



EFFECTS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN PAKISTAN

¹Noshaba Tasawar

¹MPhil Scholar, University of Sargodha

noshabawarraich702@gmail.com

Abstract

Domestic violence is among the most dominant social issues in Pakistan, as it impacts not only the females but also the children and young people who tend to be the unseen victims of violence. The dangers of exposure to DV, as victims or witnesses of parental violence, are far-reaching with respect to psychological well-being, educational acquisition, and social growth (Holt, Buckley, and Whelan, 2008). This article is aimed at arguing that the domestic violence impacts on children/youth in Pakistan are long-term and short-term, which factor into cycles of trauma, failure to attend school, ill health, and acceptance of violence within some generations (Ali & Gavino, 2008). The discussion concerning Pakistan's socio-cultural and legal contexts, and the study re-emphasizes the vulnerability of young people due to patriarchal norms, poverty, and inferior institutional support services. Methodologically, the study has relied on a qualitative review of the available literature that includes works of scholars, NGO's reports, and policy documents to discuss the psychological, educational, and health-related effects of DV on the children/youth in Pakistan. The review method will enable the synthesis of disparate evidence and the discernment of omissions in the research and policies. Overall, the paper argues that this problem is not merely a moral concern, but also a developmental concern, and that it must be addressed through multifaceted interventions that span education, health, and the law in Pakistan to protect the largest group of people in Pakistan: the youth.

Keywords: Domestic Violence, Children, Pakistan, Effects

Article Details:

Received on 18 Nov, 2025

Accepted on 12 Dec, 2025

Published on 13 Dec 2025

Corresponding Authors*

1. Introduction

Domestic violence (DV) is a issue that prevails in the world and has numerous consequences that affect families and the communities. Being a general term of physical, emotional, psychological, or sexual violence in intimate or domestic relationships, DV trespasses cultural or, actually, geographic boundaries (WHO, 2016). As much as its direct effects have been much publicized, it is being recognized that its collateral victims are the children and youth who are exposed to the violence either directly as the victims or indirectly as observers (Holt, Buckley, & Whelan, 2008). It is estimated that globally approximately 275 million children are exposed to domestic violence each year (UNICEF, 2019). The issue is a serious one in some developing countries like Pakistan because of the cultural silence, underreporting, and justification of the use of violence as a method of family control and honor.

The Pakistani background is full of such difficulties in a situation in which domestic violence has an impact on children and youth. The patriarchal system, poverty, and more conservative attitudes towards the role of family members are part of the socio-cultural setup that allows DV to be not only tolerated but hidden (Ali & Gavino, 2008). The statistics of the Aurat Foundation (2014) and the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP, 2021), however, indicate that domestic abuse cases are distressingly widespread, and official data do not reflect how many children end up exposed to it as a result of stigma and poor institutional response to it. In Pakistan, children live in a family culture where violence is naturalized as a form of discipline or family privacy, and an invisible but pernicious culture envelops them.

Domestic violence exposure in the child has permanent psychological and emotional effects. Studies indicate that children who are exposed or present during the occurrence of domestic abuse develop high levels of depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress, and suicidal dispositions (Kitzmann, Gaylord, Holt, & Kenny, 2003). Research conducted in Pakistan has reported increased aggression and disruptive behavior in adolescents that exposed to inter-parental violence, as well as withdrawn behaviors and social isolation in others (Hyder and Malik 2007). The secrecy that shrouds DV contributes to these impacts further because the child has no safe platform to air his/her fears and/or call out to help. As a result, trauma and insecurity become part of the developmental process of most Pakistani children.

Another sphere where the consequences of domestic violence on children and youth in Pakistan become noticeable is the area of education. Studies show that exposure to DV contributes to absenteeism, poor academic achievements, as well as dropping out of school, especially among girls (Holt et al., 2008). Children in Pakistan living in an abusive household are even exposed to more adverse conditions of household duties, financial issues, and access to psychosocial support in schools (UNESCO, 2015). Mostly affected children are observed as disengaged or aggressive in the teaching classrooms, but lack of training and counseling resources to aid in managing affected children makes interventions a rare thing. Such disruption in the education process additionally restricts children on a long-term affordability scope and replicates the chains of poverty and inequality.

Access to physical health, on top of education and psychological well-being, is drastically abridged among children and youths living with violence at home. Psychosomatic effects of abuse on children can include headaches, fatigue, gastrointestinal distress, among other effects, in addition to direct injuries (WHO, 2016). The problem is that adolescents face a danger of maladaptive coping behaviors, such as substance abuse, delinquent behavior, and unsafe sex (Finkelhor, Turner, Shattuck, & Hamby, 2015). Young girls have the additional risk of exposure to DV and early marriage as well as reproductive coercion, which exposes the children to the risk of maternal health complications (National Commission on the Status of

Women, 2020). These health risks demonstrate that domestic violence does not only tamper with short-term safety but long-term well-being, as well.

There are some legal and structural systems in the Asian country of Pakistan, which find some protection against DV, but children and youth tend to be on the outskirts of the policy matters. Although child protection systems have been implemented in Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as well as the Punjab Protection Women Against Violence Act in 2016, the implementation is hampered by enforcement gaps and lack of awareness (Khan & Hussain, 2018). Their social stigmatization and the use of classic methods of resolving conflicts often deter such families to report the acts or seek help in an institution (Ali, 2011). In turn, the voice of children on the experience of domestic violations does not find reflection at the national level in statistics, policies, and intervention strategies.

To deal with the outcomes of domestic violence on children and youth in Pakistan is thus a social and developmental necessity. Being the largest demographic of population in Pakistan, youth have become the future of Pakistan but by being exposed to violence, youth lose their psychological stability, education levels and their overall contribution to society in the long run. Researchers and practitioners stress the need of multi-sectoral responses including school, community groups, health practitioners, and law enforcement agencies in order to interrupt the pattern of violence (Gewirtz & Edleson, 2007). This article tends to examine the various impacts of domestic violence on children and youth in Pakistan on psychological, educational, health, and socio-cultural levels, and also pinpoint missing links in the policy and practice that need to be bridged to protect and nurture the upcoming generation.

2. Literature Review

Domestic violence (DV) has gained momentum as one of the most widespread social issues in Pakistan, including being among children and youth in Pakistan. Universally, it has been said that the effects of DV on children are both through direct means, such as through physical and emotional abuse, as well as through indirect means, such as exposure to violence between the parents (Evans, Davies, & DiLillo, 2008). In cases of patriarchal attitudes and cultural beliefs in family honor in the Pakistani context, little children become victims of such violence without uttering a word (Ali & Gavino, 2008). Empirical evidence indicates that approximately a quarter of the children residing in urban areas of Pakistan have been exposed to inter-parental violence, but due to a combination of stigma and an absence of institutional support, the actual prevalence rate is hard to determine (UNICEF, 2019). These facts demonstrate that in Pakistan the domestic abuse results in a generation of trauma.

Studies of the impact of DV on the psyche of children point to the fact that children are more likely to have the internalizing, as well as the externalizing disorders. Internalizing problems can be listed as depression, withdrawal, and anxiety whereas externalizing outcomes are aggression and conduct disorders (Kitzmann, Gaylord, Holt, & Kenny, 2003). In a study conducted at the Lahore general hospital, adolescents who have witnessed parental violence were at an increased risk of reporting depressive symptoms and thoughts of suicide as compared to those with no exposure (Hyder & Malik, 2007). The social learning theory gives a framework since through the observation of the parent involving aggression, children would normalize the violence as a valid way of solving a conflict (Bandura, 1977). In Pakistan, these aspects are aggravated due to family clandestinity and denigration of seeking outside help.

Another sphere in which DV has affected much is educational attainment. The evidence is concordant with international studies indicating high correlation exists between being exposed to domestic conflict and academic under achievements (Holt, Buckley, & Whelan,

2008). In Pakistan, school surveys have shown that the level of concentration, absence and dropout rate of kids in a violent household are lower, particularly when it comes to girls (Aurat Foundation, 2014). Such children are regularly referred by the teachers as disruptive, inattentive or hyper withdrawn, and restricted in their participation in learning activities (UNESCO, 2015). Structural barriers such as absence of counseling services in Pakistani schools also help in preventing early intervention. Thus, the consequences of DV extend past the house to hurt educational achievement and level future social and economic opportunity.

The exposures to DV have their impacts not just in the physical facts and reproductive health domains. Somatic symptoms that are reported in the literature are headache, gastrointestinal theatres, and sleeping difficulties in Pakistani children exposed to violence (WHO, 2016). Adolescents, are especially prone to have some maladaptive coping-like substance use at an early age, or an unsafe relationship (Finkelhor, Turner, Shattuck, & Hamby, 2015). Girls are also at an increased risk of motherhood-related morbidity and teen pregnancy because domestic violence can combine at-home marriage and coercive sexual behavior (National Commission on the Status of Women, 2020). It demonstrates the cumulative health effects that exposure to DV may present throughout the stages of development

Sociologically, DV in Pakistan upholds gender stratification and age stratification. Both boys and girls who observe incidents of violence learn to conform to specific gender roles either being aggressive in the case of the boys or submissive in the case of the girls, and this leads to further victimization (Jewkes, 2002). Other research carried out in rural Punjab has revealed that children who experience violence at home get accustomed to accepting violence in their own relationships when they are grown up (Fikree, Razzak, & Durocher, 2005). Such normalization is supported by the cultural silence: families tend not to encourage children to talk about domestic problems in the exterior world as that will be considered an act of dishonor or even betrayal (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan [HRCP], 2021).

Pakistan has a weak legal and policy framework to ensure protection of children and youth who have faced DV. Although legislative progress can be seen in laws like the Punjab Protection Women Against Violence Act (2016) and Sindh Child Protection Authority Act (2011), enforcement, wrist, scope and awareness still have gaps (Khan & Hussain, 2018). The majority of responses are in reaction and not prevention and there are rarely any child-sensitive services in the rural locations. Studies also reveal that shelters, helplines, and child protection units do not have sufficient resources regarding the long-term psychological needs of children who have witnessed violence (Shah, 2020). Therefore, even with the changes in the law, there are still systemic constraints, which still subject children and young persons to a pattern of damage.

Communal and religious institutions also have their influence on the way DV is treated. In most situations, the community elders or religious heads tend to mediate in family conflicts possibly settling on the preservation of the family over child protection (Ali, 2011). This is a distraction to accountability and it continues to project children in a vulnerable situation. Disseminations are the community-based studies on which it can be suggested that the attitude change is possible through grass-root level awareness-building activities and involvement of religious leaders, which is, however, inconsistently implemented and is financially underfunded (UNICEF, 2019). Enhancing the community-based protection means is critical in terms of culturally sensitive measures in Pakistan.

Research on interventions points to the potential of psychosocial support and resilience-oriented interventions in kids exposed to DV. Trama-informed care, school-based counseling and peer-support groups have been applied successfully in countries

internationally (Gewirtz & Edleson, 2007). In Pakistan, NGOs and civil society groups like Rozan and Sahil run pilot projects that teach children how to manage stress and create safe spaces, but do not go countrywide due to constraints on finances and politics (Rozan, 2017). It can be concluded that without persistent action, there is likelihood that the cycle of violence will persist to undermine the well-being of the coming generations.

Last but not least, more research on Pakistan is required in the literature. Much of the data is urban-based, NGO-driven, and qualitative and therefore is limited in generalizability. There is lack of longitudinal studies and therefore there is little information to guide on how exposure to DV affects the life stages of children as they progress to adulthood. Researchers propose the multi-sectoral approach combining educational, health, police and child welfare sectors to successfully prevent the negative long-term sequelae (WHO, 2016). Tackling DV against children and youth is both an ethical as well as developmental need since child and youth DV would undermine the social and economic development of Pakistan.

3. Research Methodology

A systematic literature review is adopted as a qualitative research methodology in this study to determine the impact of domestic violence on children and youth in Pakistan. The labor-intensive nature and ethical and practical concerns of accessibility of primary research among a vulnerable population group such as abused children necessitated a secondary data research methodology that synthesized existing literature in the form of peer-reviewed journal articles, NGO reports, government reports, and international organizational reports issued by such bodies as WHO, UNICEF, and Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. The review was conducted through identification, analysis and incorporation of studies published between 2000 and 2023 so that historical and contemporary perspectives could be obtained. Literature sources were identified using databases including JSTOR, Google Scholar and PubMed and national reports. Thematic analysis approach was applied with providing categories of the evidence (psychological, educational, health-related, and socio-cultural effects, policy and legal frameworks). The approach enabled us to have a comprehensive picture of the problem as well as display the lacking empirical knowledge and practical intervention. The methodology used by relying on a combination of perspectives can cover the subject matter thoroughly, and it can provide a basis to formulate policy alternatives and future empirical studies.

4. Discussion

The consequences of domestic violence (DV) on children and youth in Pakistan cannot exist in the vacuum, they are related to cultural, economic, and institutional processes. Exposed children who are direct victims or bystanders of violence are at risk of various threats that determine their psychological, social, educational and health consequences (Holt, Buckley, and Whelan, 2008). The household is a refuge in Pakistan, whereby the enduring values of patriarchy and poverty tend to condone aggression (Ali and Gavino, 2008). Love, authority, and abuse are not easily separated in such duality that makes children continue circulation of silence and trauma. These consequences should be examined on a multidimensional level that would involve individual level of effects on children and also the structural obstacles that hinder children from getting protection and support.

Moreover, the impact of DV should be discussed within the human framework of socio-legal issues in Pakistan. Although certain progress has been achieved in the enactment of child protection and women rights laws, their implementation is rather intermittent, and the stigma of cultural background prevents families to resort to institutional assistance (Khan & Hussain, 2018). Community groups and Non-governmental organizations have tried to seal these gaps

by providing counseling and awareness programs but cover is minimal particularly in the rural areas (Rozan, 2017). It is on this background that the consequences of domestic violence transcend generational boundaries, affecting the mental health, academic achievements, physical health and social orientation of children. These consequences, which are discussed in what follows, are in three dimensions which include psychological and emotional, educational and social and health and policy-related implications.

4.1. Psychological and Emotional Consequences

Young people and children in Pakistan that are exposed to domestic violence have severe psychological difficulties. There are many studies which show higher rates of depression, anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder in children who witness inter-parental conflict (Kitzmann, Gaylord, Holt, and Kenny, 2003). Hyder and Malik (2007) noted in Pakistan that, adolescents who were subjected to domestic violence had a higher likelihood of suicide ideation and emotional withdrawal. These results emphasize the fact that the effects of domestic violence are not short term, but have long term implications on mental health. The Pakistani family culture of silence also contributes to the problem to the point that children seldom have safe environments to share their distress.

Emotion development of children is shattered with constant violence being witnessed at home. Observing the conflict in the parents makes them feel less safe which increases their hypervigilance and insecurity (Evans, Davies, and DiLillo, 2008). In the case of Pakistani children, such insecurity is reflected in problems of establishing trusting relations and deformed patterns of attachment, which carry over into adolescence and adulthood. Girls especially learn the subservient role of their mothers and boys may learn the aggressive role of their violent fathers (Jewkes, 2002). These psychological outcomes that are gendered continue generations of inequality and violence.

The social learning theory offers an effective point of view to explain these implications. According to the framework proposed by Bandura (1977), children who witness violence are in a better position to imitate such behavior especially where the action is not punished. This theory can be observed in Pakistan where the exposure of young boys to domestic violence at home results in an increasing level of aggression in school or community contexts (Ali and Gavino, 2008). These problem behaviors may grow over time to become delinquent, substance abusers and even intimate partner violence. Accordingly, psychological effects of DV are not independent but are inextricably linked to more general trends of social behavior and deviance.

4.2. Educational and Social Implications

In Pakistan, children have their educational progress weakened by domestic violence. Studies have shown that kids exposed to DV are likely to show a lack of concentration, absence of attendance as well as low grades (Holt, Buckley, and Whelan, 2008). Teachers in Pakistan often complain that in the family, where violence is common, the school children are either reckless at school or, on the other hand, rather withdrawn and closed (UNESCO, 2015). Such a two-fold pattern suggests different toolings of traumatic learning environments. This is not helped by the fact that school-based counseling services are not available in Pakistan thus educators cannot offer psychosocial support.

Disruption of education is facilitated by social stigma that surrounds domestic violence. Girls are particularly facing dual marginalization in that when violence has taken place, families have a habit of pulling them out of school either as an honor to the family or to hand them over to the domestic workers (Aurat Foundation, 2014). The practice keeps causing gender disparities in literacy and the participation in labour. Boys on the contrary can be pressed into paid employment to compensate the fail of their homes and end their schooling.

Therefore, the DV has not only academic implications of education but also strong connections to structural gender and class disproportions.

Furthermore, the relationships and socialization within peers are affected by the domestic violence. Violence may also produce difficulties in trust and cooperation by the children who may also become isolated or bullies (Finkelhor, Turner, Shattuck, and Hamby, 2015). The secrecy and shame often become introjected among Pakistani adolescents in violent families, so they are not allowed to interact with their peers and expose their family situation (HRCP, 2021). This type of social isolation undermines a sense of strength and eliminates possible protective factors. On the other hand, other literature indicates that these are negative effects that can be mitigated by supportive teachers and peer networks, but these facilities are scarce in rural Pakistan (Rozan, 2017). The social aspect of DV must hence be tackled by enhancing the strength of community and school based support structures.

Domestic violence lends to cycles of social acceptance of violence as well. Growing children in violent families normalize the act of abuse as a way of life in a family (Jewkes, 2002). Pakistanis young adults who have experienced DV are the most prone to justify force in their personal relationships by excusing female-to-female violence (Fikree, Razzak, and Durocher, 2005). It strengthens patriarchal norms and does not allow the change of social life and provides continuation in violent acts during the generations. Thus, the cultural consequences of DV on education and social context is not exclusive to an individual child but also on the larger cultural scene.

4.3. Health and Policy Dimension

The health consequences of exposure to domestic violence are both widespread and manifold among the children who have been so exposed. Physically, children may be harmed in violent contexts, whereas psychosomatic instability (headaches, lack of sleep, stomach problems, and others) and sleep deprivation are often observed (WHO, 2016). Some risks that can be undertaken by adolescent children include smoking at a very young age or using drugs or substances to deal with stress or unsafe sexual behavior (Finkelhor et al., 2015). Lack of appropriate health care infrastructure and access to mental health services especially in the rural areas also contribute to these health risks in Pakistan. This causes medical neglect or medical treatment of the exposed children of DV.

Gender is a determiner of health of such importance. The girls are particularly vulnerable during their adolescent period, particularly in the context where DV not only meets with child marriage but also with reproductive coercion (National Commission on the Status of Women, 2020). Domestic violence results in inclination to early pregnancies and medical issues among the mothers. This reiterates the Saudi character of DV with other structural disparities in the Pakistani healthcare and gender systems. The unaddressed trauma increases aggression, delinquency or substance dependence, and results can be imposed on boys, who are not as vulnerable to reproduction risks. As such, the dimensions of DV health are physical and gender.

Pakistan has been attempting to address domestic violence in legal and policy frameworks but that has yet to keep children and youth safe. Provinces also have such laws as the Punjab Protection of Women against Violence Act (2016) or Sindh Child Protection Authority Act (2011), which is a progressive measure that is not properly applied (Khan and Hussain, 2018). The units and shelters that address child protection are well-funded, difficult to get to, and often without professionals who are professionally trained to work with psychological trauma (Shah, 2020). Also, the use of traditional dispute resolution processes often compromises the formal laws, where family cohesion is valued more than the protection

of the children (Ali, 2011). Such lapses in the system expose many kids to violence with no option.

Community based interventions have some potential. Awareness and counseling of children who have experienced DV have been piloted by such NGOs as Rozan and Sahil, with positive results of resilience and coping (Rozan, 2017). Nevertheless, these initiatives are small in scale and are not supported by the government to be applied at the national level. Community and religious leaders have been noted as a culturally sensitive approach to changing attitudes to violence, although the success is uneven (UNICEF, 2019). Policy reform should thus shift to non-symbolic legislation to well-coordinated interventions, which are well-funded and child centered.

Lastly, the discussion indicates that more studies are required on DV and its effects in relation to Pakistani children. The existing evidence is incomplete, mostly qualitative, and urban-based, and the rural and marginalized groups are underrepresented (HRCP, 2021). Longitudinal research is especially deficient and therefore restricts the knowledge of the effects of early exposure on adult consequences. Increasing research capacity is essential to evidence-based policy and intervention development. The issue of domestic violence on children and youth is not just a family matter, but a developmental concern to Pakistan which needs education, health, legal, and community sectors to be involved in its solution.

5. Conclusion

The evidence examined in this paper shows that domestic violence is not a personal or domestic issue but a social issue with long-term effects on the children and youth of Pakistan. Violence in the family setting undermines the psychological stability of children, their academic paths and physical and emotional health (Holt, Buckley, and Whelan, 2008). The effects are especially pronounced in cultures that society has conditioned to be silent on aggression such as in Pakistan since children have fewer channels of disclosure or protection (Ali and Gavino, 2008). The need to control the effects of DV across generations, as an essential issue and not as an exception, is highlighted in this paper by the goal of understanding DV as a structural issue as opposed to a personal tragedy.

The most important lessons of this analysis are that domestic violence is one of the most important contributors of inequality and violence cycles. Boys who observe violence tend to internalize violent masculinities and girls tend to have passive roles as this perpetuates the patriarchal norms across the generations (Jewkes, 2002). These patterns are further reinforced by educational disruption that curtails chances of upward mobility and ensure social-economic marginalization. DV leaves behind not only traumatized people but also a social culture that sanctions violence as a solution to conflict, which is likely to continue the instability of both families and communities. Therefore, the problem of DV should not be overlooked as the only way to secure the safety of separate children but also the stability of the overall Pakistani social setup.

Pakistan has made critical steps at the policy level in terms of child protection laws and women protection framework, but there are still major gaps in implementation, funding, and access (Khan and Hussain, 2018). Limitation of mental health services in rural regions and the recourse to informal dispute resolution systems defeats the intent to protect legislation. Interventions, like those made by NGOs like Rozan and Sahil, are trailblazers but they are limited in their reach and are very reliant on donors (Rozan, 2017). In order to make a difference, the multi-sectoral strategy is necessary in Pakistan, combining education, health, legal frameworks, and community stakeholders to meet the demands of children who witnessed acts of domestic violence.

Ultimately, the effects of domestic violence on children and youth in Pakistan demand urgent recognition as both a human rights issue and a development challenge. To protect the largest group of the population of the country the youth, it is necessary to end the silence on the topic of DV, investing in the trauma-based services, and cultural changes that allow violence to be viewed not as a proper family discipline. The thesis presented in this paper indicates that, unless the issue of DV on children is addressed, there is a risk that Pakistan will continue experiencing trauma and inequality and lost potentials. The safety of the youth, their well being, empowerment is therefore not only a moral chore, but a prerequisite, which will result in a more justified and successful society.

References

- Ali, P. A., & Gavino, M. I. (2008). Violence against women in Pakistan: A framework for analysis. *Journal of Pakistan Medical Association*, 58(4), 198–203.
- Ali, T. S. (2011). Living with violence in the home: Exposure and experiences among married women, residing in urban Karachi, Pakistan. *International Journal of Health Policy and Management*, 26(3), 265–277.
- Aurat Foundation. (2014). *Violence against women in Pakistan: A qualitative review*. Islamabad: Aurat Foundation.
- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Evans, S. E., Davies, C., & DiLillo, D. (2008). Exposure to domestic violence: A meta-analysis of child and adolescent outcomes. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 13(2), 131–140. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2008.02.005>
- Fikree, F. F., Razzak, J. A., & Durocher, J. M. (2005). Attitudes of Pakistani men to domestic violence: A study from Karachi, Pakistan. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 20(1), 68–81. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260504268607>
- Finkelhor, D., Turner, H., Shattuck, A., & Hamby, S. (2015). Prevalence of childhood exposure to violence, crime, and abuse: Results from the National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence. *JAMA Pediatrics*, 169(8), 746–754. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamapediatrics.2015.0676>
- Gewirtz, A., & Edleson, J. L. (2007). Young children's exposure to intimate partner violence: Towards a developmental risk and resilience framework. *Journal of Family Violence*, 22(3), 151–163. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-007-9065-3>
- Holt, S., Buckley, H., & Whelan, S. (2008). The impact of exposure to domestic violence on children and young people: A review of the literature. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 32(8), 797–810. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2008.02.004>
- Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. (2021). *State of human rights in Pakistan 2020*. Lahore: HRCP.
- Hyder, A. A., & Malik, F. A. (2007). Violence against children: A challenge for public health in Pakistan. *Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition*, 25(2), 168–178.
- Jewkes, R. (2002). Intimate partner violence: Causes and prevention. *The Lancet*, 359(9315), 1423–1429. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)08357-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)08357-5)
- Khan, S., & Hussain, M. (2018). Domestic violence legislation in Pakistan: Exploring implementation barriers. *Pakistan Journal of Criminology*, 10(2), 1–15.
- Kitzmann, K. M., Gaylord, N. K., Holt, A. R., & Kenny, E. D. (2003). Child witnesses to domestic violence: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 71(2), 339–352. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.71.2.339>
- National Commission on the Status of Women. (2020). *Child marriage and reproductive health in Pakistan: Policy review*. Islamabad: NCSW.

- Rozan. (2017). *Annual report: Working with children and youth in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Rozan.
- Shah, N. (2020). Protection challenges for children in Pakistan: A review of shelter and support services. *Asian Journal of Social Work and Policy Review*, 4(1), 45–59.
- UNESCO. (2015). *Education for all 2015 national review: Pakistan*. Islamabad: UNESCO.
- UNICEF. (2019). *A familiar silence: Child witnesses of domestic violence in South Asia*. Kathmandu: UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia.
- World Health Organization. (2016). *INSPIRE: Seven strategies for ending violence against children*. Geneva: WHO.