Risk and Protective Factors of Abuse and Violence Across the Lifespan and Policy Responses

Jeong-Hee Ryu · Ju-Yeon Lee

KiHASA
Korea Institute for
Health and Social Affairs

【Principal Researcher】
Jeong-Hee Ryu Associate Research Fellow, Korea institute
                for Health and Social Affairs

【Co-Researchers】
Ju-Yeon Lee Senior Research, Korea institute for Health and
            Social Affairs

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Abuse and Violence Across
the Lifespan and Policy Responses

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

I Research Background & Purpose

I Research Background & Purpose 《

    A series of recent media reports about the tragic death of children from severe child abuse has dramatically increased public attention and concern about child abuse in South Korea. The wide public discourse sparked by these vivid instances is also evolving into a discourse on the need to better protect the weak and vulnerable, urging policymakers to devise fundamental and effective measures to stem the vicious cycle of abuse. Although policymakers have introduced new measures to support victims of abuse and violence, strengthen the punishment for offenders and raise public awareness, many of these measures address the problem in an ex post manner. In order to come up with a priori abuse prevention measures, it is necessary first to identify the risk factors and determine the steps necessary to protect people against them.

    The existing literature on abuse and violence concurs that socioeconomic vulnerabilities often serve as decisive factors. Economic inequality, alcoholism, a lack of proper parenting, and social isolation are closely correlated to child abuse and school and domestic violence. Most of these studies, however, address abuse and violence in a fragmented manner as they concern only specific groups, such as children, women, and the

elderly. No previous study has looked into a comprehensive range of risk and protective factors involved in abuse that occurs repeatedly at various stages of an individual's lifecycle. These factors differ widely depending on the types of abuse and violence involved and are also interrelated (WHO, 2006). It has been quite difficult so far to identify a list of risk and protective factors that apply universally.

Abuse and violence can take place repeatedly, with overlapping and interacting factors, at various stages of human development. It is important to approach the major factors repeated across one's lifecycle from a comprehensive perspective. This study provides a wide-ranging understanding of abuse that affects various groups of people and the risk and protective factors affecting infants and toddlers, children, teenagers, adults, and seniors, with a view to identifying more effective policy responses to prevent it and stop it when it occurs.

II

Research Content
& Method

II
Research Content & Method 《

1. Research Content

This study examines major types of abuse and violence that occur at various stages of an individual's lifecycle. Specifically, these include child abuse, school violence affecting teenagers, spouse abuse affecting young and middle-aged adults, and elder abuse. This study thus examines both the major experiences of violence in childhood (child abuse and violence related to schools) and domestic violence (child abuse, spouse abuse, and elder abuse). This study identifies the risk and protective factors of abuse and violence targeting these specific age groups, and explores their similarities and differences.

This study includes following research questions: First, what are the risk and protective factors of single type of abuse and violence, including child abuse, school violence, spouse abuse, and elder abuse? Second, what are the common risk and protective factors of abuse and violence across the lifespan? Third, what kind of more integrated policy interventions are needed to prevent abuse and violence across the lifespan?

Most studies on the factors of abuse and violence, in and outside Korea (such as Symes, 2011 and Ahn et al., 2012), have

been conducted based on survey of actual and potential victims, victims' parents (where child abuse is concerned), family members, and experts (Ahn et al. 2012). Utilizing bibliometric methods, this study examines evidence from the existing literature on four types of abuse, including child abuse, school violence, spouse abuse, and elder abuse, in Korea that has been published over the last two decades, and analyzes the structure (frequencies and interrelations) of the keywords to form a network map showing high-frequency keywords. This study uses that map to identify the similarities of and differences between risk and protective factors involved in diverse types of abuse.

Using an expert survey, this study also reviews expert opinions on the risk and protective factors of lifecycle-specific abuse and violence as well as the policy measures that have been taken thus far; examines the current status of abuse and violence in Korea; and suggests future directions for policy improvement to prevent abuse and violence across the lifespan.

2. Research Method

This study relies on both bibliometric methods and an expert survey.

A. Bibliometrics

Bibliometric methods allow the researcher to analyze key-words in existing literature, examining the distribution of frequent keywords and how regularly they appear. This study looks at academic journal articles on abuse and violence published in Korea over the last two decades.

More specifically, the present study considered journal articles published from the beginning of 1997 to September 2016. Korea's legal response to domestic violence focusing on spouse abuse began to take shape in 1998,[1] yet this study looks into articles published in 1997 as well, one year prior to the enforcement of such laws and policies.

The main search engine used to find these journal articles was the Research Information Sharing Service (RISS) of the Korea Education and Research Information Service (KERIS). Major search engines on research literature in Korea include the RISS, the Korean Studies Information Service System (KISS), DBpia, and the Korean Citation Index (KCI). The KCI was excluded as it mostly provided academic studies published in 2000 and thereafter. Of the remaining three search engines, RISS was chosen because it provided the widest range of in-

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1) The first Korean law against domestic abuse went into effect in July 1998. Provisions against child abuse were inserted into the Child Welfare Act in 2000, and a public system for protecting children was introduced around the same time.

formation on academic journal articles published in Korea with minimum overlap in bibliographic data. This study examined articles published in Korean academic journals only, and did not consider the reports of policy or research institutes.

In searching for journal articles, this study created a list of keywords pertaining to each type of abuse and applied the union sets of keywords in queries. This method was intended to minimize the omission of data that can occur with keyword queries entering "abuse" or "violence" only.

A wide range of keywords was thus applied to identify and locate relevant studies on each type of abuse. The keywords and their relations were then analyzed. This study subjected only keywords that appear at least four times in the literature to its analysis. These keywords were subjected to the analysis of weighted networks on indirect relations so as to identify the structure of relations among them.

〈Table 1〉 Search Words & Number of Relevant Articles for Each Type of Abuse

Type of Abuse	Search Words	Number of Articles
Child abuse	"child abuse"	1,246
School violence	"school violence"	1,822
spouse abuse	"spouse abuse," "spouse violence," "wife abuse," "abusive spouse," and "domestic violence"	1,462
Elder abuse	"elder abuse"	311

B. Expert Survey

In an effort to assess the current status of policy measures against lifecycle-specific abuse and violence and to ensure comprehensive policymaking reflective of the risk and protective factors involved, this study conducted a survey on experts. Scholars, policy makers, and nongovernmental activists were surveyed regarding four types of abuse: child abuse, school violence, spouse abuse, and elder abuse. The survey took place via email over two weeks, from October 7 to 20, 2016. A total of 46 questionnaires were returned completely answered.

〈Table 2〉 Expert Survey on Lifecycle-Specific Abuse & Violence: Overview

	Description
Targets	Scholars, civil servants, NGO activists
Sampling sources	National list of experts on each type of abuse and lists of members in relevant associations or organizations
Survey period	Two weeks during October 2016
Survey method	E-mail
Sample size	46
Instrument	Structured questionnaire

III

Theoretical Background

III   Theoretical Background ≪

A number of theories have been proposed to explain the cycle of abuse and violence repeated across one's lifetime. Major theories and models include the social learning theory, the intersectionality theory, the attachment theory, trauma-based models, and the ecological-transactional theories.

The social learning theory holds that human behavior develops through observation andimitation, and the behaviors and attitudes that adults show during parenting are influenced by the types of parenting they experienced as children. If an individual experienced abuse or neglect in childhood, he or she comes to believe that such abuse is acceptable, and repeats the same with his or her own children, thus completing the intergenerational cycle of abuse.

The intersectionality theory, on the other hand, examines the structure in which social isolation and repression is often coupled with individual factors, such as age, gender, nationality, class background, and financial situations, to produce unending and escalating cycles of violence.

The attachment theory emphasizes the quality of care provided by parents or main caregivers in forming the initial bond of attachment with children and protecting them against abuse and violence. When caregivers fail to respond to the needs of

infants and toddlers, the children grow up with considerable difficulty in forming healthy relationships with others later in life. The inability to form healthy attachment, in turn, increases the risk of abusive behavior, according to this theory.

The trauma-based models hold that child abuse, like other forms of violence, leaves psychological scars on children. If not treated effectively and in a timely manner, the traumas left by child abuse can predispose children to abusive and violent behavior when they become adults.

These theories provide useful frameworks through which we can explore and identify the risk and protective factors of abuse and violence, and also understand why these factors overlap and emerge repeatedly across one's lifecycle. This study takes the lenses provided by the social learning and intersectionality theories to examine abuse and violence.

1. Social Learning Theory

"Violence begets violence" thesis captures the core of the social learning theory's take on how abuse and violence continue down the generations. Children internalize and learn the violence and abuse they experience during their social development. Families are not self-enclosed units, but always interact with the surrounding society, which includes schools,

workplaces, and local communities. The inequality of power inherent to the social structure replicates itself even within the domestic sphere. Violence and abuse perpetrated within the boundaries of home—neglected for a long time by the ideology of the normal family—reflects the fact that the relations of domination and repression in society at large reproduce themselves along the sexual and age hierarchy at home.

Social learning theorists who believe that human perception is reconstructed as a result of social learning occurring in everyday experiences (Bandura, 1973) provide a useful basis upon which we may understand the diverse forms of abuse and violence people experience across their lifetimes in a more far-reaching manner. The existing literature on repeated experiences of abuse attests to the centrality of childhood experiences to the rest of one's lifetime. This literature affirms the greater likelihood of persons who were abused as children becoming victims or offenders of spouse or elder abuse in their adulthood. This can be explained by the emphasis the social learning theory places on the human tendency to learn, imitate, and internalize violence. Persons who were abused as children learn to justify the abuse they experienced as morally legitimate, and pick up the strategies and techniques of violence in the process.

Having experienced and internalized violence in childhood, persons may exteriorize the lessons of violence they have

learned in the face of frustration, anger and despair in their
domestic or external relations, repeating the same acts of vio-
lence and abuse against family members. Alternatively, persons
who were abused as children may become more dependent,
conforming, passive, and inactive and thereby easily fall prey
to chronic and habitual violence in adulthood, lacking the abil-
ity to fight for themselves. The social learning theory thus ex-
plains the mechanism by which abuse and violence are re-
peated across an individual's lifetime.

That domestic violence is learned at home and passed down
the generations is easily observed and confirmed in reality.
Studies with small sample sizes have provided empirical evi-
dence of this phenomenon. Sengstock and Liang (1982), for ex-
ample, revealed that approximately 10 percent of the 77 cases
of elder abuse the authors studied in Detroit involved mutual
abuse among family members (Jones et al., 1997). Reay and
Browne (2001) divided 19 actual cases of elder abuse between
physical abuse and neglect and identified the risk factors for
each type of abuse. The authors concluded that the experience
of abuse by one's father in childhood is a major risk factor for
physically abusive behavior in adulthood.

Numerous studies in Korea also affirm the social learning
theory. These studies conclude that experiencing and witness-
ing abuse in childhood increases one's likelihood of abusing
elders later in one's life (Park, 2004; Bae and Jeong, 2008). Cho

et al. (1999) show that 28 percent of abusers have witnessed domestic violence and another 20.0 percent experienced do-mestic violence or abuse at home during their childhood.

In Lee (2002) as well, 19.6 percent of abusers have witnessed abuse and another 13.7 percent of abusers experienced abuse as children (quoted in Lee, 2013). Lee and Kim (2016) do not provide empirical evidence that the experiences of domestic violence can become risk factors of elder abuse, but their study does analyze experiences of domestic violence at different stages of the lifecycle and thereby tests and proves the social learning theory.

Studies published in 2000 and after regard experiences of abuse and violence repeated across one's lifetime as potential risk factors. Yet these studies concur that more in-depth em-pirical research is needed on the likelihood of childhood expe-riences of abuse turning into risk factors of abusive and violent behavior in adulthood (Lachs and Pillemer, 2004; National Research Council, 2003).

2. Intersectionality Theory

In the 1980s, feminist activists began to pay attention to the intersection, particularly in black women's experiences, be-tween repression, discrimination and alienation in the social

system, on the one hand, and repeated violence and abuse at the personal level, on the other. The intersectionality theory borne of this attention emphasizes that every given social group has distinct characteristics, that individuals are placed within social structures that allow them to exercise power, and that diverse elements of the social identity, such as race, gender and class, can exert complex and negative impacts on individual wellbeing and happiness. Black women living in America were exposed to multiple factors of oppression and alienation, such as race, class, and gender. The intersection of these disadvantageous factors forced black women into silence about their experiences of abuse for generations (Creek and Dunn, 2011).

According to the intersectionality theory, diverse sources of identity, including gender, race, social class, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, age, mental disorder, physical disability, illnesses and the like, form individual identities not unilaterally and exclusively, but through constant interaction with one another. Oppressed and alienated groups with little access to limited resources and who are more prone to experiencing the unfairness and injustice of society are particularly susceptible to abuse and violence engendered by the intersection of these factors. Women, for example, may experience different amounts of abuse depending on their race, class, age, sexual orientation, religion, and disability. The intersectionality theory

thus focuses most keenly on the weakest of minorities who are subjected to the risks of abuse and violence stemming from multiple sources of discrimination.

The intersectionality theory provides a contextually refined and wider perspective on violence against women and women's own reactions to it. Intersectionality theorists emphasize that abused women can perceive and experience abuse differently depending on their contexts—being disabled, being immigrants, having illnesses, being out of a job, etc.—and that professionals and organizations providing support for these victims could be doing further injustice if they fail to respond adequately to these differences of perception and experience and fail to provide the different services different victims require. Various and complex forms of discrimination, inspired by race, class, ability, sexual orientation, citizenship status and so forth, can easily be eclipsed by preoccupation with gender inequality. In addressing abuse and violence, therefore, we ought to be careful not to lose sight of these diverse factors of inequality (Creek and Dunn, 2011). The intersectionality theory thus explains domestic violence and abuse in relation to the multiple factors of social oppression at large, and has been especially useful in explaining the dynamics of domestic abuse perpetrated against immigrant women.

IV

Results

Results «

1. Bibliometrics

A. Time Sequential Tendency in the Literature

Examining the year-by-year distribution of bibliometric information can reveal time sequential tendencies in the literature. The number of journal articles on child abuse has steadily increased, from 26 in 1997 to 70 in 2005. By 2014, the number of articles had more than doubled to 150. There was a slight drop to 133 in 2015, but the number has remained above that since then. This seems to reflect the increasing number of reports in the media on child abuse since 2014, and policy and systemic changes addressing it, including enactment of the Act on Special Cases Concerning the Punishment Etc. of Child Abuse Crimes.

The number of journal articles on school violence has fluctuated most dramatically, ranging from 14 to 347 a year. Fewer than 50 journal articles were released on the subject per year between 1997 and 2011, after which the number suddenly spiked to 337 in 2012. Having reached a peak in 2013, the number of articles on this topic has decreased somewhat since.

The number of journal articles on spouse abuse increased until 2008, and has fluctuated since then, ranging from 30 per year to 115 per year. The margin of fluctuation has been decreasing over time.

Journal articles on elder abuse make up the smallest group in general. Fluctuations in the number of these articles published per year were therefore not as dramatic in comparison to those noted with respect to other forms of abuse (ranging from four per year to 31 per year). Interestingly, the number of articles on elder abuse abruptly rose in the years 2004, 2008, 2014 and 015, and then dropped in the intervening years.

[Figure 1] Time Sequential Tendency in Journal Articles on Abuse & Violence in Korea
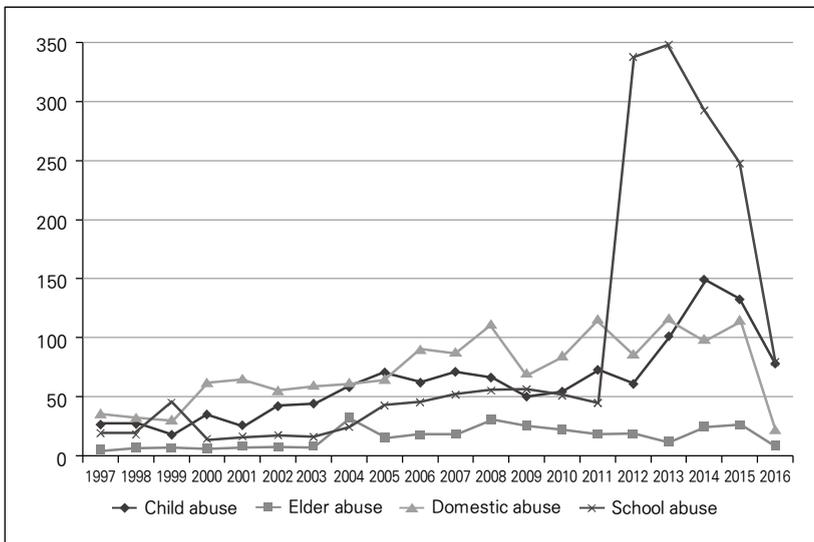
B. Keyword Network Analysis

(1) Child Abuse

The keywords collected from literature on child abuse can be divided into two main categories and eight subcategories. The first main category is child welfare law, which encompasses three subcategories: the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Act on Special Cases Concerning the Punishment Etc. of Child Abuse Crimes, and the Child Welfare Act (CWA). These keywords are singled out by a dotted-line circle in Figure 2 below. The second main category concerns the risk and protective factors of child abuse on various dimensions, and includes five subcategories or types of abuse, including physical abuse, emotional abuse, and sexual abuse. These subcategories are indicated in different colors in Figure 2.

[Figure 2] Child Abuse Keyword Network Map

[Figure 3] School Violence Keyword Network Map

(2) School Violence

School violence consists of two main categories and five subcategories. As with child abuse, the first main category or group (indicated in blue, purple and light blue in Figure 3) contains keywords pertaining to laws on school violence. The second main category or group (indicated in red and green in Figure 3) encompasses a diverse range of school violence (e.g., isolation, cyber bullying, and deliberate isolation by peers) and possible solutions (e.g., human rights education, participation, and communication).

(3) Spouse Abuse

Spouse abuse consists of seven groups. The first group, containing the largest number of keywords and indicated in red in Figure 4, concerns support for and protection of victims. The second group, indicated in blue, contains keywords on spouse abuse in immigrant families and the Support for Multicultural Families Act (SMFA). The third group, indicated in yellow, includes keywords on the psychological factors and outcomes of spouse abuse. The fourth group, indicated in green, concerns the Act on Special Cases Concerning the Punishment Etc. of Crimes of Domestic Violence, protective custody, and other legal measures regarding domestic violence. The fifth group, in-

dicated in purple, contains keywords on women's rights. The sixth group, indicated in pink, pertains to support or treatment programs for victims and offenders. The seventh group, indicated in black, contains keywords on the family factors and outcomes of spouse abuse.

(4) Elder Abuse

While the keyword network map on elder abuse consists of six main categories, the body of available literature was quite small to begin with. The first group (indicated in red in Figure 5) contains keywords on the risk factors in family relations, such as domestic violence and child abuse. The second group, in blue, concerns legal and institutional factors of protection against elder abuse. The third group, in black, concerns social factors of protection, such as human rights, filial duty, and correctional welfare. The fourth group, in green, includes keywords on psychological risk factors, such as depression and suicidal thoughts. The fifth group, in orange, includes specific types of elder abuse. The sixth group, in pink, concerns the demographic risk factors of elder abuse against female seniors.

[Figure 4] Spouse Abuse Keyword Network Map
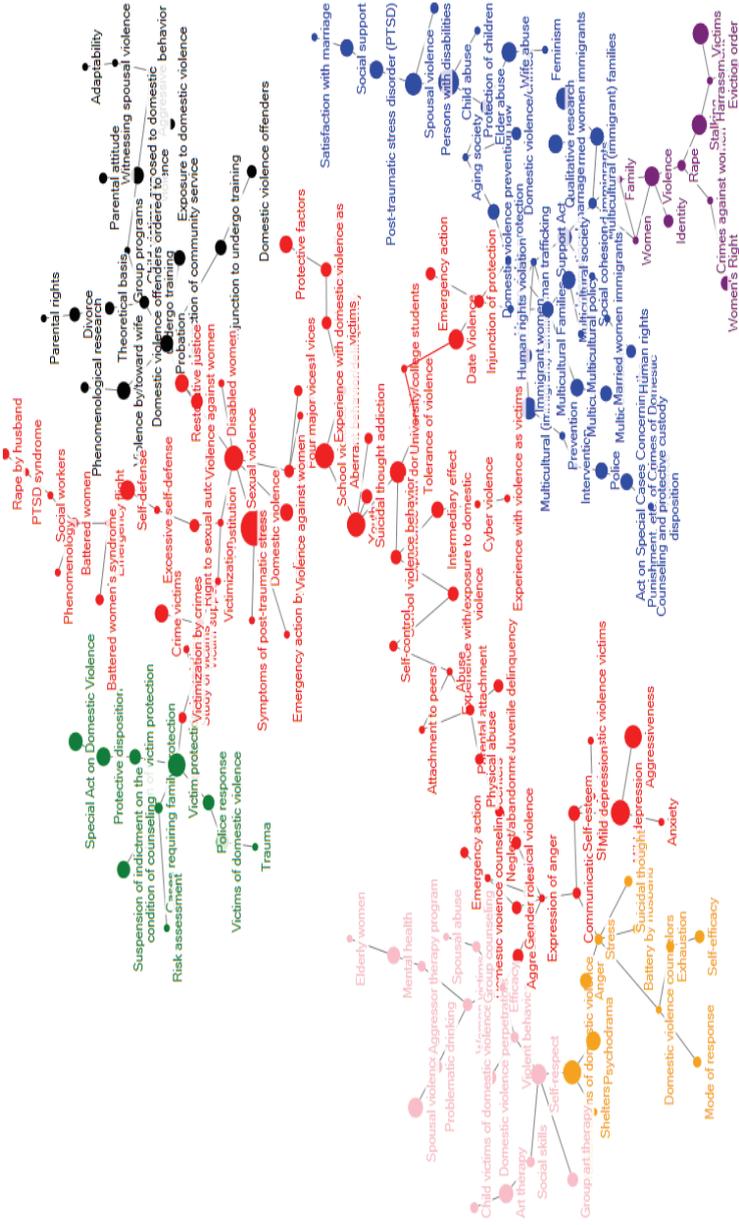
[Figure 5] Elder Abuse Keyword Network Map
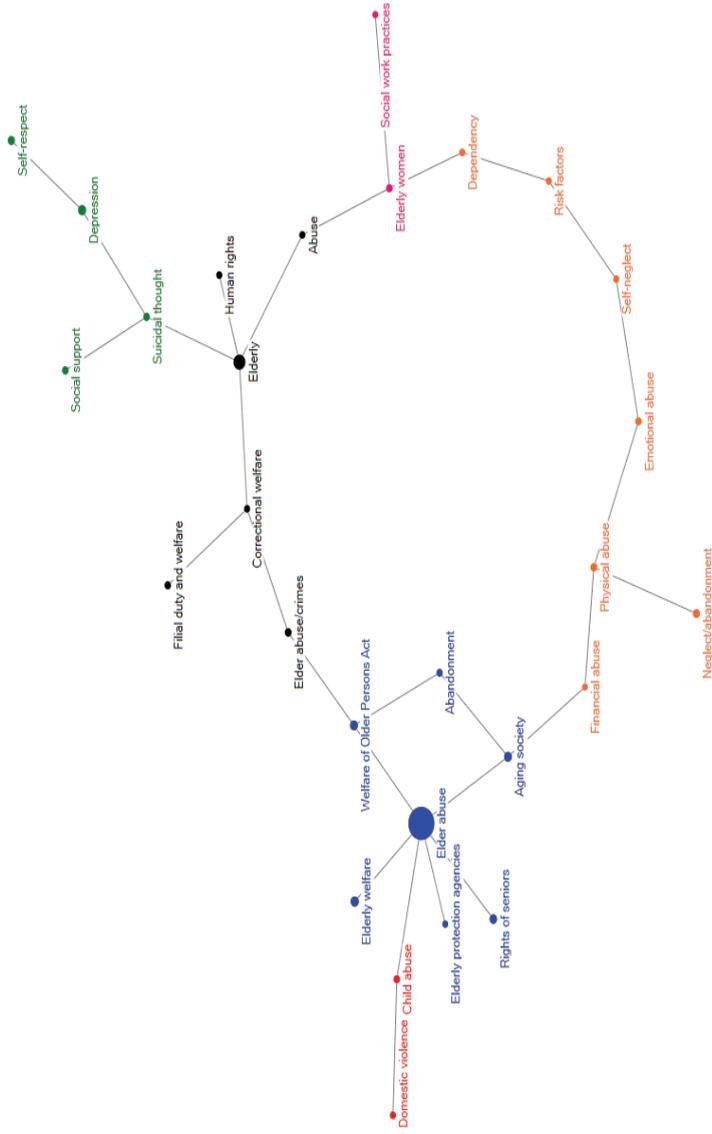
C. Risk and Protective Factors of Abuse & Violence

In order to identify the risk and protective factors of abuse and violence most frequently addressed in the literature, keywords that appear frequently in the bibliometrics and that indicate these factors were separated. These factor keywords were identified for each type of abuse by one expert and two researchers The keywords identified by the three were then compared and modified to form a single list.

D. Risk & Protective Factors of Each Type of Abuse

(1) Child Abuse

At the personal level, the most frequent protective factor that emerged with respect to child abuse was self-respect (17 appearances). Frequent risk factors included aggression (46 appearances), depression (41 appearances), disability (14 appearances), and experience with child abuse (11 appearances).

At the level of family relations, the risk factors included domestic violence (33 appearances), spouse abuse (11 appearances), parental attitude (12 appearances), and parenting stress (eight appearances).

As for legal-institutional factors, the protective factors included child welfare laws (41 appearances), the Act on Special

Cases Concerning the Punishment of Child Abuse Crimes (19 appearances), child protection agencies (20 appearances), police (six appearances), parental right restrictions (18 appearances), loss of parental rights (16 appearances), child abuse prevention (23 appearances), child protection services (nine appearances), and a willingness to report (11 appearances).

〈Table 3〉 Risk & Protective Factors of Child Abuse

Dimension	Type	Included	Frequency
Personal factors	Protective factors	Self-respect	17
		Psychological resilience	8
	Risk factors	Depression	41
		Aggression	46
		Experience with child abuse	11
		School violence	10
		Attachment to parents	5
		Shame	5
		Stress	5
		Delinquency	10
		Anxiety	6
		Problematic behavior	8
		Emotional control	6
		Mental health	6
		Disability	14
		Social withdrawal	7
Family factors	Risk factors	Parental attitude	12
		Spouse abuse	11
		Domestic violence	33
		Parenting stress	8
Legal-institutional factors	Protective factors	CWA	41
		Act on Special Cases Concerning the Punishment Etc. of Child Abuse Crimes	19
		Criminal law	6
		Child protection agencies	20
		Loss of parental rights	16
		Parental right restrictions	18
		Parental rights	11

Dimension	Type	Included	Frequency
		Family court	5
		CRC	8
		Child abuse prevention	23
		Police	6
		UN Convention on the Rights of the Child	5
		Child protection services	9
		Child abuse prevention centers	6
		Child abuse prevention case workers	6
		Willingness to report (child abuse)	11
	Risk factors	Burnout (of counselors)	5
Social factors	Protective factors	Awareness of child abuse	8
		Child protection system	7
		Parties obliged to report (child abuse)	5
	Risk factors	Poverty	8

The Korean legislature has recently been reinforcing legal measures for the protection of child abuse victims through amendments to the CWA and the Act on Special Cases Concerning the Punishment Etc. of Child Abuse Crimes. Child protection agencies, the police, and other authorities are gaining increasing roles and powers as a result. This much is evident in the literature. Social factors include awareness of child abuse (eight appearances) and the parties obliged to report child abuse (five appearances) as protective factors, and poverty (eight appearances) as a risk factor.

(2) School Violence

The most frequent risk factors at the personal level with respect to school violence were aggression (42 appearances), experience with school violence as victims (28 appearances), and depression (25 appearances). Protective factors included self-respect (39 appearances), character (13 appearances), and successful adaptation to school life (12 appearances).

Most of the frequent family factors were risk factors, such as domestic violence (30 appearances) and parental attitude (six appearances). Relational factors refer to the elements of interpersonal relations students have, and frequent protective factors included empathy (26 appearances), conflict resolution (six appearances), and communication (five appearances).

The legal-institutional factors included various protective factors, such as laws against juvenile delinquency and school violence, education and behavior programs, and institutions such as the police and commissions. The most frequent ones were school violence prevention (53 appearances), character-building education (51 appearances), restorative justice (37 appearances), the Act on the Prevention Of and Countermeasures against Violence in Schools (36 appearances), and school violence prevention programs (20 appearances).

The social factors included human rights education (20 appearances), attitude toward school violence (11 appearances),

and social support (10 appearances) as protective factors, and juvenile delinquency (14 appearances) as a risk factor.

⟨Table 4⟩ Risk & Protective Factors of School Violence

Dimension	Type	Included	Freq.	Dimension	Type	Included	Freq.
Personal factors	Protective factors	Successful adaptation to school	10	Legal-institutional factors	Protective factors	Restorative justice	9
	Protective factors	Mental health	5		Protective factors	Restorative law	37
	Protective factors	Adaptability	6		Protective factors	Advice for reconciliation	5
	Protective factors	Self-respect	39		Protective factors	Criminal mediation	5
	Protective factors	Self-control	8				
	Protective factors	Counseling	6		Protective factors	Act on the Prevention of and Countermeasures against Violence in Schools	36
	Protective factors	Character	13		Protective factors	School violence prevention education	9
	Protective factors	Anger	8		Protective factors	School violence prevention	53
	Protective factors	Anger	10		Protective factors	Juvenile justice	9
	Protective factors	Adaptation to school life	12		Protective factors	Juvenile law	16
	Protective factors	Psychological resilience	7		Protective factors	Juvenile crimes	20
	Protective factors	Ability to empathize	5		Protective factors	Protective custody	6
	Risk factors	Internet addiction	11		Protective factors	Correctional welfare	5
	Risk factors	Disability	7		Protective factors	Police	16
	Risk factors	Internet game addiction	6		Protective factors	Countermeasures against school violence	5

Dimension	Type	Included	Freq.	Dimension	Type	Included	Freq.
	Risk factors	Depression	25		Protective factors	Teen court	5
	Risk factors	Experience with school violence as a victim	28		Protective factors	Victim protection	16
	Risk factors	Experience with school violence	7		Protective factors	Dispute settlement	10
	Risk factors	Experience with school violence as an offender	9		Protective factors	Mediation	7
	Risk factors	Stress	5		Protective factors	School police	7
	Risk factors	Experience with aggression	5		Protective factors	Holistic education	8
	Risk factors	Aggression	42		Protective factors	School environment	5
	Risk factors	Experience as a victim	6		Protective factors	Public education	6
	Risk factors	Impulsiveness	5		Protective factors	Zero-tolerance policy	5
Family factors	Risk factors	Domestic violence	30		Protective factors	Crime prevention	7
	Risk factors	Being an out-of-home teen	6		Protective factors	Prevention programs	10
	Risk factors	Parental attitude	6		Protective factors	Legal education	12
Relational factors	Protective factors	Empathy	26		Protective factors	Education	10
	Protective factors	Communication	5		Protective factors	School violence prevention programs	20
	Protective factors	Care	5		Protective factors	School welfare	8
	Protective factors	Conflict resolution	6		Protective factors	Program development	10
	Protective factors	Interpersonal relations	6		Protective factors	Violence prevention	9
Social factors	Protective factors	Sense of community	9		Protective factors	Integrated education	6
	Protective factors	Ethics	5		Protective factors	Character-building education	51
	Protective factors	Social skills	5		Protective factors	School committees on violence	9

Dimension	Type	Included	Freq.	Dimension	Type	Included	Freq.
	Protective factors	Freedom of expression	5		Protective factors	Teachers' perceptions	5
	Protective factors	Social support	10		Protective factors	Attitude to school violence	11
	Protective factors	Local communities	8		Protective factors	Awareness of school violence	9
	Protective factors	Human rights education	20	Social factors	Protective factors	Local community networks	8
	Protective factors	Human rights sensitivity	5		Risk factors	Juvenile delinquency	14
	Protective factors	Human rights	13		Risk factors	Delinquency	9

(3) Spouse Abuse

The personal factors of spouse abuse include self-respect (24 appearances) as the most frequent protective factor, and child abuse (52 appearances), depression (39 appearances), and immigrant women (38 appearances) as risk factors.

Multicultural (immigrant) families (31 appearances) was the most frequent family risk factor, followed by experience with domestic violence (24 appearances) and divorce (seven appearances).

The Act on Special Cases Concerning the Punishment Etc. of Crimes of Domestic Violence (21 appearances) was the most frequent legal-institutional factor, followed by self-defense (14 appearances), protective custody (12 appearances) and restorative justice (11 appearances) as the other protective factors. The only risk factor found among legal-institutional

ones was the burnout of counselors (five appearances).

Protective social factors included multiculturalism (10 appearances), social support (10 appearances) and human rights (six appearances), while risk factors included tolerance of violence (four appearances) and human rights violations (four appearances) (Table 5).

〈Table 5〉 Risk & Protective Factors of spouse Abuse

Dimension	Type	Included	Freq.	Dimension	Type	Included	Freq.
Personal factors	Risk factors	Aggression	24	Legal-institutional factors	Protective factors	Restorative justice	11
	Protective factors	Attachment to parents	5		Protective factors	Act on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Protection Etc. of Victims	8
	Risk factors	Being a woman with a disability (being disabled)	9		Protective factors	Act on Special Cases Concerning the Punishment Etc. of Crimes of Domestic Violence	21
	Risk factors	Delinquency	5		Protective factors	Counseling and protective custody	4
	Risk factors	Depression	39		Protective factors	Protective custody	12
	Risk factors	Internet addiction	5		Protective factors	Counseling-contingent suspensions of indictment	10
	Protective factors	Self-control	5		Protective factors	Orders to protect victims	8
	Protective factors	Self-respect	24		Protective factors	Orders of eviction	4
	Risk factors	Being a (married) immigrant women	38		Protective factors	Orders to complete education on domestic violence	6
	Risk factors	Expression of anger	4		Protective factors	Parental rights	4

Dimension	Type	Included	Freq.	Dimension	Type	Included	Freq.
	Risk factors	Child abuse	52		Protective factors	Temporary custody	6
	Risk factors	Experience with violence as a victim	4		Protective factors	Self-defense	14
	Risk factors	Anger	8		Protective factors	Protection of crime victims	5
	Risk factors	Stress	5		Protective factors	Orders of protection	6
	Protective factors	Self-efficacy	6		Protective factors	Police	9
	Risk factors	Suicidal thoughts	5		Protective factors	Police response	8
	Risk factors	Being a child victim of domestic violence	5		Protective factors	Probation	10
	Risk factors	Problematic drinking	7		Protective factors	Orders to conduct community service	8
	Protective factors	Social skills	5		Protective factors	Orders to complete education	8
	Risk factors	Being a female senior	4		Protective factors	Domestic violence counseling hotline	4
	Risk/portective factor	Mental health	10		Protective factors	Shelters for victims of domestic violence	8
	Risk factors	Exposure to domestic violence	12		Protective factors	Emergency intervention by the police	9
	Risk factors	Children exposed to domestic violence	10		Protective factors	Emergency flight	4
	Risk factors	Aggressive behavior	4		Protective factors	Support for victims	5
	Risk factors	Witnessing of spouse abuse	4		Protective factors	Support for Multicultural Families Act (SMFA)	8
	Protective factors	Adaptability	4		Protective factors	Multicultural policy	4

Dimension	Type	Included	Freq.	Dimension	Type	Included	Freq.
Social factors	Risk factors	Violence against women	8		Protective factors	Domestic violence counselors	4
Family factors	Risk factors	Experience with domestic violence	24		Risk factors	Burnout (of counselors)	5
	Risk/portective factor	Satisfaction with marriage	4		Protective factors	Treatment programs for offenders	5
	Risk factors	Being part of a multicultural (immigrant) family	31		Protective factors	Group programs	4
	Risk factors	Parental attitude	5				
	Risk factors	Divorce	7				
Social factors	Risk factors	Communication	5	Social factors	Protective factors	Women's rights	7
	Risk/portective factor	Gender roles	6		Protective factors	Social cohesion	4
	Protective factors	Sexual autonomy	6				
	Risk factors	Tolerance of violence	4		Protective factors	Feminism	4
	Risk factors	Multiculturalism	8		Protective factors	Human rights	6
	Risk factors	Multicultural society	11		Protective factors	Human rights protection	4
	Protective factors	Multiculturalism	10		Risk factors	Human rights violations	4
	Protective factors	Social support	10		Risk factors	Human trafficking	4

(4) Elder Abuse

The most frequent protective factor at the personal level re-garding elder abuse was self-respect (eight appearances), while

the risk factors included depression (11 appearances), suicidal thoughts (six appearances), and being a female senior (six appearances).

Risk factors on the family level included child abuse (six appearances) and domestic violence (five appearances). Legal-institutional factors included protective factors only, such as the Welfare of the Aged Act (WAA, 10 appearances), making abandonment a crime (five appearances), and elderly protection agencies (four appearances).

The social factors included the aging society (10 appearances) as a risk factor and the rights of seniors (nine appearances), social support (six appearances), and filial duty (six appearances) as protective factors (Table 6).

〈Table 6〉 Risk & Protective Factors of Elder Abuse

Dimension	Type	Included	Frequency
Personal factors	Protective factor	Self-respect	8
	Risk factors	Depression	11
		Suicidal thoughts	6
		Dependency	5
		Being a female senior	6
Family factors	Risk factors	Child abuse	6
		Domestic violence	5
Legal-institutional factors	Protective factors	WAA	10
		Making abandonment a crime	5
		Elderly protection agencies	4
Social factors	Protective factors	Rights of seniors	9
		Social support	6
		Filial duty	6
		Correctional welfare	5
		Human rights	5
	Risk factor	Aging society	10

E. Common Risk & Protective Factors

Table 7 combines the risk and protective factors of various forms of abuse and violence occurring across the lifecycle—child abuse, school violence, spouse abuse, and elder abuse—that were identified through bibliometrics.

〈Table 7〉 Risk and Protective Factors of All Lifecycle-Specific Forms of Abuse & Violence

Type	Dimension	Subcategory	Included
Risk factors	Personal	Emotional	Aggression, depression, anger, attachment to parents, shame, stress, anxiety, emotional control, mental health, social withdrawal, expression of anger, suicidal thoughts
		Behavioral	Problematic behavior, problematic drinking, delinquency, aggressive behavior, smartphone addiction, Internet addiction, Internet game addiction, being an out-of-home teen, juvenile delinquency
		Demographic vulnerability	Disability (students or women with disability), being a (married) immigrant woman, being part of a multicultural family, being a female senior, experience with child abuse as a victim, experience with abuse as an offender or victim, experience with domestic violence, being a child victim of domestic violence, experience with school violence as a victim, experience with school violence, experience with school violence as an offender
	Family		spouse violence, parental attitude, spouse abuse, domestic violence, parents' attitude toward parenting, parenting stress, being part of a multicultural (immigrant) family, poverty, child abuse, divorce
	Relational		School violence, communication, dependency
	Social		Burnout, tolerance of violence, multicultural society, human rights violations, human trafficking, aging society
	Legal-institutional		N/A
Protective factors	Personal	Emotional	Self-respect, psychological resilience, self-efficacy, sexual autonomy, school adaptation (adaptation to school life), mental health, adaptability, self-control, character, anger management, anger, ability to empathize (empathy), care, ethics, social skills
		Behavioral	
		Demographic vulnerability	N/A
	Family		Conflict resolution, interpersonal relations
	Social		Social support, sense of community, awareness of child abuse, willingness to report, actions of reporting, counseling, local

Type	Dimension	Subcategory	Included
			communities, human rights education, human rights sensitivity, attitude to school violence, awareness of school violence, local support networks, multiculturalism, social cohesion, feminism, human rights, human rights protection, women's rights
	Legal -institutional		CWA, Act on Special Cases Concerning the Punishment Etc. of Child Abuse Crimes, criminal law, crimes against parents, murder of parents, child protection agencies, loss of parental rights, legal guardianship for minors, parental right restrictions, parental rights, family court, rights of infants and toddlers, early intervention, CRC, child abuse prevention, police, UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, Act on the Protection of Children and Juveniles from Sexual Abuse, abuse prevention, parental education, children's rights, child protection system, parties obliged to report child abuse, child protection services, child abuse prevention centers, child abuse prevention center counselors, restorative justice, restorative law, advice for reconciliation, criminal mediation, Act on the Prevention of and Countermeasures against Violence in Schools, school violence prevention education, school violence prevention, juvenile justice, juvenile law, juvenile crimes, protective custody, correctional welfare, police, police responses, countermeasures against school violence, teen court, protection of school violence victims, protection of victims, dispute settlement, mediation, school police, local police activities, freedom of expression, holistic education, school environment, public education, zero-tolerance policy, crime prevention, prevention programs, legal education, education, school violence prevention programs, school social welfare, program development, violence prevention, integrated education, character-building education, school committees on violence, school-assigned police officers, teachers' perceptions, school safety, ethics education, school sheriffs, school committees, learning ground guards, Act on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Protection Etc. of Victims, Act on Special Cases Concerning the Punishment Etc. of Crimes of Domestic Violence, counseling and protective custody decisions, protective custody, counseling-contingent suspensions of indictment, orders of protection for victims, orders of eviction, orders to complete education on domestic violence, parental rights, temporary measures, self-defense, protection of victims of crimes, orders of protection, police responses, probation, orders to conduct community service, order to complete education, sexual autonomy, domestic violence counseling

Type	Dimension	Subcategory	Included
			centers, shelters for victims of domestic violence, emergency intervention by the police, emergency intervention, emergency flight, support for victims, SMFA, multicultural policy, prevention, domestic violence counselors, shelters, treatment programs for offenders, group programs, WAA, making abandonment a crime, rights of seniors, filial duty, correctional welfare, human rights, elderly protection agencies

Risk and protective factors that appear in at least two life-cycle-specific types of abuse and violence are as follows:

On the personal level, self-respect was themost frequent protective factor with respect to all four types of abuse and violence. Adaptability and self-control appeared in school violence and spouse abuse, while psychological resilience appeared in child abuse and school violence. As for the risk factors at the personal level, depression appeared in all four types of abuse and violence, while aggression, stress, experience with abuse or violence as a victim, and disability appeared in three types (child abuse, school violence, spouse abuse). Suicidal thoughts appeared in two types (spouse and elder abuse), as did attachment to parents, delinquency and experience with child abuse (in child and spouse abuse). Internet addiction and anger (or expression thereof) also appeared in two types of abuse (school violence and spouse abuse), as did experience with school violence (in child abuse and school violence).

On the family level, experience with domestic violence emerged as a risk factor in all four types of abuse and violence, while parents' attitude toward parenting appeared as a major

risk factor in three types (child abuse, school violence, spouse abuse).

As for legal-institutional factors, laws and authorities addressing lifecycle-specific forms of abuse and violence emerged as protective factors in all four types of abuse and experience, while the police, victim protection services, and various programs of treatment and prevention emerged as protective factors in three types (child abuse, school violence, spouse abuse). Abuse prevention appeared as a protective factor in two types of abuse (child abuse and school violence), as did parental rights and counselors in two types (child and spouse abuse) and restorative justice (in school violence and spouse abuse).

As for social factors, social support and human rights emerged as protective factors in three types of abuse and violence (school violence, spouse abuse, elder abuse), while the awareness of abuse appeared in two types (child abuse and school violence), as did correctional welfare (school violence and elder abuse).

〈Table 8〉 Overlapping Risk & Protective Factors

Dimension	Type	Appearing in All 4 Types of Abuse/Violence	Appearing in 3 Types of Abuse/Violence	Appearing in 2 Types of Abuse/Violence
Personal	Risk factors	Depression	Aggression Stress Experience with abuse or violence Disability	Suicidal thoughts Attachment to parents Anger Delinquency Child abuse Internet addiction School violence
	Protective factors	Self-respect		Adaptability Psychological resilience Self-control
Family	Risk factor	Domestic violence	Parental attitude	
	Protective factors	N/A	N/A	N/A
Legal-institutional	Risk factors	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Protective factors	Laws Agencies supporting and protecting victims	Police Victim protection services Prevention/education programs	Abuse prevention Parental rights Counselors Restorative justice
Social	Risk factors	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Protective factors	N/A	Social support Human rights	Awareness of abuse Correctional welfare

2. Expert Survey

A. Perception of the Severity of Abuse & Violence

Experts generally perceived abuse and violence to be prevalent and severe across Korean society. They perceived child abuse to be the most severe (3.6 points), followed by elder abuse (3.32 points), abuse and violence repeated across the lifetime (3.27 points), spouse abuse (3.23 points), and school violence (3.2 points).

⟨Table 9⟩ Severity of Abuse & Violence in Korea as Perceived by Experts

Type	Average Score (S.D.)
Lifetime abuse and violence	3.27 (.539)
Child abuse	3.60 (.495)
School violence	3.20 (.594)
spouse abuse	3.23 (.565)
Elder abuse	3.32 (.561)

Note: The severity of each type of abuse or violence was scored on a four-point scale, ranging from one ("not severe at all") to four ("very severe").

The experts felt that the severity of these forms of abuse and violence has been steadily on the rise in Korea over the past two decades. More specifically, the experts agree that spouse abuse, lifetime abuse and violence in general, school violence and child abuse have been rising consistently, while the rise in elder abuse has been relatively more abrupt.

⟨Table 10⟩ Experts' Perception of the Changing Severity of Abuse & Violence Over 20 Years

Type	Average Score (S.D.)
Lifetime abuse and violence	2.16 (.878)
Child abuse	2.00 (1.011)
School violence	2.09 (.763)
Spouse abuse	2.33 (.826)
Elder abuse	1.78 (.670)

Note: The pace and direction of change in the severity of each type of abuse or violence was scored on a five-point scale (indicating 1=on rapid rise, 2=on constant rise, 3=no changes, 4=constant decline, 5=on rapid decline).

B. Surveys on Abuse & Violence

A variety of national surveys have been conducted on various types of abuse and violence in Korea. The Ministry of Health and Welfare (MOHW), for example, first launched the National Survey on Child Abuse in 2011, which was merged with the Comprehensive Survey of Children in 2013 that is repeated every five years. The survey questionnaire contains simplified questions on child abuse (including neglect, physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual harassment, and sexual assault). The Ministry of Education (MOE) has been conducting the National Survey on School Violence every six months since 2012, polling all students in Korea from Grade 4 to Grade 12 with respect to experiences with school violence (as victims, offenders, and witnesses) and the effectiveness of prevention programs. The

Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF) conducted its first National Survey of Domsetic Violence in 2004, which has since been repeated every three years, with the latest survey conducted in 2016. Since launching its first Korean National Survey on Elderly Abuse in 2009, which was merged with the Korean National Survey on Elderly in 2011 that is repeated every three years, asking simplified questions regarding elder abuse (experiences as victims or offenders and the actions taken).

These surveys on abuse and violence are major channels by which Korean policymakers ascertain the prevalence of abuse and violence across the nation and also decide on policy measures for Treatment and prevention. The timing of the surveys, the use of appropriate instruments and methods, and the validity of the results of these surveys thus carry crucial significance. This study surveyed experts regarding their opinion on the appropriateness of these surveys.

Experts generally rated these surveys poorly, giving a particularly low score of 1.95 points to the timing of the surveys on child abuse, while also rating the instruments, methods and results of these surveys as inappropriate. Experts also rated the surveys on elder abuse poorly, giving 2.07 points to the instruments used, 2.20 points to the results, and 2.39 points to the methods.

The experts were approximately equally split as to whether the surveys on spouse abuse were appropriate or

inappropriate. The proportion of experts rating the results of these surveys poorly was slightly greater than the proportion that viewed the survey appropriately. The majority of experts, however, rated the surveys on school violence as appropriate overall.

The experts were asked how the surveys could be improved and made more appropriate. The most popular opinion was that the surveys, except those on school violence, needed to take place much more frequently. The experts recommended that the surveys, which are repeated every three or five years now, should take place at least every two years or every year in order to identify and determine changes in the patterns of violence.

Many also opined that the timing and method of the surveys should be standardized. They suggested that either one common method be used and all the surveys merged to ascertain the status of domestic abuse and violence, or that at least the timing, the method, and the structure of the questionnaires be standardized across all surveys to facilitate a comparison of the results.

〈Table 11〉 Expert Opinions on Appropriateness of the Fact-Finding Surveys

	Type	Average Score (S.D.)
Child abuse	Timing	1.95 (.714)
	Instrument(s) used	2.34 (.745)
	Method(s) used	2.43 (.728)
	Validity of results (incl. prevalence rate)	2.43 (.587)
	Surveyor	2.93 (.558)
School violence	Timing	2.75 (.630)
	Instrument(s) used	2.70 (.564)
	Method(s) used	2.60 (.591)
	Validity of results (incl. prevalence rate)	2.55 (.639)
	Surveyor	2.79 (.570)
Spouse abuse	Timing	2.45 (.677)
	Instrument(s) used	2.56 (.680)
	Method(s) used	2.54 (.643)
	Validity of results (incl. prevalence rate)	2.42 (.642)
	Surveyor	2.77 (.667)
Elder abuse	Timing	2.40 (.871)
	Instrument(s) used	2.07 (.721)
	Method(s) used	2.39 (.703)
	Validity of results (incl. prevalence rate)	2.20 (.679)
	Surveyor	2.73 (.742)

Note: The appropriateness of each item was scored on a four-point scale, ranging from one ("very inappropriate") to four ("very appropriate").

The experts rated the appropriateness of the instruments (i.e., questionnaires) used in the surveys on child and elder abuse particularly poorly because the questions regarding these two forms of abuse were merged with comprehensive surveys on the general wellbeing of children and seniors. The reduced number of questions pertaining to abuse as a result yielded less reliable results. The experts thus advised that more detailed questions about abuse be added.

There were experts who also questioned the utility of the survey methods. They opined that trying to determine the sta-

tus of abuse using the survey form only would not reveal much about abuse in detail, and the errors inherent to the method could lead to distortions in the results or the prevalence rates. These experts suggested that the survey form be supplemented by additional research in the form of qualitative studies, focus group interviews, and longitudinal studies.

The experts also emphasized the need to enhance the ob-jectivity of the surveys on school violence, and that the surveys be conducted by surveyors during visits to students' homes rather than in classrooms so that the involvement of schools and teachers could be minimized. Experts also stressed the need to include seniors staying at old-age homes, teens out of school, and lower-grade elementary school students into these surveys, as these excluded groups are exposed to increasing risks of abuse.

C. Prevention Programs, Countermeasures & Policy Status

It was also important to determine the necessity for and ef-fectiveness of the programs for abuse prevention and treat-ment, and to hear expert opinions on the problems with cur-rent policy measures and possible improvements. The experts generally agreed that home-visit programs, parental education programs, training programs for mandatory reporters who are required to report cases of suspected child abuse and neglect,

after-school care programs, child abuse prevention education (targeting children and adults alike), and the like were all necessary. However, while these experts agreed that the programs on parental education, mandatory reporters, and after-school care were effective, home-visit and child abuse prevention education programs were rated as comparatively less effective.

Multiple experts pointed out that the government should reclaim the publicness of policymaking, authority, and human resources on prevention and treatment of child abuse. A similar number of experts also advised that the government increase its budget considerably towards preventing child abuse, establish additional child protection agencies for each local government, and assign additional personnel to public and child protection agencies at all levels.

Experts also stressed the need to increase support for child abuse victims and their family members. Child abuse tends to grow more severe over time. Family support and intervention provided in the early stages of child abuse, when the outward signs are still minor, could help prevent child abuse from becoming full-blown. The majority of experts also called for the government to shift to preventive and a priori policymaking. Rather than responding to major instances of child abuse in an ex post manner, the government should apply universal and wide-ranging rules and laws, expanding the scope of parents

and children eligible for education and other forms of support and thereby more effectively preventing child abuse.

The experts also emphasized that education and support would be more effective than punishment in preventing recurrence. At the same time, they urged that the government outgrow traditional familism, and deprive parental offenders of their parental rights and remove child victims swiftly from their abusive original homes by strengthening the social child protection system.

Finally, some experts demanded that child abuse prevention education be provided via more diverse channels, not only as part of elementary and secondary school curricula, but also at workplaces.

〔Figure 6〕 Necessity for and Effectiveness of Child Abuse Prevention & Treatment Programs

(Unit: points)
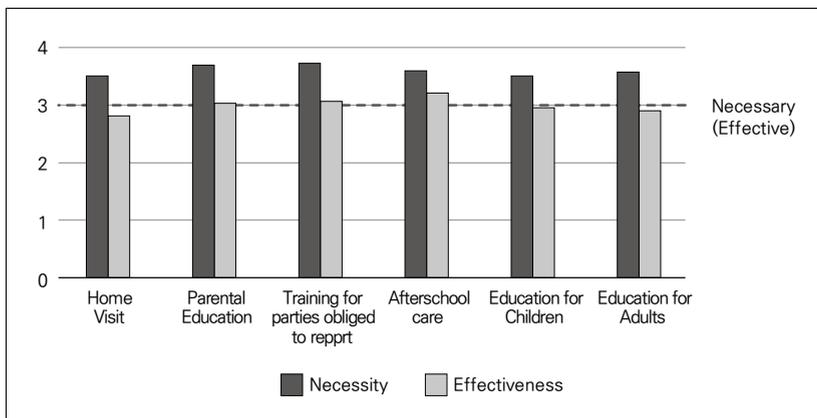
The absence of effective collaboration and trust between the agencies involved fails to protect the best interests of children in some cases. The experts thus requested that the government designate main organizations to be in charge of handling reported cases of child abuse, and require joint case management meetings of officials and staff from all the involved organizations to find the best ways to protect children. Although the police are now required to accompany child abuse specialists in investigating claims of child abuse, there is a considerable gap in awareness between police officers and the specialists, which poses as another source of problems. It is thus critical to minimize this gap in awareness for all involved authorities (the police, hospitals, local governments, schools, etc.) and enlist their help.

Programs for preventing and managing school violence include those on personality - education, developing life and social skills in teenagers, peer counseling, preventing school violence (targeting students, teachers and administrators, and parents), support for school violence specialists, and online learning. Experts rate most of these programs as necessary, particularly emphasizing character-building education and prevention education targeting parents. Experts, however, rated most of these programs as ineffective, with special focus on online school violence prevention education and education targeting parents.

As for how policy measures could be improved, the experts suggested that, first, special personnel be assigned to schools to handle school violence. Effective mediation and resolution of conflicts should take precedence over the punishment of offenders, but schools in Korea today lack specialists capable of providing such mediation. The experts thus suggested that the government recruit and develop these specialists and assign additional funds to that end. School violence tends to mar the reputation of the schools in which it occurs, causing teachers in general to cover up rather than deal with it effectively. Because teachers in general lack the necessary expertise and skills, social workers or specialized counselors should be assigned to schools to identify and handle instances of school violence, rewarding schools that have records of success with additional incentives rather than penalties.

Experts also advise a two-pronged strategy for protecting victims and punishing offenders. They were unanimous in stressing the absolute priority of victim protection. The rather complacent dealing with offenders enables retaliation against victims for reporting school violence. Experts thus emphasized the need to mete out appropriate punishment to offenders and ensure unconditional protection for victims. Nevertheless, they also argue that punishment alone cannot solve the problem of school violence. Rather, restorative justice iss needed in schools, urging students to resolve conflicts through dialogue

and enabling them to foster a respectful, safe, and peaceful environment at their schools on their own. Forcing offenders out of schools will only carry violence further into society as a whole. It is as important to ensure that offenders are not socially isolated as it is that they face punishment. Teachers and parents alike should recognize the importance of this.

School violence requires a long-term and preventive approach. In Korea, it still tends to be dealt with in an a posteriori manner. Violence among teens, however, is reflective of problems in their living and learning environments. Policymakers need to identify and tackle these out-of-school sources of violence, such as poverty, maladaptation, bias against students with disabilities, and parental neglect or over-involvement. The experts also pointed out that schools tend to refrain from strong and effective responses to violence in its early stages. Students with low self-esteem and without the benefit of a strong social support system are especially vulnerable to school violence, and schools need stronger internal systems for counseling and support.

Raising the awareness of, and educating parents on, school violence is also important, as are education that re-sensitizes students to violence and active responses against verbal and cyber bullying.

In Korea today, schools and the MOE are the exclusive makers of policies on school violence. Such policymaking should

enlist participation from a wider range of parties, including local communities, the MOHW, and the MOGEF, with larger budgets assigned to enhance specialist skills and capabilities.

[Figure 7] Necessity for and Effectiveness of School Violence Prevention & Treatment Programs

(Unit: points)
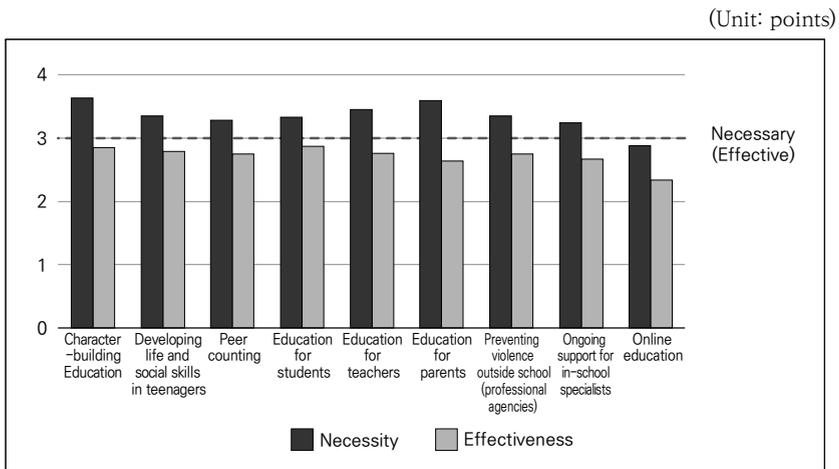
Programs for prevention and treatment of spouse abuse include legal remedies for victims, awareness-raising programs for preventing domestic violence, education on gender equality and roles at home, life and occupational skills programs, counseling for couples, recovery and therapy for victims, therapy and correctional programs for offenders and the like. Most experts agreed that these programs were quite necessary, and rated the free legal remedies, couple counseling, and recovery and therapy programs for victims as effective. On the other

hand, experts rated the awareness-raising programs, education on gender equality and roles at home, life and occupational skills training, and therapy and correctional programs for offenders as relatively ineffective.

The experts agreed that policymaking related to support for spouse abuse victims needed the most improvement. Victims of spouse abuse are often reluctant to seek help out of fear of financial despondency and/or retaliation. Experts thus emphasize the need for the government to prioritize financial assistance for victims, and to introduce job training support and programs that enable them to become financially self-sufficient in the long run. These measures, in turn, would require the prompt separation of victims from offenders and the strong punishment of offenders, as well as a system of effective collaboration between courts, the police, and support agencies. Because spouse abuse and domestic violence tend to recur often, follow-up monitoring and family counseling should be provided even after a given case is closed. In addition to taking long-term and preventive approaches, wide-ranging intervention is needed to identify and eliminate the sources of spouse abuse, such as alcoholism, gambling, and mental disorders.

As it is difficult for victims to take children with them to shelters, and shelters that do allow children impose age and gender restrictions on them, the experts pointed out that it was im-

portant to increase the number of shelters that allow children.

In the field of law enforcement, spouse abuse is still largely regarded as a "family affair." The experts thus stressed the criticality of raising public awareness of the severity of spouse abuse and strengthening the powers of law enforcement against it. Education, counseling, and simulated experiences were recommended towards effecting this awareness. As spouse abuse often accompanies child abuse, it is also crucial to strengthen collaboration between different authorities and agencies to provide a comprehensive range of protection against domestic violence.

[Figure 8] Necessity for and Effectiveness of spouse Abuse Prevention & Treatment Programs

(Unit: points)
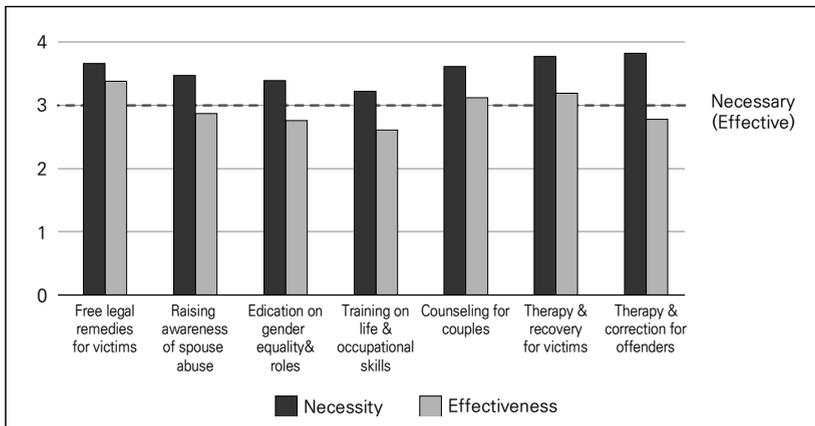
As to the necessity for and effectiveness of programs regarding elder abuse, experts rated almost all programs―including those on raising awareness, improving seniors' self-sufficiency, support for caregivers for seniors, care services, and education and therapy for offenders―as necessary. However, experts rated programs on raising awareness of the general public and seniors, improving seniors' self-sufficiency, support for informal caregivers (family members), and education and therapy for offenders as ineffective.

Numerous experts pointed out the difficulty of identifying cases of elder abuse and improving public awareness of the problem as the main obstacles to improving relevant policy measures. Elder abuse is not only largely viewed as a "family affair" in Korea, but Korean seniors who are abused also tend to shield their abusers (family members). This makes it difficult to implement proper policy responses in proportion to the severity of the problem, let alone ascertain the actual current situation of elder abuse. Of the four types of abuse analyzed in this study, elder abuse has received the least attention, with the general public remaining in the dark about the problem and elderly victims' own reluctance helping to cover it up.

Policymakers thus need to approach elder abuse in a proactive manner, protecting seniors against self-neglect and introducing a program of court-appointed legal guardians for aged clients. At the same time, the government should reduce

the burden on families of caring for elderly members, and ensure active intervention by law enforcement authorities and thorough protection of victims.

In the longer run, the government will need to introduce programs supporting seniors towards retaining financial, emotional, and psychological independence, with a particular focus on financial self-sufficiency. The punishment of offenders in elder abuse cases, mostly the children of victims against whom victims are reluctant to seek active measures, remains relatively light and therefore fails to stem repeated elder abuse. In order to prevent recurrence, due and just punishment must be meted out in proportion to the severity of abuse, irrespective of reluctance on the part of the victims.

The introduction of Long-Term Care Insurance for Seniors in 2008 has helped to transform care of the elderly into a public matter. Professional care facilities, however, are also emerging as new sites of elder abuse. The experts thus pointed out the need to actively seek out cases of elder abuse at these facilities and provide appropriate support to the victims.

The applicable laws and policy manuals should also be updated to provide clear rules of action and intervention. The number of senior protection agencies at the local level should also be increased so that there is one such agency for every city, county, or borough. Local organizations involved should also collaborate more effectively.

[Figure 9] Necessity for and Effectiveness of Elder Abuse Prevention & Treatment Programs

(Unit: points)
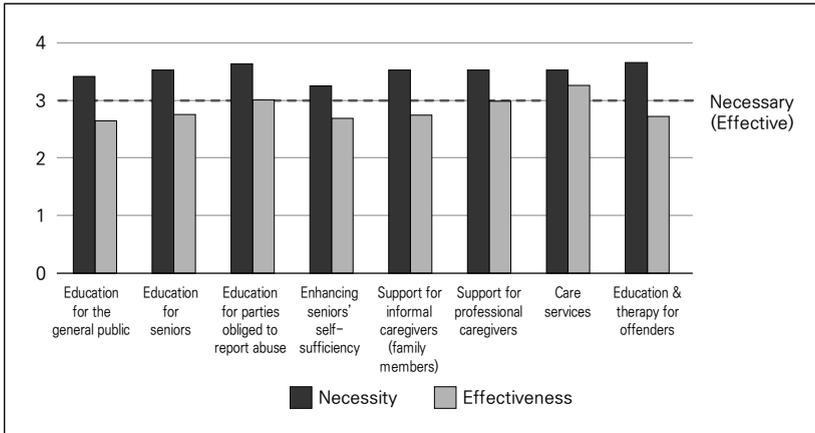
Finally, experts were asked what measures they thought were necessary to ensure comprehensive prevention and treatment of abuse and violence in general. Lifetime-treatment and prevention of abuse and violence was provided as the answer, given the rapid urbanization, declining birth rate, accelerated population aging, the increasing number of single-person households, the increasing participation by women in the workforce, the increasing number of immigrants and immigrant families, and the rise of individualism in Korea. The experts particularly emphasized the need to outgrow the family-centered approach and embrace a more wide-ranging perspective that takes into account the diversity of social environments in which individuals find themselves, including homes,

schools, workplaces, and society at large. Experts also stressed the need for in-depth research on, and policy support for, victims of child abuse as they carry a greater likelihood of becoming aggressors in school and domestic situations later on in life.

They also stressed that, irrespective of the targets, all acts of abuse and violence are criminal in nature, and that there should be a strong social consensus against tolerating any such acts. This would involve strictly punishing offenders and spreading the perception of abuse and violence as social problems, and not simply family affairs. Therapeutic intervention should be provided to offenders, along with strict enforcement of legislated punishment.

Experts also called for ongoing education towards raising awareness of, and improving preparations against, abuse and violence. In addition to providing the current anti-abuse and anti-violence education for children at schools, human rights and anti-violence education should be incorporated into the education curricula. Education of parents and training for parties obliged to report abuse should also increase and be reinforced.

The experts also pointed out the need to amend the laws and policies to ensure effective collaboration between the authorities and agencies handling victims and offenders. Their task manuals should be updated to allow for substantial exchanges of information and collaboration. The central government's

ministries (MOHW, MOGEF, MOE, etc.) should lead this process by first setting an example for interdepartmental collaboration, and the networks and systems for protecting victims and re-porting abuse at the local level should be reinforced.

All these changes will require more funds, facilities, and personnel. Some experts also mentioned the need to develop a centralized system that would receive reports on, and provide intervention in, cases with overlapping patterns of abuse and violence.

D. Systems of Protection and Legislation against Abuse & Violence

The participating experts were also asked to identify prob-lems with the current systems of protection against abuse and violence and possible improvements. Top-priority improve-ments in terms of child abuse was the need to enhance public involvement in the system of protection (37.8 percent), fol-lowed by increasing the related funding (22.2 percent) and in-creasing the number of child protection agencies and shelters (11.1 percent). The second-highest priorities were expansion of child protection services and enhancement of their accessi-bility (17.8 percent), followed by increasing the number of child protection facilities (13.3 percent), enhancing public involve-ment in the system of protection (11.1 percent), and increasing

the professionalism and number of protection personnel (11.1 percent).

⟨Table 12⟩ Improvements Needed for the System of Protection against Child Abuse

Improvement	1st priority	2nd priority
Enhancing public involvement	37.8	11.1
Enhancing professionalism of protection personnel	2.2	11.1
Increasing number of protection personnel	6.7	11.1
Strengthening collaboration between authorities and agencies involved	4.4	4.4
Expanding and enhancing access to child protection services	2.2	17.8
Increasing counseling and support for offenders (against relapse)	6.7	8.9
Strengthening family support services	2.2	4.4
Increasing facilities (e.g., child protection agencies and shelters)	11.1	13.3
Increasing funding	22.2	6.7
Assigning civil servants specializing in child abuse	2.2	8.9
Other	2.2	2.2

As the top-priority improvements in terms of protecting teens against school violence, enhancing public involvement in the system of protection was again chosen (25.6 percent), followed by increasing protection services and their accessibility for victims (20.9 percent) and strengthening collaboration between agencies and authorities involved. For the second-highest priorities, the experts picked enhancing schools' abilities to handle school violence, followed by increasing protection serv-

ices and their accessibility for victims (19.0 percent) and increasing counseling and support for offenders (11.9 percent).

⟨Table 13⟩ Improvements Needed for the System of Protection against School Violence

Improvement	1st priority	2nd priority
Enhancing public involvement	25.6	9.5
Enhancing professionalism of protection personnel (e.g., school committees)	4.7	4.8
Increasing number of protection personnel	2.3	7.1
Strengthening collaboration between authorities and agencies and between schools, local communities and families	14.0	9.5
Increasing protection services and their accessibility for victims	20.9	19.0
Increasing counseling and support for offenders (against relapse)	7.0	11.9
Strengthening family support services	4.7	4.8
Increasing facilities for juvenile protection	2.3	-
Increasing funding for juvenile protection	4.7	7.1
Strengthening schools' abilities to handle school violence	9.3	26.2
Other	4.7	-

With respect to the system of protection against spouse abuse, experts again picked enhancing public involvement as the top priority for improvement (23.3 percent), followed by increasing protection services and their accessibility for victims (18.6 percent), strengthening collaboration between authorities and agencies (16.3 percent), and increasing funding (11.6 percent). The second-highest priorities included increasing pro-

tection services and their accessibility for victims and strength-
ening family support services (both 18.6 percent), increasing
counseling and support services for offenders (16.3 percent),
and increasing funding (14.0 percent).

〈Table 14〉 Improvements Needed for the System of Protection against spouse
Abuse

Improvement	1st priority	2nd priority
Enhancing public involvement	23.3	4.7
Enhancing professionalism of protection personnel	9.3	7.0
Increasing number of protection personnel	16.3	9.3
Strengthening collaboration between authorities and agencies (e.g., between courts, police, and prosecutors)	18.6	18.6
Increasing protection services and their accessibility for victims	4.7	16.3
Increasing counseling and support for offenders (against relapse)	7.0	18.6
Strengthening family support services	7.0	11.6
Increasing facilities for victims (e.g., shelters, protection agencies)	11.6	14.0
Other	2.3	-

As for the top-priority improvements needed for the system
of protection against elder abuse, experts again picked en-
hancing public involvement (23.3 percent), followed by in-
creasing protection services and their accessibility for victims
(20.9 percent) and increasing funding (18.6 percent). The sec-
ond-highest priorities included increasing services and access
to them (18.6 percent), increasing the number of facilities (16.3
percent), and increasing funding (16.3 percent).

〈Table 15〉 Improvements Needed for the System of Protection against Elder Abuse

Improvement	1st priority	2nd priority
Enhancing public involvement	23.3	11.6
Enhancing professionalism of protection personnel	9.3	4.7
Increasing number of protection personnel	4.7	4.7
Strengthening collaboration between authorities and agencies (e.g., between public and private agencies at the local level)	2.3	4.7
Increasing protection services and their accessibility for victims	20.9	18.6
Increasing counseling and support for offenders (against relapse)	2.3	9.3
Strengthening family support services	7.0	2.3
Increasing facilities for victims (e.g., elderly protection agencies)	9.3	16.3
Other	18.6	16.3
Enhancing public involvement	2.3	9.3

The experts agreed that while Korea had laws on various forms of abuse and violence on par with those found in other advanced countries, they still had shortcomings.

With regards to child abuse, Korean lawmakers have recently introduced more severe punishment, but continue to neglect the need to establish a system of protection capable of preventing full-blown child abuse by providing support and intervention when there is potential abuse or it is in its early stages. Family support services were also pointed to as needing expansion.

Moreover, also pointed out was the need to ensure, through

legal provisions, effective sharing of information between the law enforcement authorities (courts, prosecutors and the police) and child protection agencies. The law should be amended so that the police and prosecutors can indict offenders for criminal punishment, and child protection agencies can file for orders for education and counseling for offenders, through the family courts.

In reality, it is much more important to enforce the existing laws than to amend and expand them. Experts thus stressed that policymakers ought not to amend and update child abuse laws with one hand, while cutting the related budgets with the other. They also demanded greater public involvement in the field investigation of child abuse cases.

As for school violence, the need was stressed to assign full-time social workers and/or counselors to schools to help with prevention. The experts also emphasized the importance of restorative justice geared toward improving relations between victims and offenders and resolving conflicts.

The experts maintained the need to develop, strengthen, and utilize effective networks of collaboration between diverse organizations in local communities to prevent and handle spouse abuse. They also argued that children from homes plagued by spouse abuse ought to receive counseling, and victims have access to more support facilities that are wider in scope.

Although Articles 20.3 through 20.6 of the Welfare of the

Aged Act (WAA) and its Enforcement Decree form provisions against elder abuse, the experts agreed that these legal provisions failed to address the problem with sufficient breadth and depth. They demanded measures against self-neglect, establishment of court-appointed legal guardianship, and greater support for family caregivers, and that a distinct law, separate from welfare for the aged, be legislated, aiming specifically at preventing elder abuse.

The experts, furthermore, raised the need to provide constant support with daily life for seniors (from local community service centers), and a system of monitoring in local communities against elder abuse and neglect, preferably backed by binding law and similar provisions.

E. Need for National Action Plans against Abuse & Violence

The experts generally agreed that national action plans (NAPs) against abuse and violence were in order, and expressed particular support for NAPs targeting specific types. They also recognized the need to establish a comprehensive NAP against lifetime abuse and violence in general, either by itself or as an addendum to the Master Plan for the National Policy on Human Rights.

〈Table 16〉 Necessity for NAPs against Specific Types of Abuse & Violence

Type	Support Rate (%)
Against child abuse	97.3
Against school violence	100.0
Against spouse abuse	97.0
Against elder abuse	94.6

〈Table 17〉 Necessity for a Comprehensive NAP against Abuse & Violence in
General

Type	Support Rate (%)
Necessary	54.3
As part of the current national master plan on human rights	17.4
Unnecessary	28.3

According to the experts, such NAPs should lay down plans
for raising public awareness of abuse and violence as well as
specific mid- to long-term plans for preventing and reducing
their occurrence, detailing the parties, the chain of command,
the budgets, and annual targets involved. While the compre-
hensive NAP against abuse and violence in general ought to en-
compass all forms of abuse and violence, it ought to prioritize
child abuse, which goes on to exert lasting impact on victims,
while offenders are likely to have been victims of child abuse in
the past. The NAP should embrace a balanced approach that
considers both the abused (children) and the abusers (parents).
In devising such a plan, policymakers ought not to try to tackle

all forms of abuse at once, but rather carefully select and focus upon child abuse with a view to reducing school violence, spouse abuse, and elder abuse in the long run by stemming the cycle of violence in childhood.

All laws and policies on abuse and violence ought to pursue the protection and recovery of victims as their top priority. The experts pointed out that the current system of laws focuses more on punishing or rehabilitating offenders, while paying considerably less attention on the need to protect the victims and assist them with gaining self-sufficiency. They also called for increasing the support available to victims.

The NAPs should also lay down a system or chain of command that ensures effective collaboration between national organizations and local ones, while still allowing each organization to take effective action in handling cases of abuse and violence.

F. Comprehensive Approach to Lifecycle-Specific Abuse & Violence

The experts were asked about how frequently they witnessed two or more types of abuse or violence in the populations of victims and offenders they had researched. The question was intended to determine the extent to which different types of abuse and violence overlap. Child abuse emerged as the most

likely to accompany other types of abuse or violence (3.46
points). spouse abuse (3.33 points) and school violence (3.11
points) also often accompanied other forms of abuse. Elder
abuse, with a score of 2.94 points, appeared to occur less fre-
quently than other forms of abuse, but still occurs from time to
time.

⟨Table 18⟩ Expert Assessment of the Likelihood of Different Types of
Abuse & Violence to Overlap

Type	Average (S.D.)
Frequency of witnessing child abuse	3.46 (.691)
Frequency of witnessing school violence	3.11 (.786)
Frequency of witnessing spouse abuse	3.33 (.661)
Frequency of witnessing elder abuse	2.94 (.892)

Note: Experts rated the frequency of each type of abuse or violence they witnessed on
a four-point scale, ranging from one ("not witnessed at all") to four ("witnessed
very frequently").

As for how to tackle and eliminate these diverse forms of
abuse and violence, the experts unequivocally maintained the
need for a comprehensive policy approach designed to end the
vicious cycle that is passed down from generation to
generation. The current system of type-specific policies on
abuse are enacted and implemented in a fragmentary manner,
making it impossible to end this cycle. Experts thus demanded
that a centralized and comprehensive framework of counter-
measures be established with respect to at least the domestic

forms of abuse (against children, spouses, and seniors). They predicted that truly effective support for victims at any point in their lifetime would do much to help them escape the cycle of abuse.

The types of services and policies required by such a comprehensive approach have already been discussed. These services and policies, however, can work only when they are backed by sufficient funding and infrastructure, as well as effective collaboration between authorities and agencies.

V

Policy Implications

1. Personal Level: Enhance Access to Mental Health Services
2. Family Level: Adopt a Family-Centered Approach to Prevention and Treatment
3. Legal-Institutional Level: Enhance Public Involvement in the Systems of Protection against Abuse and their Continuity
4. Social Level: Raise Public Awareness on the Actual Situation of Abuse

V   Policy Implications 《

Towards exploring the possibility of a comprehensive policy approach against abuse and violence occurring across the lifetime, this study identified and analyzed the common risk and protective factors running through different lifecycle-specific forms of abuse and violence. The conclusion is that a comprehensive anti-abuse policy should focus on eliminating the common risk factors and strengthening the common protective factors. The policy implications of common risk and protective factors at all levels—personal, family, legal-institutional, and social—are summarized below, along with an analysis of the opinions of the participating experts.

1. Personal Level: Enhance Access to Mental Health Services

This study found that, of the risk factors observed in each type of abuse and violence at the personal level, depression, aggression, stress, anger, delinquency, Internet addiction, and suicidal thoughts bore particularly close correlations to all forms of abuse and violence. The mental health counseling and therapy services provided by victim protection agencies and

their affiliates in Korea mostly target victims only, and lack the
continuity, expertise, and systematicity that such services re-
quire in order to be truly effective in preventing repeated abuse
and violence.

In order to end the cycle of violence and stop abuse, it is cru-
cial to expand the scope of counseling and therapy services
provided for individuals and enhance access to these services
through policy. Policymakers should explore ways to require
and institutionalize mental health services for offenders as well
as victims of all forms of abuse.

2. Family Level: Adopt a Family-Centered Approach to Prevention and Treatment

The findings of this study confirm that abuse and violence is
repeated and passed down the generations through families. In
order to put a stop to this vicious cycle, it is critical to place
the family at the center of policies intended to prevent and
handle abuse (Chan, 2015; Park et al., 2014; Lee, 2013). This
requires the herculean task of reforming the currently vic-
tim-centered system of protection against abuse into a fam-
ily-centered one, with specific measures devised to maximize
family support. A comprehensive and effective approach to
lifecycle-specific forms of abuse that tend to invite one anoth-

er, however, requires such transformation.

The current system of protection against abuse focuses upon providing support exclusively for victims. While this has been unavoidable due to the scarcity of the available human and material resources in the beginning of developing such a system and infrastructure, it is critical to ensure appropriate intervention on behalf of both victims and offenders in order to reduce repeated abuse. As abuse and violence tends to replicate itself through the generations within a family, it is particularly important to design anti-abuse policies that increase support and protection for the entire family unit rather than individual victims only.

This study also finds that as child abuse occurs early in life, it exerts a lasting and damaging impact on the rest of the victim's life. It is therefore important for policymakers to prioritize the prevention of child abuse above all other types of abuse and violence. This requires that they consider child abuse and its correlations to spouse abuse and other forms of domestic violence. They will also need to consider the wide range of diverse experiences of violence to which children and teens are exposed at schools, and design their intervention toward minimizing simultaneous and overlapping forms of abuse.

3. Legal-Institutional Level: Enhance Public Involvement in the Systems of Protection against Abuse and their Continuity

First, it is critical to reclaim the public's role in the social systems of protection against abuse. This study's surveys of the existing literature and experts' opinions reveal that the main problem with the current systems of protection in Korea is that they are mostly run by the private sector, and that the anti-abuse services lack public involvement and accountability. It is crucial for policymakers to expand the scope of public intervention in abuse and violence and enhance public accountability for the protection of victims.

Second, there is currently no public gateway or chain of command via which consistent protection services are delivered down to private-sector systems of protection against abuse. This makes it impossible to provide standardized services and translates into sizable disparities in the quality and content of services provided from region to region. It is also difficult to ensure the professionalism and continuity of services in the current structure. Structural and organizational continuity is crucial to transforming the current anti-abuse system into one that is more family-oriented. Providing services and support for all family members requires all parties involved to overcome the fragmentation of the service system and re-define and strengthen the terms of collaboration between the

public authorities and private service agencies.

Third, in order to ensure such continuity and consistency despite this fragmentation, it is critical to ensure the effective sharing of information between disparate systems. There is no integrated system for sharing information even within each area of abuse and violence. In the process of establishing a comprehensive approach to abuse, it is thus a top-priority issue for policymakers to establish a family-centered and integrated database and enable disparate protection service agencies to use it to share information on victims and abusers.

Finally, the importance of increasing funding to improve, expand, and transform the current systems of protection cannot be overemphasized. Experts point out the need to enhance public involvement in protection systems and infrastructure, expand the services infrastructure, and increase the related budgets as urgent policy issues.

4. Social Level: Raise Public Awareness on the Actual Situation of Abuse

The common social factors of protection against all forms of abuse and violence are social support, human rights, and public awareness of abuse. In order to strengthen social support for victims, it is necessary to energize local community efforts

to fight abuse, strengthen human networks, and increase other such forms of social capital. This will require strengthening local communities so that residents themselves can help prevent abuse and violence and report those incidents they witness.

Experts on all forms of abuse also point out the need to continually increase public awareness of abuse. Korean society has traditionally been tolerant of physical discipline and punishment, and also held the family as a sacrosanct domain. It will be impossible to change public perception of this sacrosanctity overnight, but it is necessary to spread the awareness that all forms of abuse and violence, irrespective of their targets or reasons, are criminal in nature, and that society as a whole ought not to tolerate them. Abusers need to be brought to justice and punished strictly, and domestic violence should be recognized as a social problem, and not just a family affair.

⟨Table 19⟩ Common Risk and Protective Factors of Abuse & Violence and Policy Responses

Dimension	Type	Appearing in 4 Forms of Abuse	Appearing in 3 Forms of Abuse	Appearing in 2 Forms of Abuse	Policy Responses
Personal	Risk factors	Depression	Aggression Stress Experience with abuse/violence as a victim Disability	Suicidal thoughts Attachment to parents Anger (expression thereof) Delinquency Child abuse Internet addiction School violence	Enhance access to mental health services by expanding the scope of eligible individuals. Provide counseling for individuals carrying psycho-emotional risk factors. Reinforce counseling and therapy services for victims.
Personal	Protective factors	Self-respect		Adaptability Resilience Self-control	Provide mandatory counseling and therapy for offenders to prevent recurrence.
Family	Risk factors	Domestic violence	Parental attitude		Increase parental education to help parents improve their parenting attitudes. Require abusive parents to complete parenting education.
Family	Protective factors				
Legal-institutional	Risk factors	Laws against each type of abuse Protection	Police Victim protection services Therapy,		Continue to update laws and policies to reflect changing trends.
Legal-institutional	Protective factors			Abuse prevention programs Parental rights Counselors	Devise specific measures of intervention in school violence to deal more effectively with new and diversifying forms of bullying. Establish a system of monitoring to

Dimension	Type	Appearing in 4 Forms of Abuse	Appearing in 3 Forms of Abuse	Appearing in 2 Forms of Abuse	Policy Responses
		agencies for victims of abuse	prevention and training programs	Restorative justice	determine whether and how diverse forms of abuse and violence occur within families down the generations. Increase the scope of organizations subject to investigation for possible elder abuse. Increase the scope of parties obliged to report, and introduce exemptions from punishment for whistleblowers. Increase the number of protection agencies for each type of abuse or violence (at least one per city, county, or borough). Assign school violence specialists to all schools. Strengthen collaboration between the police and protection agencies. Improve law enforcement's awareness of abuse and violence. Improve the working conditions for counselors working at protection agencies and lighten their workloads. Provide sufficient funding for the organizations involved. • Organize public campaigns to raise awareness of domestic violence.
Social	Risk factors				

Dimension	Type	Appearing in 4 Forms of Abuse	Appearing in 3 Forms of Abuse	Appearing in 2 Forms of Abuse	Policy Responses
	Protective factors		• Social support • Human rights	• Awareness of abuse • Correctional welfare	• Energize local communities and human networks to provide greater social support for victims. • Strengthen local communities and their abilities to detect, report on, and prevent abuse and violence. • Strengthen case management and support services for victims and family members. Strengthen follow-up family strengthening services.

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