Title: Realization of Right of the Child to be Protected Against Physical Domestic Violence in Armenia.

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Summary

The main goal of our fact-finding research was to investigate the current status quo and look for ways to improve the response to violence against children in the family in Armenia. Three of us (from Belarus, Russia and Armenia) decided to team up as all of us were interested in the issues of domestic violence and we have decided to challenge ourselves and chose children as the target group of our research. One of our particular interests was also to explore how the Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence is operating in Armenia, as Belarus and Russia don't have one. Our interest was professional in terms of identifying what are the typical issues that arise even when the law on prevention and combating domestic violence is in place.

Our work turned out to be a good personal learning exercise for getting rid of our own contexts and bias, because we expected the system of protection of children to be similar to the ones in Russia and Belarus due to the post-soviet context (which was not the case at all).

The methodology we used was qualitative semi-structured interviews with experts and specialists-witnesses of child domestic violence. It took us time to collect relevant background information (legislation, recent research data) and cases of violence towards the children. The risk we couldn't manage is the wrong choice of the target group for the interviews as we wanted to interview children themselves that suffered from domestic violence. As soon as we realized that our methodology and the target was wrong, we had to change our approach and to redesign the methodology. Our interviewees were all specialists working in the area of child protection. We expected to find more witnesses, but some of them refused to participate in the interview on the last moment. As far as this topic is very sensitive for Armenian society not all people are ready to openly discuss the topic. Social workers played a key role in our research as witnesses of violence against children cases and provided relevant information to us. Of course, we are not fully satisfied with the outcomes of the research as without the testimony of the victims it is hard to have the full picture of the problem. However, in our case

of minor victims we think it is better not to retraumatize them with our interviews. Our research team succeeded in interviews with experts of the well-known non-governmental organization "World Vision" and "Children of Armenia Foundation", as well as international agency - UNICEF. They shared with us their perspectives on the issue and helped us to find gaps in the child protection system of Armenia.

Our team found the violation of children's rights, gaps in the legislation system and contradictions:

- the lack of cooperation between different institutions and specialists (police, teachers, social workers);
- there is no punishment for schools and other educational institutions for hiding information about the violence against children in the families;
- police officers as well as law enforcement officials don't have enough knowledge for taking proper measures in order to prevent the violence against children in families;
- the state does not support the separation the aggressor and victim in case of parents violence against their children;
- physical violence, especially corporal punishment, is tolerated in Armenian society and is seen as socially accepted.

All mentioned gaps make challenging the response towards violence against children in families.

During the research we manage to find several cases that demonstrate the real situation in the sphere of domestic violence against children.

Methodology

In order to identify the problems related to the respect, protection and fulfillment of the rights of children to be free from domestic violence in Armenia, the desk study of available legislative documents and field study was carried out. The research used qualitative methodology and it might not prove statistically all conclusions. However, previous research data and the cases documented support the findings of the research.

The target group of our research were supposed to be victims of domestic violence (physical violence) against children (school children in Yerevan from 12 to 16 y.o., male and female). While carrying out the research we have realized we are not allowed to interview minors without the presence and agreement

of the guardian. In our case, guardians could be parents or family members that are using physical violence themselves.

Another issue we have discussed in our research team is not having competences to interview children-victims of domestic violence without retraumatizing them.

Thus, the decision was made to interview witnesses of child domestic violence, specialists responsible to deal with cases of domestic violence and experts designing child protection programmes and policies in Armenia (all experts were located in Yerevan, but their work was covering all Armenia).

As soon as we started to interview stakeholders and specialists responsible for addressing domestic violence against children, one of the specialists - a secondary school director in Yerevan that is now dealing with the case of violence against a teenage girl - refused to participate in the research as interviewee due to security reasons. We understand that the topic of domestic violence against children is particularly sensitive. In our case, the communication with the director was made via telephone and we couldn't meet the director face-to-face to discuss the aim of the research and the ways we will ensure the confidentiality.

Finally, we have decided to carry qualitative research using semi-structured interviews of child rights protection experts from the NGO "World Vision Armenia", former "Children of Armenia Foundation" expert (now independent consultant), and UNICEF's Representative in Armenia. We were lucky to attend the round table at Yerevan State University dedicated to the 30 years anniversary of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, where we have established first contact with the experts and later on we have contacted them by email and met face-to-face for the interviews.

Our second target group were the group of 3 social workers (staff of the "World Vision Armenia") that identify children-victims of domestic violence in communities and respond to such cases of child rights violation. We have carried out semi-structured group interview with them as well. We were introduced to the social workers by the "World Vision's" expert and it helped us to be recognized as researchers and to build trust from the first minute.

The primary aim of the interviews was to understand:

- a) the outbreak of domestic violence against children in Armenia;
- b) what are the measures available for prevention, protection and rehabilitation of children-victims of domestic violence:
- c) defining the gaps in the regulations and practices to address domestic violence against children effectively;

d) formulate the recommendations to improve the child care system in Armenia related to protection from domestic violence.

Both child rights experts and social workers were very open, shared information and observations freely. The interviews took more time than initially planned (instead of 40 min - 1 hour, they took over 1 hour). We have faced the language barrier while interviewing social workers - we have carried out interviews in half Armenian, half Russian languages.

All experts were females, social workers (23-25 y.o), experts (32-50 y.o.).

Background

This report addresses the problem of realization of the rights of children to be protected from violence, negligence, abuse at home specifically as prescribed under Article 19 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (ratified by Armenia in 1992) and Article 17 (1) of the Revised European Social Charter (ratified in 2004)¹.

Ensuring the right to be protected from domestic violence is one of the main responsibilities of Armenian state reflected in domestic laws. Article 9 of the Children's Rights Act states that every child has the right to be protected from any form of violence, including physical, mental and other forms and that all persons, including parents and legal representatives are prohibited from subjecting children to violence or degrading treatment or punishment. The Criminal Code prohibits torture (Article 110), abuse of guardian's rights (Article 126) and humiliation of dignity and honour (Article 132) and provides for severe penalties for offences against minors. Article 68 of the Marriage and Family Code stipulates that parents may forfeit their parental rights for abuse of these rights or cruelty towards their children².

At the end of 2017, Armenia adopted a "Law on preventing of violence within the family, protection of victims of violence within the family and restoration of peace in the family", which introduces certain practical mechanisms to reduce the level of violence against women and prevent violent actions. However, the law is targeting mostly women as victims of violence, children are not the subjects of the

¹ See at: https://rm.coe.int/168007cf93

² See at: https://hudoc.esc.coe.int/eng/#{"ESCDcIdentifier":["2007/def/ARM/17/1/EN"]}

³ See at: https://www.euneighbours.eu/en/east/eu-in-action/stories/liza-grigoryan-judge-who-often-deals-domestic-violence -cases-armenia

law, they are addressed in addition to their mother-victim of domestic violence.⁴ The Law defines "physical violence" as battering stipulated in the Republic of Armenia Criminal Code and other acts of violence, intentional infliction of health impairment, unlawful deprivation of liberty, intentional infliction of severe physical pain. The corporal punishment is not mentioned and not identified under the Law.

The national survey Armenia Demographic and Health Survey (2015-16 ADHS) implemented by the National Statistical Service (NSS) and the Ministry of Health (MOH) shows that 81% of parents use violence against their children: only 19% of children experienced non-violent discipline, 65% of children experienced psychological aggression while 38 percent of children experienced some form of physical punishment. 4% of children experienced severe physical punishment from their parents. Kids of both genders are almost equally subjected to domestic violence (67% of girls, 71% of boys). Urban/regional distribution of domestic violence is almost equal - 68% of urban children and 71% of rural children.⁵ Thus, corporal punishment and physical violence are widespread and practiced regularly; they are normalized as a social and cultural pattern to "discipline" children.

The child protection system has several levels in Armenia:

- 1) Level 1 guardianship and trusteeship bodies at the community levels. At local level different actors are involved and have to cooperate in response to domestic violence against children police, schools, kindergartens, mayor, social workers. In case of domestic violence guardianship and trusteeship bodies are the first to receive information about minors suffering from violence and arranging support.
- 2) Level 2 regional level that has the "Unit of protection of family, women and children's rights". Regional units have case managers specialists responsible for rendering social assistance to people living in difficult life circumstances.
- 3) Level 3 national bodies responsible for policy design Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of Armenia, National Council on Children Protection (that is composed from NGOs, has consultative function and is operating under the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection).

⁴ See at: https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5a6b2e274.pdf

⁵ See at: https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR325/FR325.pdf

There is the Ombudsman's office in Armenia and children can apply for the help of Ombudsperson, but children are not addressing the Ombudsperson.

There is also a hotline for children, as social workers reported, but children rather call and report to police than contact hotline specialists.

We have to mention the importnat political and policy step for Armenia - by the end of 2017, Armenia signed the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (also known as the Istanbul Convention). At the same time there is a "traditional family" movement (known as anti-gender movement in Eastern Europe and Caucasus) in Armenia that is advocating against Armenian government ratifying the Convention.

There is a huge anti-violence NGO campaign running in Armenia - Share Love Not Violence. The campaign unites 49 NGOs at the moment and aims at eliminating all forms of physical and mental violence against children in Armenia. The campaign combines raising public awareness and advocacy tools.

Findings & Analysis

Our fact-finding team have identified and agreed about several patterns that are interlinked, but we decided to describe them independently.

Pattern 1: Inefficient identification of children-victims of domestic violence due to social norms and cultural patterns

The issue we are addressing is whether provisions for the identification of children-victims of domestic violence are clear, comprehensive and not based on stereotypes about domestic violence for timely and effective protection of children from further trauma caused by violence at home in Armenia.

The "Law on preventing of violence within the family, protection of victims of violence within the family and restoration of peace in the family" has the provision - if someone sees violence, they have to report it

to the police and/or to the institute of guardianship. But mandatory reporting of physical violence against children to the police is only done by the hospitals in case they recieve children-clients with physical traumas. Afterwards the police reports the case to the guardianship and trusteeship body. Other specialists, family members, community members are not obliged to report child violence and are not punished for not reporting cases of domestic violence against children.

Lusine (expert) explains: "Nobody wants to report child domestic violence to police, people don't want to intervene into the family or to be "informers" in the bad sense of this word."

"Children never report violence themselves, it has to be an adult reporting violence," says the social worker Gayane.

This means that the role of adults and state specialists is crucial in identifying cases of domestic violence against children. Article 3 (3) of the Convention on the Rights of the Child claims that "States Parties shall ensure that the institutions, services and facilities responsible for the care or protection of children shall conform with the standards established by competent authorities, particularly in the areas of safety, health, in the number and suitability of their staff, as well as competent supervision." But there are no clear instructions and the algorithms that specialists at schools follow even though schools are the key stakeholders and actors in identifying such cases. "Schools only see their roles as educators, many schools prefer to deal with the cases of domestic violence on their own or simply ignore the signals," adds Kristina, the social worker. Even though violence and physical violence are defined in the law on prevention of domestic violence, people concider corporal punishment to be normal and acceptable towards children to call for discipline, thus they don't report violence which is considered as a method of upbringing. The European Committee of Social Rights (ECSR) in its Conclusions on the Article 17-1 on the report 2007 of Armenia related to ensuring the protection of children from negligence, violence or exploitation recommended to prohibit corporal punishment of children. But this type of violence is still not specified as physical violence in the laws. Thus, the state party (Armenia) is not fulfilling its obligations to protect children from all forms of violence, because corporal violence and other forms of physical violence are still considered to be culturally accepted as a tool of discipline and specialists, especially teachers that spend lots of time with children and observe them, don't take all possible actions to identify and report cases of domestic violence. The policy goal here is to raise the awareness about the misconception on the corporal punishment and physical violence and explain to the speialists and adults

(parents and family members) through prevention programmes in the communities the harm caused by violence for the well-being of children. Another policy goal would be to develop and introduce clear identification provisions and obligatory reporting system for all specialists dealing with children - school teachers, social workers, police, and other specialists.

Pattern 2: Gaps in the system of prevention, punishment and rehabilitation of children-victims of domestic violence

Another issue is - considering the humiliating nature of domestic violence against children is Armenian state fulfilling its obligations to act in the best interests of the child and protect the child from all forms of negligence, violence and abuse in case domestic violence is detected?

The system of addressing domestic violence is very complex: prevention, punishment and rehabilitation are the key pillars for minimizing domestic violence against children. When talking to experts, we have discovered that all these elements are challenging. For example, in terms of fighting violence it is clear that the perpetrator should be punished; however, in practice many perpetrators only receive administrative punishment - a fine.

It can be illustrated by the story of the lawyer Aida from the "World Vision Armenia":

"The boy was beaten by his father, the traumas were quite serious, so the boy was taken to the hospital traumatology point. His father got the administrative punishment - he paid the fine of 30 000 AMD. The kid was sent back home and there is no guarantee that he won't suffer from domestic violence again. Family is now under the supervision of social services and the police."

Physical violence in Armenia is criminalized, however, the court might take the decision not to take strict measures against the perpetrator. The guidelines for combating domestic violence also say that one of the measures to protect the victim from further violence is to separate the victim and the aggressor (emergency intervention and protective order). In the case when the home is a dangerous place for living, social workers can limit parents rights and kids might stay in the residential care institutions (which is also not the best option as these are closed institutions and now with the policy of deinstitutionalization there is often no place where the kid could be sent). Another option is issuing the protective order that has to be applied against the aggressor - s/he should not approach the victim of violence for a certain

time period, which means that the victim stays at home, in a comfortable environment, and the aggressor has to help out him/herself and find a place to stay.

The social worker complains:

"In reality it is almost impossible to limit the parents rights. There was a woman that was blowing cigarettes on the arms and the body of her daughter. I did my best to limit mother's rights, but the court never made this decision. The practice of separation of the child and the violent parent is not common in Armenia, but I agree that in some cases the separation can be the only reasonable decision to stop violence."

At the same time, the expert from UNICEF, when discussing the institutionalization issues and family separation, said: "This is a paradox: on the one hand, it is so easy to put a child into the closed institution if parents resign from their responsibilities justifying to the state that they don't have enough finances and the family is in a vulnerable situation. On the other hand, in cases of domestic violence it is impossible to limit parents' rights and separate the victim and the perpetrator."

Regarding the social and psychological rehabilitation and support after the domestic violence, the provisions are quite vague. The practice is to keep the family supervised by police; social workers have to work with the family providing support, counseling, training. The psychological support programmes for perpetrators for dealing with their aggression and violence are in the law on prevention of domestic violence, but none of the experts mentioned them in the interviews.

Lusine (expert) says: "The Law on Combating Domestic Violence ensures support to women, 2 shelters will be opened this year and 2 more support centres will start operating, but this support is mainly focused at women, not children." Aida (expert) ads: "Children are not the subject of the law on domestic violence, they are complementary to their mothers and this has to be changed."

The Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights says: "Each person should enjoy their family life", thus separating family members and children should be the last measure. Article 1 of UNHRD says that "all people are entitled to right to life, security and dignity". If the family is a dangerous place for the child, s/he might have deep trauma in the future. This is why serious and complex measures should be taken to protect the child and provide necessary psychological and social support to the child. Article 9

(1) of the CRC says that the state should take decisions in the best interests of the child and separate parents and children only if it really serves children's best interests. Domestic violence is a big threat to the life of the person, security and dignity, especially for children that are dependent on adults and cannot protect themselves.

Thus, Armenian state is not fulfilling its obligations to act in the best interests of the child and protect the child from all forms of negligence, violence and abuse in case domestic violence is detected, because the system of punishment of perpetrators for physical violence against children in the family and rehabilitation of children-victims has to be improved. Even though Armenia has introduced the law on combating domestic violence, it didn't follow the recommendations of the European Committee of Social Rights and didn't prohibit corporal violence in the family which is widely spread and culturally accepted. The policy goal should be to rethink and improve the punishment systems and apply the measures foreseen in the laws more consistently (as many important regulations are listed in the law, but are not applied). Another policy goal should be increasing the prevention of domestic violence and positive parenting with the engagement of schools, families, neighbourhoods that could have an impact on minimizing violence. One more policy goal is to improve the system of social support related to children specifically and design additional services as shelters.

Pattern 3: Lack of coordination between authorities and specialists responsible for the response to domestic violence against children.

The third issue that we have addressed in the fact-finding team was whether the established system of response to domestic violence against children at different levels (local, regional and national) in Armenia in terms of inter institutional and cross-sectorial cooperation is efficient for eliminating domestic violence against children.

The system has several levels: at the local level there is the system of guardianship and trusteeship, this is the community level at which the cases of violence should be identified and addressed. What is happening very often is that instead of engaging professionals into managing the situation of domestic violence, schools and families prefer not to report the cases of domestic violence against children to social workers and to the police, thus, limiting the access to support measures for the victims of violence.

Social worker: "Schools and communities prefer to deal with the issue on their own, they just talk to the

family. Police officers often don't initiate the investigation, they think - these are the parents of the kid, not strangers."

One of the reasons why they do it, as another expert (Lusine) says, is because the Law on combating domestic violence, mentions that one of its principles in response to domestic violence is "supporting the family as the natural and fundamental unit of society, strengthening traditional values and restoring peace in the family", "keeping solidarity in the family", thus, the community and schools often overestimate and misinterpret the concept of solidarity thinking that domestic violence is just a family conflict or a disciplinary measure. This is quite misleading and different structures and specialists might interpret this principle differently.

At the regional level, there are case managers, but they are not social workers and they don't have tools to address domestic violence. Their task is to provide material compensation and support in case the persons in vulnerable circumstances need it. Social workers are mainly trained and work at community level (many of them are trained and hired by NGOs). Majority of social workers are concentrated in Yerevan, so there is a lack of social workers to do monitoring and provide support in communities (usually, it happens once in 6 months as Gayane, social worker, reported).

At national level the Ministry of Labour is responsible for addressing the issue. There is the National Council on Child Protection composed of NGOs that was passive for a long time, but recently the members were reelected and the Council will continue its work at policy level drafting and advocating for improvements in the system of response to domestic violence against children.

In accordance with Article 3(3), CRC, Armenia shall ensure that the institutions, services and facilities responsible for the care or protection of children shall conform with the standards established by competent authorities, particularly in the areas of safety, health, in the number and suitability of their staff, as well as competent supervision. In these terms, the staff and specialists should be trained as many of them lack competences. Many structures also have high turnover of staff and lack of specialists to perform the assigned responsibilities, especially, the number of social workers in communities should be increased.

Thus, the coordination between different authorities, departments and specialists, also between the state

and NGOs, has to be improved in order to respond to physical violence against children in families.

Conclusions & Recommendations:

The fact-finding team that prepared this report based on the analysis of legislative framework, expert interviews and the corresponding international regulations, asks the stakeholders to pay attention to the following recommendations:

- 1) All specialists should follow the provisions and guidelines described in the Law on combating domestic violence in Armenia:
- 2) The corporal punishment should be identified as physical domestic violenece and prohibitted by the law:
- 3) In order to prevent new cases of violence and cut unhealthy unlawful behavioural patterns, the correction psychotherapeutic assistance should be provided to the perpetrators, not only the psychological support to the children-victims of domestic violence;
- 4) The social workers should be available for the monitoring, identification, urge help and intervention, as well as for the reporting and providing ongoing rehabilitation to children-victims of violence and their families at the community level;
- 5) The coordination protocol should be developed and incorporated into the work of all specialists and units at local and regional levels;
- The risk assessment model and tools should be developed and specialists should be trained to apply them in their work to be able to identify the victims of domestic violence and to follow clear instructions on how to report cases, communicate with the involved parties, redirect victims to professionals instead of dealing with the consequences of violence on their own.
- 7) Awareness raising campaigns should be continued and run in cooperating with mass media (especially in rural areas) focusing on positive parenting and explaining the consequences of physical and other forms of violence.
- 8) Professional trainings for doctors, psychologists, police and representatives from juridical sphere (lawyers, prosecutors, judges, advocates), which will give an opportunity to increase their level of knowledge about violence and abuse of children, necessary measures of prosecution and ways of supporting children-victims of domestic violence.

Appendix A: Informed Consent Statement & Prepared Questions

Informed Consent for witness/specialist:

Our names are Maryna Korzh, Anna Hakobyan, Kristina Aavagian. Thank you for meeting us and willing to share your expertise! We were very pleased to attend the round table dedicated to the 30 years anniversary of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (at Yerevan State University).

As we told you before, we are a team of 3 students of the MA in Human Rights and Democratization. We are working on the fact finding task in the sphere of human rights violation. Our task as a team is to work on the cases of violence against kids in the families. We have to describe the context of Armenia, current trends, identify the challenges and suggest recommendations for the improvement of the situation.

We would like to carry out an interview with you, the interview will take no longer than 45 min (we already have some background prepared and we will check with you if we have the correct interpretation of the facts and regulations we have found). We would also appreciate if you could share the stories and cases from your practice that might help us to understand what are the challenges and good practices for Armenia. You can stop the interview at any time you want. Also, we can guarantee you and the people mentioned in cases the anonymity, we won't be disclosing any personal data if you don't want.

Questions (preliminary):

- How long have you been working as a child protection expert/social worker? What are your functions and expertise?
- Tell us a bit about the situation with domestic violence in Armenia: how burning is this problem, what is the attitude of the society towards domestic violence against kids, how is domestic violence regulated
- What challenges do you see in addressing violence against children in families?

- Can you explain to us, please, what happens and what different specialists do when the case of domestic violence against a kid is detected?
- How do you cooperate with state organisations for the protection of children's rights?
- Can you share with us some typical cases of violence that you normally deal with at work? What are/were the cases when you couldn't help?
- How could the problem of violence against children in families be solved? What would you improve in the response system?

Appendix B: Summaries of Expert Testimony & Victim/Witness Testimony

Interview 1

We have cooperated with NGO "World Vision Armenia". experts from NGO World Vision Armenia. We have carried out the interview with Child protection programme manager, the lawyer, Aida Muradyan. They supported us in contacting social security specialists (social workers).

First expert, Aida, mentioned that the key problem of existence and the violence towards children in families is mentality and stereotypes in society. People don't want to cooperate with police and social service even if they suspect someone in wrong treatment towards children. Also the expert is sure that some rules of the legislation system should be reviewed. Moreover, she states that police don't have enough knowledge about the violence towards children. Also the majority of the policemen don't know what kind of measures can be taken in case they get the complaint about the violence towards a child in a family.

Interview 2

Second expert was Lusine Saghumyan, former staff member of COAF (Children of Armenia Foundation). Expert is sure that violence in families against children is a burning problem for Armenia. The expert emphasized several points why it is difficult to prevent aggression against children. First reason for the existence of violence in families is the habit to bring up the children using power and threat. Also there is a problem in the system of protection. The policemen often don't know how to act when they face violence against children in families. The expert states that there is a lack of knowledge of police officers about the violence against children and about preventing conflicts in families. The expert sees the only solution to this problem in cooperation between the social workers with police officers. In addition Lusine emphasized that the legislation system has its regulation for different types of violation of children's

rights, but in real time they don't work as well as they should. In case if the violation is connected with kids the stereotypes are higher than rules and law. The institution of family is very closed. Majority of officials are sure that all problems should be solved inside the family. Moreover representatives of the state think the same way. In addition we asked about the role of school administration and teachers. The expert explained that all teachers in school are instructed about the obligation to inform the police about suspected abuse, but often they don't inform the police. To call school to responsibility for hiding information is almost impossible. Lusine sees the solution in changing the educational system for policemen and social workers specializing on violence against children, and the official representatives. Lusine is sure that citizens should expect first changes in 10 years.

Interview 3

Social worker Gayne Barseghyan and 2 more interviewed specialists (Kristina and Mane) were not so positive. They are aware of many facts about problematic families and emphasize almost the same problems in prevention of the violence against children that were mentioned by experts. Gayane brought the cases when the son was beaten by his father. Injures were found on the child's body. They were serious and the boy was taken to the hospital. Later the father paid the fine of 30000. Any other measures were not taken.

Another case is about a 10 year old girl from a problematic family who was placed in orphanages because her mother could not support her. Her mother visited her and took her home every weekend. The girl was coming back to an orphanage with signs of violence on her body (burns from the cigarette). Educators of orphanages informed the social worker about this. Gayne said that she was trying for several months to limit the rights of parenting for the victim's mother. Her actions did not bring her to the result. The state does not support the separation of family. Gayane was recommended to continue her social work with this family. The social worker resumed that the mother continued to abuse her child.

Interview 4

UNICEF's Representative, Tanja Radocaj was asked about the issue of the separation of the aggressor and victim in families. In general she was positive and admitted that the separation should be supported by the state but only if there are strong reasons and the danger for the life of the victim. In addition, she states that the Government makes some progress in children's rights protection in Armenia.

One more source:

Save the Children Armenia has sent us the link to the webpage of the National Campaign entitled "Share Love, Not Violence" where we could find statistics and research data in English (website www. mankutyun.am).