

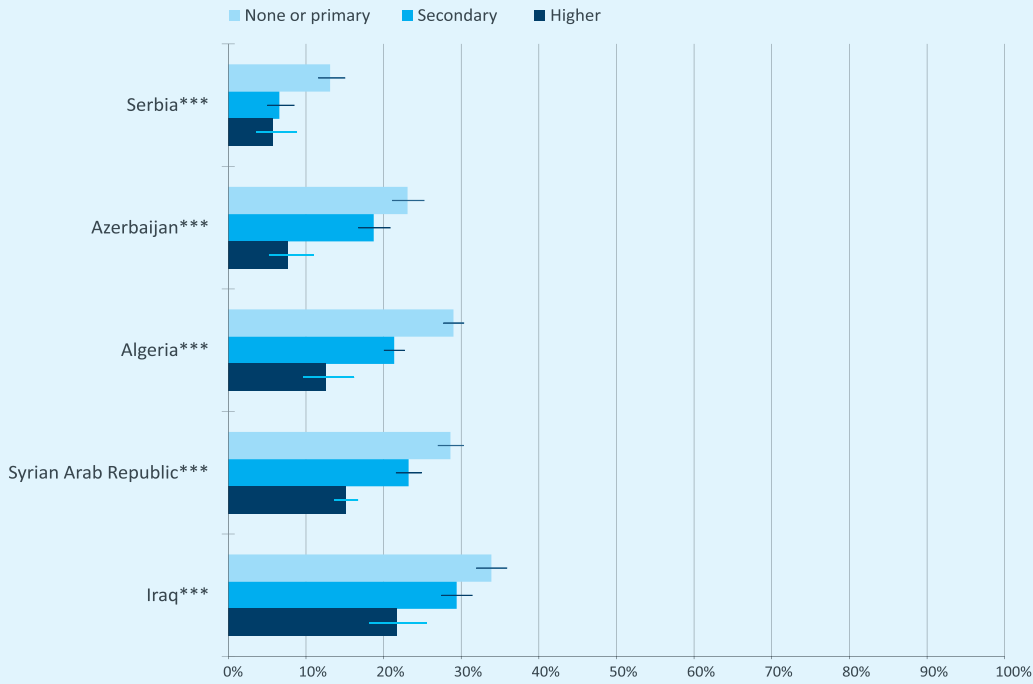
Figure A9. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by average adult age in the household, in the six countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 8 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (one wife and more than one wife).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

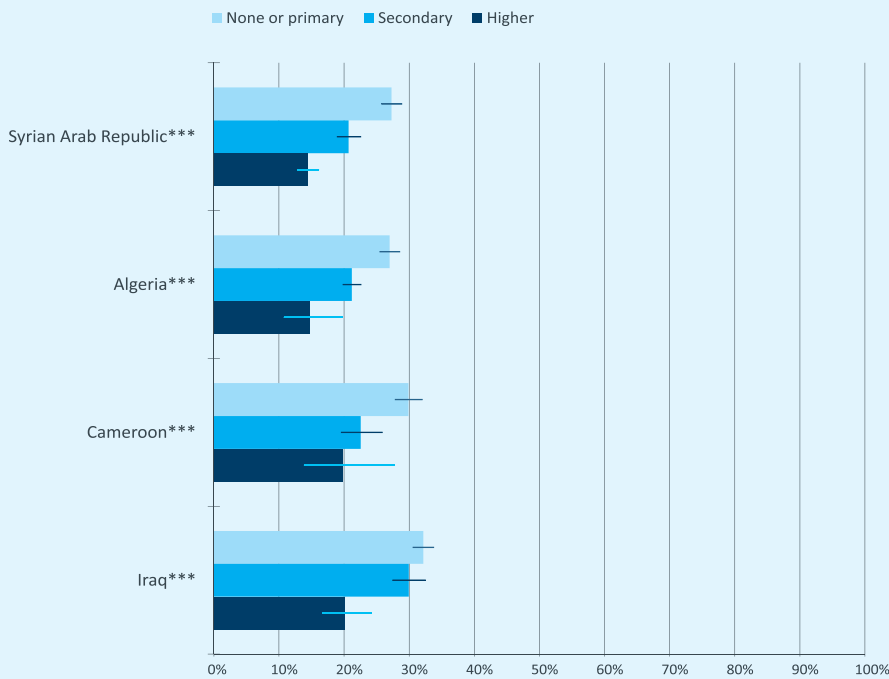


Figure A10. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by average household education, in the five countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included five countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (none/primary, secondary, and higher education).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

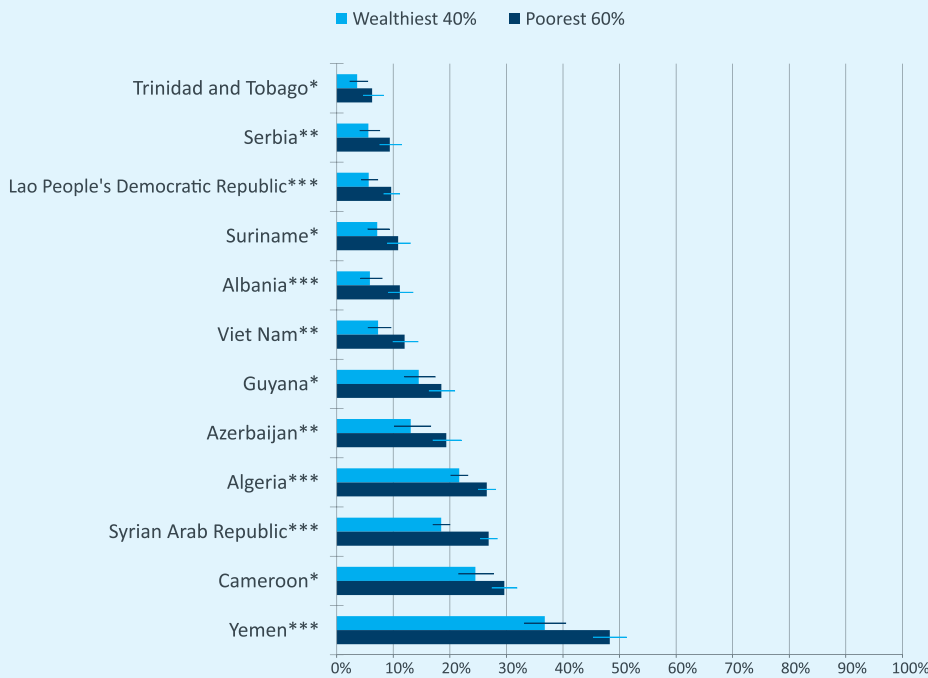
Figure A11. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by education of mother/primary caregiver, in the four countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included four countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (none/primary, secondary, and higher education).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

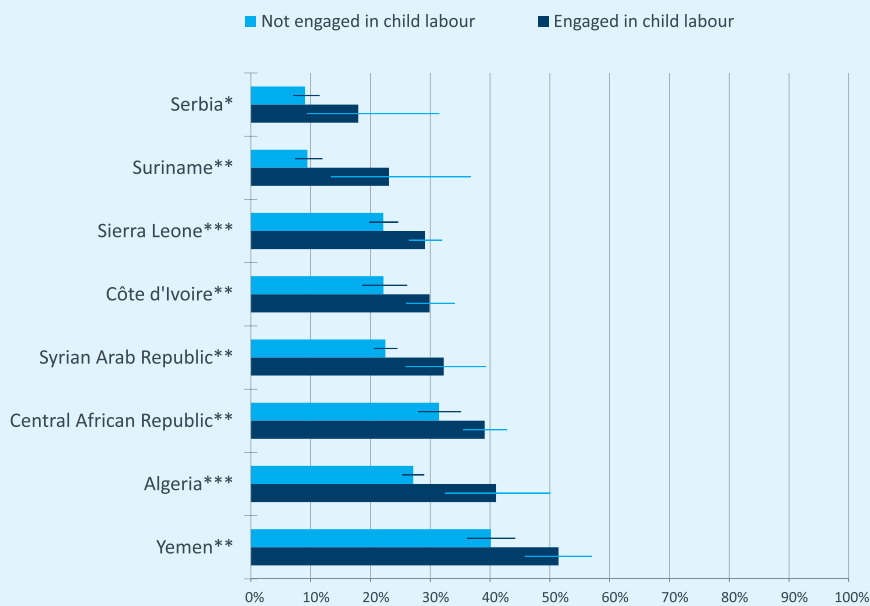


Figure A12. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by family wealth, in the 12 countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 28 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (wealthiest 40% and poorest 60%).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

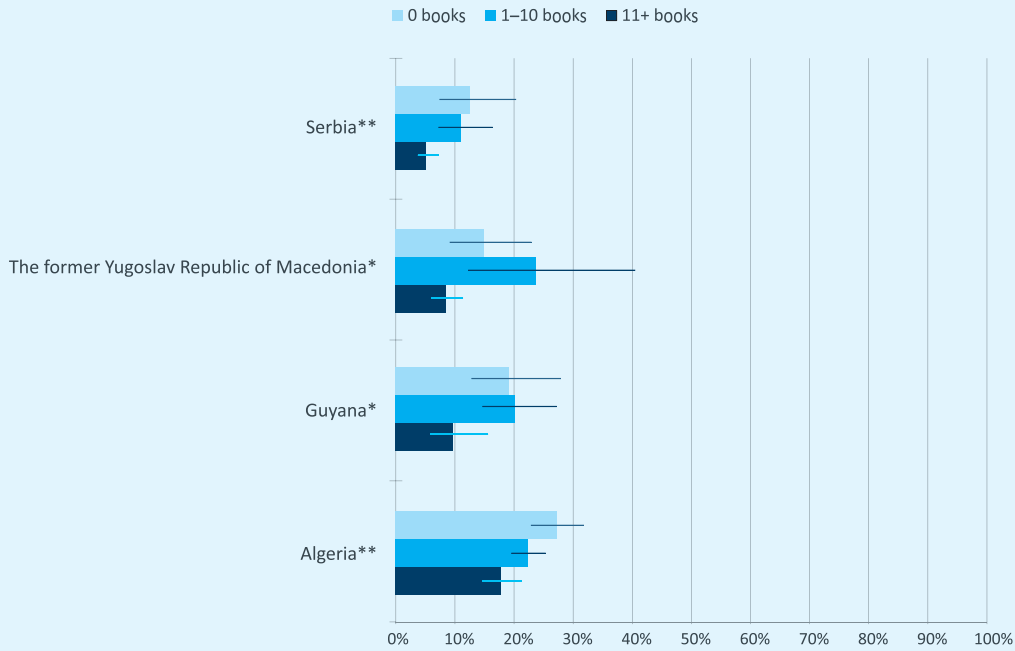
Figure A13. Percentage of children aged 5–14 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by whether the child was engaged in child labour, in the eight countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 17 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (engaged and not engaged in child labour).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

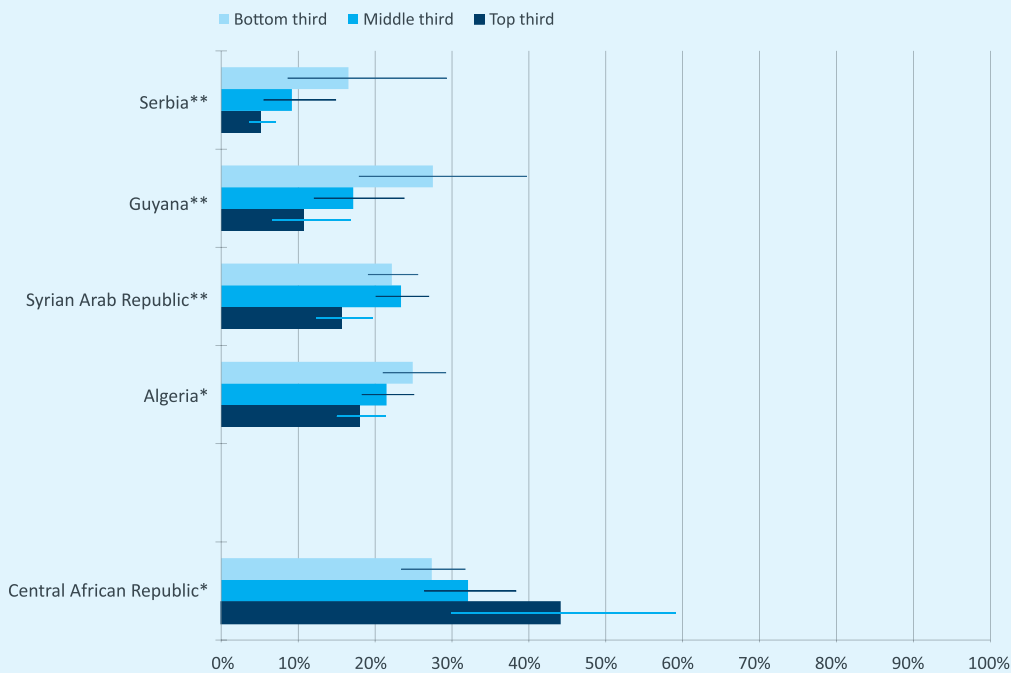


Figure A14. Percentage of children aged 2–4 who experienced any severe physical punishment in the past month, by number of books in the home, in the four countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 10 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (0, 1–10 and 11+ books in the home).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

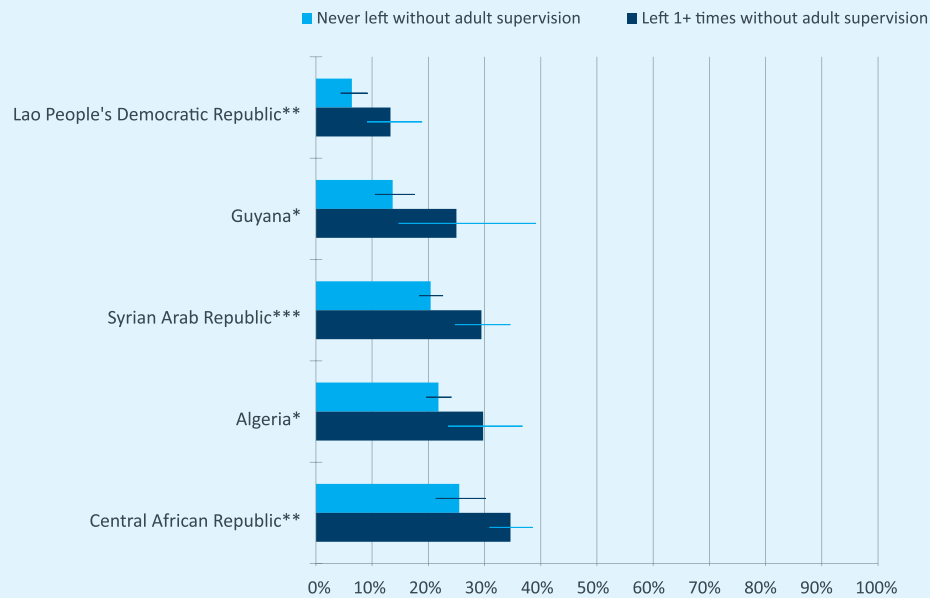
Figure A15. Percentage of children aged 2–4 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by parental involvement and the quality of the home environment, in the five countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included seven countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (bottom, middle and top thirds).
 *** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).



Figure A16. Percentage of children aged 2–4 who experienced severe physical punishment in the past month, by whether child was ever left without adult supervision during the week before the survey, in the five countries where there was a significant difference, 2005–2006



Note: The analysis included 12 countries that had a minimum of 25 children in each variable category (never left without adult supervision and left at least once without adult supervision).
*** $p \leq .001$ (statistically significant at the 0.1% level); ** $p \leq .01$ (statistically significant at the 1% level); * $p \leq .05$ (statistically significant at the 5% level).

Annex 5. Statistical tables

Table A3. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced different types of discipline in the past month, by country, 2005–2006

	Any violent discipline			Any physical punishment			Any severe physical punishment			Any psychological aggression			Any non-violent discipline			Non-violent discipline, excluding explaining why a behaviour was wrong			Only non-violent discipline			No form of discipline listed in Child Discipline Module		
	Estimate	95% Confidence Interval		Estimate	95% Confidence Interval		Estimate	95% Confidence Interval		Estimate	95% Confidence Interval		Estimate	95% Confidence Interval		Estimate	95% Confidence Interval		Estimate	95% Confidence Interval		Estimate	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower	Upper		Lower	Upper		Lower	Upper		Lower	Upper		Lower	Upper		Lower	Upper		Lower	Upper		Lower	Upper
Albania	52	49	55	50	47	53	9	8	11	12	10	14	92	91	94	70	67	73	43	40	46	5	4	6
Algeria	87	86	88	75	74	76	25	24	26	84	85	84	90	90	91	62	61	64	7	6	7	5	5	6
Azerbaijan	76	74	78	48	46	51	17	15	19	73	72	75	93	92	95	77	75	79	20	18	22	4	3	6
Belarus	84	82	86	51	48	54	2	1	3	78	76	81	94	92	95	86	84	88	13	11	15	3	2	5
Belize	70	67	74	58	54	63	8	6	10	53	49	57	93	91	94	81	77	85	25	21	29	4	3	6
Bosnia and Herzegovina	38	34	42	24	21	27	3	2	5	28	25	32	93	91	95	62	57	66	57	53	61	5	4	7
Burkina Faso	83	81	84	62	60	64	21	19	23	84	83	85	82	80	84	58	55	61	6	5	7	6	5	7
Cameroun	93	92	94	78	76	79	28	26	30	87	85	88	82	81	84	63	61	66	4	3	5	3	2	4
Central African Republic	89	87	90	78	76	79	34	32	37	83	81	84	90	89	91	68	66	71	7	6	8	4	3	5
Côte d'Ivoire	91	90	92	73	71	75	22	20	24	88	86	90	91	90	92	53	50	56	7	5	8	3	2	3
Djibouti	72	70	75	67	64	70	22	19	25	57	54	60	83	81	86	75	71	79	16	14	18	11	10	13
Gambia	87	85	88	74	72	76	23	22	25	77	76	79	90	89	92	72	70	75	9	8	10	4	3	5
Georgia	67	65	69	50	48	52	20	18	22	59	57	61	77	75	79	68	65	70	17	15	19	16	15	18
Ghana	90	88	91	70	68	72	11	9	12	84	82	86	88	85	90	35	32	38	7	6	8	4	2	6
Guinea-Bissau	82	80	83	74	72	76	30	28	32	68	66	70	93	92	94	69	67	72	15	13	17	4	3	5
Guyana	76	74	78	64	61	66	17	15	19	67	64	69	87	86	89	71	68	74	15	13	16	9	8	10
Iraq	85	84	86	72	71	73	31	30	32	82	81	83	95	94	95	73	71	74	12	11	13	3	2	3
Jamaica	89	87	90	77	75	79	9	7	11	77	75	79	89	87	91	73	70	76	7	6	9	3	2	4
Kazakhstan	54	52	56	24	22	25	1	1	1	50	48	52	77	76	79	58	56	60	29	27	30	17	16	19
Kyrgyzstan	54	50	57	37	33	42	3	2	5	43	39	47	89	87	91	65	59	70	38	35	42	8	6	10
Lao	74	72	75	47	45	50	8	7	9	64	63	66	79	78	81	66	64	68	19	17	20	8	7	9
Montenegro	63	59	66	45	41	49	6	5	8	56	52	59	93	91	95	53	47	59	32	28	36	5	4	7
Serbia	75	72	77	55	52	57	8	7	9	64	61	67	90	88	91	54	51	57	19	17	21	6	5	7
Sierra Leone	92	91	93	79	77	80	24	22	25	83	82	84	93	92	94	62	60	64	6	5	6	2	2	3
Suriname	86	85	88	62	60	65	10	8	11	81	79	83	95	94	96	79	76	82	11	10	13	2	2	3
Syrian Arab Republic	89	88	89	78	77	79	24	23	25	84	83	85	90	90	91	77	75	78	7	6	8	5	4	5
Tajikistan	78	76	79	60	57	62	18	17	20	73	71	74	89	87	90	76	73	78	16	15	18	6	5	7
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	72	67	77	58	53	63	16	13	20	61	56	66	90	86	93	33	27	39	22	18	27	5	4	8
Togo	91	90	92	76	74	78	26	24	28	83	82	85	90	89	91	44	42	47	7	6	8	2	2	3
Trinidad and Tobago	77	75	80	54	52	57	5	4	7	68	66	71	89	87	90	75	72	78	17	15	19	6	5	7
Ukraine	70	66	74	37	32	42	2	1	4	66	61	70	96	95	97	74	69	78	27	23	31	3	2	4
Viet Nam	94	93	95	63	61	66	10	9	12	90	88	92	96	95	97	45	42	49	6	5	7	0	0	0
Yemen	95	94	96	86	84	88	44	42	46	93	91	94	94	93	95	71	68	74	4	3	5	1	1	2



Table A4. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/ or psychological aggression) in the past month, by sex of child and country, 2005–2006

Country	Sex of child							
	Male			Female				
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count
	Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper		
Albania	55	52	59	696	48	44	52	519
Algeria	89	88	90	8561	87	86	88	8044
Azerbaijan	79	77	81	1593	72	69	75	1243
Belarus	87	85	89	1376	80	77	83	1232
Belize	71	67	75	354	71	65	76	357
Bosnia and Herzegovina	40	35	45	567	36	31	41	520
Burkina Faso	89	87	91	1866	88	86	89	1945
Cameroon	93	92	95	2714	93	91	94	2746
Central African Republic	90	89	92	3477	88	85	90	3444
Côte d'Ivoire	91	89	93	2963	91	90	93	2913
Djibouti	74	71	77	1109	72	68	75	1027
Gambia	86	85	88	1866	87	86	89	2122
Georgia	70	68	72	1614	63	60	66	1264
Ghana	91	88	92	1806	89	87	91	1694
Guinea-Bissau	83	81	85	1931	81	79	83	1873
Guyana	80	77	82	1299	75	72	77	1157
Iraq	87	86	88	5597	83	82	85	5038
Jamaica	91	89	92	1015	88	86	90	913
Kazakhstan	56	54	58	2026	51	49	53	1567
Kyrgyzstan	59	54	63	1022	49	44	54	816
Lao People's Democratic Republic	75	73	77	1839	72	70	74	1674
Montenegro	65	60	69	413	62	57	67	334
Serbia	76	72	78	1564	75	72	78	1442
Sierra Leone	92	91	93	2720	93	91	94	2796
Suriname	88	85	90	1173	86	83	87	1176
Syrian Arab Republic	90	89	91	5891	88	87	89	5303
Tajikistan	80	78	82	2024	75	73	78	1740
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	77	71	81	1341	68	60	75	1283
Togo	91	89	92	2031	91	90	93	2069
Trinidad and Tobago	78	75	81	778	77	74	80	769
Ukraine	76	72	79	1069	65	59	70	867
Viet Nam	95	94	96	1315	92	90	94	953
Yemen	95	93	96	1373	95	93	96	1335



Table A5. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by age of child and country, 2005–2006

Country	Age of child											
	2–4 years				5–9 years				10–14 years			
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count
		Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper	
Albania	46	39	52	186	57	53	61	487	49	46	53	542
Algeria	85	84	87	3555	90	89	91	5783	87	86	88	7267
Azerbaijan	74	70	78	572	79	75	83	894	74	71	76	1370
Belarus	85	82	87	1204	86	83	89	713	82	78	85	691
Belize	64	56	72	139	73	68	78	312	71	65	76	260
Bosnia and Herzegovina	41	36	47	505	37	32	43	342	37	32	43	240
Burkina Faso	84	81	87	831	91	89	93	1644	87	85	89	1336
Cameroon	92	89	94	1313	94	92	95	2174	93	91	95	1973
Central African Republic	85	83	87	2027	91	90	93	2889	90	87	91	2005
Côte d'Ivoire	89	86	92	1449	91	89	93	2474	92	90	94	1953
Djibouti	66	60	71	402	75	71	78	839	75	71	78	895
Gambia	83	80	86	811	88	86	89	1667	88	85	89	1510
Georgia	69	65	72	568	73	70	76	1056	61	59	64	1254
Ghana	88	86	90	771	91	89	93	1389	89	87	91	1340
Guinea-Bissau	76	72	79	894	85	82	87	1566	83	80	85	1344
Guyana	78	74	81	551	79	77	82	993	75	72	78	917
Iraq	86	84	87	2749	88	86	89	4008	83	81	84	3878
Jamaica	90	87	93	405	92	90	94	756	86	83	89	767
Kazakhstan	47	43	50	661	57	54	59	1264	55	53	58	1668
Kyrgyzstan	50	44	57	346	54	49	58	697	56	51	61	795
Lao People's Democratic Republic	74	71	77	754	78	75	80	1417	69	67	72	1342
Montenegro	65	59	70	264	66	61	70	279	60	53	66	204
Serbia	77	74	80	1105	77	73	80	1045	73	69	76	856
Sierra Leone	88	85	89	1274	93	92	94	2387	94	93	95	1855
Suriname	88	85	91	586	86	84	89	909	86	83	88	854
Syrian Arab Republic	85	83	86	2399	91	90	93	4165	88	87	89	4630
Tajikistan	69	64	73	691	81	79	83	1432	79	76	81	1641
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	72	66	76	1183	71	61	80	963	74	67	80	478
Togo	87	84	89	772	92	90	93	1715	92	90	93	1613
Trinidad and Tobago	83	78	86	345	79	75	82	578	74	71	78	624
Ukraine	60	55	66	913	79	74	83	537	66	61	71	486
Viet Nam	94	91	96	430	94	92	95	784	94	92	95	1054
Yemen	92	90	94	699	97	95	98	1011	95	93	96	998



Table A6. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by place of residence and country, 2005–2006

Country	Place of residence							
	Urban				Rural			
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count
		Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper	
Albania	48	43	53	517	54	50	58	698
Algeria	89	88	90	9869	87	85	88	6736
Azerbaijan	74	71	77	1447	77	75	79	1389
Belarus	83	81	86	1684	85	80	88	924
Belize	71	65	76	349	71	65	76	362
Bosnia and Herzegovina	37	31	44	355	38	34	43	732
Burkina Faso	89	86	92	580	88	86	89	3231
Cameroon	92	91	94	2343	94	92	95	3117
Central African Republic	90	88	92	2280	88	87	90	4641
Côte d'Ivoire	92	90	94	2431	90	88	92	3445
Djibouti	73	71	76	1878	64	52	74	258
Gambia	87	85	88	1669	87	85	89	2319
Georgia	68	65	71	1474	66	63	68	1404
Ghana	91	89	92	1220	89	86	91	2280
Guinea-Bissau	85	83	87	1662	81	78	83	2142
Guyana	75	70	79	443	78	76	80	2018
Iraq	84	83	85	6868	87	85	88	3767
Jamaica	89	87	91	1012	89	87	92	916
Kazakhstan	57	54	59	1790	51	49	54	1803
Kyrgyzstan	51	47	55	915	56	51	61	923
Lao People's Democratic Republic	68	65	72	717	75	73	77	2796
Montenegro	63	59	67	464	64	57	70	283
Serbia	73	70	77	1769	77	74	81	1237
Sierra Leone	92	90	93	1518	92	91	93	3998
Suriname	85	83	88	1503	89	87	91	846
Syrian Arab Republic	89	88	90	6120	89	88	90	5074
Tajikistan	77	73	80	1372	78	76	80	2392
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	68	60	75	1459	78	71	83	1165
Togo	93	91	94	1331	90	89	91	2769
Trinidad and Tobago	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Ukraine	69	65	74	1153	72	64	79	783
Viet Nam	91	88	94	543	95	93	96	1725
Yemen	96	94	97	789	95	93	96	1919



Table A7. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by number of household members and country, 2005–2006

Country	Number of household members											
	1–3				4–5				6+			
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval (CI)		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count
		Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper	
Albania	42	35	49	87	52	49	55	761	53	48	58	362
Algeria	82	78	85	672	89	88	90	5033	88	87	89	10397
Azerbaijan	72	64	78	249	76	73	78	1555	78	74	81	956
Belarus	81	78	84	955	86	83	88	1440	90	83	95	165
Belize	65	55	74	67	68	62	73	276	75	69	80	295
Bosnia and Herzegovina	25	19	31	108	36	32	41	642	49	43	54	334
Burkina Faso	84	76	90	183	90	87	93	811	89	87	90	2265
Cameroon	93	89	95	426	93	91	95	1358	94	93	95	2224
Central African Republic	83	79	86	660	90	88	92	1966	90	88	92	2465
Côte d'Ivoire	85	76	91	238	90	87	93	1069	92	90	93	2976
Djibouti	62	53	71	114	70	65	74	604	75	71	78	1217
Gambia	75	67	82	146	82	79	85	635	88	86	89	2323
Georgia	61	55	67	257	69	66	71	1448	67	64	70	1081
Ghana	89	85	92	359	90	88	92	1071	90	87	93	1335
Guinea-Bissau	70	62	78	103	80	77	83	653	83	80	84	2085
Guyana	74	69	78	258	73	70	76	886	82	78	85	976
Iraq	75	70	80	281	85	83	87	2424	86	85	87	7631
Jamaica	90	86	92	342	89	87	91	674	92	90	95	496
Kazakhstan	56	53	59	702	54	52	56	1708	55	52	58	1021
Kyrgyzstan	51	42	61	135	53	48	57	779	54	49	60	749
Lao People's Democratic Republic	63	58	69	201	72	69	74	1233	75	73	77	1901
Montenegro	53	42	64	57	62	58	66	426	67	62	72	256
Serbia	72	66	78	283	75	72	78	1490	79	75	82	1129
Sierra Leone	91	86	94	271	92	90	93	1297	92	91	93	2391
Suriname	87	83	90	367	86	84	88	970	88	84	91	669
Syrian Arab Republic	75	71	79	363	88	87	89	3713	90	89	91	7002
Tajikistan	61	50	71	125	78	74	81	1076	79	77	80	2451
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	60	37	80	83	71	63	78	1030	74	68	80	1479
Togo	88	84	91	334	92	90	94	1118	91	89	92	1603
Trinidad and Tobago	75	70	79	258	77	74	79	718	80	76	84	355
Ukraine	70	65	75	636	71	66	76	1020	69	60	77	263
Viet Nam	92	87	95	218	94	93	95	1313	94	91	96	628
Yemen	96	89	99	71	92	88	94	447	96	94	97	2098



Table A8. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by presence of biological parents in the home and country, 2005–2006

Country	Biological parents present in the home											
	Neither				Either mother OR father				Both			
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count
		Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper	
Albania	100	100	100	1	55	42	68	45	52	49	55	1144
Algeria	75	68	81	237	86	83	90	558	88	87	89	15094
Azerbaijan	47	32	63	40	78	73	83	394	76	74	78	2367
Belarus	52	31	73	20	84	80	88	490	85	83	87	1990
Belize	63	47	76	46	76	69	82	152	70	65	74	466
Bosnia and Herzegovina	6	1	39	1	41	27	56	41	38	34	42	1022
Burkina Faso	85	78	90	323	85	78	89	263	89	87	90	2937
Cameroon	91	88	93	805	95	93	96	1017	93	92	94	2940
Central African Republic	87	84	90	843	90	87	92	1422	89	88	91	3785
Côte d'Ivoire	90	86	92	966	90	88	92	1241	92	90	94	3168
Djibouti	65	49	78	55	71	61	80	102	73	70	76	1702
Gambia	85	82	88	502	87	84	89	680	87	85	89	2442
Georgia	54	40	68	38	61	54	68	199	68	66	70	2523
Ghana	90	86	93	448	94	92	96	743	89	85	91	2001
Guinea-Bissau	83	79	87	628	83	79	86	548	82	80	84	2210
Guyana	72	65	78	200	80	76	84	533	77	74	79	1562
Iraq	68	50	82	30	85	77	90	163	86	85	87	9789
Jamaica	86	82	89	256	91	89	93	917	88	85	91	659
Kazakhstan	35	28	42	79	59	56	63	493	54	52	56	2750
Kyrgyzstan	62	51	72	116	51	40	62	144	53	49	57	1435
Lao People's Democratic Republic	67	57	76	85	68	59	76	91	74	72	76	3090
Montenegro	60	11	95	2	68	52	81	34	63	60	67	699
Serbia	38	16	66	19	68	60	75	210	76	74	79	2698
Sierra Leone	93	91	94	880	93	91	95	905	92	91	93	3143
Suriname	86	80	91	220	89	86	92	619	86	84	88	1354
Syrian Arab Republic	83	67	92	18	88	83	92	223	89	88	90	10602
Tajikistan	58	42	72	44	70	62	77	250	79	77	80	3290
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	17	3	60	8	57	25	84	56	74	69	79	2538
Togo	92	90	94	581	94	92	96	679	90	89	92	2397
Trinidad and Tobago	81	74	87	98	81	78	84	436	75	73	78	922
Ukraine	60	30	84	8	71	63	78	302	71	66	75	1564
Viet Nam	93	80	98	55	96	89	98	122	94	92	95	2005
Yemen	82	52	95	29	93	86	96	214	95	94	96	2336



Table A9. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by marital status of mother/primary caregiver aged 15–49 and country, 2005–2006

Country	Marital status of mother							Unweighted count
	Not in union			In union				
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		
	Lower	Upper	Lower		Upper			
Albania	58	43	71	34	52	49	55	1143
Algeria	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Azerbaijan	76	59	88	61	77	75	79	2473
Belarus	81	76	85	373	85	83	87	2176
Belize	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Bosnia and Herzegovina	42	28	58	44	38	34	42	1018
Burkina Faso	91	82	96	98	89	87	91	2586
Cameroon	96	93	97	580	94	92	95	2959
Central African Republic	91	83	95	466	89	88	91	4103
Côte d'Ivoire	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Djibouti	79	71	85	123	75	72	78	1322
Gambia	84	78	88	153	86	85	88	2605
Georgia	65	58	72	193	68	66	70	2437
Ghana	92	84	96	272	90	87	91	2132
Guinea-Bissau	81	75	86	248	82	79	84	1940
Guyana	79	74	83	327	78	75	80	1644
Iraq	84	78	88	358	86	85	87	8863
Jamaica	93	91	95	614	90	87	92	811
Kazakhstan	58	54	62	548	54	52	56	2746
Kyrgyzstan	52	43	61	170	54	50	58	1413
Lao People's Democratic Republic	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Montenegro	67	54	79	35	63	59	67	684
Serbia	75	66	82	152	77	74	79	2676
Sierra Leone	94	90	96	229	92	91	93	2934
Suriname	90	86	92	444	87	85	89	1372
Syrian Arab Republic	88	82	93	146	89	89	90	9585
Tajikistan	70	63	77	223	79	77	81	3193
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	44	18	73	41	74	69	78	2520
Togo	92	88	95	207	91	90	92	2331
Trinidad and Tobago	83	79	87	304	78	75	80	935
Ukraine	69	61	76	278	71	67	75	1626
Viet Nam	88	73	95	90	94	93	95	1950
Yemen	90	77	96	55	95	94	96	2250



Table A11. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by average adult age in the household and country, 2005–2006

Country	Average age of adults in household											
	Less than 30 years				30–39 years				40+ years			
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count
		Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper	
Albania	53	44	62	78	54	50	58	661	49	45	53	471
Algeria	88	86	90	2661	88	87	89	10255	88	87	90	3186
Azerbaijan	81	76	86	292	74	71	77	1354	77	73	80	1114
Belarus	87	84	89	749	85	82	87	1344	81	76	85	467
Belize	70	63	76	213	75	70	79	325	64	54	73	99
Bosnia and Herzegovina	38	29	47	140	35	31	40	524	43	38	48	420
Burkina Faso	86	82	89	631	90	88	92	1696	89	85	92	932
Cameroon	93	90	95	1247	94	92	95	1890	96	93	97	871
Central African Republic	88	86	90	1740	91	89	92	2340	89	85	93	1011
Côte d'Ivoire	90	87	93	1176	93	91	94	2232	90	85	93	875
Djibouti	74	70	78	504	73	68	76	1003	74	68	78	428
Gambia	84	81	87	585	86	84	88	1789	90	87	92	729
Georgia	74	67	80	190	68	65	71	1021	66	64	69	1575
Ghana	92	90	94	670	89	85	92	1414	90	87	92	681
Guinea-Bissau	80	76	83	711	83	81	85	1527	82	78	85	603
Guyana	79	75	83	580	77	74	80	1084	78	73	82	455
Iraq	85	83	86	2823	86	85	87	5855	84	81	86	1658
Jamaica	93	89	95	405	90	87	92	734	90	87	93	373
Kazakhstan	58	54	62	518	55	53	57	1908	53	50	56	1005
Kyrgyzstan	55	48	61	298	53	49	58	968	53	46	60	397
Lao People's Democratic Republic	76	73	79	732	74	72	76	1734	72	69	75	869
Montenegro	66	56	74	76	64	60	68	384	63	56	69	279
Serbia	81	74	86	440	77	74	80	1363	75	71	78	1099
Sierra Leone	92	90	94	820	92	90	93	1869	92	90	93	1262
Suriname	91	87	93	471	86	84	89	1044	85	81	87	491
Syrian Arab Republic	89	88	90	3037	89	88	90	6596	89	87	90	1445
Tajikistan	75	71	78	725	79	77	82	2115	77	74	81	812
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	70	61	78	471	73	65	79	1236	75	67	82	885
Togo	89	85	92	684	92	90	93	1534	92	90	94	837
Trinidad and Tobago	83	77	87	209	78	75	81	721	75	71	79	401
Ukraine	76	70	81	477	70	65	75	990	69	62	74	452
Viet Nam	95	90	97	322	94	92	95	1244	93	91	95	593
Yemen	95	93	96	932	95	93	97	1302	96	92	97	382



Table A12. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by average household education and country, 2005–2006

Country	Average household education											
	None or primary				Secondary				Higher			
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count
		Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper	
Albania	67	55	78	59	54	50	58	633	48	44	52	518
Algeria	88	87	89	8133	89	88	90	7285	86	83	89	683
Azerbaijan	76	65	85	126	77	75	79	2297	69	64	75	333
Belarus	66	19	94	6	86	83	88	1856	81	77	84	698
Belize	71	65	76	340	74	68	79	243	66	53	77	53
Bosnia and Herzegovina	40	34	46	310	39	35	44	700	28	20	37	74
Burkina Faso	89	87	90	3125	91	84	96	130	100	100	100	4
Cameroon	94	93	95	2457	93	91	95	1415	88	78	94	135
Central African Republic	90	88	91	4209	88	85	91	834	82	65	92	38
Côte d'Ivoire	92	90	93	3758	90	85	93	485	99	95	1.00	31
Djibouti	74	71	77	1590	71	64	77	307	67	46	83	34
Gambia	87	85	89	2502	86	82	89	471	70	52	83	34
Georgia	77	65	86	59	67	65	70	1580	67	63	70	1007
Ghana	89	86	92	1709	92	90	93	1003	87	76	94	53
Guinea-Bissau	82	80	84	2495	82	78	86	329	65	33	87	8
Guyana	79	73	83	493	77	75	80	1521	81	72	87	90
Iraq	86	84	87	5394	86	85	87	4040	82	79	85	894
Jamaica	96	84	99	55	92	90	93	1283	83	76	88	170
Kazakhstan	57	42	71	26	56	54	58	2705	49	46	52	700
Kyrgyzstan	30	13	55	16	55	50	59	1346	50	43	57	301
Lao People's Democratic Republic	76	74	78	2507	68	65	71	826	na	na	na	na
Montenegro	76	70	81	129	62	57	67	495	55	48	62	115
Serbia	80	76	84	1180	76	73	79	1411	71	65	77	311
Sierra Leone	92	91	93	3552	92	88	95	367	78	63	88	32
Suriname	91	88	93	670	85	83	87	1243	80	71	86	86
Syrian Arab Republic	89	88	91	4364	90	89	91	4190	87	86	89	2524
Tajikistan	79	71	85	129	78	76	80	2987	76	70	80	536
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	76	70	82	1608	68	60	75	866	70	50	85	118
Togo	91	90	92	2406	92	89	94	619	85	56	96	28
Trinidad and Tobago	81	76	85	211	77	75	80	1006	74	65	81	114
Ukraine	67	36	88	12	73	67	79	946	67	62	72	858
Viet Nam	97	95	99	578	93	92	95	1484	84	75	90	96
Yemen	95	94	96	2105	96	93	98	439	96	84	99	69



Table A13. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by education of primary caregiver and country, 2005–2006

Country	Education of primary caregiver											
	None or primary				Secondary				Higher			
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count
		Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper	
Albania	49	31	67	27	57	53	61	674	45	41	49	514
Algeria	88	87	89	10696	89	88	90	5397	88	85	91	505
Azerbaijan	82	72	90	88	77	75	79	2476	65	59	71	266
Belarus	49	11	88	3	85	83	87	1976	79	75	83	629
Belize	69	64	73	457	78	72	83	196	67	55	77	54
Bosnia and Herzegovina	38	33	43	383	39	34	44	632	32	24	43	71
Burkina Faso	88	87	90	3634	90	80	95	154	69	23	94	15
Cameroon	94	93	95	3843	92	90	94	1418	87	79	93	192
Central African Republic	89	87	90	6002	90	87	93	808	88	76	95	60
Côte d'Ivoire	91	90	92	5192	91	87	94	554	85	73	92	79
Djibouti	74	71	77	1874	68	61	75	206	59	39	76	18
Gambia	88	86	89	3126	83	80	87	488	75	61	85	56
Georgia	78	63	88	24	67	64	69	1262	66	62	69	880
Ghana	89	87	92	2291	91	89	93	1126	81	69	89	74
Guinea-Bissau	82	80	83	3312	82	77	87	405	68	42	86	10
Guyana	75	71	79	764	78	76	80	1552	78	67	86	92
Iraq	86	84	87	7270	86	85	88	2458	80	76	83	700
Jamaica	87	82	91	208	91	89	92	1465	83	77	88	223
Kazakhstan	55	37	72	27	55	53	57	2837	49	45	52	729
Kyrgyzstan	47	26	69	22	55	50	59	1475	52	45	58	340
Lao People's Democratic Republic	75	73	77	2895	66	63	70	574	na	na	na	na
Montenegro	71	65	76	166	62	58	67	476	54	46	62	105
Serbia	77	72	81	1278	77	74	79	1384	68	63	73	338
Sierra Leone	92	91	93	4856	92	90	94	566	86	75	92	86
Suriname	89	87	91	976	85	83	88	1232	76	67	83	97
Syrian Arab Republic	89	88	90	6587	91	89	92	2480	86	84	88	2124
Tajikistan	76	66	84	90	78	76	80	3338	71	65	77	336
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	75	69	80	1797	66	56	75	688	73	53	87	139
Togo	91	90	92	3561	91	88	94	505	83	59	94	21
Trinidad and Tobago	79	75	82	423	77	75	80	999	75	67	81	117
Ukraine					72	65	78	892	67	62	71	771
Viet Nam	97	96	98	815	92	91	94	1336	87	78	93	89
Yemen	95	94	96	2455	93	89	96	132	95	80	99	60



Table A14. Percentage of children aged 2–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/ or psychological aggression) in the past month, by family wealth and country, 2005–2006

Country	Family wealth							
	Poorest 60% of households				Wealthiest 40% of households			
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count
Lower		Upper	Lower			Upper		
Albania	56	53	60	756	44	40	48	459
Algeria	88	87	89	10409	88	87	89	6196
Azerbaijan	77	75	79	1941	73	69	76	895
Belarus	85	83	88	1563	81	78	84	1045
Belize	72	66	77	426	69	63	74	285
Bosnia and Herzegovina	42	37	47	690	33	28	38	397
Burkina Faso	88	86	89	2576	89	86	91	1235
Cameroon	94	92	95	3420	92	90	94	2040
Central African Republic	89	87	90	4817	90	87	91	2104
Côte d'Ivoire	91	90	93	3772	91	88	93	2104
Djibouti	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Gambia	88	87	90	2527	85	82	87	1461
Georgia	67	65	69	1882	66	63	70	996
Ghana	90	87	92	2382	90	88	91	1118
Guinea-Bissau	81	79	84	2244	83	81	85	1560
Guyana	80	77	83	1798	72	68	75	663
Iraq	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Jamaica	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Kazakhstan	54	52	56	2340	54	52	57	1253
Kyrgyzstan	55	51	59	1230	52	46	58	608
Lao People's Democratic Republic	76	74	78	2307	69	66	71	1206
Montenegro	65	60	69	476	61	55	67	271
Serbia	79	76	81	2156	70	66	74	850
Sierra Leone	92	91	93	3404	93	91	94	2112
Suriname	88	87	90	1566	83	80	86	783
Syrian Arab Republic	89	88	90	6641	88	87	89	4553
Tajikistan	78	76	81	1878	76	74	79	1886
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	78	73	82	1921	61	51	71	703
Togo	90	88	91	2648	93	92	94	1452
Trinidad and Tobago	80	77	82	955	74	71	77	592
Ukraine	73	68	78	1329	64	58	70	607
Viet Nam	95	94	96	1396	92	90	94	872
Yemen	94	93	96	1665	96	94	97	1043



Table A15. Percentage of children aged 5–14 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by whether the child was engaged in child labour and country, 2005–2006

Country	Child labour							
	Child is engaged				Child is not engage			
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count
Lower		Upper	Lower			Upper		
Albania	50	46	54	375	60	49	71	73
Algeria	91	90	93	5617	92	88	95	308
Azerbaijan	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Belarus	85	83	87	958	86	75	92	63
Belize	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Bosnia and Herzegovina	42	37	48	329	62	41	79	35
Burkina Faso	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Cameroon	93	92	95	2214	96	94	97	1330
Central African Republic	90	88	92	1724	91	89	93	2169
Côte d'Ivoire	96	94	97	1295	94	92	96	1208
Djibouti	85	80	89	518	83	58	95	62
Gambia	89	87	91	1383	93	91	95	737
Georgia	65	62	68	1206	75	70	80	420
Ghana	90	88	92	1152	91	89	93	847
Guinea-Bissau	82	79	85	1136	84	81	86	969
Guyana	80	77	82	1028	88	83	92	377
Iraq	86	84	87	2717	90	87	92	589
Jamaica	89	86	91	1044	95	90	98	88
Kazakhstan	58	56	59	2383	58	47	68	59
Kyrgyzstan	59	54	64	1041	74	48	90	49
Lao People's Democratic Republic	69	66	71	1276	73	67	78	271
Montenegro	61	53	69	222	75	60	86	40
Serbia	80	77	83	876	85	73	92	89
Sierra Leone	94	93	95	1676	95	93	96	1759
Suriname	88	85	90	976	93	85	97	87
Syrian Arab Republic	93	92	94	2993	91	86	94	208
Tajikistan	81	79	83	1843	78	70	85	304
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	79	70	86	486	80	56	93	66
Togo	93	91	94	1687	92	89	94	850
Trinidad and Tobago	77	74	80	687	88	67	96	14
Ukraine	71	67	75	692	70	53	82	91
Viet Nam	95	93	96	783	94	90	97	239
Yemen	96	94	98	686	96	92	98	364



Table A16. Percentage of children aged 2–4 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/ or psychological aggression) in the past month, by number of books in the home and country, 2005–2006

Country	Number of books in the home											
	0				1–10				11+			
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count
		Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper	
Albania	48	38	59	61	43	33	53	60	47	37	58	65
Algeria	84	81	87	1044	86	84	89	1530	85	82	87	809
Azerbaijan	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Belarus	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Belize	70	43	87	15	65	49	78	36	63	51	73	82
Bosnia and Herzegovina	39	29	51	59	57	47	66	158	36	30	42	286
Burkina Faso	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Cameroon	89	83	93	533	94	92	96	613	91	83	95	141
Central African Republic	83	80	86	1280	89	85	93	603	88	74	95	80
Côte d'Ivoire	88	85	91	986	91	86	94	397	95	84	99	57
Djibouti	67	58	74	262	70	59	80	74	72	51	87	28
Gambia	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Georgia	70	58	80	68	67	56	76	76	68	64	72	405
Ghana	85	81	88	398	93	90	96	255	89	81	94	105
Guinea-Bissau	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Guyana	72	63	80	122	81	74	86	210	78	72	84	209
Iraq	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Jamaica	84	40	98	13	94	88	97	84	90	86	93	304
Kazakhstan	47	35	59	38	55	48	61	144	44	41	48	479
Kyrgyzstan	43	27	61	47	50	39	61	128	53	44	61	168
Lao People's Democratic Republic	75	71	79	515	74	68	80	225	18	06	40	3
Montenegro	69	46	85	24	76	62	86	50	61	54	68	185
Serbia	83	73	89	203	83	77	88	223	76	72	79	652
Sierra Leone	87	84	90	735	89	85	92	303	86	77	92	109
Suriname	86	79	90	141	94	90	96	213	86	80	91	213
Syrian Arab Republic	80	76	83	784	85	82	87	974	90	87	92	630
Tajikistan	68	60	74	269	73	66	79	266	62	52	71	138
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	76	68	82	392	76	70	81	302	67	58	76	484
Togo	86	83	89	481	86	80	90	238	93	75	98	35
Trinidad and Tobago	83	56	95	9	90	78	96	35	83	78	87	296
Ukraine	23	3	77	1	73	58	84	46	60	54	65	866
Viet Nam	95	89	98	153	96	91	98	152	90	83	94	124
Yemen	90	84	93	280	93	88	95	318	99	95	1.00	87



Table A17. Percentage of children aged 2–4 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by parental involvement and the quality of the home environment and country, 2005–2006

Country	Parental involvement and the home environment											
	Bottom third				Middle third				Top third			
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count
		Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper	
Albania	51	38	63	38	48	39	57	86	52	38	66	44
Algeria	88	85	90	834	87	85	89	1282	80	77	83	654
Azerbaijan	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Belarus	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Belize	65	36	86	14	62	45	76	36	66	54	76	78
Bosnia and Herzegovina	65	51	76	64	58	48	68	171	32	27	38	243
Burkina Faso	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Cameroon	92	88	95	440	92	86	96	315	91	80	96	65
Central African Republic	86	83	89	837	90	85	93	416	92	79	97	95
Côte d'Ivoire	88	83	92	534	94	88	97	275	89	71	96	36
Djibouti	80	64	90	48	79	55	92	40	76	42	93	9
Gambia	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Georgia	66	52	77	63	71	64	78	144	70	65	74	324
Ghana	89	83	93	176	89	83	92	167	87	76	94	51
Guinea-Bissau	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Guyana	80	68	88	95	79	72	85	180	79	73	84	224
Iraq	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Jamaica	97	90	99	36	91	84	95	124	89	84	92	231
Kazakhstan	60	51	68	95	47	41	54	216	45	40	49	335
Kyrgyzstan	35	22	50	43	62	47	74	79	50	42	57	205
Lao People's Democratic Republic	73	68	77	457	65	54	75	54	40	15	71	3
Montenegro	73	47	90	18	69	54	80	42	63	57	69	194
Serbia	83	73	90	109	83	75	89	209	75	72	79	669
Sierra Leone	84	79	88	311	89	85	91	451	88	82	92	165
Suriname	91	84	95	131	90	84	94	185	85	77	91	167
Syrian Arab Republic	85	82	88	677	87	84	90	718	88	84	90	414
Tajikistan	68	61	73	333	68	60	76	178	61	47	74	55
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	78	71	83	383	66	54	77	344	71	62	78	404
Togo	91	86	94	239	91	84	95	112	71	40	90	16
Trinidad and Tobago	90	68	97	11	93	83	97	56	81	76	86	270
Ukraine	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Viet Nam	97	93	99	147	94	88	97	123	89	80	94	76
Yemen	99	97	1.00	229	96	91	99	98	98	87	1.00	29



Table A18. Percentage of children aged 2–4 who experienced any violent discipline (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) in the past month, by whether child was ever left without adult supervision during the week before the survey and country, 2005–2006

Country	Supervision of child							
	Never left without adult supervision				Left 1+ times without adult supervision			
	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count	Estimate	95% confidence interval		Unweighted count
Lower		Upper	Lower			Upper		
Albania	44	37	50	158	61	41	77	28
Algeria	85	83	87	3118	91	85	95	341
Azerbaijan	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Belarus	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Belize	63	55	71	127	90	52	99	6
Bosnia and Herzegovina	39	33	44	460	65	49	78	43
Burkina Faso	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Cameroon	92	89	94	824	92	86	95	465
Central African Republic	84	80	87	996	87	84	89	981
Côte d'Ivoire	90	85	93	570	89	86	92	857
Djibouti	69	63	74	313	68	53	80	51
Gambia	84	81	87	644	82	75	88	157
Georgia	67	63	71	498	84	72	91	51
Ghana	89	86	91	537	88	81	92	220
Guinea-Bissau	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Guyana	77	73	81	455	84	57	95	77
Iraq	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Jamaica	90	87	93	384	92	70	98	17
Kazakhstan	46	43	49	578	52	43	61	82
Kyrgyzstan	49	42	57	293	57	39	73	50
Lao People's Democratic Republic	70	66	74	521	82	75	87	222
Montenegro	65	59	71	249	67	38	87	12
Serbia	77	74	80	980	80	68	89	107
Sierra Leone	86	84	89	862	91	87	95	283
Suriname	89	85	91	534	88	67	96	29
Syrian Arab Republic	84	82	85	2024	90	87	93	364
Tajikistan	68	63	73	598	72	62	80	75
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	71	66	76	1069	78	68	85	109
Togo	86	83	89	496	88	83	92	258
Trinidad and Tobago	83	79	87	339	100	100	100	1
Ukraine	59	53	64	798	73	62	82	111
Viet Nam	94	91	96	347	94	87	97	81
Yemen	93	90	95	475	91	85	95	210



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