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The structural drivers of violence against children in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands,
Tonga and Vanuatu: an exploratory review

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Acknowledgements. This research was funded by Save the Children New Zealand and Save the Children Australia through a consultancy to the Nossal Institute for Global Health.

Preprint not peer reviewed

Abstract

Background: Pacific Island countries have the highest rates of violent discipline, child labour and bullying in the Asia Pacific region, yet there is limited research on the drivers of violence against children in these contexts.

Objective: To address this gap, we explored the drivers of violence against children in the four most populous Pacific Island countries, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, as well as Tonga where Save the Children, who commissioned this review, planned to commence child protection programming.

Methods: We undertook an exploratory literature review including both peer reviewed and grey literature and drew on a conceptual framework for understanding the drivers of violence against children which included migration; patriarchal norms and inequities; socio-economic inequities, including poverty; effects of globalisation including pandemics; and political and social history (Maternowska et al., 2016).

Results: 33 peer reviewed, and 30 grey literature studies were included in the review. While there was varying evidence of review found evidence of each of the drivers explored, as well as emerging drivers of climate change and digitisation. While no studies provided statistical analysis of the drivers of violence across all countries, there was sufficient evidence to describe the nature of the drivers and the possible pathways through which they lead to violence against children.

Conclusions: Violence is a significant global health concern facing children and their families across the Pacific. The review suggests that there are policy actions that Pacific governments can take to acknowledge and address children's experiences of violence, fulfilling their international child rights obligations, including addressing gender norms and expanding social protection mechanisms.

1. Introduction

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which came into force in 1990, is the most widely ratified human rights treaty in the world. Its 196 state parties accepted the obligation to take measures to prevent and respond to all forms of emotional, physical and sexual violence against children. Highlighting the necessity of government action to fulfill this obligation, the Global Study on Violence Against Children generated significant evidence of the continuing presence of violence in all aspects of children's lives across countries of different political, economic and socio-cultural realities (Pinheiro, 2006). This is true in the Pacific where comparative analysis shows that Pacific Island countries have the highest rates of violent discipline, child labour and bullying in the Asia Pacific region (Kennedy et al., 2020). The use of violent discipline against both boys and girls in the Pacific is higher than global average (UNICEF, 2025), with Solomon Islands (SI) having the highest rate in the region (Kennedy et al., 2020). More than four in five (81-87%) children aged between 1 and 14 years in Fiji, SI, Tonga and Vanuatu experienced emotional or physical violent discipline in the last month according to survey data (refer Table 1).

Sexual violence is also higher than global averages, with greater risk for girls (Naughton-Watt et al., 2023), although there are significant data gaps for boys. Across Fiji, Papua New Guinea (PNG), SI, Tonga and Vanuatu between 25-35% of girls aged 15-19 years reported that they experienced physical and sexual violence in the last 12 months (refer Table 1), compared to a global average of 16% (WHO, undated). Between 8-37% of females in these countries reported sexual abuse before 15 years of age (refer Table 1). Additional survey data from Bougainville, PNG found that 61% of men had raped a woman with 25% of perpetrators doing so before the age of 15 and 42% between the age of 15-19 years (Jewkes et al., 2013).

Child marriage also poses a greater risk for girls. Survey data on the proportion of women and men aged 20-24 years married before 15 and 18 years, shown in Table 1, reflect significant

gender differences: over 20% of girls in PNG, SI and Vanuatu, 10% in Tonga and 4% in Fiji were married before 18 years, which is between two and seven times higher than rates for boys. Trend data compiled by UNICEF (2022) show no change in the prevalence of child marriage at 15 years (8%) or 18 years (27%) for girls in PNG since 1993. Anecdotal evidence shows that girls younger than 15 years in SI and PNG have experienced customary child marriage (Tichener, 2018; U.S Department of State, 2023).

In schools, data show that half of students aged 13-15 years in SI, Tonga, and Vanuatu experienced bullying in the last month; SI and Vanuatu have the second and third highest rates in the Asia Pacific region behind Samoa (refer Table 1) (Kennedy et al., 2020). Qualitative data from SI and Vanuatu suggest that school bullying is gendered, with girls and teachers confirming that males bullying girls, both in and outside the classroom, and on the way to school, is most common (Plan International Australia, 2019; Thuso Limited, 2022).

Despite the high prevalence of violence against children in Pacific Island countries, there is limited peer-reviewed literature examining its structural drivers, taking account of the political, economic and socio-cultural conditions that might be underlying these higher rates of violence (Langridge et al., 2023; Lui et al., 2018). The research in this paper aims to explore the context in which violence against children occurs, including how it is evolving, with a focus on the structural drivers of violence in five Pacific countries: Fiji, PNG, SI, Tonga and Vanuatu.

2. Methodology

2.1 Conceptual framework

Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological model has served as an influential conceptual framework to understand the factors underlying the prevalence and patterns of violence against children, operating at the individual, relationship, community and societal levels (Maternowska et al., 2020; Save the Children, 2019; UNICEF, 2021). These factors are context-dependent, and interact across levels in complex ways, again depending on the context. This context-specificity

poses challenges to the elaboration of an overarching model for understanding violence against children and necessitates exploration of the model in different contexts to inform prevention and response efforts (Mannell et al., 2022; Maternowska et al., 2020).

Recent research on violence against children has noted that significant global attention has been placed on risk and protective factors that operate at the individual and relationship or household levels and called for greater research and policy focus on structural and institutional factors or drivers of violence that operate at a higher level (Maternowska et al., 2020). Drawing on the concept of structural violence, and consistent with the human rights framework, this approach posits that it is these drivers, particularly in high-prevalence environments, that define the contexts in which violence occurs. Rather than being removed from acts of violence as the socio-ecological model may suggest, the drivers create the “...forms of harm that [in turn] create the conditions in which violence occurs” (Maternowska et al., 2020 p.143). This approach informed the adaptation Bronfenbrenner’s socio-ecological model to provide a framework for a recent multi-country study on the drivers of violence affecting children in Italy, Peru, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe, as shown in Figure 1 (Maternowska et al., 2020).

Given the high-prevalence contexts of the five countries in this review, it focused on structural drivers (with institutional drivers, including the nature of laws and child protection services considered in a separate review). In doing so, we drew on the multi-country study on the drivers of violence affecting children noted above, which identified five structural drivers listed in order of importance: migration; patriarchal norms and inequities; socio-economic inequities, including poverty; effects of globalisation, including pandemics; and political and social history (Maternowska et al., 2016). Drawing on this study, we sought to explore the structural drivers common across the countries, and identifying evidence of other drivers.

The review also seeks to maintain a focus on children, while understanding the connections between the perpetration and experience of violence against women and children. These

connections include, first, girls experience of intimate partner violence (IPV) – for example, in PNG, the most recent household survey found that married girls/women aged 15-19 years reported the highest rates of spousal violence by men of women aged 15-45 years (PNG National Statistical Office & ICF, 2019). Second, violence against women and children co-occurs in households (Fulu et al., 2017; UNICEF & UNFPA, 2015) - men's violence in the home is not singularly directed toward women but toward women and children alike, and this contributes to the intergenerational transmission of violence. Third, violence against women and children share common drivers, such as gendered norms (Fulu & Warner, 2018). The role of patriarchal norms as a structural driver of violence against children was identified by Maternowska et al. (2020) and was explored in this review.

2.2 Methods for literature review

We undertook a broad exploratory review of academic and grey literature; the latter was included as we anticipated limited relevant peer-reviewed publications and significant, high-quality grey literature, including research conducted by Pacific Island researchers.

The search strategy included: academic literature, including a search of Scopus encompassing the five country names, child* and violen* or protect* (with the asterisk including all possible endings of those terms) over the past 10 years (since 2013) in English; grey literature, including child protection policy and/or program research or evaluation documents) that were shared with us by Save the Children by whom this review was commissioned, or obtained through searching child protection partner websites, or identified through snowballing of references; and databases/reports of household surveys with relevant data on violence against children. Given the scant literature, we included references if they focused on the determinants or prevalence of violence against children (boys and girls aged 0-18 years) in one of the five countries. Relevant data were extracted from the references in Microsoft Word and analysed using a framework approach. Data describing the nature of the structural drivers identified by

Maternowska et al. (2016) were grouped thematically, and data pertaining to other structural drivers were grouped under new headings.

3. Findings: Search results

Sixty-three references were included in the review, as per Table 2. The formal literature review, conducted for a final time at the end of 2023, generated 155 publications, of which 27 met the inclusion criteria and 26 were reviewed (one (Lee, 2018) was not located). An additional 7 peer review articles and 30 grey literature references were located through other methods. The geographical spread of the references reflects population size, with 21 from PNG, 9 each from Fiji and SI, 4 each from Tonga and Vanuatu, and 16 covering multiple countries.

In addition, the following were consulted: the most recent Demographic and Health or Multi-Cluster Indicator Survey for each country; the most recent household surveys on violence against women; and the most recent Global School-Wellbeing and Health Survey. The World Bank's Open Data and economic updates were also reviewed for background information.

4. Findings: Drivers of violence

The review generated evidence of all drivers explored in the comparative study by Maternowska et al. (2020), yet with differing degrees of the quality and strength of evidence. Our focus in reporting our findings is to describe the nature of the driver and how it leads to violence against children, and the interaction between the drivers, rather than on comparing their importance. In this regard, we have presented them in a sequential or logical manner below and in Figure 2. We also identified two emerging drivers of violence in the Pacific.

4.1 Political, economic and social history and intergenerational transmission of violence

Qualitative research conducted in Fiji, PNG and Vanuatu has described violence as part of the socialisation of children at an early age into gendered roles, normalising and transmitting intergenerational gendered violence (Feinstein et al., 2022; Masta, 2021; Naughton-Watt et al., 2023; Tonsing, 2020). Quantitative analyses from each country also point to associations

between childhood experiences of violence and perpetration of violence. In a comparative study across the Asia Pacific region, an average of 78% of men across six countries reported experiencing childhood trauma (emotional abuse or neglect, physical abuse, sexual abuse, or witnessing abuse of mother), compared to 92% in Bougainville, PNG (Fulu et al., 2017). Similar results were found in a study among men in Honiara, SI (Lui et al., 2018). In turn, childhood trauma is associated with the perpetration IPV in adulthood in all countries considered in this review (Fulu et al., 2017; Jewkes et al., 2013; Jewkes et al., 2017; UNICEF & UNFPA, 2015), as well as with women's justification, acceptance (Aboagye et al., 2023) and experience (Fulu et al., 2017; Jewkes et al., 2017) of IPV in PNG.

Scholarship (Brown et al., 2023) suggests that the intergenerational transmission of violence must be understood in the political, economic and social context, which in the Pacific was shaped by colonialism and subsequent political events. Fiji, PNG, SI and Tonga were formally colonised (annexed, ceded or under protectorate rule) by Britain towards the end of the century and Vanuatu was claimed by Britain and France jointly in the early 20th Century. These countries achieved independence less than 50 years ago between 1970-1980. The change initiated and amplified over the past 150 years has been immense – including transitions across governance (from small communities governed through custom to nation-states, with imposed Western 'laws' and Christianity), economics (from subsistence to increasing dependence on the cash economy, with major reliance on resource extraction and mobile labour), as well as inter and intra-country migration, increasing urbanisation and the formation of an urban elite. Gendered relations changed significantly upon colonisation, with evidence from Fiji and SI describing both colonial and Church powers preferencing patriarchal structures and a strict gender order, which supported the role of men as decision-makers (Hermkens, 2013; Masta, 2021; Newland, 2016; Thompson & Wadley, 2019). For example, in SI, colonialism subjugated women's socio-political and economic position, with transitions from the subsistence to the

cash economy, with a heavy focus on extractive industries, and from localised governance to formalised ward, provincial and national governance structures that exclude women (Hermkens, 2013; Thompson & Wadley, 2019). In both PNG and SI, due to economic and social changes, including increasing reliance on the cash economy, there was a shift in the meaning of ‘bride price,’ and ‘compensation’ given as reparations in response to harm, from a protective function towards raising cash (Paton, 2017; Thompson & Wadley, 2019).

Recent global research has pointed to the association between high rates of violence against women and colonisation: countries that were colonised are 50 times more likely to have a high prevalence of IPV (Brown et al., 2023). Brown et al. (2023 p.1024) theorised that colonialism impacted violence against women through three pathways, including the imposition of “patriarchal beliefs that devalue women”; the creation of “structural inequities”, including political and economic relations; and the enabling of “intergenerational trauma”. These pathways are consistent with the available literature on colonisation in Fiji and SI noted above in terms of the changes that took place at the time of colonialism and, given the connections between violence against women and children, are likely to have had a similar impact on violence against children. An additional pathway is through laws inherited during colonialism, whose implementation has been facilitated by weak systems, divorced from customary justice processes, leading to limited access to justice for those who experience violence and deterrence for perpetrators (McLean, 2014; Paton, 2017; Thompson et al., 2019).

These changes initiated through colonialism are also connected to recent political turmoil and violence in each country – this includes multiple political coups in Fiji (1987, 2000 and 2006), the conflict and independence movement in Bougainville (PNG) (1988-97), the Tensions (1998-2003) and the Australian led regional peacekeeping mission (2003-2017) in SI, riots in Tonga (2006) and political instability in Vanuatu (2022-23). For example, conflict in Bougainville was found to have contributed to increased IPV, including sexual assault (Tierney

et al., 2016) and violent conflict in PNG is also suggested as a contributing factor to the high prevalence of IPV across the country (Ahinkorah et al., 2023). Studies from PNG and SI also noted violent conflict also leads to increased childhood trauma amongst men, which may in turn lead to the perpetration of IPV and violence against children (Ahinkorah et al., 2023; Lui et al., 2018). However, there were otherwise limited specific analyses of the intersection between recent political events and violence against children.

4.2 Socio-cultural norms and practices relating to gender and violence

The gendered nature of violence against children in the Pacific is evident in variations in the prevalence of different forms of violence against boys and girls, particularly during adolescence, as shown in Table 1 (Kennedy et al., 2020). Underlying these differences are socio-cultural and religious gender norms and practices, which set different standards of behaviour or roles for men and women, including in relation to the use of violence, and are a significant driver of violence against women and children in the Pacific (Fulu et al., 2017; Mannell et al., 2022). These gender norms and practices include: (i) gendered standards of behaviour and roles for men and women, as well as boys and girls, embedded in local or traditional¹ and Church values (Feinstein et al., 2022; Hermkens, 2013; Homan et al., 2019; Masta, 2021); (ii) men holding power, authority and/or responsibility for decision-making in the home and community, including enforcing gendered behavioural standards for women and children (Feinstein et al., 2022; Homan et al., 2019); and (iii) men's violence against women and children being accepted and normalised, including as a mechanism to enforce gendered standards (Feinstein et al., 2022; Homan et al., 2019; Pacific Community, 2009).

¹ We recognise that "local" or "traditional" or "kastom/custom" are incomplete terms to describe the values reflected in communities across the five countries, and that these values, and the norms and standards in which they are reflected, have been and continue to be in a state of flux. For example, while these norms, are often described as "traditional", research highlights their connection to colonisation and global conceptions of masculinities. Thompson and Wadley (2019, p. 996) describe the interaction between the "global neoliberal context" and masculinity in SI, in which "...the status and masculinity of important men depend upon the largesse (alcohol and consumables) they offer significant others."

Gendered norms relating to violence against children have been explored by recent qualitative studies in Fiji (Masta, 2021; Newland, 2016), PNG (Feinstein et al., 2022), SI (Homan et al., 2019), Tonga (Langridge et al., 2021), and Vanuatu (Naughton-Watt et al., 2023). These norms have been described as both “rigid” in their current expression in communities, meaning that there was limited scope for men and women to deviate from them (Homan et al., 2019), as well as changing in their expression over time and between generations (Feinstein et al., 2022; Homan et al., 2019; Thompson et al., 2019; Thompson & Wadley, 2019).

Across the Pacific, a man’s role is defined as the household head and provider of shelter, food, money and other resources needed for the family, whereas a woman’s role is defined as the carer, both with respect to childbearing, cooking and cleaning (Feinstein et al., 2022; Homan et al., 2019; Newland, 2016), with different standards for men and women relating to sex and sexuality (Varani-Norton, 2014). In SI, Homan et al. (2019) describe how gender norms limit the freedom of women, clearly defining what women should not do (e.g. disrespect or disobey their husband), but ideas of what makes a good man gave men greater levels of agency or freedom. In Fiji, this is true with respect to sexual freedom and norms, where sex outside of marriage is accepted to some extent for boys and men but not for girls, with girls and women shamed for sex and pregnancy outside of marriage (Varani-Norton 2014). Women who transgress these behaviours or roles, for example, by earning more money than men, are seen as challenging men’s status (Newland, 2016).

As the household head, men are seen as the gatekeepers of moral and religious standards for both women and children who are living in their home (Newland, 2016). Literature suggests that this role derives from the patriarchal nature of some communities across the Pacific² and men’s authority to determine how communities are governed and organised, which was and

² Most societies are Patriarchal, with some exceptions in Fiji, PNG, SI and Vanuatu. See: Masta, N. M. (2021). *Pacific Masculinities: Exploring Men’s Perspectives and Experiences of Masculinity, and Efforts to Engage Men and Boys in Preventing Violence in Papua New Guinea and Fiji* RMIT]. Melbourne.

continues to be reinforced by the Church, and is deeply embedded in notions of masculinity (Masta, 2021). In PNG, men were seen as “natural leaders”, in line to be future chiefs (Feinstein et al., 2022), and in Fiji the word for good behaviour, “*vakaturaga*”, means ‘in the way of the chief’ or behaviour that ‘befits a chief’, embedding the concept of good behaviour within a male hierarchy (Newland, 2016). In PNG, men saw their role as the head of the household as part of God’s intention (Feinstein et al., 2022) and in Fiji, the Chiefs are thought to “represent God’s order” (Newland, 2016 p.55).

As household leaders, men’s role in enforcing gendered standards by disciplining women and children to maintain household and community harmony was seen as a core part of their role embedded in notions of masculinity (Feinstein et al., 2022; Newland, 2016). Men’s violence against women and children is viewed as socially accepted and expected. Recent research in PNG and Fiji revealed that there are also strong rewards for men who perpetrate violence against women and children and sanctions for those who do not, representing a “*failure to conform with others’ expectations*,” which “*was a real threat to their reputations and to their place in society*” (Feinstein et al., 2022, p. 59; Masta, 2021). Violence against women and children is also an acceptable way for men to release anger and frustration (Homan et al., 2019; Naughton-Watt et al., 2023). Homan et al. (2019 p.18) highlighted the inequality in the policing and violent disciplining of women’s actions, in contrast to the lack of consequences for men faced for their actions, including violence against women and children.

Men’s violence against women and children is also enabled by the priority given to patriarchal community relations over individual rights (Hermkens, 2013; Médecins Sans Frontières, 2016). This is primarily achieved through cultural practices that are used to respond to cases of violence when they come to the attention of the community. Through practices of reconciliation (PNG, SI and Vanuatu) or *bulubulu* (Fiji) male relatives of girls or women who have experienced physical or sexual violence may seek compensation in the form of payment of

money or gifts from the family of the perpetrator to redress the harm (stigma) caused to the girl or women's family (Newland, 2016). Women or girls do not play a role in these practices, yet are required to accept the outcome of the process. In Fiji, PNG and SI, there remains a strong preference for responding to cases of violence against children and women through community practices, which are more accessible, timely and disconnected than the formal justice system (Médecins Sans Frontières, 2016; Newland, 2016; Paton, 2017).

As described above, violence against children can be seen as part of the intersection of gender norms relating to men's and women's roles and to the normalisation of men's violence against women and children in the household. There is evidence to suggest that women's violence against children is part of this gendered violence; Newland (2016 p.67) conducted qualitative research in Fiji with women who *"acknowledged that women participate in the perpetuation of violence in families by beating their children: 'You pass on what has been done to you—women to girls also.'"* This is supported by an analysis of survey data from PNG and countries in Asia, which shows women's use of harsh parenting was associated with their partner's perpetration of IPV against them (Fulu et al., 2017).

Across the Pacific, evidence reveals the generalised acceptance and use of violence against children by both men and women, as shown in Table 1. Both men and women in PNG view the use of physical discipline with children as effective (*"It is good to hit a child to discipline him in a way where he will listen"* (Feinstein et al., 2022)). In Tonga, violence against children reflected a loving, culturally appropriate and religious approach to parenting (*"punishing children is a cultural thing in Tonga. It does not aim to hurt a child but aims to educate a child to do good things in life... It is biblical to punish kids according to the bible. It is not a punishment with hatred but with love so that they learn and follow the good things"*) (Langridge et al., 2021, p. 6)). Children in SI have *"little status"* in the family or community, and the use

of physical violence as a disciplinary measure is justified in a “*cultural or traditional context*” (Pacific Community, 2009, p. 30).

While there is some evidence that these norms have or are changing in relation to violence against women, they are not in relation to violence against children: “*Overall, men tended to endorse child beating more than they did wife-beating...there was greater equivocation on the question of wife-beating, with more men viewing this as wrong*” (Feinstein et al., 2022, p. 59)

4.3 Socio-economic inequities and its gendered implications

Globally, socio-economic inequities are a central determinant of women’s and men’s use of violence against children (Fulu et al., 2017; Maternowska et al., 2020). There is emerging evidence of this relationship in the Pacific where all five countries remain off track to achieve the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) related to poverty reduction (Sachs, 2023). For countries for which data are available, the prevalence of physical violence, child marriage and child labour decreases as household or maternal wealth and educational attainment increase (refer Figure 3) (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2022; PNG National Statistical Office & ICF, 2019; SI National Statistics Office et al., 2017; Tonga Statistics Department, 2020; Vanuatu National Statistics Office & Pacific Community, 2014). While there is a lack of statistical analysis to understand pathways - for example the direction of the relationships between poverty, education and violence against children - qualitative evidence suggests that poverty may drive violence, in a gendered manner, in three ways.

First, at a household level, the cost of food and school fees creates risks of child marriage and child labour. Some families see child marriage as a way to be relieved of financial responsibility for girls and to mobilise cash through bride price (Burn & Evenhuis, 2014; Plan International Australia, 2019). Research in PNG and SI has found that bride price has been transformed through incentives to participate in the cash economy, and remains a common part of “parentally approved marriages” (Feinstein et al., 2022; Thompson et al., 2019). In Fiji, PNG

and SI there are reports of girls younger than 15 years being “sold” into marriage with migrant workers in exchange for money or goods (ECPAT International, 2019; Plan International, 2015; Tichener, 2018; U.S Department of State, 2023). In PNG, the U.S Department of State (2023) linked bride price to informal adoptions and trafficking, noting: *“some parents reportedly transfer their children – some as young as 12 – to other families via informal paid adoption arrangements that... increase their risk of trafficking; this is particularly prevalent among girls, whom adoptive families often seek out as potential sources of future bride-price income. Young girls sold into polygamous marriages may be forced into domestic service for their husbands’ extended families or exploited in sex trafficking.”*

There is also evidence of the links between poverty and child labour, including the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC). A 2017 survey of 54 children working CSEC in Honiara, SI, 59% of respondents reported poverty as the reason they dropped out of school and were pushed into CSEC (ILO, 2017). In Fiji, poverty has been linked to increasingly unsafe work for children, with research finding that some children selling drugs also involved in CSEC (Davy & Tppou, 2022; Fatiaki, 2019; Save the Children Fiji, 2019). CSEC is associated with tourism and extractive industries, such as logging and fishing (ECPAT International, 2019; Sheehan, 2021; Tichener, 2018). In a survey undertaken near logging camps in SI, 26% of adults had heard of children under 15 years of age having sex in exchange for goods or money in survey sites (IOM & SI Ministry of Women Youth Children and Family Affairs, 2019).

Second, poverty can lead to household stress, conflict and violence. As noted above, men see their role as the “breadwinner” for the household and community. In PNG, men reported that they were responsible for and better than women at managing household resources, and that managing household resources was a source of conflict with their wives (Feinstein et al., 2022). Being stressed or worried has been associated with harsh parenting in PNG (Robinson et al., 2021). Similarly, in Vanuatu, children who participated in a recent qualitative study reported

that “*violence can happen when parents disagree over how income should be spent and who holds authority for making these decisions*” (Naughton-Watt et al., 2023, p. 11). An earlier analysis of survey data in PNG showed that men who experienced food insecurity were more than three times more likely to perpetrate both physical and sexual IPV (Fulu et al., 2013).

Thirdly, poverty limits investment in multi-sectoral approaches to violence prevention, including social protection measures, education and health. This is particularly relevant to child marriage, which has a higher prevalence in lower-middle-income countries considered in this review (PNG, SI and Vanuatu), compared to upper-middle-income countries (Fiji and Tonga), (refer Table 1). Child protection and social protection systems are under resourced and under-developed in the Pacific, with the stagnate economic growth and the cost of servicing small, remote communities, limiting the fiscal space to fund new measures for the poorest households (Coram International, 2021; UNICEF EAPRO, 2020). Educational opportunities are limited in the lower-middle-income countries in this review; for example, the completion rate for lower secondary school is 42% in PNG (UNESCO, 2025). In SI, which has the highest rates of child labour in the Asia Pacific region (Kennedy et al., 2020) 81% of children who are not engaged in child labour are attending school, versus 48% of children who are engaged in child labour (SI National Statistics Office et al., 2017). Gaps in health services for adolescents are also associated with high rates of adolescent pregnancy, leading in turn to child marriage. Unmarried girls who are pregnant are often forced to marry the father of the child to reduce the stigma for the girl and their family (Feinstein et al., 2022; Harvey et al., 2022). In PNG almost one-third (32.5%) of women aged 20-24 years who were married gave birth before they were married and before they were 18 years of age (Harvey et al., 2022).

4.4 Migration

Globally, migration has been described as a driver of violence against children leading to lead to inconsistent caregiver support that children require to facilitate their positive and holistic

development (Maternowska et al., 2020). Transition to a new household can contribute to children's exposure to or risk of experiencing violence (Maternowska et al., 2020).

Informal or kinship adoption, where children are raised with an extended family and away from their biological parents, is common across the Pacific (refer Table 1) (Brandl et al., 2023). While informal adoption is an expression of kinship obligations and a support to families, including single mothers, and has negated the need for institutional care across the Pacific, there is some evidence that it also places children at risk of violence (Sheehan, 2021; Szamier & Attenborough, 2017). Save the Children (2021) reported that child welfare professionals from two locations in PNG identified adopted children as the most at-risk of abuse in communities. The U.S Department of State (2023) also reported that victims of trafficking in PNG include migrant teenage girls working in CSEC in extractive industries and girls who are adopted, married or work as domestic servants.

In the Pacific, children also migrate away from their immediate family to seek educational opportunities or escape violence in the home. A 2019 study into child trafficking for CSEC in Fiji found that 19 out of 30 children had migrated away from their families to live with relatives, friends or on their own, with the drivers of migration being education or family separation, conflict or sexual abuse (Fatiaki, 2019). Migration of children away from their families has also been linked to CSEC in Honiara, SI - a 2017 survey of children engaged in CSEC in Honiara found that over 60% were not living with their parents (ILO, 2017).

Across the Pacific, parents also migrate to pursue economic and/or educational opportunities in urban centres or other places of economic activity, such as mines, logging sites, domestic tourism centres. This may occur with or without children. Pacific frontline child welfare workers remain concerned about parent migration with over 60% agreeing that it increases children's vulnerability to CSEC 'a lot' (ECPAT International, 2019). Family migration also puts children at risk, as it removes them from their extended families (ECPAT International,

2019). In Fiji, for example, the tourism sector is considered a major migration pull. This involves families leaving their extended family structure to relocate to towns or cities where employment opportunities are available, with children being left alone outside of school hours and are vulnerable to CSEC and child trafficking (Davy & Tppou, 2022).

4.5 COVID-19 and future shocks

Consistent with past global experience of epidemics (Bakrania et al., 2020; Maternowska et al., 2016), there is some evidence that the COVID-19 pandemic lead to increased violence against children (United Nations Pacific, 2020), although most data relate to reported cases of family violence. During the implementation of public health measures in Fiji and Tonga, family violence response services experienced a 606% increase in calls, and a 54% increase in cases, respectively (United Nations Pacific, 2020). Similarly in PNG, a family violence response service noted increases in the number and severity of violence (UNFPA, 2020). In SI, 81% of 1,249 survey respondents in April-May 2021 reported that violence against women and girls was worsening (National Democratic Institute, 2021).

There is evidence that the social and economic implications of the pandemic changed context affected children's risk of violence across the Pacific for a number of reasons. First, school closures changed children's social worlds and increased caregiver responsibilities at a time of significant stress and uncertainty (Meo-Sewabu, 2022; Thuso Limited, 2022). In Fiji, Meo-Sewabu (2022, p. 287) described how children were placed in a confined space with extended family for long periods, in some circumstances having moved back to their village or informal settlements, or having relatives joining their household, leaving children "*vulnerable to experiencing the brunt of the stressors*". In Vanuatu, primary school teachers reported differences in children's safeguarding needs and behaviour post-COVID school lockdowns and in a small minority of cases identified worsening behaviour in children from families where parenting was believed to be poor (Thuso Limited, 2022).

Second, the economic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic were a shock at both the national and the household level, exacerbating the impacts of poverty, leaving the Pacific Islands facing a 'lost decade' (Howes & Liu, 2022). At the national level, COVID-19 disrupted employment patterns, including in the extractive industries and tourism, leading to economic contraction and constraining spending (Howes & Liu, 2022). Projections estimate no real growth in income per capita between 2019 and 2027, limiting investment in child protection, social protection, health and education services, within the pre-existing constraints of limited government resources and the challenges of serving small, remote populations (Howes & Liu, 2022). At the household level, the pandemic led to the loss of low-income or informal work and also disrupted informal networks of support due to economic hardship or migration back to villages or informal settlements (Meo-Sewabu, 2022). There is evidence that COVID-19 exacerbated poverty and food insecurity through a loss of income and/or an increase in the cost of goods due to inflation. In PNG, a longitudinal study showed that household finances were impacted during COVID-19, with an increase in those who could not afford food in rural areas, exacerbating poverty which we know to be a driver of violence (World Bank & UNICEF, 2021). Similarly in Fiji, Meo-Sewabu (2023) described job losses as leading to food insecurity for families living in informal settlements in Lami and highlighted that food insecurity was exacerbated by school closures due to the loss of school lunches.

Third, services for women and children experiencing violence (including health services and family violence shelters) closed or were underfunded. For example, a survey in PNG found that 85% of service respondents had witnessed or heard stories of survivors being turned away from services due to restrictions or closures (UNFPA, 2020). Services that continued to operate during COVID-19 did so in the context of historic underfunding (Sheehan, 2021).

4.6 Emerging drivers

a) Climate change

Each Pacific Island country included in this review is in the top fifteen countries vulnerable to disasters and climate change (Behlert, 2021) and is vulnerable to rapid, slow-onset and conflict-driven climate change events, resulting short- or long-term displacement, and/or worsening resource constraints at the household and national levels. Associated protection risks for children across the Pacific include neglect, separation, illegal adoption and trafficking, physical, sexual and other forms of violence (Sheehan, 2021; UNICEF, 2015).

Rapid onset events may lead to displacement and necessitate children and their families living in temporary accommodation or shelter with greater risks of violence against children. In Fiji, Ayeb Karlsson et al (2023) report on a case in which a 10-year-old girl was sexually assaulted by her uncle after seeking shelter during Cyclone Yasa in 2020. Facilities used to provide temporary shelter in Fiji, such as schools and community halls, are described as unsafe conditions for women and girls with a lack of adequate lit and secure toilets.

Rapid onset events that result in significant damage to local infrastructure may also force the closure of schools and the establishment of temporary education facilities. Global evidence suggest that girls are less likely to attend temporary schooling and are at greater risk of early marriage (Mutha-Merennege, 2023 p.11; Pope, 2022). Consistent with this, a rapid needs assessment found that during harsh drought conditions in PNG protective factors were weakened, which had the potential to lead to increases in the use of negative coping strategies, including early marriage and/or the engagement of children in exploitative work to supplement the family's economic situation (Save the Children, 2015).

Where communities are displaced due to the direct effects of climate change, household food insecurity and poverty may increase, exacerbating existing drivers of violence. The economic burden on families as a result of displacement following major flooding in Fiji in 2012 led to

children being kept home from school to care for younger siblings and/or to earn money at night through sex work (UN Women, 2013). Ayeb-Karlsson et al (2023) also report on the gendered implications of food insecurity arising from climate change-induced weather events in Fiji including when local gardens are destroyed, and/or imported food that is usually available in stores is also destroyed or in limited supply. They found that in these circumstances women and children spent more time working in the garden or selling goods at market or elsewhere to make sufficient income to buy food, while continuing with caring and other responsibilities in the home, and experience a greater risk of gender-based violence if a family misses a meal. In the longer term, displacement may lead to local conflict over land, with gender-related implications. For example, in PNG displacement has led to increasing intercommunal tensions *“leading to more... women and girls facing ‘sorcery’ accusations from men in an attempt to psychologically coerce them into forced labour or sex trafficking”* (U.S Department of State, 2023).

b) Digitisation and technology facilitated violence

Internet accessibility has increased significantly in the Pacific in recent years with the use of the internet amongst adults increasing by 100% in Fiji and Tonga and over 200% in PNG, SI and Vanuatu since 2015 (World Bank, 2023). Research has also found increasing use of the internet and social media amongst young people (Third et. al., 2020; UNFPA & IPPF, 2021). To date, there has been limited research in the Pacific on protection risks associated with children’s increasing use of the internet and social media, as well as the prevalence of digital forms of harm that impact children, and the preparedness of children, parents/carers and broader communities to respond to these risks (Third et. al., 2020).

Research conducted in 2018 in PNG and SI by Third et. al. (2020) found broad awareness of risks associated with internet use among children and their parents/carers, with both groups citing exposure to “inappropriate content” as their key concern. This was described as including

sexualised, violent or otherwise disturbing material, with some respondents being worried that exposure might encourage children to mimic negative behaviours – in particular, violence (Third et. al., 2020). Other sources have also documented stakeholder concerns relating to, as well as anecdotal evidence of, online pornographic material promoting acceptance or even perpetration of offline sexual violence against women and girls (Kolodziejczyk, 2015; Newland, 2016; Newman, 2023; UNFPA & IPPF, 2021).

Contact risks associated with the use of technology in the Pacific were not well covered in the literature. A major concern for parents and carers in PNG and SI was the potential for their children's exposure to other people or groups to undermine cultural and family values (Third et. al., 2020). While some respondents did discuss more extreme contact risks (such as grooming and trafficking), they were not key concerns (Third et. al., 2020). Anecdotal reports from NGOs and law enforcement agencies in PNG indicate an increase in online child sexual exploitation, some of which may be child sex trafficking, in connection with increased internet usage during the COVID pandemic (U.S Department of State, 2023). Low levels of community awareness of technology facilitated violence may be directly contributing to children's vulnerability in this area (ECPAT International, 2019).

5. Discussion

This review aimed to explore the drivers of violence against children in five Pacific countries. The review focused on these structural drivers, rather than risk and protective factors that influence household or individual exposure to violence, given the high prevalence of violence against children in the five countries. It does not discount the importance of understanding risk factors and their intersections (for example, the intersection of disability and gender, as well as the intersection of substance abuse and gender), but seeks to inform multi-sectoral policies that will address violence against children (and women) in high-prevalence settings while

secondary and tertiary efforts are strengthened over time. Institutional drivers, as well as risk and protective factors will also be considered in other publications.

The review found evidence of the nature of the five structural drivers identified through the multi-country study by Maternowska et al. (2020). First, evidence suggested that colonialism subordinated women in ongoing political, social and economic relations, in which context the intergenerational transmission violence must be understood. Second, significant evidence described how socio-cultural gendered norms and practices normalised violence against children and the responses to it. Third, socio-economic status, including resource limitations at both the national and household level, creates stress within households leading to physical violence. It also forces families to make challenging decisions with respect to their children's education, work and marriage, interacting with gendered norms and practices to make girls more vulnerable to child marriage and other forms of violence. Fourthly, migration, including the informal adoption of children by family members, migration of children alone to live with extended family members in urban centres for educational and economic opportunities, migration of parents alone and/or migration of families, changes children's social relationships, which may place them at greater risk of violence. Finally, the COVID-19 demonstrated how global health events may disrupt social and economic relations, and render households more economically vulnerable, increasing protection risks.

The review also noted two emerging drivers of violence - climate change and digitisation or increasing use of technology - consistent with global evidence on the importance of these trends as potential drivers of violence against children (Datzberger et al., 2023; UNICEF, Undated). Climate change, through both rapid and slow onset disasters, interacts with both migration and poverty drivers to render children more vulnerable to violence. Technology has the potential to facilitate violence against children in the Pacific, although the evidence of its role of as a driver is still emerging and an area where further research is needed.

There are several limitations of this study. First, the distribution of studies was uneven across countries. There were few studies, particularly in peer reviewed journals, specifically examining the drivers of violence against children, and limited literature in general for Tonga and Vanuatu. The study also included literature over a 10-year time timeframe, some of which may be outdated given change due to recent trends such as those resulting from COVID-19 and digitisation. Data from the most recent household surveys were also included, with associations or correlations to proxies for drivers noted, although these have not been subject to statistical analyses. Second, the review was solely focused on the structural drivers and did not include institutional drivers of factors operating at the community or household level, meaning that the review may have missed identifying some important factors or interactions between the different factors. Third, the findings were mostly presented as relating to violence against children broadly, with specific references to types of violence where the data permitted, although this was not done consistently meaning that the analysis lacks specificity in places.

The evidence presented in this review may help inform policy responses. At the global level, WHO (2016) led the preparation of an evidence-based framework for addressing, preventing and responding to violence against children, which includes seven strategies: law implementation and enforcement; norms and values; safe environments; parent and caregiver support; income and economic strengthening; response and support services; and education and life skills. The evidence considered in this review suggests that policy action in relation to addressing gender norms and income and economic strengthening through improved social protection mechanisms, combined with parent and caregiver support, may help address the major structural drivers of violence against children across the Pacific.

Another priority is strengthening child protection systems. Little is documented about the establishment of these systems, with social welfare divisions established in the later stages of the colonial era having primary responsibility where the social safety nets had broken

(Sheehan, 2021; Szamier & Attenborough, 2017). Significant progress has been made in formalising child protection systems in the last 10-20 years, with the establishment of formal child protection services and legislative protections. Fiji, PNG and SI introduced the *Child Welfare Act 2010*, *Lukautim Pikinini Act 2015* and *Child and Family Welfare Act 2017*, which establish frameworks for child protection services, including referral processes regarding welfare concerns (Coram International, 2021; Tichener, 2018; UNICEF EAPRO, 2020). Tonga and Vanuatu have child protection policies in draft or enacted, with their systems in an earlier state of evolution. Notable legislative gaps remain, including in relation to the use of violent discipline in the home, and the resourcing of frontline services to implement legislation.

Violence is a significant global health concern facing children and their families across the Pacific. This review has explored how structural factors drive the violence against children in the Pacific, with a complex interplay of political, social, economic and environmental realities. There are clear policy options that Pacific governments can take to acknowledge and address children's experiences of violence, fulfilling their obligations under the CRC.

6. References

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Table 1: Key data on violence against children (Source: data are from the most recent household survey unless noted (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2022; PNG National Statistical Office & ICF, 2019; SI National Statistics Office et al., 2017; Tonga Statistics Department, 2020; Vanuatu National Statistics Office & Pacific Community, 2014)

	Fiji (2021)	PNG (2016-18)	SLB (2015)	Tonga (2019)	Vanuatu (2013)
Income per capita (\$US current, 2021) ³	4,500	2,460	2,320	4,930	3,240
Population (2023) ⁴	936,000	10,330,000	740,000	108,000	335,000
% population 0-14 years ⁵	28%	34%	39%	34%	39%
Birth registration (% of children under 5 years whose births are registered)	87%	13% (7% had cert)	88% (26% had cert)		76% (24% had cert)
% children 0-17 years living away from their biological parents ⁶			17% girls; 17% boys	17% girls; 17% boys	15% girls; 16% boys
Violent discipline (% of children aged 1-14 or 2-14 years who experienced any physical punishment and/or psychological aggression by caregivers in the past month)	81% total 79% girls; 82% boys (65% emotional 68% any physical 13% severe physical)		86% 85% girls; 86% boys (78% emotional 68% any physical 22% severe physical)	87% 84% girls; 89% boys (73% emotional 79% any physical 23% severe physical)	84% 83% girls; 84% boys (77% emotional 72% any physical 36% severe physical)
Bullying in the past month ⁷	24% girls, 29% boys (2016)		68% girls, 64% boys (2011)	52% girls, 48% boys (2017)	66% girls, 68% boys (2016)
Child labour (% aged 5-17 years who are involved in child labour)	17% total 14% girls; 20% boys		48% total (5-14 years) 49% girls; 46.6% boys	25% total 19% girls; 33% boys	15.2% total (5-14 yrs) 16% girls; 15% boys

Lancet Global Health, 8(12), e1473-e1488. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2214-109X\(20\)30354-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2214-109X(20)30354-5)

⁷ Child marriage (% aged 15-19). WHO. (2011-2017). Global School Wellbeing and Health Survey (WHO. <https://extranet.who.int/ncdsmicrodata/index.php/catalog/GSHS>)

years first married or in a union):

Before age 15	0.2% girls; 0% boys	8.0% girls; 0% boys	5.6% girls; 0% boys	0.4% girls; 0% boys	2.5% girls; 0% boys
Before age 18	4.0% girls; 1.7% boys	27.3% girls; 3.7% boys	21.3% girls; 4.4% boys	10.1% girls; 2.8% boys	21.4% girls; 4.6% boys
Attitudes towards domestic violence: % of women and men aged 15-49 years who state that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife ⁸	Women: 24% Men: 21%	Women: 70% Men: 72%	Women: 77% Men: 57%	Women: 38% Men: 18%	Women: 60% Men: 60%
% of girls aged 15-19 years who have experienced physical or sexual IPV in the last year ⁹	32%	35%	34%	25%	35%
% of girls who report sexual abuse before 15 years ¹⁰	16%		37%	8%	30%

⁸ In at least one of the following circumstances: (1) she goes out without telling him, (2) she neglects the children, (3) she argues with him, (4) she refuses sex with him, (5) she burns the food

⁹ WHO. (undated). *Global Database on the Prevalence of Violence Against Women* (<https://vaw-data.srhr.org/data>)

¹⁰ UNICEF, & UNFPA. (2015). *Harmful Connections: Examining the relationship between violence against women and violence against children in the South Pacific*. https://violenceagainstchildren.un.org/sites/violenceagainstchildren.un.org/files/documents/political_declarations/east_asia_and_pacific/harmful_connections.pdf

Table 2: References included in the literature review

Author	Year	Type	Method	Country	Themes
Aboagye, R. G., et al	2023	Peer review	Analysis of survey data	PNG	Intergenerational transmission
Ahinkorah, B. O., et al	2023	Peer review	Analysis of survey data	PNG	Intergenerational transmission
Ayeb-Karlsson, S., et al	2023	Peer review	Qualitative research	Fiji and Vanuatu	Climate change
Brandl, E., et al	2023	Peer review	Qualitative research	Vanuatu	Migration
Burn, J. M., & Evenhuis, M.	2014	Grey literature	Literature review	Pacific	Child marriage
Chan, K. L., et al	2017	Peer review	Analysis of survey data	PNG	Perpetration
Coram International	2021	Grey literature	Qualitative research	Pacific	Child protection system
Davy, D., & Tppou, T.	2022	Grey literature	Qualitative research	Fiji	CSEC
Denny, V. C., et al	2016	Peer review	Analysis of survey data	Tonga	School related GBV
ECPAT International	2019	Grey literature	Survey	Pacific	CSEC
Fatiaki, M. J. E.	2019	Grey literature	Qualitative (thesis)	Fiji	CSEC
Feinstein, C., et al	2024	Grey literature	Qualitative research	PNG	Gender norms
Fulu, E., et al	2013	Peer review	Analysis of survey data	PNG	Perpetration; and intergenerational transmission
Fulu, E., et al	2017	Peer review	Analysis of survey data	PNG	Intergenerational transmission
Harvey, C. M., et al	2022	Peer review	Analysis of survey data	PNG	Child marriage
Hermkens, A.	2013	Peer review	Qualitative research	SI	Colonialism and gender
Homan, S., et al	2019	Grey literature	Qualitative research	SI	Gender norms
ILO	2014	Grey literature	Qualitative research	Pacific	Child labour
ILO	2017	Grey literature	Survey	SI	Child labour and CSEC
IOM, & SI Government	2019	Grey literature	Qualitative research	SI	CSEC
Jewkes, R., et al	2013	Peer review	Analysis of survey data	PNG	Prevalence; and intergenerational transmission

Jewkes, R., et al	2017	Peer review	Analysis of survey data	PNG	Prevalence; perpetration; intergenerational transmission
Kennedy, E., et al	2020	Peer review	Compilation of statistical data	Pacific	Prevalence
Kolodziejczyk, I	2015	Peer review (other)	Mixed methods	PNG	Technology facilitated violence
Langridge, F. C., et al	2021	Peer review	Survey	Tonga	School related GBV
Langridge, F. C., et al	2023	Peer review	Qualitative research	Tonga	School related GBV
Laslett, A. M., et al	2022	Peer review	Analysis of survey data	PNG	Perpetration
Lokuge, K., et al	2016	Peer review	Analysis of service data	PNG	Services
Lui, P. S. C., et al	2018	Peer review	Survey	SI	Intergenerational transmission
Masta, N. M.	2021	Grey literature	Qualitative (thesis)	PNG and Fiji	Gender norms
McKelvie, S., et al	2022	Peer review	Survey	Vanuatu	IPV in pregnancy
McLean, A.	2014	Peer review	Law review	Tonga	Colonialism and physical violence in the home
Médecins Sans Frontières	2016	Grey literature	Analysis of service data	PNG	Services
Meo-Sewabu, L.	2022	Peer review	Qualitative research	Fiji	COVID-19 and violence
Naughton-Watt, G., et al	2024	Grey literature	Qualitative research	Vanuatu	Situational analysis
Newland, L.	2016	Grey literature	Qualitative research	Fiji	Gender norms
Newman, P	2023	Grey literature	Literature review	Pacific	Technology facilitated violence
Paton, M.	2017	Peer review	Law review	PNG	Colonialism and child protection
Plan International	2019	Grey literature	Qualitative research	SI	School related GBV
Rero, A., et al	2016	Peer review	Analysis of service data	PNG	Prevalence
Robinson, G., et al	2021	Peer review	Mixed methods	PNG	Service evaluation
Save the Children	2021	Grey literature	Mixed methods	PNG	Service evaluation
Save the Children Fiji.	2019	Grey literature	Literature review	Fiji	Child protection system
Save the Children.	2015	Grey literature	Mixed methods	PNG	Climate change

Sharma, B.	2017	Peer review	Analysis of survey data	SI and Vanuatu	School related GBV
Sheehan, R.	2021	Peer review (other)	Literature review	Pacific	Child protection system
Suthanthiraraj, K	2019	Grey literature	Literature review	Pacific	Child protection system
Szamier, M., & Attenborough, J.	2017	Grey literature	Evaluation	Pacific	Child protection system
Third et. al.	2020	Grey literature	Qualitative research	PNG and SI	Technology facilitated violence
Thompson, L. J., & Wadley, D.	2019	Peer review	Qualitative research	SI	Colonialism and child protection
Thompson, L., et al	2019	Peer review (other)	Qualitative research	SI	CSEC
Thuso Limited.	2022	Grey literature	Evaluation	Vanuatu	School related GBV
Tichener, S.	2018	Grey literature	Evaluation	SI	CSEC
Tierney, D., et al	2016	Peer review	Qualitative research	PNG	Conflict
Tonsing, J.	2020	Peer review	Qualitative research	Fiji	Impact of IPV on children
Tonsing, J., & Barn, R.	2021	Peer review	Qualitative research	Fiji	IPV
U.S Department of State	2023	Grey literature	Mixed methods	Pacific	CSEC
UN Women	2013	Grey literature	Brief	Pacific	Climate change
UNFPA, & IPPF	2021	Grey literature	Mapping	Pacific	Gender norms
UNFPA.	2020	Grey literature	Brief	PNG	Pandemics
UNICEF	2015	Grey literature	Conference proceedings	Fiji	Child protection system
UNICEF EAPRO.	2020	Grey literature	Mixed methods	PNG	Child protection system
UNICEF, & UNFPA.	2015	Grey literature	Statistical analysis of survey data	Pacific	Intergenerational transmission

Figure 1: A child-centred socio-ecological framework for violence prevention (Source: Maternowska et al., 2020)

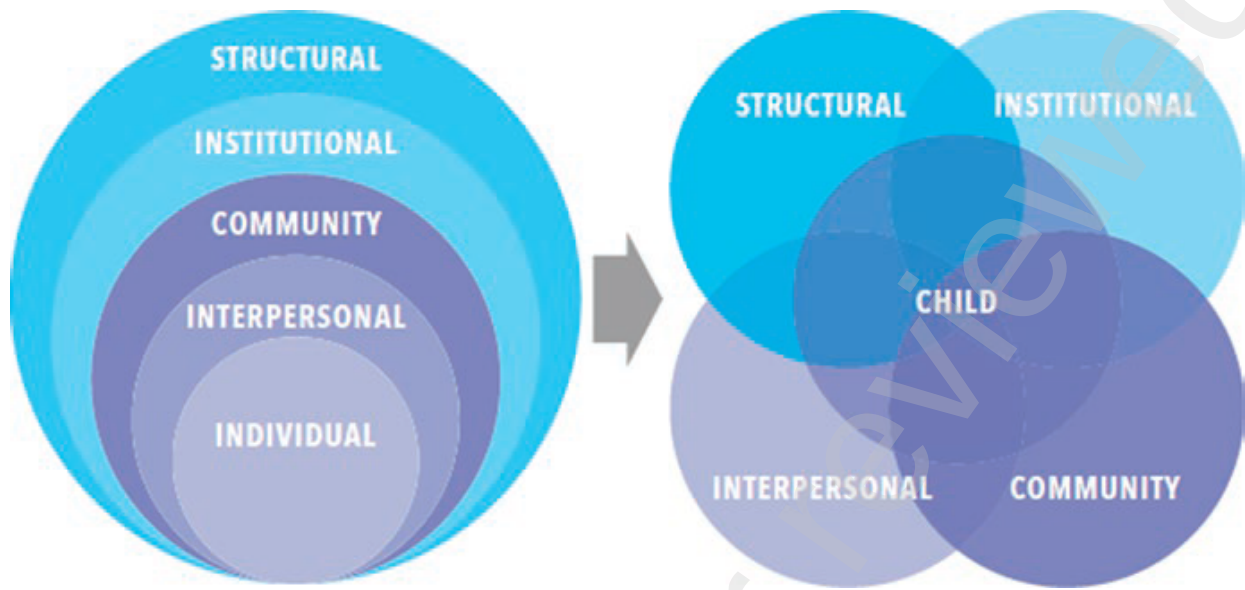
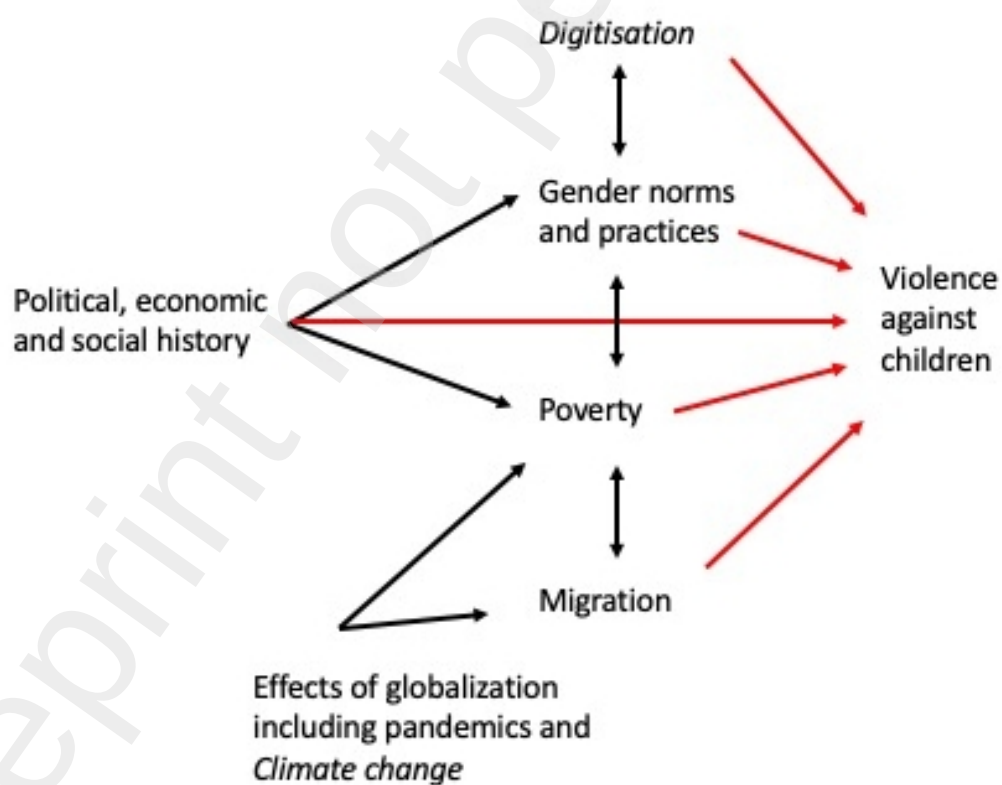


Figure 2: Drivers of violence against children in Pacific Island countries (Source: authors)



Italics indicates an emerging driver

Figure 3: Prevalence of violent punishment, child labour and child marriage by wealth in countries where data are available (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2022; PNG National Statistical Office & ICF, 2019; SI National Statistics Office et al., 2017; Tonga Statistics Department, 2020; Vanuatu National Statistics Office & Pacific Community, 2014)

