

Violence against Children and Youth in Viet Nam: The Linkage between Family, Peers and Schools

Vu Manh Loi*

Abstract: Children and youth can experience violence in a variety of settings: in the family, among peers, in the community, in schools, and in society at large. So far, few studies in Viet Nam have attempted to analyze the link of child and youth violence between these different spheres. This paper attempts to examine the linkages between domestic violence against children and other types of child and youth violence that occur outside of the home, under the influence of risk and protective factors such as family, peers, and school. The following analysis is based on the socio-ecological framework.

Key words: Taxation; Gender equality; Taxes law; Women.

1. Introduction

It is well known that children and youth face the risk of different types of violence in all spheres of their everyday life, such as in the family, among peers, in schools, in the community and in the society at large (Maternowska, Potts, and Fry, 2016). Children who are victims of violence are often the victims of multiple types of violence (United Nations Children's Fund, 2014). In addition, international studies show that children who experienced or witnessed domestic violence are more likely to be involved-either as victims or as perpetrators-in incidents of violence

* Vu Manh Loi, Assoc. Prof., Ph.D., Institute of Sociology.
Address correspondence to vumanhloi@gmail.com

outside the home, among peers, in schools, or in the community (Alkhalayle and Newlyn, 2015; Fulu, 2017; United Nations Children's Fund, 2014).

Experiences with violence during childhood and youth can cause devastating psychological and physical health consequences for the youth that sometimes last their entire lives. In addition, experiences with violence cost dearly in terms of economic and human development for those involved, not only for the time being but also for their entire subsequent life course (Olofsson, 2012; United Nations Children's Fund, 2014).

In Viet Nam there are many studies of domestic violence that have occurred in the past 20 years, among which there are a number of studies examining violence against children in the family (United Nations Children's Fund and The University of Edinburgh, 2014). There are a number of studies focusing on school bullying (Nguyen Thi Thu Hang and Tran Ngo Thi Minh Tam, 2013; Martin et al., 2013; Nguyen Thi Nhu Trang, 2012). However, there are only a few studies that attempt to link domestic violence with school violence or other types of violence against children.

This paper attempts to examine the linkages between domestic violence against children and other types of child and youth violence that occur outside of the home, under the influence of risk and protective factors such as family, peers, and school.

2. Brief Review of Domestic and School Violence against Children and Youth

The most common type of domestic violence against children and youth is violence committed by parents or caretakers. Using violent methods to discipline children is common in many cultures (Cappa, 2010; Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2016). Using data from Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys conducted in 2005-2007 (MICS3), Lansford, J. E. and K. Deater-Deckard (2012) examined child discipline practice in 24 developing countries and found that violent disciplinary practice is common (Lansford and Deater-Deckard, 2012). In most of the countries in this study, only small proportions of respondents believe that corporal discipline is necessary, while significant proportions of respondents reported to use corporal punishments to discipline their children (Lansford and Deater-Deckard, 2012). The authors attribute the gaps to the changing cultural norms in which changes in attitude have not

yet translated fully into changes in action (Lansford and Deater-Deckard, 2012).

Historically, using violent methods to discipline children was acceptable as a desirable means of socializing children to make them obey family and social norms of conduct. This is reflected in the Vietnamese idiom *thương cho roi cho vọt, ghét cho ngọt cho bùi*, which means “if you love your children, give them whips and rods (i.e. give them serious punishment). If you hate them, give them candy”.

The tradition of rigid hierarchy in the family and in society under the strong influence of Confucianism requires that everyone to know clearly their position, as well as what they can do and what they cannot do. Obedience and conformity to set rules and social norms are important values. In this context, the use of violent discipline to teach children to respect norms is encouraged, so that they will fit in with the outside society when they are grown (Ember and Ember, 2005). In this Confucian system, men have power over women and older people have more power than younger ones. Another Vietnamese idiom is that a man “needs to teach his child since birth, and teach his wife from day one after marriage” (*đạy con từ thủa còn thơ, dạy vợ từ thủa bơ vơ mới về*). Violent methods are often used to “teach” children and wives (Liljestrom and Tuong Lai, 1991). With the fast and intensive process of modernization, and with progressive policies promoting gender equality and preventing domestic violence put in place by the socialist government in the past few decades, these traditional values have been fading, but the practice of using violent methods to discipline children in the family remain widespread.

Data from Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) 2011, with a nationally representative sample of 11,663 women from 11,614 households, show that domestic violence against children is widespread. Violence against children by parents or caretakers is often considered as a way to discipline children. According to the MICS 2011 data, as many as 73.9 percent of children aged 2-14 in the sample experienced violent discipline, among which 55.4% experienced psychological violence and 55% experienced physical violence (UNICEF, 2011). Data from MICS 2014 show that 42.7% of children aged 1-14 have been punished physically, among which 30.2% of children aged 10-14 (N=3187) have been punished physically (*Tổng cục Thống kê and UNICEF, 2015*).

Unlike domestic violence, school violence has only received increasing attention in recent years, with many serious incidences of school violence surfacing in mass media⁽¹⁾. A 2014 study of 2,360 children aged 12-17 in

secondary and high schools in four provinces in North Viet Nam also shows that 83.4% of children in the sample reported to have experienced emotional or physical violence in their lifetime, and 49.9% experienced any type of violence during the 12 months prior to the survey (Tran Nhu K. and Ijzendoorn, 2017). School violence is also linked with the deep root of gender inequality and the concept of manhood and womanhood in the eyes of school children (Nguyen Thi Thu Hang and Tran Ngo Thi Minh Tam, 2013; Martin et al., 2013; Nguyen Thi Nhu Trang, 2012).

There are, however, very few studies attempting to link domestic violence with school violence and to map the inter-relationship between family connectedness, school connectedness, and peer influence in a systematic and coherent way. Le Cu Linh (2010) provided some analysis in this direction using the second round of the National Survey Assessment of Viet Nam Youth (SAVY).

3. Data and Methods

Child and youth violence has not received due attention. There is no specific study collecting comprehensive data on child and youth violence at home, among peers, in schools, and in the community that allows for in-depth analysis of the linkages of various types of violence across different spheres of the everyday lives of children and youth. Specific small-scale surveys on child and youth violence either focus on school violence or domestic violence (Nguyen Thi Nhu Trang, 2012; Vu Thi Thanh Huong, 2016).

For large-scale surveys, data on child and youth violence are often only a part of a study designed for something else. For example, the Viet Nam Family Survey (2006) and the National Study on Domestic Violence against Women in Viet Nam (2010) did not focus on child violence and contained only a few questions about the violent discipline of children at home. MICS surveys include questions about child discipline at home, including violent child discipline, and questions about attitudes of women toward domestic violence, but there is no information about peer and school violence, or other violence outside the home. Young Lives surveys, on the other hand, contain questions about school violence, but no information about peer and domestic violence⁽²⁾.

The first National Survey Assessment of Viet Nam Youth in 2003-04 (SAVY 1) and the second National Survey Assessment of Viet Nam Youth in 2008-09 (SAVY 2) contain good information about school connectedness, family connectedness, peer influence and some types of

violence at home and outside the home. Although the questions about youth violence are not very detailed, SAVY 1 and SAVY 2 may provide the best opportunity to analyze the link between child and youth violence at home with experiences of violence outside the home, as well as the risk and protective factors of family, peers, schools, and community.

The analysis presented in the next section uses data from SAVY 1 and SAVY 2. The sample in SAVY 1 includes 7,584 youth in the age group 14-25. In SAVY 2, the sample of 10,044 youth in the age group 14-25.

The analysis is based on the socio-ecological framework (Maternowska, Potts, and Fry, 2016).

4. Findings

Figure 1 shows the incidences of selected types of violence in SAVY 1 and SAVY 2 by sex. Note that the types of violence presented in Figure 1 are only serious acts of violence that cause injury or require treatment. The proportions of males and females who reported having “ever been injured by family or partner” are 3.5% and 2.6% respectively in 2009 (SAVY 2); these proportions are only slightly lower than reported incidences of severe physical violence in MICS 2011 (3.9% for male children and 3.0% for female children) (UNICEF, 2011). In both SAVY 1 and SAVY 2, a significantly higher proportion of males report experiencing violence than females in four types of violence mentioned, namely “ever hurt someone badly,” “ever been injured by violence outside the home,” “ever been injured by family member or partner,” and “ever tried to injure yourself.” These differences between males and females are particularly pronounced for “ever been injured by violence outside the home” and self-injury. Between the two rounds of SAVY, proportions of violence appear to increase for both males and females for violence by family members or partner, and particularly for self-injury.

Figure 1 also includes proportions of those who had ever thought of suicide. Significantly higher proportions of females report ever thinking of suicide in both SAVY 1 and SAVY 2, and it seems to increase from SAVY 1 to SAVY 2.

Among those who had ever thought of suicide, 14.9% of males and 13.7% of females in SAVY 1 had actually attempted suicide. The corresponding figures are significantly higher for SAVY 2, with 17.5% of males and 28% of females.

Family connectedness and violence

In both SAVY 1 and SAVY 2, an index of family connectedness was developed with two categories - “strong family connectedness” and “weak family connectedness” - based on eight questions about the respondents’ perception of their family when they were 12-18 years old (General Office of Population and Family Planning, 2010). It is hypothesized that family connectedness can be a protective factor for youth from violence at home and outside the home.

Figure 1. Incidences of violence by sex (%)

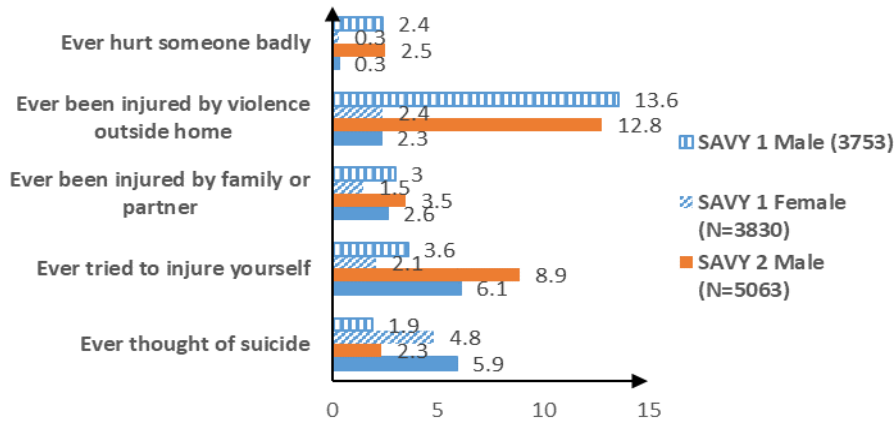


Figure 2. Percent of violent incidences by level of family connectedness index

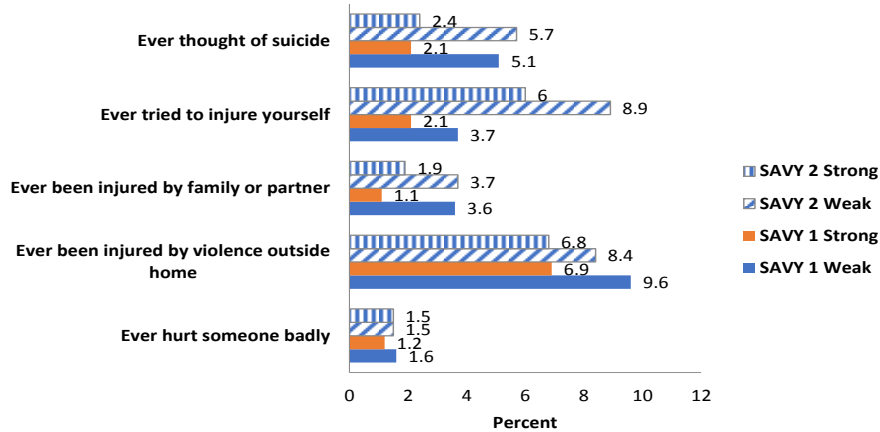


Figure 2 shows a clear pattern that those with strong family connectedness tend to have much lower levels of the given types of violence in both SAVY 1 and SAVY 2.

Table 1 shows the tabulation of types of violence by level of family conflict when the respondents were 12-18 years old. Youth that report growing up in families with frequent conflict tend to have higher percentages of experiencing all types of violence mentioned. This is true in both SAVY 1 and SAVY 2.

Table 1. Percent of violent incidences by level of family conflicts when respondents were 12-18 years old

	SAVY 1			SAVY 2		
	Frequent conflict	Some conflict	No conflict	Frequent conflict	Some conflict	No conflict
Ever hurt someone badly	1.3	1.4	1.4	2.1	1.5	1.3
Ever been injured by violence outside the home	11.6	9.5	6.9	9.9	7.8	7
Ever been injured by family or partner	7.8	3.4	0.9	6.2	3.9	2.1
Ever tried to injure yourself	5.5	3.3	2.2	10.8	8.9	6.3
Ever thought of suicide	9.1	5	1.9	9.3	4.8	2.8
Ever attempted suicide among those who thought of it	18	15.9	11	24.8	31.2	20.5

Associations between domestic violence and other types of violence

Widespread evidence suggests that violence is not an isolated event, but one violent event tends to lead to subsequent violent events, and one type of violence may lead to another type of violence. Thus, those who experienced violence at home tend to use violence outside the home as a means to solve conflict in relationships with other people. On the other hand, those who used violence outside the home tend to use violence at home in family conflicts. Victims of violence in one setting can also be more vulnerable in another setting, or become perpetrators in another setting.

SAVY data do not include information on the time sequence of violence outside the home and violence by family members. Therefore, it is difficult to discern the causal relationship between violence in the family and

violence outside the family. However, examining the association between domestic violence and violence outside the home would provide useful information and evidence of multiple causations between various types of violence.

Table 2. Proportion of youth ever experiencing various types of violence by experience of domestic violence (%)

	Not victim of DV		Victim of DV	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
SAVY 1 (Male=3795; Female=3789)				
Ever taken part in a group riot	3.9	0.4	26.1	5.3
Ever hurt someone badly	2.3	0.3	7.2	1.8
Ever been injured by violence outside the home	12.8	2.3	41.4	10.5
Ever tried to injure yourself	3.5	1.9	5.4	14
Ever thought of suicide	1.8	4.3	8	39.3
Ever attempted suicide (M=74; F=185)	13.6	14.7	12.5	13.6
SAVY 2 (Male=5101; Female=4912)				
Ever taken part in a group riot	7.4	1.5	16.4	5.5
Ever hurt someone badly	2.2	0.3	10.2	1.6
Ever been injured by violence outside the home	11.9	1.8	37.9	17.8
Ever tried to injure yourself	8.4	5.9	21.8	16.3
Ever thought of suicide	2.2	5.4	7.3	22.7
Ever attempted suicide (M=120; F=275)	17.8	28.9	15.4	34.5

The data above suggest that victims and/or perpetrators of one type of violence tend to be victims and/or perpetrators of other types of violence. Youth experiencing one type of violence tend to encounter other types of violence, both at home and outside the home.

Friends and Violence

Friends are thought to have a significant influence on youth thinking and behavior. Friends can have protective effects on youth if they discourage them from doing harmful things, and at the same time can have negative effects on youth if they seek to involve them in risky actions such as smoking, drinking, using amphetamines, trying drugs, watching pornography, having premarital sex, and causing trouble.

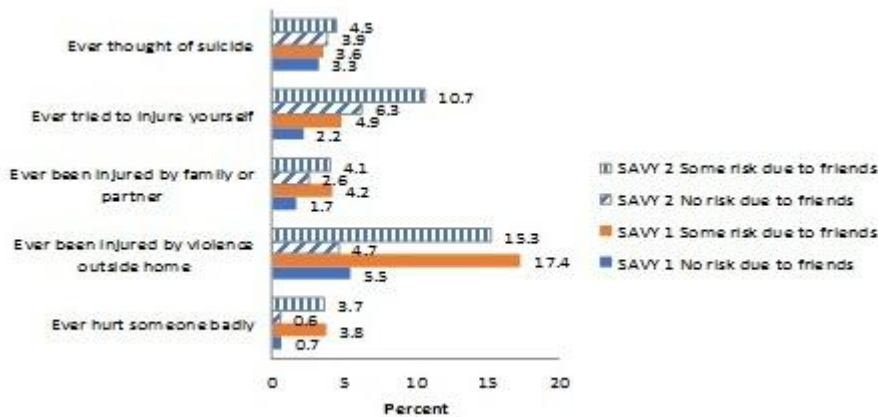
In SAVY 1 and SAVY 2, an index of risk by friends is built based on seven questions about the risky influence of friends (smoking, drinking, using amphetamines, trying drugs, watching pornography, having premarital sex,

and causing trouble). Another index on protection by friends is built based on seven questions about the protective influence of friends (General Office of Population and Family Planning, 2010).

Figure 3 shows clearly that higher proportions of those who report having been influenced by friends to take part in risky actions (smoking, drinking, using amphetamines, trying drug, watching pornography, having premarital sex, and causing trouble) report being injured outside the home. This is true for both males and females (data not shown, see more details in the attached SPSS output). A similar picture can be observed for other types of violence under consideration.

For protective influence by friends, on the other hand, those who report having friends discourage them from taking part in risky actions tend to report experiencing lower percentages of all types of violence under consideration compared to those whose friends do not discourage them from doing so (data not shown). A single index of friends’ influence combining both risk and protective influences also indicates the same patterns, although they are not as clear as when the risk and protective indexes are used separately.

Figure 3. Percent of violent incidences by level of risk by friends index



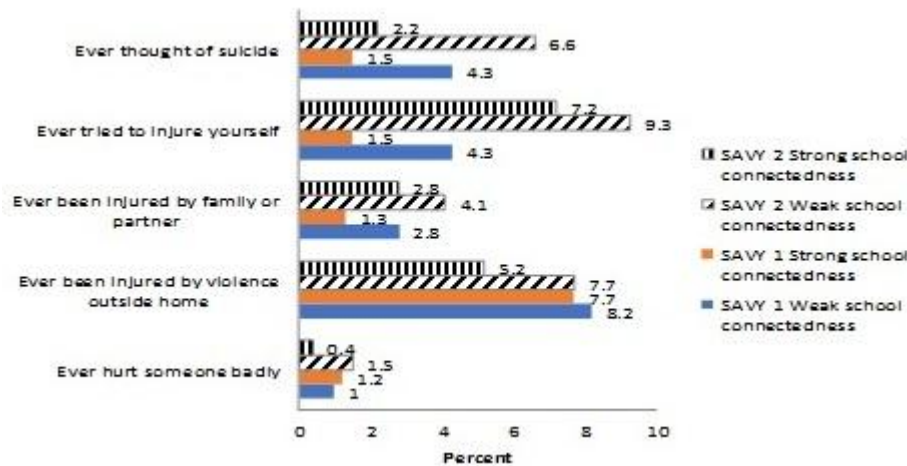
School and Violence

School is a very important source of socialization of children and has important influence on youth behaviors. It is hypothesized that those with strong school attachment would have a lower risk of violence. Based on these eight questions concerning levels of attachment to school, a school connectedness index is built with two categories of “weak school

connectedness” and “strong school connectedness” (General Office of Population and Family Planning, 2010).

The tabulation of types of violence by school connectedness shows strong support for the hypothesis that those who have strong school attachment tend to experience lower percentages of violence (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Percent of violent incidences by school connectedness index



Socio-ecological models predicting violent outcomes of youth

In this section we focus on the analysis of outcome variables of “ever been injured outside the home,” “ever been injured by family or partner” and “ever tried to injure yourself (not including tattoo).” Note that these are very serious cases of physical violence that require medical treatments.

Multivariate regression models allow us to see more clearly the independent influence of one causal variable on the outcome variable while controlling for all other variables in the models.

Table 3 presents a summary of logistic regression models for violence outside the home, domestic violence, and self-violence for those who are going to school, including college or university. The figures in Table 3 are the odds ratios, reflecting the likelihood that violence occurred for the given category compared to the reference category (value equals 1). For example, an odds ratio of 4.018 for males in the model “injured by violence outside the home” means that if other variables in the model are equal, males are 4.018 times more likely than females to be injured by violence outside the home. The stars “*” or “**” or “***” refer to the level of statistical significance of 0.05, 0.01, and 0.001 correspondingly. Odds

ratios without an asterisk mean that the difference is not statistically significant. In the example above, males are significantly different from females in the propensity to be injured by violence outside the home.

For violence outside the home, males are four times more likely than females to have experienced injury by violence outside the home, all else being equal. Young age groups are more than twice as likely to experience serious violence outside the home than the older age group. Youth from the Kinh/Hoa group are 1.7 times more likely than other ethnic minority groups to have ever been injured by violence outside the home. Youth who are the only child in their family are nearly twice as likely to be injured by violence outside the home as those who are not the only child in their family. Those with weak family connectedness tend to be 1.3 times more likely to experience this kind of violence than those with strong family ties. Those without friends' pressure to take part in harmful actions are only 0.5 times more likely to have ever been injured by violence outside the home, compared to those with friends' pressure, all else being equal. Those with weak school connectedness are 1.262 times more likely than those with strong school connectedness to be injured by violence outside the home, and the difference is statistically significant. Finally, controlling for all other variables in the models, youth in SAVY 1 are 1.45 times more likely than youth in SAVY 2 to have ever been injured by violence outside the home. In other words, violence outside the home appears to be decreased over time from SAVY 1 to SAVY 2.

The pattern for ever been injured by domestic violence is very different from the pattern for violence outside the home. For "ever been injured by domestic violence," factors such as sex, age, ethnicity, education, mother's education, household socio-economic status, having a group of friends with whom the youth often keeps company, and friends' protective scale do not have any significant effects on domestic violence. Important predictors of ever being injured by domestic violence include only living in urban or rural areas, birth order, family connectedness, experience of being injured by violence outside the home, experience of being injured by self-violence, and the survey rounds. Those who live in urban areas are 1.7 times more likely than those who live in rural areas to have ever been injured by domestic violence, all else being equal. Those who have weak family connectedness appear to be two times more likely than those with strong family connectedness to be the victims of domestic violence. The probability of being injured by domestic violence tends to increase from SAVY 1 to SAVY 2, controlling for all other variables. Youth in SAVY 1

have only 0.534 times the likelihood of being victims of domestic violence than youth in SAVY 2.

For the regression model predicting “ever tried to injure yourself,” variables that are not statistically significant in predicting the outcome include sex, place of residence, education and mother’s education, and peer protective index. Adolescents of younger age groups tend to have a higher probability of trying to injure oneself. Compared with youth in age group 22-25, those in age group 14-17 have an odds of self-injury three times higher, and for those in age group 18-21 the odds ratio is 2.8 times higher, all else being equal. Concerning differentials along ethnic groups, Kinh/Hoa adolescents have an odds ratio of self-injury of only 0.579 times the odds ratio of ethnic minority people. This is very different from the situation observed for violence outside the home, which Kinh/Hoa adolescents have a higher propensity to experience. Those who are of middle birth order in families with many children have the lowest probability to trying to injure themselves (the odds ratio of only 0.603 times the odds ratio for the youngest child; and no statistically significant difference between the odds ratios of the youngest child, the oldest child, and those who are the only child in their family). Those who have weak family connectedness are also those with high risk of self-injury compared to those with strong family connectedness. For the impact of family living standards, it is interesting that those who come from well-off families appear to have higher risk of self-injury than those from poor families. The impacts of peer risk factors and school connectedness are consistent with the hypothesis that those whose friends did not encourage them to take part in risky actions and those with strong school connectedness have low odds of self-injury. The most noteworthy finding, which is consistent with the other two regression models, is the association between self-injury with other types of violence. Those who had experienced violence outside the home or domestic violence have higher risk of self-injury. Finally, when all other variables are equal, the odds of self-injury appear to increase from SAVY 1 to SAVY 2. In SAVY 1 the odds ratio of self-injury is only 0.345 times of the odds ratio for SAVY 2.

Data in Table 3 show that for each type of violence there are specific groups of variables that help account for the violent outcome. Mother’s education and friends’ protective scale are not statistically significant variables in predicting violent outcomes in all three regression models.

There are variables that are important in predicting one type of violence, but not important for predicting other types of violence. At the same time,

impacts of the same variable for different types of violence are not the same. For example, Kinh/Hoa adolescents have an odds ratio of being injured by violence outside the home that is higher than the odds ratio for ethnic minorities, but they have a lower odds ratio of self-injury compared to ethnic minority adolescents.

Table 3. Socio-ecological models predicting violent outcomes of youth in SAVY 1 and SAVY 2 for those who are currently going to school, including college/university (logistic regressions) (Exp. B)

		Injured by violence outside the home	Injured by domestic violence	Ever tried to injure yourself
Sex	Male	4.018***	0.965	0.965
	Female	1	1	1
Age	14-17	2.304*	3.045*	3.045*
	18-21	2.936**	2.820*	2.820*
	22-25	1	1	1
Area	Urban	0.817	0.887	0.887
	Rural	1	1	1
Ethnicity	Kinh/Hoa	1.740**	0.579***	0.579***
	Ethnic minority	1	1	1
Education	Primary or lower	4.120***	1.231	1.231
	Lower secondary	1.478	1.562	1.562
	Upper secondary	1.514*	1.321	1.321
	College/University	1	1	1
Education of mother	Lower secondary or less	0.942	1.036	1.036
	Upper secondary or more	1	1	1
Birth order	Only child	1.958**	1.157	1.157
	First born	0.885	0.913	0.913
	Middle born	0.915	0.603***	0.603***
	Last born	1	1	1
Family connectedness	Weak	1.318**	1.425***	1.425***
	Strong	1	1	1
Household socio-economic status	Poor	0.614***	0.732*	0.732*
	Middle	0.885	0.908	0.908
	Well off	1	1	1
Having a group of friends with whom you often keep company	Yes	1.498	1.762*	1.762*
	No	1	1	1

		Injured by violence outside the home	Injured by domestic violence	Ever tried to injure yourself
Friends' risk scale	No risk	0.501***	0.684**	0.684**
	Some risk	1	1	1
Friends' protective scale	No protection	0.869	0.8	0.8
	Many protections	1	1	1
School connectedness scale	Weak	1.262*	1.412**	1.412**
	Strong	1	1	1
Victim of violence outside the home	No		0.509***	0.509***
	Yes		1	1
Victim of domestic violence	No	0.171***	0.452***	0.452***
	Yes	1	1	1
Self-violence	No	0.532***		
	Yes	1		
SAVY survey round	SAVY 1	1.450***	0.345***	0.345***
	SAVY 2	1	1	1
Constant		0.056***	0.101***	0.101***

*Significant at 0.05; **Significant at 0.01; ***Significant at 0.001

It is noteworthy that all three regression models consistently show that experience of one type of violence tends to lead to experience of another type of violence. Those who reported having ever been injured by violence outside the home are often those who also report having ever been injured by family violence (and vice versa) and having ever tried to injure themselves (and vice versa). This is consistent with other international studies (Alkhalayle and Newlyn, 2015; Fulu, 2017; Quỳ Nhi đồng Liên Hợp Quốc, 2014).

5. Final Note

The analysis presented in this paper suggests a very complex inter-relationship between the risk and protective factors of family, peers, and schools for the likelihood of child and youth violence at home and outside the home. Due to the limitation of the available data, the analysis only provides a glimpse of the whole picture by focusing on a few types of serious violence at home and outside the home. Nevertheless, the analysis clearly points to the multiple causation mechanism at work that links violence risks at home with the spheres of activities that children engage in

outside the home, including with peers and at school. Further studies are needed to examine these issues in more details.

The analysis presented above shows the usefulness of the risk-and-protective approach in the study of adolescent violence, both in terms of research methods as well as practical interventions. Family connectedness, school connectedness, risk and protective factors among peers are factors of special methodological and practical meaning in interpreting the outcome of violence (these variables are statistically significant in predicting outcomes of violence). The analysis of SAVY 1 and SAVY 2 allows us to trace the change over time in violent incidences in and outside the home, as well as self-injury. It is noteworthy that while violence outside the home decreased over time, family violence and self-injury appear to increase over time. This needs the special attention of policymakers and practitioners.

Another important finding is the clear link between experiencing of one type of violence and another type of violence. Consistent with other international studies, the analysis presented here suggests that in Viet Nam, those who are victims of domestic violence are also those at higher risk of violence outside the home and of self-injury, and vice versa. This finding suggests that efforts to prevent violence would not be effective if they are implemented in isolation for domestic violence, violence outside the home, or self-injury; a more comprehensive approach that aims to prevent all types of violence, whether in or outside the home, would be needed.

For parents, the findings presented here suggest a simple message: If you do not want your child to fall victim to violence outside the home, you should first never use violence to discipline them at home. ■

Endnotes

⁽¹⁾ See, for example: <http://dantri.com.vn/giao-duc-khuyen-hoc/5-vu-bao-luc-hoc-duong-gay-phan-no-nam-2016-20161212083600666.htm>.

⁽²⁾ Young Lives team conducted qualitative data collection on domestic violence, but quantitative survey data on domestic violence are limited (see Vu Thi Thanh Huong, 2016).

References

- Alkhalayle, Hesham, and David Newlyn. (2015). "Domestic Violence And School Bullying: An Examination Of The Inextricable Link Between The Two And The Use Of Restorative Justice To Break The Cycle." *International Journal of Business, Economics and Law* 8 (4):147-154.
- Cappa, Claudia. (2010). *Child Disciplinary Practices at Home: Evidence from a Range of Low-and Middle-Income Countries*. New York: UNICEF.

- Ember, Carol R., and Melvin Ember. (2005). "Explaining Corporal Punishment of Children: A Cross-Cultural Study." *American Anthropologist* 107 (4):609-619.
- Fulu, Emma, Stephanie Miedema, Tim Roselli, Sarah McCook, Ko Ling Chan, Regine Haardörfer, Rachel Jewkes,. (2017). "Pathways between childhood trauma, intimate partner violence, and harsh parenting: findings from the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific." *Lancet Glob Health* (5):e512-e522.
- General Office of Population and Family Planning. (2010). *Survey Assessment on Vietnamese Youth Round 2 (SAVY 2)*. Hanoi: GOPFP, MOH.
- Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children. (2016). *Corporal punishment of children: summaries of prevalence and attitudinal research in the last 10 years*. <http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org/assets/pdfs/research-summaries/Global%20research%20summaries.pdf>.
- Lansford, Jennifer E., and Kirby Deater-Deckard. (2012). "Childrearing Discipline and Violence in Developing Countries." *Child Development* 83 (1):62-75.
- Liljestrom, Rita, and Tuong Lai, eds. (1991). *Những nghiên cứu xã hội học về gia đình Việt Nam*. Hà Nội: NXB Khoa học xã hội.
- Martin, Philip, Le Duong Quyen, Benjamin Swanton, Pranita Achyut, and Emma Fulu. (2013). "The Love Journey" *A school-based gender equity and primary prevention of gender violence project in Danang, Vietnam*. Hanoi: Paz y Desarrollo.
- Maternowska, M. C, A. Potts, and D. Fry. (2016). *The Multi-Country Study on the Drivers of Violence Affecting Children: A Cross-Country Snapshot of Findings*. Florence, Italy: UNICEF Office of Research.
- Nguyen Thi Nhu Trang. (2012). "School Violence in Hanoi Viet Nam." Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore.
- Nguyen Thi Thu Hang, and Tran Ngo Thi Minh Tam. (2013). *School Violence: Evidence from Young Lives in Vietnam*. Hanoi: Young Lives.
- Olofsson, Niclas. (2012). "Violence through the life cycle: A public health problem". *Medical Dissertations*, No. 1307, Linköping University
- Tổng cục Thống kê, and UNICEF. (2015). *Điều tra đánh giá các mục tiêu trẻ em và phụ nữ Việt Nam 2014: Báo cáo cuối cùng*. Hà Nội.
- Tran, Nhu K., Lenneke R. A. Alink, Sheila R. Van Berkel, and Marinus H. Van Ijzendoorn. (2017). "Child Maltreatment in Vietnam: Prevalence and Cross-Cultural Comparison." *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment and Trauma* 26 (3):211-230.
- UNICEF. (2011). "Viet Nam Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2011 (Monitoring the Situation of Children and Women)." In. Ha Noi: UNICEF. http://www.un.org.vn/en/publications/cat_view/126-un-publications-by-agency/94-unicef-publications.html?limitstart=0.
- United Nations Children's Fund. (2014). *Hidden in Plain Sight: A statistical analysis of violence against children*. New York: UNICEF.
- United Nations Children's Fund, and The University of Edinburgh. (2014). *Systematic Review of the Drivers of Violence Affecting Children: Vietnam Country Report*. Hà Nội: UNICEF.
- Vu Thi Thanh Huong. (2016). *Understanding Children's Experiences of Violence in Viet Nam: Evidence from Young Lives*. Florence.: Innocenti Working Paper 2016-26.