

Salasika

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Portrait of Verbal Violence against Children During the Pandemic: A descriptive study based on child and parent characteristics

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ABSTRACT

Verbal violence is still a major problem in the world, which is exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. However, verbal violence can cause psychological instability for the recipient, such as low self-esteem, heartbreak, frustration, stress, depression, and even mental disorders. This study aims to identify various forms of verbal violence against children during the pandemic, using a descriptive research design and Cross Tabulation between Parental Characteristics and Child Characteristics with Types of Verbal Violence. This study was conducted on April 20-27, 2021, involving 65 respondents from grades 4, 5, and 6 selected through simple random sampling and the Issac formula. Data collection was carried out using a modified ICAST-C questionnaire. The results showed that male children, first-born children, children aged over 11 years, 5-6 graders of elementary school, children with more than one sibling, and children with more than four family members in one house dominated the occurrence of verbal violence. Children whose parents are farmers with low incomes experienced more verbal violence, which was exacerbated by sudden financial changes. The study concludes that child and parent characteristics, high expectations supported by financial instability, and sudden environmental changes contributed significantly to verbal abuse.

KEYWORDS: *verbal violence; characteristics of parents; characteristics of children*

INTRODUCTION

The high incidence of violence against children is still one of the unresolved problems in the world. According to the World Health Organization, out of 96 countries, an estimated 1 billion children, more than half of children aged 2–17 years, experienced emotional, physical, or sexual violence in the

past year (WHO, 2016). According to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2014), the highest incidence of violence against children is in the Middle East and North Africa. Based on WHO data for 2020, the number of incidents of violence still occurs in 6 continents in the world, namely in Africa, America, the Eastern

Mediterranean, Europe, Southeast Asia, and the West Pacific continent.

The World Health Organization says that psychological or mental violence ranks first in the world at 36%, while physical violence is 23%, sexual violence in girls is 18%, violence in boys is 8%, and neglect of children is 16%. In 2020, psychological or mental violence still ranks first on every continent, including 32% on the African continent, 38% on the American continent, 14% on the European continent, 29% on the Southeast Asian continent, and 40% on the Western Pacific continent (WHO & End Violence Against Children Global Partnership et al., 2020).

In Indonesia, based on data from the Online Information System for the Protection of Women and Children (SIMFONI PPA) from 1 January to 19 June 2020, a total of 768 cases of psychological violence against children occurred (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak dan Badan Pusat Statistik, 2019). Psychological violence is any form of attack that involves a person's mental or psychological state either by word or deed (Hudaya, 2018). Azevado and Viviane argue that verbal violence is included in the category of psychological violence in the classification of insults or humiliation (Mahmud, 2019). Verbal violence is a person's communicative behavior that contains words of insult or harassment (Wijayanti & Djokowidodo, 2019). The insults referred to include mocking, calling names with inappropriate words, swearing, and embarrassing children by insulting the child's

dignity and self-esteem (Mahmud, 2019).

Baryadi in the *Bernas Daily* on 30 November 2016 stated that the impact of verbal violence is comparable to the impact of physical violence. Verbal violence can result in the recipient's psychological health instability, such as low self-esteem, heartbreak, frustration, stress, and depression, and can even experience mental disorders (Wijayanti & Djokowidodo, 2019). In addition, verbal violence can trigger aggressive behavior, disrupt the interaction of social relations, and lead to sociopathic personality or antisocial personality disorder, which is characterized by skipping school, lying, stealing, and other criminal acts (Hevi Susanti & Nujanah, 2018).

Verbal violence that occurs is mostly done unconsciously or unintentionally, and people don't think it is an act of violence because most people already think it's normal and a joke (Wijayanti & Djokowidodo, 2019). Research conducted by Agung and Puspita (2020) stated that in the school environment, it was common for some students, while playing, to unknowingly say the names of their friends as ugly, fat, black, or short and even use their friends' parents' names to call them. Vega et al. (2019) stated that in the family environment, parents often label bad names related to the cognition or intelligence of children, such as *smart-ass*, *morons*, and *idiots*.

Several factors influence the occurrence of violence in children, including predisposing factors and triggers. Verbal violence can begin

with children's bad behavior and the child's inability to complete tasks (Siregar, 2014). Meanwhile, Fitriana et al. (2015) suggested three triggering factors or triggers for the occurrence of verbal violence, namely low parental income, low knowledge of children's developmental needs, and the environment.

Sudden environmental changes, such as the pressure of the economic crisis, also contributed to the emergence of verbal violence. The results of Febrina's research stated that out of 54 respondents with changes in the environment that were not conducive, 6.5% gave rise to verbal violent behavior (Wiwit Febrina, 2018). The results of Farhan's research also stated that a non-conducive environment sparked verbal violence by 62%, while a conducive one triggered verbal violence by 38% (Farhan, 2019).

The Covid-19 pandemic caused sudden environmental changes in the family system. Physical distance or keeping distance contributes positively by giving time to get to know each other in depth between family members. On the other hand, the more often family members meet, the more they feel bored, which causes friction or conflict (Kuswanti et al., 2020). Wiresti's research states that WFH (Work From Home) decreases income (Wiresti, 2020) because many employees are laid off.

Reported verbal violence occurred due to family income and parental education level. Parents who experienced stress due to declining economic conditions because of quarantine or social

restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic were 3.1 times more likely to commit verbal violence (Jeharsae et al., 2021). The results of a survey conducted by researchers on 15 children in Sleman Village found that 10 out of 15 children had received "stupid" insults, were shouted at, and were intimidated, both before and during the pandemic. Three out of 15 children stated that they had never experienced verbal violence during the COVID-19 pandemic, and two other children only received verbal violence during the pandemic. During the pandemic, learning was more accompanied by parents, while parents had to be able to meet household needs even though the lockdown policy was enforced. This requires parents to be able to teach and take time between accompanying learning and meeting family needs. This study aims to identify the types of verbal violence against school-age children during the pandemic based on the characteristics of parents and children.

The novelty of this research lies in its specific examination of verbal violence against children during the COVID-19 pandemic, focusing on the characteristics of both the children and their parents. This study is distinctive in identifying the direct impact of sudden economic changes and increased family interaction due to lockdown measures on the prevalence of verbal violence. By highlighting how parental stress, reduced income, and heightened expectations contribute to verbal abuse, this research offers a unique perspective on the pandemic's effect on family dynamics and child

welfare, thereby filling a critical gap in the existing literature.

METHODS

Research design

This study uses a descriptive retrospective design that traces respondents' prior activities. Its population includes elementary school children in grades 4 to 6 who participated in online learning during the pandemic.

Setting and samples

Using Isaac's formula, a total sample of 65 students was obtained, and they were randomly selected using simple random sampling. The researcher asked the homeroom teachers in grades 4 to 6 for a list of student names conducting online learning due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and a sample draw was carried out.

Measurement and data collection

The researcher used the ICAST-C (International Child Abuse Screening Tool- for Children) questionnaire (Zolotor et al., 2009), which is an instrument of violence taken in the domain of psychological violence and was modified by the researcher to become verbal violence using a Likert scale. The questionnaire used is a structured questionnaire with a total of 19 questions adapted to conditions during the Covid-19 pandemic. The validity test of the ICAST-C (International Child Abuse Screening Tool- for Children) questionnaire was conducted on 15 other elementary school child respondents who had the same characteristics, using correlation coefficient analysis on 19 question items. It obtained valid results on 15

questions with a value of $r = > 0.514$, while four questions were invalid and deleted. The reliability test of the ICAST-C instrument was also carried out on the same respondent and proved reliable with a Cronbach Alpha value = 0.941.

Data analysis.

Data analysis in this study uses frequency distribution to describe the variable frequency. Based on the frequency distribution tabulation, the researcher identified how much verbal violence the respondent received, the variety of verbal violence, and the characteristics of the parents behind the occurrence of verbal violence during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Ethical considerations.

The research procedure was carried out by submitting a research ethics test and declaring it ethically worthy, with a statement letter number E.5.a/064/KEPK-UMM/IV/2021. The researcher applied for permission from the parents of the students selected as respondents by filling out a consent sheet. Furthermore, the researchers coordinated with the school, namely the principal and teachers, to fill out a questionnaire directly where students were met at school in groups and took turns to avoid transmission based on names chosen randomly. Researchers asked respondents to answer the questionnaire completely and honestly

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics of Child Respondents

In this section, the research results on the characteristics of Children's respondents in grades 4 to 6 will be presented, consisting of gender, age, grade, child order, number of siblings, and family members in one house frequency (see Table 1).

Table 1 presents data on the 65 respondents categorized by various characteristics. Based on gender, 37 respondents (56.9%) were male. In

terms of age, the respondents were predominantly 11 years old (25 children, 38.5%) and 12 years old (30 children, 46.2%). Regarding education level, all respondents were in elementary school, with the majority being grade 6 students (29 children, 44.6%). Examining the birth order, most respondents were first-born children (56.9%). The majority had two siblings (44.6%), and the most common household size was five members (38.5%).

Table 1: Characteristics of child respondents

Category	Amount	Percentage
Gender		
a) Male	37	56.9%
b) Female	28	43.1%
Age		
a) 9 years old	4	6.1%
b) 10 years old	6	9.2%
c) 11 years old	25	38.5%
d) 12 years old	30	46.2%
Grade		
a) 4	10	15.4%
b) 5	26	40%
c) 6	29	44.6%
Birth order		
a) 1	37	56.9%
b) 2	17	26.1%
c) 3	9	13.8%
d) 4	2	3.1%
Number of siblings:		
a) 0	2	3%
b) 1	17	26.2%
c) 2	29	44.6%
d) 3	12	18.5%
e) 4	5	7.7%
Number of family members		
a) 3	2	3.1%
b) 4	18	27.7%
c) 5	25	38.5%
d) 6	14	21.5%
e) 7	5	7.7%
f) 8	1	1.5%
Amount	65	100.0%

Source: Research Primary Data, 2021

Characteristics of parents

This section presents the study results on the characteristics of parents, including professions,

education background, employment status, and income status during the pandemic (see Table 2).

Table 1: Characteristics of Respondents' Parents

Category	Amount	Percentage
Professions		
a) Farmer	46	70.8%
b) Merchant	12	18.4%
c) Employees	2	3.1%
d) Others	5	7.7%
Father's education background		
a) Bachelor	1	1.5%
b) High school/vocational school	7	10.7%
c) Junior High School	22	33.9%
d) Elementary school	30	46.2%
e) Did not pass elementary school	5	7.7%
Mother's education background		
a) Bachelor	2	3.1%
b) High school/vocational school	24	36.9%
c) Junior High School	27	41.6%
d) Elementary school	8	12.3%
e) Did not pass elementary school	4	6.1%
Employment status		
a) Working father	38	58.5%
b) Working mother	1	1.5%
c) Both parents working	26	40%
Income status during the pandemic		
a) Decrease	43	66.1%
b) Increase	2	3.1%
c) settle	20	30.8%
Amount	65	100.0%

Source: Research Primary Data, 2021

According to the data in Table 2, among the 65 parents, the majority of parents were engaged in farming, with 46 parents (70.8%) reporting this as their occupation. Regarding the father's education level, most had completed elementary school (30 fathers, 46.1%), while only one father (1.5%) held an undergraduate degree. For the mother's education background, the majority had completed junior high school (27 mothers, 41.6%), followed by senior

high school (36.9%). Furthermore, in terms of employment, 35 fathers (53.9%) were employed. Lastly, regarding parents' income status during the COVID-19 pandemic, 43 parents (66.1%) reported a decrease in their income.

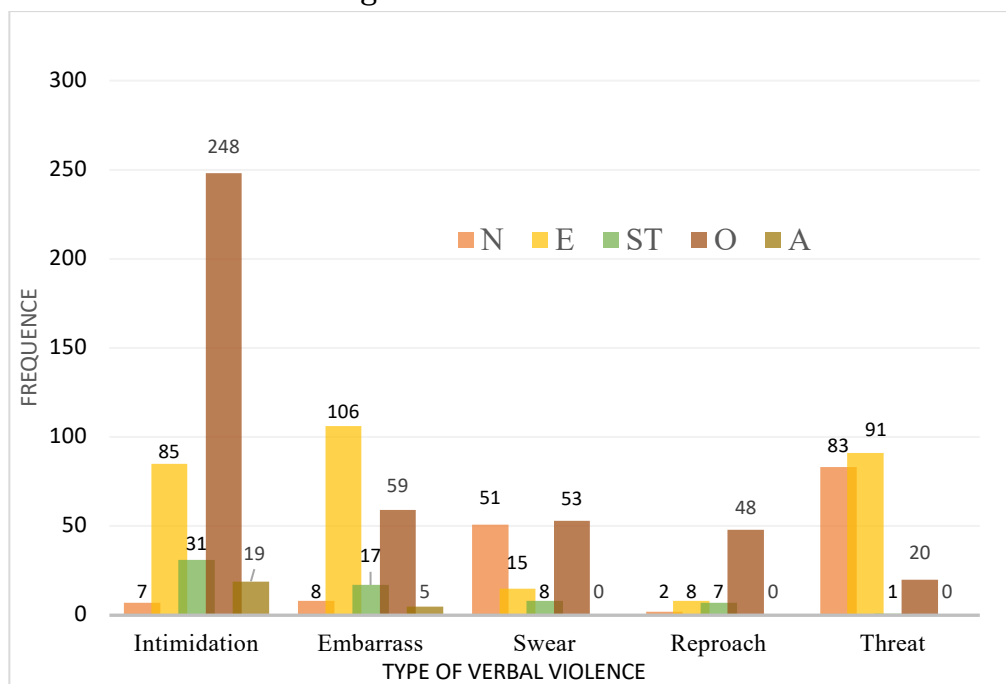
Types Of Verbal Violence

This section presents the research findings on the types of verbal violence experienced by children

during the COVID-19 pandemic. Each type of verbal violence is categorized based on the frequency

of incidents, using the descriptors: "never (N)", "ever (E)", "sometimes (ST)", "often (O)", and "always (A)".

Figure 1: Types of Verbal Violence Experienced by Children during The Covid-19 Pandemic



Source: Research Primary Data, 2021

Figure 1 shows that "Intimidation" is the most commonly and frequently reported type of verbal violence, followed by "Shaming." In contrast, for verbal violence in the form of threats and swearing, some respondents reported that they had never received such violence. As a result, the proportion of respondents who experienced these types of verbal violence is nearly equal to those who did not.

Cross-tabulation between types of verbal abuse and the characteristics of the respondents.

Based on Table 3, the data show that boys tended to experience higher levels of violence than girls, including types such as intimidation,

embarrassment, swearing, reproaches, and threats. When analyzed by age, younger children tended to experience more verbal violence, both in frequency and complexity, while older children experienced less. When analyzed by grade level, similarly, the lower the grade level was, the more often children experienced violence, and the higher the grade level was, the less verbal violence the children experienced. However, it should be noted that for sixth-grade students, the occurrence of verbal violence increased slightly.

In terms of birth order, the youngest child tended to experience verbal violence by parents more often, often from various types of

verbal violence. Regarding the number of siblings, children with 0-1 were more likely to experience verbal violence (100%), whereas when children had siblings 2-3, verbal violence decreased, but for children with four siblings, verbal violence rose again to 100%.

Regarding the number of family members in a household, families with 3-4 or 7-8 showed a 100% likelihood of verbal violence, while families with 5-6 members showed a decrease in such verbal violence. Among all types of verbal violence, *intimidation* is reported universally (100%) across all respondent characteristics.

Cross-tabulation between types of verbal abuse and the characteristics of the respondent's parents.

Table 4 highlights several patterns related to the potential for verbal violence against children based on parents' characteristics. Regarding the father's occupation, farmers and employees were the most likely to

commit verbal violence, while traders and other occupations showed a slight reduction in such verbal violence. Parents' education level showed some similarities. Fathers and mothers with high school, junior high school, or incomplete education were more likely to commit more violence than those with elementary or undergraduate education. When considering employment status, the data show that fathers who worked had a greater potential to commit a wider range of verbal violence compared to mothers who worked. However, when both mother and father worked, the likelihood of verbal violence decreased slightly. In terms of family income status during the COVID-19 pandemic, reduced income meant more likelihood to engage in verbal violence than those with stable or increased income. Finally, intimidation remained the most common type of verbal violence carried out by parents against children, regardless of the parents' characteristics.

Table 3; Cross tabulation between types of verbal violence received and characteristics of children during the Covid-19 pandemic

		Types of Verbal Violence					Amount (N)
		Intimidation	Embarrassing	Swearing	Reproach	Threat	
Gender	Male	37 (100%)	37 (100%)	37 (100%)	37 (100%)	36 (97,3%)	37
	Female	28 (100%)	27 (96,4%)	26 (92,8%)	26 (92,8%)	25 (89,3%)	28
Age	9 years	4 (100%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)	4
	10 years	6 (100%)	6 (100%)	6 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (83,3%)	6
	11 years	25 (100%)	25 (100%)	24 (96%)	24 (96%)	23 (92%)	25
	12 years	30 (100%)	29 (96,7%)	29 (96,7%)	29 (96,7%)	29 (96,7%)	30
grade	4	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	9 (90%)	10
	5	26 (100%)	26 (100%)	25 (96,1%)	25 (96,1%)	23 (88,5%)	26
	6	29 (100%)	28 (96,5%)	28 (96,5%)	28 (96,5%)	29 (100%)	29
child order to	1	37 (100%)	36 (94,1%)	36 (94,1%)	36 (94,1%)	36 (94,1%)	37
	2	17 (100%)	17 (100%)	16 (96,3%)	16 (96,3%)	15 (96,3%)	17
	3	9 (100%)	9 (100%)	9 (100%)	9 (100%)	8 (95,2%)	9
	4	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2
Number of	0	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2
	1	17 (100%)	17 (100%)	17 (100%)	17 (100%)	17 (100%)	17

		Types of Verbal Violence					Amount (N)
		Intimidation	Embarassing	Swearing	Reproach	Threat	
siblings	2	29 (100%)	29 (100%)	28 (96.6%)	28 (6.6%)	27 (93.1%)	29
	3	12 (100%)	11 (91.6%)	11 (91.6%)	11 (91.6%)	10 (83.3%)	12
	4	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5
Family members in one house	3	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2
	4	18 (100%)	18 (100%)	18 (100%)	18 (100%)	18 (100%)	18
	5	25 (100%)	25 (100%)	24 (96%)	24 (96%)	22 (88%)	25
	6	14 (100%)	13 (92.9%)	13 (92.9%)	13 (92.9%)	13 (92.9%)	14
	7	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5
	8	1 (100%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)	1

Source: Research Primary Data, 2021

Discussion

Gender differences are evident in the characteristics of violence, particularly between emotional and verbal abuse and physical violence during school age. Boys are more likely to experience verbal violence than girls, although boys are more likely to commit physical violence (Karakurt & Silver, 2013). Verbal violence against school-age boys might be driven by high parental expectations and fear of academic failure (Novillasari & Mardhiyah, 2021). The gender-based differences in violence differ in adulthood. Men under 30 years old rarely report episodes of workplace violence, while males with 6-15 years of work experience report more incidents of violence than their female counterparts. In addition, adult women are likely to experience verbal violence, such as humiliation, in the workplace, while adult men are more likely to face physical violence (Acquadro Maran et al., 2019). This might consequently influence parenting styles that are full of demands and may trigger violence.

Violence against children often stems from the belief that such violence is to discipline children, which must begin early. Research

indicates that the younger the children are, the more verbal violence they might experience. Elementary school-aged children (6-12 years) develop a more logical pattern of thinking about something real and will replace their instinctive or intuitive thinking. At an early age, when children face abstract problems or verbal instructions without concrete objects, they often struggle to think them through effectively.

This might lead parents to think that children cannot solve relatively easy problems, thus triggering acts of verbal violence (Ecular et al., 2011). In addition, children's emotional development is the overflow of children's feelings when interacting with other people. Emotional outbursts can be spontaneous, which might cause children to get verbal abuse when such spontaneous outbursts are negative or poorly received by parents (Assingkily & Hardiyati, 2019).

Violence often occurs in families with a large number of members. According to McDonald's research, out of 20 victims of violence, 5 had 2 siblings, 12 had 2-4 siblings, and 3 had 5-7 siblings (McDonald & Martinez, 2016). The position of

Table 4: Cross Tabulation between Parental Characteristics Based on Types of Verbal Violence which is conducted

	Types of Verbal Violence						Amount (N)
	Intimidation	Embarrassing	Swearing	Reproach	Threat		
Type of work							
Farmer	46 (100%)	46 (100%)	46 (100%)	46 (100%)	46 (97,3%)	46	
Merchant	12 (100%)	12 (100%)	11 (91,6%)	11 (91,6%)	11 (91,6%)	12	
Employees	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	1 (50%)	2	
Others	5 (100%)	4 (80%)	3 (60%)	3 (60%)	3 (60%)	5	
Bachelor	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1	
High school/vocational school	7 (100%)	7 (100%)	7 (100%)	7 (100%)	6 (85,7%)	7	
Father's Education Level							
Junior High School	22 (100%)	22 (100%)	22 (100%)	22 (100%)	22 (100%)	22	
Elementary school	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	29 (96,7%)	29 (96,7%)	29 (96,7%)	30	
Did not pass elementary school	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	4 (80%)	5	
Bachelor	2 (100%)	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2	
High school/vocational school	24 (100%)	24 (100%)	24 (100%)	24 (100%)	23 (95,8%)	24	
Mother's Education Level							
Junior High School	27 (100%)	27 (100%)	27 (100%)	27 (100%)	27 (100%)	27	
Elementary school	8 (100%)	8 (100%)	7 (87,5%)	7 (87,5%)	7 (87,5%)	8	
Did not pass elementary school	4 (100%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)	3 (75%)	4	
Father	38 (100%)	38 (100%)	38 (100%)	38 (100%)	36 (94,7%)	38	
Mother	26 (100%)	25 (96,1%)	25 (96,1%)	25 (96,1%)	25 (96,1%)	26	
Father and Mother	1 (100%)	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1	
Decrease	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2	
Increase	43 (100%)	43 (100%)	43 (100%)	43 (100%)	42 (97,7%)	43	
Settle	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	19 (95%)	19 (95%)	19 (95%)	20	

Source: Research Primary Data, 2021

children in the birth order also influences the likelihood of experiencing violence. Eldest children are usually expected to set an example for their younger siblings, thus making parenting parents more demanding on children. Such high expectations can create significant mental pressure on children (Novillasari & Mardhiyah, 2021).

The characteristics of the respondents' parents reveal that older males tend to display more emotional behavior compared to females (Karakurt & Silver, 2013). Even though this study did not identify perpetrators of verbal violence, the data suggests that working fathers were more likely to commit violence against children. Parents with moderate to low levels of education often think that verbal violence is a form of discipline and that verbal violence is still better than physical violence, with less severe consequences than those related to physical violence (Sindy et al., 2020). Someone with a higher level of education will tend to respond to external challenges more rationally and wisely compared to those with lower education levels who may struggle to resolve problems rationally. Consequently, the majority of parents with low levels of education are more likely to commit verbal abuse against children, with a higher frequency of incidents reported (Indika, 2017). Violence is also often associated with the economic status. Parents' reduced income might affect the interactions between parents or between parents and children, resulting in emotional instability (Wiresti, 2020). Parents who lost their jobs or faced financial crises

during the COVID-19 pandemic faced increased stress, which often led to psychological abuse or harsher parenting methods. Economic downturns will also make it more difficult for parents to meet their children's needs (Lawson et al., 2020). Violence is also often perpetrated by working fathers, who often prefer an authoritarian parenting style, and they are generally more likely to use violence as a form of discipline (Sanchez-Rodriguez, 2021). Research by Hester (2013) shows that males are more likely to be perpetrators of domestic violence (Chi-Square 43.619, $p < 0.000$). From at least two incidents of repeated violence, 83% of all perpetrators are male. In addition, the COVID pandemic has been declared a national disaster, where disaster conditions allow for higher levels of family violence and are associated with higher rates of depression and food insecurity (Edwards et al., 2021).

Merrill et al. (2020) found that psychological abuse was the most common form of violence, occurring in 65.3%-70.4% of cases, followed by physical violence (44.7% - 50.8%) and forced sex (4.7% - 10, 4%). Verbal violence is the most common type of bullying. Fourteen risk factors and three protective factors have been identified across different studies. At the individual level, factors associated with verbal abuse include age, gender, online behavior, race, health conditions, prior victimization experiences, and impulsivity. At the situational level, verbal abuse often occurs within parent-child relationships, interpersonal relationships, and certain geographic locations. Cyberbullying was also examined as

a related phenomenon. Protective factors against verbal violence include empathy and emotional intelligence, strong parent-child relationships, and a positive school climate (Zhu et al., 2021).

CONCLUSION

Children with various characteristics often experience verbal violence. Boys more often experience verbal violence because of high parental expectations. Children's position in the birth order and the presence of extended family also contribute to the increased frequency of verbal violence. Parental characteristics play a significant role as well. Parents who work as farmers, experience reduced income during the pandemic, and have only the father employed are more likely to commit verbal violence, including intimidation and threats. Sudden environmental changes and economic constraints may lead to more anxiety, panic, and unrealistic expectations placed on

children, leading to emotional instability and triggering verbally abusive behavior.

Even though some view verbal violence as a method of disciplining children and argue that verbal violence is less harmful than physical violence, verbal abuse remains a form of violence with potentially worrying psychological consequences. Parents need to be literate about parenting approaches that are not based on pressure. Efforts should focus on educating and assisting stress management training for parents, helping them adapt to challenges without using children as an emotional outlet.

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