

Gender Differences in School-based Violence Among South Korean Adolescents

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1. Introduction

As they compose the generation that will shape the future of our society, young people should grow up healthy and sound. However, in the wake of a widely-followed media report on a student who had been bullied at school and subsequently committed suicide, school violence has emerged as a central policy challenge. Violence experienced during adolescence inflicts far more harm than occurs during the initial incidence. Instead, it has a lifelong impact on the victim and can lead to so-called “revictimization,” in which the victim re-experiences sexual abuse in adulthood he or she has suffered as a child (Messman, Moore & Long, 2003). Moreover, repeated abuse of a woman can result in an even deeper sense of shame and frustration and lead to a cumulative effect (Campbell & Soeken, 1999).

Although a considerable amount of existing research has been performed regarding sexual abuse, juvenile prostitution, domestic violence, and school bullying, it has been simply confined to single types of violence or abuse to which juveniles can fall victim or has been conducted exclusively either on schoolchildren or within juvenile institutions. This study is the first research into juvenile violence that encompasses all children enrolled in both schools and institutions nationwide and, above all, fully includes a broad spectrum of the types of violence that juveniles experience. Whereas the existing literature offers little consideration to the differences in the ways girls and boys experience violence, this study attempts to highlight gender differences in the experience and perception of violence. Violence against women generally refers to the economic, psychological, or emotional maltreatment of women coming in the form of physical and/or sexual violence. Women suffer physical, sexual, and/or psychological pain and injuries as a result of gender-based violence perpetrated against them in public and private settings, ranging from direct acts or threats of violence to coercion and unjustifiable deprivation of freedom (UN, 1993). Earlier studies on juvenile violence focused on the demographic attributes of individuals, such as personality traits which may lead them to become either the perpetrators or victims of violence, psychological elements such as depression or aggression, educational attainment, marital status, or racial origins (Sidebotham, 2001). However, with the progression of research in this field, scholars began to recognize that juvenile violence occurs within specific socio-cultural contexts, not

in isolated settings (Buchwald, Fietcher & Roth, 1993). School violence is triggered by the complex interaction of a variety of factors, including the developmental status of the individual child, the financial condition of his or her family, his or her relationships with family members and classmates, teachers' attitudes, and the environment in the local community. Taking into account the aforementioned points, this paper analyzes how middle and high school students in South Korea experience school violence according to their school year, the financial condition of their family, and the size of the local community in which they live.

2. Subjects of the survey and the data analyzed

This study is based on a reanalysis of data collected for a 2011 study entitled Current Status of and Response to Female Adolescents Suffering from Sexual and Domestic Violence and Prostitution, through the 2011 Youth Safe Life Survey. This survey was conducted in 2011 by the Korean Women's Development Institute on nearly 4,000 boys and girls in order to examine how they suffer and perpetrate violence in a range of forms, including domestic violence, school bullying, sexual abuse, and juvenile prostitution. The survey examined the current status of violence as experienced and committed by juveniles in a variety of manners and analyzed the impact of background factors including individuals, families, and local communities on such violence.

The survey was conducted nationwide on 1,846 middle school girls and boys in their first, second, and third years and on 1,888 high school high school girls and boys in their first and second years. Its margin of error is ± 1.43 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level. Survey participants were selected through quota sampling among middle and high schools (both general and vocational) in five regions including the Seoul Metropolitan Area, and Chungcheong, Jeolla, Gyeongsang, and Gangwon Provinces, segmented according to residents' living spheres and population size. The 3,734 complete questionnaires were analyzed in the study.

3. Experience of suffering school violence

Table 1. Demographic traits and experience of suffering school violence

Demographic traits		Have suffered	Have not suffered	Total
Gender Size of local communities	Male	187 (10.49%)	1,596 (89.51%)	1,783 (100.0%)
	Female	136 (7.96%)	1,573 (92.04%)	1,709 (100.0%)

Demographic traits		Have suffered	Have not suffered	Total
	Si or larger (urban areas)	269 (9.25%)	2,639 (90.75%)	2,908 (100.0%)
	Eup or Myeon (rural areas)	63 (10.02%)	566 (89.98%)	629 (100.0%)
School Year	First year in middle school	69 (14.59%)	404 (85.41%)	473 (100.0%)
	Second year in middle school	128 (15.96%)	674 (84.04%)	802 (100.0%)
	Third year in middle school	51 (10.45%)	437 (89.55%)	488 (100.0%)
	First year in high school	37 (4.66%)	757 (95.34%)	794 (100.0%)
	Second year in high school	45 (4.62%)	930 (95.38%)	975 (100.0%)
Total Respondents		332 (9.39%)	3,205 (90.61%)	3,537 (100.0%)

Note: 1) “Have perpetrated” means the respondent has engaged in threats, assaults, extortion, collective harassment (exclusion), etc. directed at his or her classmates or students in upper or lower classes within or outside the school during the past twelve months.

2) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

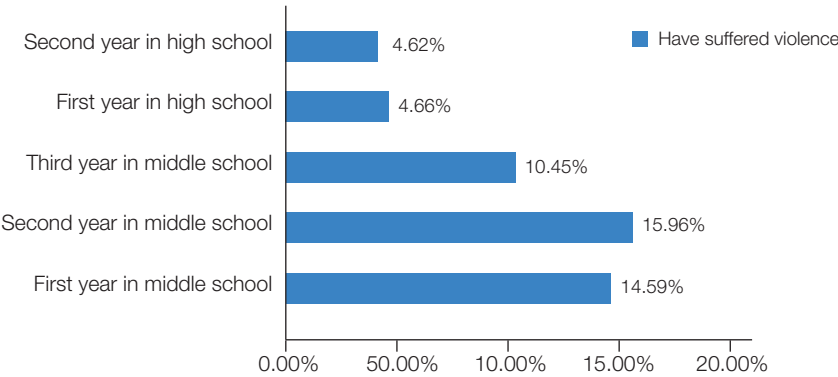


Figure 1. Experience of suffering school violence by school year

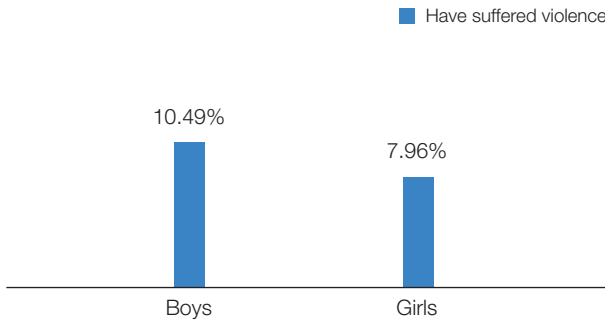


Figure 2. Experience of suffering school violence by gender

Table 1 shows the basic sociodemographic traits of those students who had suffered school bullying and those who had not. It was made clear through the questionnaire that “having suffered school violence” is defined as the respondent having experienced threats, assault, extortion, collective harassment (exclusion), or another form of violence from his or her peers or from students in upper or lower classes within or outside the school during the past twelve months.

The following findings are illustrated in Table 1. First, with regard to gender, 10.49 percent (187 respondents) of the boys participating in the survey reported having been forced to endure school bullying in various forms, whereas 7.96 percent (136 respondents) of girls responded similarly. This shows that boys are more frequently exposed to school violence, which here includes threats, assaults, extortion, and collective harassment.

As for size of local community, the survey shows 9.25 percent (269 respondents) of students in urban areas and 10.02 percent (63 respondents) of those in Eup or Myeon rural areas reported experiences of school violence. In other words, students in rural areas could be slightly more prone to bullying than their peers in cities.

The analysis of school types and years indicates middle school students suffer school violence more frequently than do high school students. The survey shows 14.59 percent of middle school students in their first year, 15.96 percent of second-year students, and 10.45 percent of third-year students experienced bullying, which is a substantially higher proportion than the 4.66 percent of first-year students and 4.62 percent of second-year students in high school. This result implies that the institutional countermeasures to prevent school violence should be focused on middle schools in particular.

Table 2. School types and experience of suffering school violence

School types		Have suffered	Have not suffered	Total
Schools categorized by type	Middle schools	249 (14.10%)	1,517 (85.90%)	1,766 (100.0%)
	General high schools	55 (4.48%)	1,173 (95.52%)	1,228 (100.0%)
	Vocational high schools	28 (5.16%)	515 (94.84%)	543 (100.0%)
Schools categorized by gender of students	Co-education	257 (9.39%)	2,479 (90.61%)	2,736 (100.0%)
	All-boys schools	38 (9.82%)	349 (90.18%)	387 (100.0%)
	All-girls schools	37 (8.94%)	377 (91.06%)	414 (100.0%)
Total respondents		332 (9.39%)	3,205 (90.61%)	3,537 (100.0%)

Note: 1) "Have suffered" means the respondent has experienced threats, assaults, extortion, collective harassment (exclusion), etc. from his or her classmates or from students in upper or lower classes within or outside the school during the past twelve months.
 2) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 2 examines the proportions of students at different types of schools who have suffered school bullying. As shown in the preceding analysis, cases of school violence are particularly concentrated in middle schools, with 14.10 percent (249 respondents) of middle school students having been subjected to at least one type of violence. The proportion of victims of school bullying was approximately three times greater in middle schools than in both general (4.48 percent, 55 respondents) and vocational high schools (5.16 percent, 28 respondents). While schools of different types showed little difference when categorized by gender of students, a slightly smaller percentage of students in all-girls schools, 8.94 percent (37 respondents), reported having been a victim of bullying, compared to 9.39 percent (257 respondents) in co-educational schools and 9.82 percent (38 respondents) in all-boys schools.

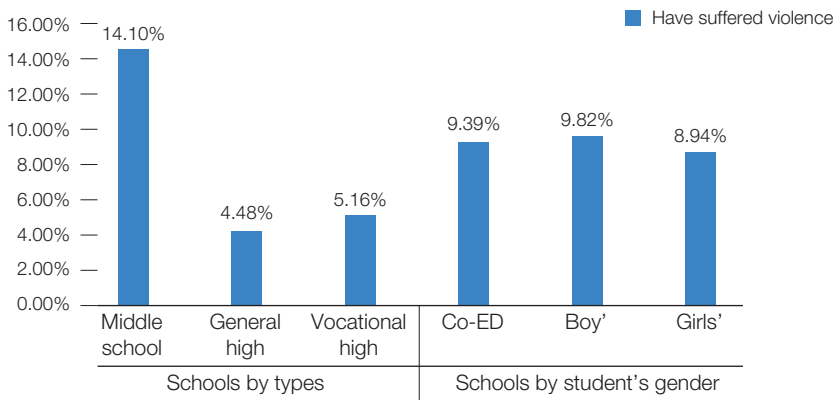


Figure 3. Experience of suffering school violence by school type

Table 3. Family type and experience of suffering school violence

Family type		Have suffered	Have not suffered	Total
Are you living with your parents?	With both parents	274 (9.10%)	2,737 (90.90%)	3,011 (100.0%)
	With only the father	15 (10.49%)	128 (89.51%)	143 (100.0%)
	With only the mother	31 (12.11%)	225 (87.89%)	256 (100.0%)
	With neither	9 (10.34%)	78 (89.66%)	87 (100.0%)

Note: 1) “Have perpetrated” means the respondent has engaged in threats, assaults, extortion, collective harassment (exclusion), etc. directed at his or her classmates or students in upper or lower classes within or outside the school during the past twelve months.

2) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 4. Father’s educational attainment and experience of suffering school violence

Father’s educational attainment		Have suffered	Have not suffered	Total
Father’s educational attainment	Lower than bachelor’s degree	134 (8.56%)	1,432 (91.44%)	1,566 (100.0%)
	Bachelor’s degree or above	182 (9.98%)	1,641 (90.02%)	1,823 (100.0%)

Note: 1) “Have perpetrated” means the respondent has engaged in threats, assaults, extortion, collective harassment (exclusion), etc. directed at his or her classmates or students in upper or lower classes within or outside the school during the past twelve months.

2) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 5. Family financial circumstances and experience of suffering school violence

Family financial circumstances		Have suffered	Have not suffered	Total
Criterion 1: Has your family ever failed to pay rent or utility bills on time?	No	277 (9.03%)	2,789 (90.97%)	3,066 (100.0%)
	Sometimes	39 (10.77%)	323 (89.23%)	362 (100.0%)
	Frequently	9 (13.64%)	57 (86.36%)	66 (100.0%)
Criterion 2: Has your family received financial aid from government agencies, religious institutions, or welfare organizations?	No	293 (9.14%)	2,914 (90.86%)	3,207 (100.0%)
	Sometimes	21 (10.29%)	183 (89.71%)	204 (100.0%)
	Frequently	11 (12.79%)	75 (87.21%)	86 (100.0%)
Criterion 3: Have you ever been behind with school expenses, including those for school excursions, lunches, or extracurricular activities?	No	295 (9.27%)	2,889 (90.73%)	3,184 (100.0%)
	Sometimes	23 (9.09%)	230 (90.91%)	253 (100.0%)
	Frequently	7 (11.86%)	52 (88.14%)	59 (100.0%)
Total respondents		332 (9.39%)	3,205 (90.61%)	3,537 (100.0%)

Note: 1) “Have perpetrated” means the respondent has engaged in threats, assaults, extortion, collective harassment (exclusion), etc. directed at his or her classmates or students in upper or lower classes within or outside the school during the past twelve months.

2) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 3 is a group comparison analysis of the school bullying experience of juveniles according to family type. The proportion of bullying victims varied only slightly between students from different family types, with differences ranging from one to three percentage points. Remarkably, students residing with only their mothers showed the highest percentage of reporting experience of school violence, 12.11 percent (31 respondents), followed by students living with only their fathers (10.49 percent, 15 respondents), and students residing with neither of their parents (10.34 percent, 9 respondents). The least-victimized group turned out to be students living with both of their parents, with 9.10 percent (274 respondents) of them responding that they had been bullied.

In Table 4, the percentage of students who had suffered school violence did not vary significantly between groups of students as categorized according to their father's educational attainment. However, a slightly larger proportion, 9.98 percent (182 respondents), of students whose father held a bachelor's degree or above reported having been victimized, compared to 8.56 percent (134 respondents) of their peers whose father had lower than a bachelor's degree, with about a 1.5 percentage point difference between two groups.

In Table 5, three questions were used as criteria for assessing the financial circumstances of respondents' families, as follows: 1) Has your family ever failed to pay rent or utility bills on time? 2) Has your family received financial aid from government agencies, religious institutions, or welfare organizations? 3) Have you ever been behind with school expenses, including those for school excursions, lunches, or extracurricular activities? For each of those questions, respondents were provided three choices of "No," "Sometimes," and "Frequently," according to which they were categorized for analysis of school violence experience in relation to family financial circumstances. This analysis revealed a correlation between financial difficulties and experience of school bullying across all three criteria. As for the question "Has your family ever failed to pay rent or utility bills on time?," 13.64 percent among those students who answered "Frequently" and 10.77 percent of those who marked "Sometimes" reported having been bullied, while 9.03 percent of their peers who responded "No" had suffered such violence. This indicates that the rate of having experienced school bullying was in inverse proportion to the financial status of the student's family. Likewise, the proportion of respondents with the experience of suffering school violence was 12.79 percent in the "Frequently" group, 10.29 percent in "Sometimes," and 9.14 percent in "No," with "Has your family received financial aid from government agencies, religious institutions, or welfare organizations?" Meanwhile, the figure stood at 11.86 percent in the "Frequently" group, 9.09 percent in "Sometimes," and 9.27 percent in "No," for the question, "Have you ever been behind with school expenses, including those for school excursions, lunches, or extracurricular activities?"

4. Experience of perpetrating school violence

Table 6. Demographic characteristics and experience of perpetrating school violence

Demographic characteristics		Have perpetrated	Have not perpetrated	Total
Gender	Boys	109 (5.96%)	1,720 (94.04%)	1,829 (100.0%)
	Girls	75 (4.28%)	1,679 (95.72%)	1,754 (100.0%)
Size of local community	Cities	157 (5.26%)	2,825 (94.74%)	2,982 (100.0%)
	Rural areas	31 (4.78%)	617 (95.22%)	648 (100.0%)
School/School year	First year in middle school	40 (8.26%)	444 (91.74%)	484 (100.0%)
	Second year in middle school	58 (7.19%)	749 (92.81%)	807 (100.0%)
	Third year in middle school	24 (4.86%)	470 (95.14%)	494 (100.0%)
	First year in high school	30 (3.64%)	794 (96.36%)	824 (100.0%)
	Second year in high school	35 (3.45%)	980 (96.55%)	1,015 (100.0%)
Total respondents		188 (5.18%)	3,442 (94.82%)	3,630 (100.0%)

Note: 1) "Have perpetrated" means the respondent has engaged in threats, assaults, extortion, collective harassment (exclusion), etc. directed at his or her classmates or students in upper or lower classes within or outside the school during the past twelve months.

2) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 6 divides the respondents into students who have engaged in bullying and those who have not and analyzes both groups in terms of demographic traits such as gender, the size of the local community in which they reside, and their year in school. The criterion for determining whether or not a student is to be counted as a perpetrator is whether he or she "had committed acts of violence including threats, assaults, extortion, collective harassment (exclusion), etc. toward his or her classmates or students from upper or lower classes within or outside school during the past twelve months."

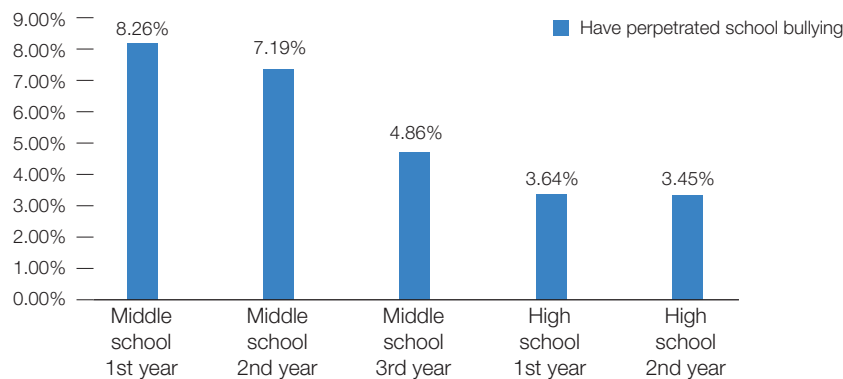


Figure 4. Experience of perpetrating school violence by school year

The following findings are presented in Table 6. First, as for gender, 5.96 percent (109 respondents) of the boys participating in the survey reported having perpetrated bullying, roughly one to two percentage points higher than the 4.28 percent (75 respondents) noted for the girls. With regard to area of residence, 5.26 percent (157 respondents) of students in urban areas answered they had victimized others, slightly higher than the 4.78 percent (31 respondents) of those living in rural areas. The analysis by school year reveals that compared to high school students approximately double the proportion of middle school students had experienced perpetrating school violence. In other words, the rate of having inflicted bullying was 8.26 percent (40 respondents) among first-year students, 7.19 percent (58 respondents) among second-year, and 4.86 percent (24 respondents) in the third year of middle school. These figures are remarkably higher than those revealed for high schools, in which 3.64 percent (30 respondents) of first-year students and 3.45 percent (35 respondents) of second-year students reported having perpetrated school violence. This finding confirms that both suffering and perpetrating school violence were experienced more frequently by middle school students than by high school students. Uncovering the reason underlying why, contrary to expectations, bullying is more prevalent in middle schools than in high schools calls for further investigation. Also needed are policy countermeasures designed to suit middle school students aged under 15.

Table 7. School type and experience of perpetrating school violence

School types		Have perpetrated	Have not perpetrated	Total
Schools categorized by type	Middle schools	122 (6.82%)	1,666 (93.18%)	1,788 (100.0%)

School types		Have perpetrated	Have not perpetrated	Total
	General high schools	40 (3.17%)	1,222 (96.83%)	1,262 (100.0%)
	Vocational high schools	26 (4.48%)	554 (95.52%)	580 (100.0%)
Schools categorized by gender of students	Co-educational	153 (5.44%)	2,662 (94.56%)	2,815 (100.0%)
	All-boys schools	19 (4.77%)	379 (95.23%)	398 (100.0%)
	All-girls schools	16 (3.84%)	401 (96.16%)	417 (100.0%)
Total respondents		188 (5.18%)	3,442 (94.82%)	3,630 (100.0%)

Note: 1) “Have perpetrated” means the respondent has engaged in threats, assaults, extortion, collective harassment (exclusion), etc. directed at his or her classmates or students in upper or lower classes within or outside the school during the past twelve months.

2) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 7 presents the rates of having perpetrated bullying across different types of schools. In middle school, the figure stood at 6.82 percent (122 respondents), significantly higher than the 3.17 percent (40 respondents) found in general high schools and 4.48 percent (26 respondents) in vocational high schools. Categorized by gender of students, co-educational schools exhibited the highest rate, 5.44 percent (153 respondents), followed by 4.77 percent (19 respondents) in all-boys schools. The figure was lowest in all-girls schools, at 3.84 percent (16 respondents).

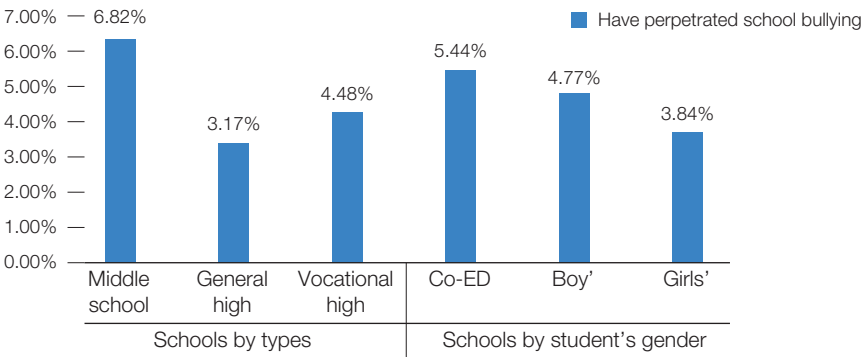


Figure 5. Experience of perpetrating school violence by school type

Table 8. Family types and experience of perpetrating school violence

Family type		Have perpetrated	Have not perpetrated	Total
Are you living with your parents?	With both parents	153 (4.95%)	2,937 (95.05%)	3,090 (100.0%)
	With only the father	12 (7.84%)	141 (92.16%)	153 (100.0%)
	With only the mother	16 (6.20%)	242 (93.80%)	258 (100.0%)
	With neither of them	5 (5.62%)	84 (94.38%)	89 (100.0%)

Note: 1) “Have perpetrated” means the respondent has engaged in threats, assaults, extortion, collective harassment (exclusion), etc. directed at his or her classmates or students in upper or lower classes within or outside the school during the past twelve months.

2) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 9. Father’s educational attainment and experience of perpetrating school violence

Father’s educational attainment		Have perpetrated	Have not perpetrated	Total
Father’s educational attainment	Lower than bachelor’s degree	74 (4.60%)	1,536 (95.40%)	1,610 (100.0%)
	Bachelor’s degree or above	100 (5.34%)	1,774 (94.66%)	1,874 (100.0%)

Note: 1) “Have perpetrated” means the respondent has engaged in threats, assaults, extortion, collective harassment (exclusion), etc. directed at his or her classmates or students in upper or lower classes within or outside the school during the past twelve months.

2) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 10. Family financial circumstances and experience of perpetrating school violence

Family financial circumstances		Have perpetrated	Have not perpetrated	Total
Criterion 1: Has your family ever failed to pay rent or utility bills on time?	No	156 (4.96%)	2,992 (95.04%)	3,148 (100.0%)
	Sometimes	23 (6.12%)	353 (93.88%)	376 (100.0%)

Family financial circumstances		Have perpetrated	Have not perpetrated	Total
Criterion 2: Has your family received financial aid from government agencies, religious institutions, or welfare	Frequently	6 (9.38%)	58 (90.63%)	64 (100.0%)
	No	168 (5.10%)	3,128 (94.90%)	3,296 (100.0%)
	Sometimes	11 (5.37%)	194 (94.63%)	205 (100.0%)
	Frequently	6 (6.67%)	84 (93.33%)	90 (100.0%)
Criterion 3: Have you ever been behind with school expenses, including those for school excursions, lunches, or extracurricular activities?	No	164 (5.02%)	3,100 (94.98%)	3,264 (100.0%)
	Sometimes	12 (4.56%)	251 (95.44%)	263 (100.0%)
	Frequently	9 (14.52%)	53 (85.48%)	62 (100.0%)
Total Respondents		188 (5.18%)	3,442 (94.82%)	3,630 (100.0%)

Note: 1) "Have perpetrated" means the respondent has engaged in threats, assaults, extortion, collective harassment (exclusion), etc. directed at his or her classmates or students in upper or lower classes within or outside the school during the past twelve months.

2) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 8 presents an analysis of the rate of having perpetrated school bullying among students from different types of family as categorized by whether or not the respondents were cohabiting with their parents. According to the table, students residing with both parents showed the lowest percentage, with 4.95 percent of them engaging in school violence. In contrast, respondents living with only their fathers showed the highest perpetration rate with 7.84 percent, followed by those living with only their mothers (6.20 percent) and those living with neither of their parents (5.62 percent).

Table 9 shows the differences in the rate of perpetrating school violence between groups of students as categorized according to their fathers' educational attainment. Respondents whose fathers completed higher education demonstrated a 5.34 percent perpetration rate, higher than the 4.60 percent rate among their peers whose father attained below a bachelor's degree.

Table 10 provides an analysis of school violence experience in relation to family financial circumstances. For each of three criteria, the perpetration rate of bullying increased hand in hand with financial difficulties in students' families.

5. Experience of sexual intercourse

Table 11. Demographic traits and experience of sexual intercourse

Demographic traits		Have experienced	Have not experienced	Total
Gender	Boys	82 (4.52%)	1,732 (95.48%)	1,814 (100.0%)
	Girls	44 (2.54%)	1,687 (97.46%)	1,731 (100.0%)
Size of local community	Cities	113 (3.83%)	2,837 (96.17%)	2,950 (100.0%)
	Rural areas	16 (2.48%)	628 (97.52%)	644 (100.0%)
School/School year	First year in middle school	3 (0.62%)	481 (99.38%)	484 (100.0%)
	Second year in middle school	8 (1.01%)	788 (98.99%)	796 (100.0%)
	Third year in middle school	6 (1.20%)	492 (98.80%)	498 (100.0%)
	First year in high school	24 (2.98%)	781 (97.02%)	805 (100.0%)
	Second year in high school	87 (8.64%)	920 (91.36%)	1,007 (100.0%)
Total respondents		129 (3.59%)	3,465 (96.41%)	3,594 (100.0%)

Note: 1) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 11 categorized the respondents according to whether or not they had experienced sexual intercourse, analyzing both groups in terms of a number of demographic traits. For gender, 4.52 percent (82 respondents) of boys reported having had sex, showing a higher percentage than did girls, among whom 2.54 percent (44 respondents) so responded. Regarding area of residence, 3.83 percent (113 respondents) of students living in large cities reported they had experienced sexual intercourse, higher than the 2.48 percent (16 respondents) of their counterparts in rural areas. The analysis by school year shows that the rate of having experienced sexual intercourse increases as students grow older. While a minute portion of middle school students, 0.62 percent (three respondents) in their first year and 1.01 percent (eight respon-

dents) in their second year, had had sex, high school students showed notably higher percentages with 2.98 percent (24 respondents) in the first year and 8.64 percent (87 respondents) in the second year, manifesting a dramatic increase as they grew older.

Table 12. School type and experience of sexual intercourse

School types		Have experienced	Have not experienced	Total
Schools categorized by type	Middle schools	18 (1.01%)	1,763 (98.99%)	1,781 (100.0%)
	General high schools	49 (3.94%)	1,194 (96.06%)	1,243 (100.0%)
	Vocational high schools	62 (10.88%)	508 (89.12%)	570 (100.0%)
Schools categorized by gender of students	Co-educational	96 (3.44%)	2,697 (96.56%)	2,793 (100.0%)
	All-boys schools	20 (5.06%)	375 (94.94%)	395 (100.0%)
	All-girls schools	13 (3.20%)	393 (96.80%)	406 (100.0%)
Total respondents		129 (3.59%)	3,465 (96.41%)	3,594 (100.0%)

Note: 1) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 12 offers a breakdown of students' experience of sexual intercourse according to the type of school they were attending. Among middle school students, the percentage of students who reported having had sex was 1.01 percent (18 respondents). In contrast, the figure was 3.94 percent (49 respondents) for general high schools and a particularly high 10.88 percent (62 respondents) for vocational high schools. Although schools did not show great differences in the proportion of students having early sexual experience when categorized by gender of students, all-boys schools had the highest figure with 5.06 percent (20 respondents), followed by 3.44 percent (96 respondents) at co-educational schools and 3.20 percent (13 respondents) at all-girls schools.

Table 13. Family type and experience of sexual intercourse

Family type		Have experienced	Have not experienced	Total
Are you living with your parents?	With both parents	96 (3.15%)	2,956 (96.85%)	3,052 (100.0%)
	With only the father	10 (6.45%)	145 (93.55%)	155 (100.0%)
	With only the mother	10 (3.92%)	245 (96.08%)	255 (100.0%)
	With neither of them	10 (11.11%)	80 (88.89%)	90 (100.0%)

Note: 1) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 14. Father's educational attainment and experience of sexual intercourse

Father's educational attainment		Have experienced	Have not experienced	Total
Father's educational attainment	Lower than bachelor's degree	70 (4.39%)	1,524 (95.61%)	1,594 (100.0%)
	Bachelor's degree or above	53 (2.86%)	1,799 (97.14%)	1,852 (100.0%)

Note: 1) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 15. Family financial circumstances and experience of sexual intercourse

Family financial circumstances		Have experienced	Have not experienced	Total
Criterion 1: Has your family ever failed to pay rent or utility bills on time?	No	99 (3.17%)	3,024 (96.83%)	3,123 (100.0%)
	Sometimes	19 (5.21%)	346 (94.79%)	365 (100.0%)
	Frequently	8 (12.31%)	57 (87.69%)	65 (100.0%)
Criterion 2: Has your family received financial aid from government agencies, religious institutions, or welfare organizations?	No	111 (3.40%)	3,150 (96.60%)	3,261 (100.0%)
	Sometimes	11 (5.39%)	193 (94.61%)	204 (100.0%)

Family financial circumstances		Have experienced	Have not experienced	Total
	Frequently	4 (4.40%)	87 (95.60%)	91 (100.0%)
Criterion 3: Have you ever been behind with school expenses, including those for school excursions, lunches, or extracurricular activities?	No	103 (3.18%)	3,137 (96.82%)	3,240 (100.0%)
	Sometimes	15 (5.91%)	239 (94.09%)	254 (100.0%)
	Frequently	8 (13.33%)	52 (86.67%)	60 (100.0%)
Total respondents		129 (3.59%)	3,465 (96.41%)	3,594 (100.0%)

Note: 1) The sum of percentages in a row is 100 percent.

Table 13 graphs the percentages of students having experienced sexual intercourse according to different family types. Among students living with both of their parents, 3.15 percent reported having experience of sexual intercourses, while 6.45 percent of those living with only their father, 3.92 percent of those living with only their mother, and 11.11 percent of those living with neither of their parents so reported. This finding confirms the assumption that students cohabiting with neither of their parents show the highest rate of sexual experience.

Table 14 analyzes students' sexual experience in terms of their fathers' educational attainment. Among respondents whose father held lower than a bachelor's degree 4.39 percent had experience of sexual intercourse, while 2.86 percent of their peers whose father held a bachelor's degree or more did so. This implicates a father's low educational attainment in his children's early experience of sexual activities.

In Table 15, students' experience of sexual intercourse is examined in terms of the financial circumstances of their families. The findings in the table imply that students reporting greater financial difficulties within their families were more likely to have such experience. Some 12.31 percent of respondents who answered "Frequently," and 5.21 percent of those who reported "Sometimes," to the question "Has your family ever failed to pay rent or utility bills on time?" had experienced sexual intercourse, showing a higher percentage than the 3.17 percent among those who responded "No." Likewise, categorized according to the question "Has your family received financial aid from government agencies, religious institutions, or welfare organizations?" the percentage of students who reported having had sexual intercourse was 5.39 percent in the "Sometimes" group and 4.40 percent in "Frequently," higher than the 3.40 percent of their peers in the "No" group. The third question, "Have you ever been behind with school expenses, includ-

ing those for school excursions, lunches, or extracurricular activities?” also found the “Sometimes” group (5.19 percent) and the “Frequently” group (13.33 percent) showed higher rates compared to the “No” group of students (3.19 percent).

The findings of this study demonstrate that the current situation calls for comprehensive, multifaceted countermeasures designed to address school violence, such as: establishing violence prevention and communication training programs for students and parents, aimed at addressing a range of family issues including abuse, neglect, deep-rooted violence, and absence of communication; providing educational programs to improve the relationships between parents and children; promoting cooperative networks between local youth-related organizations; improving conditions in unsafe urban spaces which may contribute to violence; and revising relevant laws and regulations. This need is due to school violence occurring within a comprehensive context that encompasses the family, the school, and the overall local community. Taking that point into account, it is safe to assert that resolution of the issue of school violence can only be achieved by means of a consistent long-term approach delivered through cooperation between all elements of society and conceived from a comprehensive viewpoint that simultaneously addresses micro-, meso-, and macro-systems. The micro-system includes victims’ relationships to their families, teachers, and classmates. The meso-system involves the different stages of the educational system, as well as the social service delivery systems available to both the victims and the perpetrators of violence, together with the healthcare system that addresses issues of mental health. Finally, the macro-system encompasses not only governmental policy responses to violence, but also the culture and values of the greater society and its attitudes towards violence.

In the end, school violence is a challenge Korean society must face and overcome if it is to enjoy a bright future, since every time juveniles are exposed to violence, whether as a victim or a perpetrator, they become ever-more prone to further violence. It is imperative to educate students in general terms in order to prevent bullying prior to its occurrence, rather than simply punishing perpetrators severely for something that has already taken place. Policy countermeasures must not be confined to schools and should seek cooperation between schools, households, and local communities.

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