Baseline Survey on Community Child Protection Systems in Uganda

June, 2013

FINAL REPORT

ANPPCAN
African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect

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Acknowledgments

Many individuals, institutions, and groups have assisted and provided input in carrying out this baseline study and without their support the study would not have been possible. Thank you to all individuals and organisations who agreed to be consulted for the study, for their time and openness. Special thanks are extended to the hundreds of children and adults who made the time to talk to the research team and shared their beliefs and experiences on the care and protection of children.

The study team also acknowledges, with many thanks, the staff of ANPPCAN (African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect) for their invaluable support and insights throughout the study, especially the Executive Director, Anslem Wandega and Program Coordinators, Ruth Birungi and Margaret Atimango.

Data collection also depended on the hard work and commitment of numerous research assistants and supervisors: Innocent Kamya (Supervisor, Jinja), Jennifer Nabukenya, Jaffer Majugo, Denis Kamya , Stella Achola , Godfrey Kintu, Justine Mukhaye; Fortunate (Supervisor, Kitgum),Sarah Angom, Doreen Ampumuza, Corine Adoch Okullu, Julius Acaye Bob ,Charles Toopaco and Erick Harry Otema

Finally, we would like to thank Mr. Jimrex Byamugisha for his dedication to data management and analysis.

Sincerely,

Dr. Eddy Walakira, PhD
Ismail Ddumba-Nyanzi, MSc.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANPPCAN	African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect
CBOs	Community based organizations
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
DCDO	District Community Development Officer
FBO	Faith Based Organisation
FGDs	Focus group discussions
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDI	In-depth interview
IEC	Information-Education-Communication
KI	Key Informants
LC	Local Council
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
STI	Sexually transmitted infections

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figure

Executive Summary

This report describes the process, findings and and recommendations of the baseline survey for the project titled, "Building and Strengthening Community-Based Child Protection Systems in Busoga and Acholi sub-regions" commissioned by ANPPCAN. Field work for this mixed-method baseline study was conducted in two districts (Jinja and Kitgum) between April and May, 2013. Data was collected through individual structured interviews, focus group discussions, key informant interviews (KIIs), and document review. A total of 394 children aged 5-17 were interviewed for the quantitative aspects of the research. In addition, 62 children and 111 community members participated in focus group discussions and 22 key informants received in depth interviews, in order to obtain qualitative information. Below is a brief outline of the main findings, followed by a summary of recommendations

Summary findings

Demographic characteristics:

A total of 394 children were interviewed, including 207 (52.5%) boys and 187 (47.5%) girl —with a mean age of 13.1 and 12.7 years, respectively. Majority of children (58.4%) were aged ≥ 13 years. About 7% of the children in our sample had at least one form of disability, and more than one-third (34.3%) were orphans.

More than more than a quarter of the children (27%) were not enrolled in school at the time of the survey.

Perceptions, knowledge and attitudes on child abuse

- Nearly half of the children (49%) indicated that child abuse is a serious problem in their community, with more children in Jinja districts reporting child abuse to be a serious problem in their community compared Kitgum district (56.3% versus 36.4%).
- More than half (58.9 percent) of the children reported that they believe that the main victims of abuse were female. Only 29.7 percent of them reported that the victims could be both female and male.
- About 45% of the children expressed disapproval of physical punishment; emphasizing the potentially negative and harmful effects, such as pain inflicted emotional distress and damaging consequences for child–parent relationships.
- About 16 percent of the children believed that the context of the misbehavior, was central whether it was appropriate or not to hit children as a form of discipline strategy.

- *Children's knowledge and skills to protect themselves*: 15 percent of children are not able to distinguish between safe/appropriate and unsafe/inappropriate touching and only 16 percent thought that children should report secret touching. Only 53 percent of the children reported they could definitely refuse /reject sexual advances, by making appropriate, assertive, and persistent verbal responses. 31.2 percent of children were not aware that strangers were not the only perpetrators of child abuse, and over 40 percent did not know where to report or the procedures for reporting child abuse. About 69 percent of the children asserted that children should tell someone or disclose incidents of abuse, even if the perpetrator tells them to keep it a secret.

- More than four in five children (83.8%) would report if they saw or heard that one of their friends or another child was abused at home or in the community

Children's Experience of Violence

- 84.8 percent of the children in both Kitgum and Jinja district had experienced at least one form of physical violence. Respectively, 46.2% and 84.3% of the children had experienced some form of sexual and emotional violence in the last 12 months prior to the survey
- Physical violence was more prevalent in Kitgum than Jinja district (87 vs. 83.3 %). On the other hand, sexual violence was more prevalent in Jinja than Kitgum district (52.1% vs. 37.0%).
- Boys were slightly more likely to report experiencing physical violence than girls (85.5 % vs.84 %), while girls were more likely to have experienced sexual violence than boys (47.8 % vs. 44.4%)
- Forms of contact sexual victimisation were rarer: only 12.5% of the reported that some had touched or pinched their private parts, while 3.8 percent of the children (6.5% of the girls and 1.5% of the boys) reported having been the victims of completed non-consensual (anal, oral or vaginal) penetration
- Only 7.0 percent of girls and 5.3 percent of boys reported that they had not experienced any form of violence in the last 12 months prior to the survey
- Risk factors for violence include age and gender of child, disability status, parental loss and separation, poverty, children's deviancy among others.
- Most of the forms of sexual violence are mainly perpetrated by the children's friends or peers, followed by neighbours and strangers. Physical violence and emotional violence is mainly perpetrated parents. This calls for more investigation and more dialogue within households to identify stressors that could lead to biological parents abusing the rights of their own children

Disclosure of incidents of abuse and access to services

- Levels of disclosure or reporting incidents of abuse remain low. For example, 40 percent of the children who were raped did not disclose the incident to relevant individual (s) and/or organization. Reasons for non-reporting range from financial dependency on abuser, not knowing who to tell, and fear of not being believed, to being threatened by abuser.
- Access to services remains poor for children who experience abuse, due to low levels of reporting/disclosure of abuse, and even much less to the authorities.

Harmful traditional cultural practices

- The commonly cited harmful tradition practices cited during FGDs with children and community members in both Jinja and Kitgum districts were early and forced marriage, child sacrifice/mutilation, and discrimination against the girl-child.

Community understanding and perceptions about child protection

- Overall, both children and caregivers could not provide a precise definition of child protection. Nonetheless, most of them demonstrated that they understand the general concept of child protection and were able to provide a description of different elements that constitute child protection that was remarkably consistent across districts
- For most care givers and children, child protection meant: "ensuring or safeguarding safety of children", "protection of children from abuse and danger," 'preventing harms to children," " showing love to the child and providing all the basic needs", "guiding children on how to behave to ensure they don't place themselves at risk of abuse" among others.
- Protective practices identified by KIIs and FGD participants include, among others, (a) community monitoring of child wellbeing and shared supervision of young children ('a child is everyone's child'); (b) sending all

children to school, particularly girls; (c) parents encouraging children to attend religious services; and (d) good child-parent relations, including parents reading or playing with children

Traditional practices of child rearing and child protection in the targeted communities

- The study identified mainly three important traditional practices, related, positively, to child protection and wellbeing:
    - "It *took a village to raise a child':* Traditionally, child care rearing was considered a communal responsibility. A child 'belonged' to the whole community and every member of a given community had the responsibility for a given child, including monitoring and supervision, discipline and punishment. However, the culture that embraces child rearing as a communal effort has been severely eroded. This was blamed n 'western' modernization ideals that place strong emphasis on individualism and 'glorify' the freedoms of children, and break down of social and cultural norms in some communities due to conflict and urbanization
    - *Extended family and the nurturing of children:* Traditionally, extended families played a more pronounced role in child nurturing, care and protection, than is the case now days. This support was organic and culturally expected, and was a sustainable protective mechanism. However, this traditional system of care based on kinship however has been severely eroded due to urbanisation and weakening social ties, or have already been overstretched by the increasing number of vulnerable children and financial difficulties.
    - *Idiomatic expressions, taboos and proverbs:* Child protection was promoted through emphasizing taboos and telling scary stories that deterred children from doing certain things for fear of bad omens befalling them and their families. For instance, children were deterred from sitting on cooking stones, lest they do not grow tall.

- We however maintain that a detailed investigation in future could provide a nuanced picture of the specifics of these practices, including their negative implications for child protection.

Parenting practices

Our study focused on three main parenting practices: (i) parental monitoring and supervision, (ii) parent-child communication, and (iii) parental discipline strategies.

Communication between parents / caregivers and children

- *Parent-child communication on daily life:* Most caregivers sometimes (54 percent) or always (33 percent) ask children about school, work, and friends yet 14 percent never asks. Also, about three out of every four caregivers discuss with children their plans for the future and/or give them advice when they need to make important decisions. There is nonetheless a sizeable proportion (23–27 percent) of caregivers who never communicates on these matters with the children in their care
- *Validation and transmission of a moral order:* if children misbehave caregivers sometimes (57%) or always (40%) explain the reason why what they did was wrong. Similarly, most caregivers sometimes (55%) or always (42%) praise children when they do something right. These practices are said to happen consistently in about one-third of cases.
- *Communication around sensitive issues: sexual intimacy*: Approximately half of caregivers never discuss how to avoid getting HIV/AIDS (54 percent) or getting pregnant (47 percent) with the children in their care

Parental monitoring and supervision

- According to caregivers, when children are not at home, they sometimes (58 percent) or always (35 percent) know who they are with
- We found that parents employ a repertoire of strategies to monitor their children. The most common one however is verbal communication. Verbal communication includes asking children questions or relying on the accounts of others (e.g. teachers, neighbors) for information regarding children's activities.
- Most children referred to parents talking to them and asking them direct questions in order to ascertain where they were and what they were up to: *My parents ask about my whereabouts, why I walk, where I go (*FGD with children, Jinja district*)*
- Generally, it appears that children do not mind their parents' monitoring behaviors, as long as they perceive them to be warranted.
- Although most caregivers acknowledged the importance and necessity of parental monitoring and supervision of children, our findings points out to some problems of bad parenting that in some cases bordered on neglect. For example, in Jinja district children as young as eight years are often left unsupervised at night and try to sneak into or get someone to pay for them to go to the video 'show where people sometimes watch graphic sexual images.

Parental discipline strategies

- The most common discipline strategy used by caregivers is physical punishment (51.2%), followed by talking to children (that is, explaining to the children why the behaviour is wrong, and asking the child not to do it again)—at 39.1%
- Non-physical methods such as denying a child food, removal of privileges (such as, not being given pocket money), and/or being allocated more household chores were also reportedly used by parents to enforce children discipline (9.1%).

<u>Roles of local cultural and religious leaders in child protection</u>

- Religious and cultural leaders play an important role in child protection, including advocacy for child rights, challenging cultural values and social norms that place children at greater risk of abuse
- Some religious leaders are also active in providing direct services, including education and many other supports. For example, some religious leaders have helped to keep children in school by raising funds to pay school fees or identifying people or organizations that would sponsor children's education
- Cultural leaders, especially in Kitgum yield considerable power and have authority, which makes them a very important child protection.
- ANPPCAN can help to strengthen the protective capacity of both cultural and religious leaders by, first training them in the priorities of child protection, and then engaging them as 'drivers of change', or leaders in the efforts to engage community members in the protection of children

<u>Effectiveness of locally generated and owned mechanisms for preventing and protecting children from abuse</u>

- Community-based or locally generated mechanisms for child protection form an important component of national child protection. Most of the protection and response services are provided within the realm of the community-based and informal child protection system. For example, when violations occur, it is largely the family and community support systems that provide the first line of response.

- However, the functionality of the informal child protection systems is fraught with several challenges:

i. The capacity of the family and communities to prevent and respond to violence has over the years been progressively eroded due to breakdown of family/community cohesiveness.
ii. if not well linked to the formal systems, in respect of certain violations it is likely that the children who are left entirely within the realm of the community-based informal system will miss out on critical services such as health remedies and justice.
iii. Given the varied perceptions of what constitutes child abuse, self-interest imperatives, the inclination to prioritise harmonious co-existence within families and communities as well as the limited appreciation of the adverse impact of child abuse on the children, many community level structures tend to mis-handle serious violations against children such as sexual abuse in a manner that compromises the rights of the affected children.
iv. Because of their informal and voluntary nature such systems are often resource constrained and are more inclined to offer support that does not involve substantial financial costs.

Child protection information sharing mechanisms for stakeholders

- Our findings reveal some, albeit poor, linkage between formal and informal (Community) Protection Systems.
- In both systems, there is particularly poor documentation and record keeping of the cases referred to the various child protection actors between and with the two systems, and how they were concluded. In addition, child protection information management systems in both are quite weak, and there are no mechanisms for consistent, on-going information sharing and data analysis between agencies and structures involved in child protection. This undermines effective linkage between the different actors between and within the two systems.
- Additional research, including on community-driven interventions for linking communities and formal mechanisms, is needed to identify the effective means for addressing these obstacles and enabling the alignment of the endogenous and formal mechanisms.

Conclusion and recommendations

The findings above raise several implications for programming. Based on the above findings several recommendations for strengthening community-based responses for child protection are suggested. These include, the need to strengthen the capacity of families to protect and care for children, build children's capacities for self-protection, strengthen and complement the capacity of key community-based child protection actors, and promote more effective linkages between the formal and Informal child protection mechanisms.

1. Background

1.1. Community-Based Child Protection Systems

Community-based child protection mechanisms have been recognized as an important way of mobilizing communities around child protection, and for preventing and responding to child abuse, neglect, exploitation and violence (Wessells, 2009; Yiga, 2010). According to Wessells (2009), community-based child protection mechanisms have become a common programming response. Typically, community-based child protection efforts seek to enhance community capacity by expanding formal and informal resources and establishing a normative cultural context capable of fostering collective responsibility for positive child development.

Community-based child protection systems therefore involve a range of strategies, focused on: altering the social norms that predispose children to abuse, strengthening parent-child relationships, creating supportive communities with shared belief in personal collective responsibility for child protection, and expanding the range of services and instrumental supports directly available to parents.

1.2. Project Background

With support from OAK foundation, ANPPCAN is implementing a three year project (August 2012 - August 2015). The projects builds on ANPPCAN's three year work in the Kitgum and Jinja districts[1], and focuses on building and strengthening community-based child protection systems in Busoga and Acholi sub-regions. The objectives of the project are three-fold:

1. To provide safe and secure environments for children within homes, schools and communities through fostering collective child protection responsibility and positive parenting
2. To ensure at least 80% of cases reported to community structures and ANPPCAN have access to preventive and remedial services by 2015
3. To generate systematic evidence and action-oriented learning that contributes to influencing the child protection discourse at the policy and practice level

A large part of this proposed project will focus on prevention work geared towards building the capacity of families and those caring for children to provide a safe environment through initiating parenting discussions, home visits to selected households, strengthening traditional support structures for children and linking communities with the formal child protection structures.

[1] The previous phase of the project largely focused on strengthening formal level response to child abuse in the two districts by working with health units, police, probation office and the justice and law sector

2. Purpose and objectives of the baseline survey

The baseline survey was intended to establish the status of project indicators so that the information obtained can inform the implementation of project activities.

The specific objectives of the baseline were to:

i. Establish the percentage of children who are empowered with knowledge and skills to protect themselves, and to participate in matters that affect them in Acholi and Busoga S/Rs
ii. Find out the percentage of children who report abuse or vulnerability and access preventive or recovery psychosocial and legal support services and recover from the abuse.
iii. Generate context knowledge on the realities of child abuse in Acholi and Busoga sub regions and local specific solutions
iv. To establish information on the existing harmful traditional practices (HTP) within the cultural settings in Acholi and Busoga regions that hinder effective child protection and ways on how these can be addressed.
v. Assess the traditional practices of child rearing and child protection in the targeted communities
vi. Establish the existence and effectiveness of locally generated and owned mechanisms for preventing and protecting children from abuse in Acholi and Busoga Sub-Regions
vii. Establish the situation of community members' understanding, practice and ownership of personal and communal responsibility in preventing and protecting children from abuse in Acholi and Busoga Sub-Regions
viii. Find out the status of communication between parents / caregivers and children, and children's feeling of safety, protection and value by adults
ix. Establish the availability, effectiveness and sustainability of the various child protection information sharing mechanisms for stakeholders and how these can be used to promote strategies and solutions that work well in the specific contexts to protect children from abuse
x. To identify and assess the roles of local cultural and religious leaders in child protection and identify ways of incorporating them in the formal child protection systems in Acholi and Busoga regions

3. Methods and Procedures

3.1. Research Design

The study followed a multi-method design and included qualitative and quantitative components, namely:

1. A questionnaire-based survey for children aged 5-17 years in the selected districts.
2. A focus group component for children (male and female), aged 5-17 years and community members.
3. Key informant interview (KIIs) with selected stakeholder from government agencies (i.e. statutory duty bearers), civil society organizations working with children, cultural and religious institutions.
4. A desk study, involving document review and analysis.

3.2. Study Sites and population

The study was conducted in two districts, namely Jinja and Kitgum. Within each districs, sub-counties where the project is being implemented were selected: that is, Orom sub-county and Kitgum Town Council, in Kitgum district and Butagaya and Buyengo sub-county in Jinja district.

In each of the selected sub-counties, the study targeted in and out of school children (aged 5-17), community members, and representatives of government agencies/departments (statutory duty bearers)and civil society organizations working with children, and community leaders, including cultural and religious leaders.

3.3. Sample size and sample selection

For the questionnaire-based survey, data was collected from a village-based sample of 383 children in the two project districts (Jinja and Kitgum). The children were selected randomly, with the help of community/local council leaders, and efforts were made to ensure a good representation of urban and rural areas. Other categories of participants were purposively selected.

3.4. Data Collection

3.4.1. Questionnaire-Based Survey

A survey was conducted among in and out of school children, aged 5-17 years (male and female), in the selected districts. We used a modified ISPCAN Child Abuse Screening Tool (ICAST)to collect information on the socio-demographic characteristics of children, their perceptions, knowledge and attitudes on child abuse, previous experience of violence and reporting, and access to services (psychosocial, recovery, re-integration etc.). With respect to previous experience of violence, data was collected on forms abuse experienced, frequency of abuse, and the identity of the perpetrator.

3.4.2. Focus groups

A total of 6 FGDs were conducted with in and out of schools children (aged, 10-17 years) in the selected districts. Separate FGDs (3 for boys and 3 for girls) were organized in each of the selected districts. In addition, a total of 10 FGDs were held with community members in both districts (5 FGDs in each district). The themes explored during FGD with children and community members, mainly included:

- Local views of childhood, child protection risks and responses.
- Structural, social-cultural, socio-economic drivers of child abuse.
- Communication practices between parents/carers and children.
- Community-based child protection practices[2] and systems; functionality, support needed.
- Traditional practices of child rearing and child protection.
- Harmful Traditional practices that threaten the safety of children (e.g. forced early marriage) and how they can be addressed.

[2] I.e. Practices and processes designed to ensure the safety of children from physical, psychological and emotional harm at family and community level

- Existence and functionality of community structures and measures for child protection.
- Strengths and gaps in existing child protection systems at community level
- Adequacy of services proposed and made available to children who have suffered violence

The FGDs, which lasted between one and a half hours and two hours, were conducted in participants' language of preference. An average of 10 and 11 respondents participated in the children and community members FGDs, respectively. The sessions were moderated by a facilitator and a note taker who had been trained to conduct FGDs and to document the verbal responses and nonverbal cues during the discussions. With the consent of FGD participants, the discussions were digitally recorded. At the end of the sessions, light refreshment was provided to the FGD participants. Children who participated in the FGD were excluded from participating in the survey due to their prior exposure to information being sought.

3.4.3. In-depth interviews (IDI)

A total of 22 IDIs, each lasting approximately one hour, were conducted with purposely selected key informants, such as police officers, from the CID and CFPU, religious and cultural leaders; Local government officials (CDO, LC chairperson, sub-county chief), and staff from NGOs/CBO/FBO providing services to children who have suffered violence. They were conducted at venues convenient to participants where discussion could be conducted in confidence. All FGD and IDI were conducted in the language of preference of the participant, and discussions were digitally recorded.

Table 1:In-depth Interviews with selected key informants

IDI Categories	Total	Jinja	Kitgum
Police officers, from the CID and CFPU	4	1	3
LG officials (CDO, sub-county chief, LC official)	5	2	3
1Head teachers	3	1	2
Religious and cultural leaders	6	2	4
Staff from NGO, CBO or FBO	4	2	2
Total	22	8	14

3.5. Quality control issues

Development and pre-testing of study instruments

Four separate data collection tools and their corresponding Informed Consent (IC) and Assent (IA) Forms were developed for data collection. These include the survey questionnaire, FGD guides for community members and children, and an in-depth interview guide for informants. All study tools were pre-tested separately as part of fine tuning and implementation validity, and modified accordingly. The questionnaire was pilot tested among 20 people (not included in the final survey)

Training of field teams

Data collection was carried by two separate field teams, each comprising of one supervisor and 6 interviewers. Field teams were trained about the protocol and study procedures. This included focusing on the study objectives and practicing with the data collection tools. Training of data collectors also covered a range of ethical issues.

Supervision

On-site supervision of data collection was done by a team of experienced researchers (supervisors) in the 2 districts. Working under the guidance of the Consultants, the supervisors were responsible for: coordinating and overseeing the data collection process, including making contacts with leaders in communities where data would be collected, and keeping a log of activities; direct-onsite supervision of data collection exercise; ensuring that ethical and quality standards were maintained; reviewing completed survey questionnaires on a daily basis to ensure completeness and accuracy; and ensuring safe and confidential data storage in the field and during transfer.

3.6. Data Management and Analysis

Quantitative data: Quantitative data was captured using MS Access and analysed in STATA (Version 11). Descriptive statistics and cross-tabulations of relevant variables were generated. Frequency tables, descriptive statistics, graphs and charts are used in the presentation of the findings. Chi-square tests were used to assess significance of observed variations across key variables.

Qualitative data: All FGD and IDI were recorded, transcribed, translated and entered into Ms. Word. Transcription of FGD was aided by notes taken during discussions. Transcripts were checked for accuracy and then imported into qualitative analysis software (Nvivo 8) for coding and thematic analysis. Data was analysed following the principles of thematic analysis, according to the precepts of grounded theory (Bernard, 2006).

3.7. Ethical Considerations

Informed consent was obtained from all individuals participating in the interviews and focus groups using their preferred local language. Before enrolment into the study, the respondents were informed about the aims of the study, their discretion to participate or withdraw at any time and were assured that all information obtained from them would be kept confidential. The anticipated benefits or risks of the study to the participants or the community were clearly explained and all the participants were given an opportunity to express whether they had understood the objectives of the study and what was expected of them as respondents.

3.8. Limitations of the Study

This was a cross sectional study. The survey method depended on self-reported data, which can potentially be limited by inaccurate reporting due to poor memory or misunderstanding of questions. Moreover, given the sensitive nature of the survey, social desirability bias can potentially occur. Also,

there is the possibility of recall bias since respondents were expected to provide information on previous experiences. Nonetheless, the validity of our findings is enhanced by methodological triangulation.

4. Results

4.1. Socio-demographic characteristics of children

This section provides a description of our sample—in terms of age, gender, school attendance, disability and orphan-hood status, and living arrangements.

4.1.1. Age and gender distribution

A total of 394 children were interviewed, including 207 (52.5%) boys and 187 (47.5%) girl —with a mean age of 13.1 and 12.7 years, respectively. Majority of children (58.4%) were aged ≥ 13 years. The the proportion of children, boys and girls, aged 11-12 and 15-17 years was equally distributed—at 29.7 percent. Children aged 5-9 years constituted only 12 percent of the respondents.

Table 2: Socio-demographic characteristics of children

	Districts						Overall		
	Jinja			Kitgum					
	Male (n=140)	Female (n=100)	Total (n=240)	Male (n=67)	Female (n=87)	Total (n=154)	Male (n=207	Female (n=187)	Total (n=394)
5-9 yrs	11.4	10.0	10.8	10.4	16.1	13.6	11.1	12.8	11.9
10-12yrs	28.6	28.0	28.3	32.8	31.0	31.8	30.0	29.4	29.7
13-14yrs	17.9	26.0	21.3	46.3	35.6	40.3	27.1	30.5	28.7
15-17yrs	42.1	36.0	39.6	10.4	17.2	14.3	31.9	27.3	29.7
Ever been to School									
Yes	100.0	98.0	99.2	98.5	96.6	97.4	99.5	97.3	98.5
No	0.0	2.0	0.8	1.5	3.4	2.6	0.5	2.7	1.5
Currently attending school?									
Yes	70.0	84.7	76.1	68.2	70.2	69.3	69.4	78.0	73.5
NO	30.0	15.3	23.9	31.8	29.8	30.7	30.6	22.0	26.5
Level of education									
Lower Primary (P1-4)	32.9	32.7	32.8	48.5	40.5	44.0	37.9	36.3	37.1
Upper primary(P5-7)	37.9	40.8	39.1	50.0	58.3	54.7	41.7	48.9	45.1
Lower Secondary (S1-4)	28.6	26.5	27.7	1.5	1.2	1.3	19.9	14.8	17.5
Upper secondary (S5-6)	0.7	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3
Reasons for not being in school									
Could not pay for school fees	85.0	85.7	85.2	70.0	75.0	72.7	80.0	78.9	79.6
Did not like school	2.5	0.0	1.9	15.0	12.5	13.6	6.7	7.9	7.1
Need to earn money	10.0	0.0	7.4	5.0	4.2	4.5	8.3	2.6	6.1
Got Pregnant	0.0	14.3	3.7	0.0	4.2	4.5	0.0	7.9	4.1
Other	2.5	0.0	1.9	5.0	4.2	4.5	3.3	2.6	3.1
No. children (n)	***40***	***14***	***54***	***20***	***24***	***44***	***60***	***38***	***98***

4.1.2. School attendance

Table 2 shows the school attendance by all children and the reasons why some children are not going to school. Overall, majority (98.5%) of the children in our sample had ever attended school. Among these, 73.5 percent were attending school at the time of the survey. However, more than a quarter of the children (27%) were not attending schooling, of which 30.6 % were boys and 22% were girls.

The main reason for children being out of school (in both districts) was parents' and guardians' inability to pay the school non-tuition fees—at 79.6 percent. Participant's narratives reveal that although Uganda introduced universal primary and secondary education, several non-tuition fees, continue to affect children's enrolment in school. Commonly, caregivers and children cited the lack of money for uniform, books, transportation, and lunch among others, as reasons for non-school attendance.

> *You find many children also do not go school because the parents cannot afford to buy uniform and pay fees. If you walk around the community, there are many children who do not go to school just because the parents cannot afford to buy uniforms. When you ask the child why he is not going to school, he will tell you that it is because father has not bought for me the uniform. (Religious leader, Jinja district)*

> *It is because of the small expenses like uniform, admission fees and other small expenses. Although the government announced that education was free for all, there are still small expenses that force parents to choose between educating the child and buying food for the family. Children go to school without eating. (Elder, Kitgum district)*

About 7.1 % of the children also reported dislike for school as the main reason for non-school attendance. This was more prominent in Kitgum compared to Jinja district (13.6% vs. 1.9%). Several reasons were adduced to explain children's dislike for school. Children and community member's narratives indicate that many children did not attend school because the schools were located too far away and children did not like having to walk long distances, in some cases five or more miles, to get to school. Schooling problems such as poor grades at school, perceived low quality of education, maltreatment at school (e.g. through beating by teachers, or being subjected to teasing and discrimination) were also cited as reasons for children's dislike for school.

The need to earn money was also cited by 6.1 percent of the children as a reason for being out school. Some girls dropped out of school after they had become pregnant (4.1%). This was more common in Jinja compared to Kitgum districts (14.3% vs. 4.2%).

4.1.3. Disability

About 7% of the children in our sample had at least one form of disability—mainly physical disability and visual impairment—each at 34.6%. More children in Kitgum had at least one form of disability compared to Jinja (7.8% vs. 5.8%). Disaggregated by gender, a higher proportion of boys, compared to girls, had at least one form of disability (7.2% vs. 5.9%).

Table 3: Children's disability status

	Districts						Overall		
	Jinja			Kitgum					
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Disability									
Yes	5.7	6.0	5.8	10.4	5.7	7.8	7.2	5.9	6.6
No	94.3	94.0	94.2	89.6	94.3	92.2	92.8	94.1	93.4
Form of disability									
Physical disability	25.0	33.3	28.6	28.6	60.0	41.7	26.7	45.5	34.6
Visually impaired	50.0	33.3	42.9	28.6	20.0	25.0	40.0	27.3	34.6
Hearing/speech disability	12.5	33.3	21.4	42.9	0.0	25.0	26.7	18.2	23.1
Multiple disability	12.5	0.0	7.1	0.0	20.0	8.3	6.7	9.1	7.7

4.1.4. Orphan-hood status and Living arrangements

Orphan-hood status

Table 4 shows that more than one-third of the children (34.3%) were orphans. About 8% of the children were double-orphans i.e. had lost both mother and father, while 19.8 % and 6.3% of the children had lost their fathers and mothers respectively. The proportion of orphaned children was higher in Kitgum compared to Jinja districts (50.6% vs. 23.8%). Disaggregated by gender, the proportion of boys and girls who were orphans was almost equally distributed—at 33.8 and 34.8% respectively.

Though not specifically examined in this study, HIV and AIDs and the LRA insurgency in northern Uganda have been identified as the major cause of orphan hood in Uganda.[3,4] Other causes of parental death reported include "long illness" (a common euphemism for AIDS related illness), accidents, land conflicts, poor nutrition and malaria.[5]

[3] Walakira E., Ddumba-Nyanzi, I. & Kaawa-Mafigiri, D. (2013). Well-Being of Children Affected by HIV and AIDS. In Ben-Arieh, Asher, Casas, Ferran, Frones, Ivar, and Korbin, Jill (eds.) *Handbook of Child Well-Being: Theories, Methods and Policies in Global Perspective*. Dordrecht: Springer.

[4] Kalibala, Samuel, and Lynne Elson. 2010. "Protecting hope: Situation analysis of vulnerable children in Uganda 2009," Final Report. New York: Population Council

[5] Ibid, pg. 30

Living arrangements:

- About 31% of the children who reported that both parents were alive (n=259) said that their parents were not living together.
- Nearly two-thirds of the children (64%) lived with one or both of their parents. Others lived with their relatives (aunts/uncles, siblings, grandparents) (33%) and very few, in households headed by nonrelatives (i.e. employers or friends).
- Majority of children (51.4%) lived in households comprising of 6 or more people

Table 4: Orphan-hood status and children's living arrangement

	Districts						Overall		
	Jinja			Kitgum					
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Are your parents alive?									
Both Parent alive	75.7	77.0	76.3	46.3	51.7	49.4	66.2	65.2	65.7
Only mother alive	17.9	9.0	14.2	35.8	23.0	28.6	23.7	15.5	19.8
Only father alive	2.1	7.0	4.2	7.5	11.5	9.7	3.9	9.1	6.3
Both parents dead	4.3	7.0	5.4	10.4	13.8	12.3	6.3	10.2	8.1
Father and mother living together									
Yes	69.8	68.8	69.4	67.7	71.1	69.7	69.3	69.7	69.5
No	30.2	31.2	30.6	32.3	28.9	30.3	30.7	30.3	30.5
Child Lives with									
With parents	75.0	71.0	73.3	43.3	51.7	48.1	64.7	62.0	63.5
Relatives (aunts/uncles, siblings, grandparents)	21.4	29.0	24.6	46.3	46.0	46.1	29.5	36.9	33.0
With employer	1.4	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.5
With friend	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.4	1.1	5.2	3.4	0.5	2.0
Stays alone	2.1	0.0	1.3	0.0	1.1	0.6	1.4	0.5	1.0
No. of people in HH where child lives									
1	4.3	0.0	2.5	1.5	3.6	2.7	3.4	1.6	2.6
2-3	7.2	7.0	7.1	6.2	1.2	3.4	6.9	4.3	5.7
4-6	30.4	35.0	32.4	55.4	51.2	53.0	38.4	42.4	40.3
7-10	44.2	46.0	45.0	30.8	36.9	34.2	39.9	41.8	40.8
11+	13.8	12.0	13.0	6.2	7.1	6.7	11.3	9.8	10.6

4.2. Local definitions of childhood

Any discussion about child protection needs to be preceded by a definition of what constitutes a 'child' in the specific context of study. Generally, according to the statutory definition of 'child' in Uganda majority is attained at 18 years. In context of this study, most people in both Kitgum and Jinja district, defined children by their behavior and abilities rather than by their chronological age. Children were seen as people who were dependent, had few responsibilities, and had limited cognitive abilities.

For example, several participants described a child is "a small person", "someone who is innocent," "someone who depends on his parents for support," "cannot support him/herself," is "living with

his/her parents," "obeys older people," " does not do anything," has not reached 18 years, and cannot do what men and women can do.

For most adults, a child was defined as a "person who doesn't have a thinking faculty and does not know about life,", "cannot make his own decision," "depends on other[s] for help," "someone who is staying with his/her parents," "does not make decisions by themselves," and "is below the age of 18 years." References to children as "a little one," "one who is innocent" or "one who is just born" were also heard from caregivers. Although some FGD participants used the 18-years age boundary in their definitions of what constitutes a child, many did not set any age limits.

In discussing children's development, participants in both districts emphasized the reciprocal relationship between children and parents and the increasing responsibilities that children took on as they aged and became larger in stature. Parents were expected to provide not only food and care but also guidance and discipline in order to instill good behavior. In return, children were expected to obey their parents – '*if you don't listen to your parents, the world will teach you a lesson*.' (FGD with children, Kitgum)

4.3. Perceptions, knowledge and attitudes on child abuse

4.3.1. Children's knowledge and perceptions regarding child abuse

Table 5 shows children's knowledge of child abuse occurring in their community. Nearly half of the children (49%) indicated that child abuse is a serious problem in their community, with more children in Jinja districts reporting child abuse to be a serious problem in their community compared Kitgum district (56.3% versus 36.4%). When asked to mention the places where child abuse usually occurs, the children' perception on this issues did not show district consistency. Majority of children in Jinja district perceived that child abuse mostly occurs in the community (48.1%), followed by home (40.7%). In contrast, a higher proportion of children in Kitgum perceived that child abuse mostly occurs at home (46.7%).

However, more than one-third of the children (35.3 percent), in both districts stated that child abuse is 'not too much of a problem' or not a problem at all in their community.

During FGDs, children of all age group offered similar perceptions of the meaning of child abuse. Deprivation of education opportunities, severe physical punishment, scolding by older people, unreasonable/heavy workloads (that is, forcing children to do hard and dangerous work), discrimination between children, and early and forced marriage were all perceived by children as child abuse. In addition, children listed deprivation of adequate food and proper clothing, deprivation of their play time, deprivation of parental love and care as the common forms of child abuse.

When asked about victims of abuse, more than half (58.9 percent) of the children reported that they believe that the main victims of abuse were female. Only 29.7 percent of them reported that the victims could be both female and male.

Table 5: Knowledge of child abuse occurring in their community

	Districts						Overall		
	Jinja			Kitgum					
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
How much of a problem is child abuse in your community?									
Big problem	54.3	59.0	56.3	35.8	36.8	36.4	48.3	48.7	48.5
Somewhat of a problem	10.7	8.0	9.6	28.4	25.3	26.6	16.4	16.0	16.2
Not too much of a problem	28.6	18.0	24.2	35.8	33.3	34.4	30.9	25.1	28.2
Not a problem at all	6.4	15.0	10.0	0.0	4.6	2.6	4.3	10.2	7.1
Where does child abuse occur Most?**									
Home	37.4	45.9	40.7	46.3	47.0	46.7	40.4	46.4	43.2
School	11.5	10.6	11.1	10.4	16.9	14.0	11.1	13.7	12.3
In the community	51.1	43.5	48.1	43.3	36.1	39.3	48.5	39.9	44.5
No. Of children	**131**	**85**	**216**	**67**	**83**	**150**	**198**	**168**	**366**

4.3.2. Children's attitude toward child-beating as a discipline strategy

We asked children whether they thought hitting (or spanking) of children was an appropriate form of discipline strategy. In Kitgum district, majority of children (46% of girls and 43% of boys) believed that it was inappropriate (not right) to hit children. In contrast, most of the children in Jinja districts (56% of boys and 42 of girls) indicated that it was appropriate to hit/spank children as a form of discipline.

About 16 percent of the children believed that the context of the misbehavior, was central whether it was appropriate or not to hit children as a form of discipline strategy.

Table 6: Attitude towards spanking/hitting a child

Hitting children are used as a form of discipline; do you think it is right?	Districts						Overall		
	Jinja			Kitgum					
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Yes	56.4	42.0	50.4	37.3	35.6	36.4	50.2	39.0	44.9
No	29.3	44.0	35.4	43.3	46.0	44.8	33.8	44.9	39.1
It depends on the situation	14.3	14.0	14.2	19.4	18.4	18.8	15.9	16.0	16.0

During FGDs, ambivalence permeated children's perspectives on the use of physical punishment as a discipline strategy. Most children expressed disapproval of physical punishment, emphasizing the potentially negative and harmful effects, such as pain inflicted, emotional distress and damaging consequences for child–parent relationships. Most of the resentment about physical punishment was targeted at schools where the majority of children claimed that physical punishment was most frequent and most severe.

Some children were however in favours of physical punishment, especially for young children; stressing that parent and other caregivers need to use physical punishment on children in order to ensure they grow up well behaved and responsible adults: *'teaching you to be good'.* One girl succinctly observed:

> *it [physical punishment] is good…Just to set some boundaries, like, at a young age … so that you don't do anything worse when you're older.'*

Similarly, another girl noted:

> *Yes, if the child is still young it is good to beat and show him/her that what they have done is punishable. Big boys and girls should be talked to and sent to the elders to be talked to, do not shame them.*

Nonetheless, most of the children in favour of physical punishment also emphasized the need for restraint. For these children, it was not the practice of physical punishment *per se* that concerned them; rather, physical punishment which is excessive and unjustified.

4.3.3. Children's knowledge and skills to protect themselves

Children's responses to questions on knowledge of child abuse and self-protection skills are summarized in Table7. Results show that 15 percent of children are not able to distinguish between safe/appropriate and unsafe/inappropriate touching, and only 16 percent thought that children should report secret touching. Encouragingly, more than 95 percent of the children reported that the child should get away, if a stranger wants to look at the child's private parts. However, only 53 percent of the children reported they could definitely refuse /reject sexual advances, by making appropriate, assertive, and persistent verbal responses.

Results also show that 31.2 percent of children were not aware that strangers were not the only perpetrators of child abuse, and over 40 percent did not know where to report or the procedures for reporting child abuse. In addition, only 69 percent of the children asserted that children should tell someone or disclose incidents of abuse, even if the perpetrator tells them to keep it a secret.

The above findings therefore reveal child abuse knowledge and related self-protection skills gaps among some children. This underscores the need for ANPPCAN to developed culturally appropriate and child-focused education interventions to address these gaps [in children knowledge and self-protection skills]. For example, children need to be educated to identify uncomfortable or inappropriate touching, and sexual requests, and be effective in stopping the abusive behavior (e.g., say "No!" and try to get away from the abusive situation or potentially dangerous situations). In addition, it is important to teach children not to keep the abusive incident secret and to tell a trusted adult if an abusive incident occurs. Children should be taught how to obtain help from trusted adults and other resources in the local community. This will encourage disclosure of sexual abuse. Disclosure can only improve a child's situation by ending or shortening abuse, mobilizing assistance and reducing isolation (Finkelhor,

2007:643). Lastly, children should also be taught basic safety and self-defence skills a rules, such as screaming.

Table 7: Child abuse knowledge and self-protection skills

	Districts						Overall		
	Jinja			Kitgum					
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Can distinguish between Safe/appropriate and unsafe/inappropriate touching,	68.1	77.8	72.2	64.2	92.0	79.9	66.8	84.4	75.2
A child should get away, if a stranger wants to look at the his/her private parts	97.1	92.9	95.4	100.0	96.6	98.1	98.0	94.6	96.4
Strangers are not the only perpetrators of child abuse	75.0	50.0	66.7	73.9	71.4	73.3	74.6	55.2	68.8
Know procedures for child abuse reporting	50.0	44.4	47.7	62.7	64.0	63.4	54.2	53.5	53.9
Know where to report incidents of abuse	52.2	48.5	50.6	65.7	70.9	68.6	56.7	58.9	57.7
Children should report incidents of abuse, even when the perpetrators tells them to keep it a secret	50.0	86.7	76.2	0.0	66.7	40.0	37.5	83.3	69.2
Able to definitely refuse sexual advances, by making appropriate, assertive, and persistent verbal responses	58.3	50.0	56.3	50.0	0.0	33.3	57.1	40.0	52.6
Know the two common tricks used by perpetrators to lure children or convince children to keep incidents of abuse a secret	66.7	22.2	33.3	0.0	66.7	66.7	66.7	33.3	40.0

4.3.4. Attitude towards reporting child abuse

During the survey, children were asked about their intention to report if they see or hear of children experiencing abuse at home or in the community. More than four in five children (83.8%) would report if they saw or heard that one of their friends or another child was abused at home or in the community.

Children would report to the community leader (43%), family member (36%), teacher/principal (17.6%) or police, child and family protection unit (14%). Although some variation exists between boys and girls, in general, the feeling that reporting could only bring negative consequences for family or child (69.4%), and 'it is not my job to report' (27.4%) are the main reasons why almost one out of every six children would not report child abuse

On the other hand, more than four in five children (82%) answered in affirmative, when asked whether people who are aware that children are being abused and don't report should be blamed.

Table 8: Attitudes towards reporting abuse

	Districts						Overall		
	Jinja			Kitgum					
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
if you were worried about a child were abused would you report?									
Yes	82.1	87.0	84.2	80.6	85.1	83.1	81.6	86.1	83.8
No	17.9	13.0	15.8	19.4	14.9	16.9	18.4	13.9	16.2
Who would you report?									
Father/ Mother/others in family	26.1	49.4	36.1	37.0	35.1	35.9	29.6	42.9	36.1
Friend	8.7	8.0	8.4	1.9	0.0	0.8	6.5	4.3	5.5
Teacher/ Principal	17.4	25.3	20.8	16.7	9.5	12.5	17.2	18.0	17.6
Neighbors	2.6	4.6	3.5	0.0	1.4	0.8	1.8	3.1	2.4
Community leader	52.2	32.2	43.6	48.1	41.9	44.5	50.9	36.6	43.9
Health care provider	2.6	1.1	2.0	3.7	13.5	9.4	3.0	6.8	4.8
NGO/ CBO official	2.6	6.9	4.5	11.1	17.6	14.8	5.3	11.8	8.5
Police (Family Protection Units	11.3	9.2	10.4	20.4	18.9	19.5	14.2	13.7	13.9
Why wouldn't you report?									
It is not my job	28.0	23.1	26.3	30.8	27.3	29.2	28.9	25.0	27.4
Not wanting to get caught up in legal proceedings	4.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	9.1	4.2	2.6	4.2	3.2
Reporting could only bring negative consequences for family or child	68.0	76.9	71.1	69.2	63.6	66.7	68.4	70.8	69.4
Do you think people who know children are abused and do not report be blamed?									
Yes	84.3	86.0	85.0	74.6	80.5	77.9	81.2	83.4	82.2
No	15.0	12.0	13.8	20.9	14.9	17.5	16.9	13.4	15.2
It is none of their business	0.7	2.0	1.3	4.5	4.6	4.5	1.9	3.2	2.5

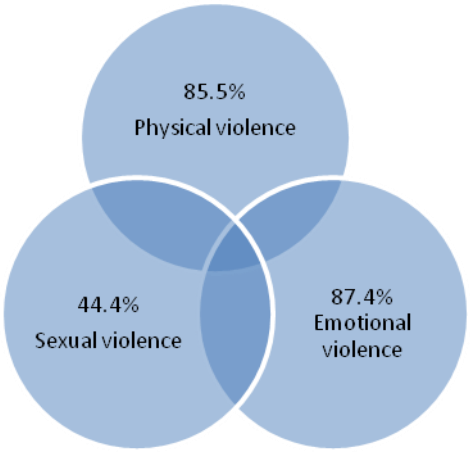
4.4. Children's Experience of Violence and access to services

4.4.1. Children's experience of Violence

Overall, 84.8 percent of the children in both districts had experienced at least one form of physical violence. Respectively, 46.2% and 84.3% of the children had experienced some form of sexual and emotional violence in the last 12 months prior to the survey.

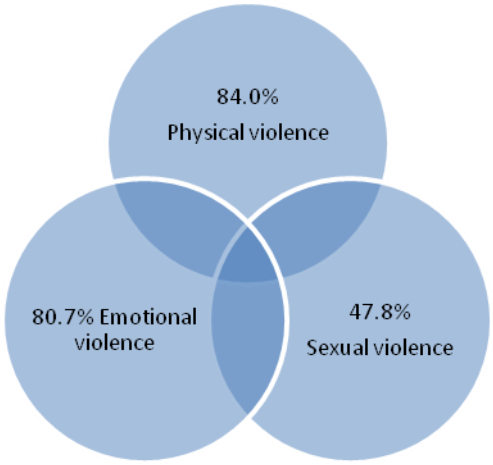
Figure 1: Children's experience of violence, by gender

Patterns of Violence Experienced by Children (Boys, N =207)



No violence =5.3

Patterns of Violence Experienced by Children (Girls, N = 187)



No violence=7.0

Only 7.0 percent of girls and 5.3 percent of boys reported that they had not experienced any form of violence in the last 12 months prior to the survey. In addition, most of the children described repeated and multiple forms of violence. There were profound differences in the comparative experiences of boys and girls, and across districts. In particular:

- Boys were slightly more likely to report experiencing physical violence than girls (85.5 % vs.84 %)
- Girls were much more likely to have experienced sexual violence than boys (47.8 % vs. 44.4%)
- Boys were more likely to have experienced all forms of violence (physical, sexual and emotional) than girls (40.6 % vs. 38%)
- Physical violence was more prevalent in Kitgum than Jinja district (87 vs. 83.3 %). On the other hand, sexual violence was more prevalent in Jinja than Kitgum district (52.1% vs. 37.0%).
- The proportion of children, both boys and girls, who had experienced emotional violence in Jinja and Kitgum district, was almost equally distributed—at 84.6 and 83.8% respectively.

Physical Violence

Table 9 shows that spanking/hitting the child with a hand was the most reported form of physical violence experienced by children (58%). Pushing/grabbing or kicking of children (52%), ear twisting and hair pulling (44.9%), and being hit or spanked with an object (45%) were also commonly reported by children, with variations between districts.

Nearly 40 percent of the children reported that they had been pushed/grabbed or kicked, spanked/hit with a hand or an object, and/or experienced ear twisting and hair pulling almost every (day i.e. four or more times a week) or 1-3 times a week (Annex A.1).

Table 9: Forms of physical violence experienced by children

	Districts						Overall		
	Jinja			Kitgum					
Physical Violence	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Pushed, Grabbed, or Kicked you	57.1	38.0	49.2	62.7	52.9	57.1	58.9	44.9	52.3
Hit, beat, or spanked you with a hand	60.4	66.0	62.8	59.7	43.7	50.6	60.2	55.6	58.0
Hit, beat, or spanked you with a belt, paddle, a stick or other object?	39.3	55.6	46.0	37.9	47.1	43.1	38.8	51.6	44.9
Choked you, smothered you or tried to drown you	8.7	3.1	6.4	10.4	2.3	5.8	9.3	2.7	6.2
Pulled your hair, pinched you, or twisted your ear?	52.9	46.5	50.2	49.3	46.0	47.4	51.7	46.2	49.1
Burned or scalded you, (including putting hot chillies or peppers in your mouth)?	5.8	1.0	3.8	6.1	5.7	5.9	5.9	3.2	4.6
Locked you up in a small place, tied you up, or chained you to something	3.6	1.0	2.5	4.5	1.1	2.6	3.9	1.1	2.6
Making you stay in one position holding a heavy load or another burden or making you do exercise as punishment?	10.7	9.0	10.0	4.5	2.3	3.2	8.7	5.9	7.4

Child sexual abuse or sexual victimization

Table 10 displays the prevalence of sexual victimization in the past year. Majority of children reported that they had been approached or spoken to in a sexually way (26.9%) or exposed to pornographic materials (24.8%). The later was more frequently reported by boys compared to girls in both districts. Respectively, 36.2% and 28% of them reported that they had been approached/spoken to in a sexually and/or exposed to pornography almost every (day i.e. four or more times a week) or 1-3 times a week.

Forms of contact sexual victimisation were rarer: 12.5% of the reported that some had touched or pinched their private parts, while 3.8 percent of the children (6.5% of the girls and 1.5% of the boys) reported having been the victims of completed non-consensual (anal, oral or vaginal) penetration.

Table 10: Forms of sexual violence experienced by children

Sexual violence	Districts						Overall		
	Jinja			Kitgum					
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Approached or spoken to you in a sexual way or wrote sexual things about you	26.8	40.4	32.5	11.9	23.0	18.2	22.0	32.3	26.9
Touched or pinched your private parts [e.g. breasts, buttocks or genitals], or made you touch theirs	11.6	22.2	16.0	7.5	6.9	7.1	10.2	15.1	12.5
Made you watch a sex video or look at sexual pictures in a magazine or computer when you did not want to	31.9	22.2	27.8	35.8	8.0	20.1	33.2	15.6	24.8
Made you look at their private parts or wanted to look at yours	9.4	10.1	9.7	4.5	4.6	4.5	7.8	7.5	7.7
Raped or forced you to have sexual intercourse (vaginal, anal or oral)	2.2	9.1	5.1	0.0	3.4	1.9	1.5	6.5	3.8
Forced (induced) you to consent to marriage or consensual union	2.9	7.1	4.6	0.0	3.4	1.9	2.0	5.4	3.6

During FGDs with children and community members, sexual violence was repeatedly mentioned as a major child protection concern in both Jinja and Kitgum district. Frequently occurring sub-topics included rape, transactional sex, bad or 'half naked' dressing, observing sexual behavior, videos, and peer influence. Participants identified rape, particularly rape by someone known to the child victim, as a significant harm to children. Participants seldom mentioned rape by a stranger.

> *Aaaah! As early as six years the child has already slept with men. It is not all, but sometimes a child may be raped… They are many* [cases of rape]. *They happen. We have cases of a child which is only months old who has been raped* (FGD with children, Kitgum).

Transactional sex was reportedly widespread. One of the more common themes for young girl's engagement in transactional sex was poverty or need for financial need/support in the form of money and/or goods because of financial hardship, and desire for luxury and/or status. Phrases like *"using what you have to get what you want"* were reportedly often used by young girls to justify transactional sex encounters. Unfortunately, many young girls are unable negotiate for safe sex in the context of transactional encounters, resulting into high rates of teenage pregnancy and child mothers.

> *The other harm is teenage girls sleeping with older men for money. This happens when you are hungry. You have not taken anything and a person comes with an offer of UGX 1000 (approx.. USD 0.4). You go sleep with him so that you get the 1000 (FGD with female children, Jinja district)*

There is the sexual abuse from neighbors who give children a little money or snacks and then they abuse them sexually. This is a kind of abuse that the children grow up with and it happens to both boys and girls. (Teacher, Jinja district)

There were also frequent reports that people in positions of authority such as teachers and village elders used their power to sexually exploit young girls. For example, discussions revealed that some teachers lure young girls to their houses and then rape them.

….In …school, there were a lot of cases of defilement. Like last year…, we had a teacher defiling a girl in class 4. He lied to the girl to come and take her results, and when people were in church, he was busy defiling the girl. We went to the house after a neighbor came and reported to me (key informant interview, Kitgum district)

Participants—particularly adults—attributed some sexual abuse to bad behavior on the part of teenagers and young adults. In Jinja for example, community members complained that some young girls frequently go to disco clubs, often dressed badly, which increases their exposure to sexual exploitation and abuse, including rape leading to early pregnancy and dropping out of school. This was more common in urban compared to rural areas.

Would there be prostitution, early pregnancies, drugs and other things were it not for discos?...they are the root cause of these problems (FGD with community members, Jinja district)

There are girls who go to the disco at night and they meet men there, have sex with them and then they get pregnant and drop out of school (Female FGD, Kitgum district*)*

Parents in this community do not care about what their children dress on. These girls here really put on extremely short skirts and tiny blouses showing off most of their body parts. They don't care whether it's their fathers, or uncles passing by. This is very indecent and really calls for very bad behaviors from men (FGD with community members, Jinja district)

Emotional violence

Details of the psychological punishments reported by the respondents are outlined in Table 11. By far the most commonly reported form of emotional violence was shouting, yelling or screaming at the child. More than 6 in every ten children (62.4%) reported that they had experienced this in the last 12 months before the survey. The next most frequently reported action was calling the child by a derogatory name in order to insult him or her.

About 53-70 percent of the children reported being yelled at, called derogatory names almost every (day i.e. four or more times a week) or 1-3 times a week (see, Annex A.1).

Table 11: Forms of sexual abuse experienced by children

Emotional Violence	Districts						Overall		
	Jinja			Kitgum					
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Screamed at you very loud and aggressively	61.4	54.0	58.3	65.7	71.3	68.8	62.8	62.0	62.4
Called you names, said mean things or cursed you?	65.0	34.0	52.1	34.3	33.3	33.8	55.1	33.7	44.9
Made you feel shamed/embarrassed in front of other people	52.1	35.0	45.0	23.9	27.9	26.1	43.0	31.7	37.7
Threatened to hurt or kill you, including invoking evil spirits against you?	25.7	27.0	26.3	46.3	44.2	45.1	32.4	34.9	33.6
Been bullied (teased, embarrassed) so that you feel sad or bad	34.3	20.0	28.3	16.7	21.8	19.6	28.6	20.9	24.9

4.4.2. Risk factors for child abuse

This study established several factors for child abuse— at the individual, family (household) and community level. Some of these factors are outlined below:

Age and gender

Age and gender have been identified as underlying risk factors for violence against children. In our study, we however, found no significant association between age of a child and self-reported physical (P = 0.796) and emotional violence (P = 0.230) in the two months prior to the survey. Nonetheless, there was a significant association between self-reported sexual violence and age of a child (p=0.000). Children in the age group of 14-17 years, were more likely to report that they had experienced at least one form of sexual violence (29-32%), compared to those in the age group 11-13 years (24%) and ≤10 years (14.3%)

	Age groups				Pearson chi2 and P-value*
	≤10 yeas	11-13years	14-15years	16-17years	
Physical violence					
Yes	67(20.1)	114(34.1)	83 (24.9)	70(21.0)	chi2 = 1.0234 Pr = 0.796
No	10(16.7)	24(40.0)	13 (21.7)	13 (21.7)	
Sexual violence					
Yes	26 (14.3)	45 (24.7)	52 (28.6)	59 (32.4)	chi2 = 38.1753 Pr = 0.000
No	51(24.1)	93(43.9)	44(20.8)	24 (11.3)	
Emotional violence					
Yes	64(19.3)	117(35.2)	76 (22.9)	75 (22.6)	Chi2 = 4.3128 Pr = 0.230
No	13 (21.0)	21 (33.9)	20 (32.3)	8 (12.9)	

Gender was also identified as a risk factor, as girls and boys are at different risk for different kinds of violence. Gender desegregation of data indicated that more boys reported physical abuse as compared to girls (85.5 % vs.84 %), while girls were much more likely to have experienced sexual violence than boys (47.8 % vs. 44.4%)

Disability

Disability has also been has been identified as a risk factor for violence against children. However, analysis of survey data reveals no significant association between children disability status and self-reported physical, emotional and sexual violence.

Nonetheless, qualitative data shows that children with disability face a great risk of violence. Children with disabilities, especially those with mental disabilities, are sometimes objects of fear, partly because they are perceived as "different" but also because of what is frequently believed that their condition is somehow contagious or the result of witchcraft. Parents and relatives are often ashamed of the child with disability. CWD are subject to ridicule, cruel imitation, and even deliberate harm.

Parental loss or separation

Parental loss or separation was also identified to place children at greater risk of abuse and maltreatment, including neglect, discrimination and stigma. In particular, orphan-hood reduces the network of care and protection available to children, which consequently makes children more vulnerable to deprivation, abuse, violence and risky sexual behaviours. For example, when parents – especially fathers – die, children often lose assets. In addition, the death of parents may force children to stay with other care-givers, often extended families members. These caregivers were reported to give preferential treatment to their own children, sometimes demanding work from or refusing to pay school fees for orphaned children under their care.

Parental separation and divorce also raises important child protection concerns. For example, children who end up living with step parents, due to divorce/separation of their parents, face greater risk of abuse and maltreatment, as reflected in the voices below:

> *There was a parent who was mistreating the child who had lost both his parents ,he could fetch water late hours, no food for the child, but people who did not want to know their names went and reported, and the chairman came and took the child away from the woman* (Key informant, Jinja district)

> *I do almost all the house chores; my step mother beats me… it is not a good practice, because beating me cannot change the behavior in me* (FGD, Children, Jinja District)

> *My parents are divorced. My mother married again and she cannot take care of me. My stepmother smacks me… (FGD, in-school children, Kitgum District)*

Poverty

During FGD, participants commonly cited poverty as a risk factor for child abuse. One mechanism behind the relationship may be that low socio-economic status may lead to stress within the family, in turn leading parents to take out their frustrations by abusing their children. From children's narratives, poverty was also identified as root cause of children leaving school, of child labour patterns, as well as high levels of family tension and stress. For example, because of poverty some parents required their children to work and earn money rather than go to school.

> *These are common for instance the poverty associated with parents they always send children to go and work in sugarcane plantations to get what to eat in sugarcane sambas. (KI, Butagaya, Jinja District)*

> *Poverty leads people to abuse children because parents may not be having money that's why children don't go to schools while others are forced to early marriage or to sell their labour.* FGD, community members, Koona Village, Kitgum)

In addition, assuring children's basic needs within the family is considered fundamental to promote their well-being and safety. However, due to poverty some parents/caregivers are unable to fulfil the basic needs of children. This may force some to children to leave home and try to survive in the often unprotected and hazardous street milieu, thus exposing them to multifarious forms of abuse.

> *'Parents should not starve children as this makes children run away to the streets and go from home to home to beg for food or work for people.'*

Participants also underscored the link between poverty and involvement of children in transactional sexual relationship. Children, especially girls, from economically deprived and stressful environments may be more open to offers of affection and materialistic gifts and presents from others, leading to enhanced vulnerability to manipulation by sex offenders.

> *When girl children are asked by parents to provide for them... this will expose them to prostitution*.

> *Poverty can make the girl child to be exposed to sexual abuse and prostitution... girls beg elderly men for money and in return these men request for sex.'*

Deviant Children

Children's misbehaviour was also identified as main factor that led to child abuse cases. Most parents stressed that the child's mischievousness pushed their patience threshold and this led them towards taking actions, that border on child abuse including yelling or shouting at and threatening to hurt them, and various forms of physical punishment. Some of the children's misbehaviour that can make parents/caregivers *vexed* include stealing (e.g., picking over food that is not yours, stealing parent's money or from people in the community), 'repeatedly disobeying' or disregarding the wishes of a

parent, (e.g., mother tells child not to go out/to a certain place and s/he goes or child refuses to come to parent's call), lying (e.g., when parent asks child about something s/he has done and child denies it), and refusing to go to school etc.

> *If I want my child to do something for me and the child refuses, I too will do something that will inflict pain to the child. We beat such stubborn children. (Group Discussion, Woman, Jinja).*

Parental negligence

Parental negligence (itself is a form of child abuse), was also identified to increase children's vulnerability to abuse. Participants noted that some parents or guardians do not monitor or control their children's behaviour, with the result that children misbehave, become pregnant, and drop out of school. Children who have been neglected may also end up in street situations.

> *Children are abandoned so they loiter around the villages looking for money and survival especially since their parents have sold off their land for sugarcane growing so they look for food.*

> *The parents don't care at all. Some children smoke bhang [Marijuana] and drink alcohol and those are primary school going children. Some children are waiters during the night, serving drunkards and during the day they are pupils.' As they also serve alcohol, the drunkards also touch them and others end up sleeping with them (Key informant, Jinja district).*

4.4.3. Perpetrators of violence

Table 12 shows the main perpetrator of child abuse. Most of the forms of sexual violence are mainly perpetrated by the children's friends or peers, followed by neighbours and strangers, respectively. For example, majority of children reported that they had been defiled by their friends (53.3%) or strangers (20%). Respectively, 35% and 33% of the children reported that they had been exposed to pornography or had their private parts touched /pinched by their friends and peers.

On the other hand, all forms of physical violence (with the exception of pushing/kicking of children) were mainly perpetrated by biological parents and teachers. This calls for more investigation and more dialogue within households to identify stressors that could lead to biological parents abusing the rights of their own children. It also calls for dialogue with parents and teachers on more positive discipline strategies.

With respect to emotional violence, shouting, yelling or screaming at the child was mostly done by parents (39.2%). The threatening to hurt or kill the children was also mostly done by parents (25%). However, calling children by a derogatory name, and bullying was done mostly by children's peers and/or friends— at 26 percent and 47 percent, respectively.

Table 12: Perpetrators of violence

	PERPETRATORS							
	Biological parents (father/mother)	Stepfather or stepmother	Siblings (brother/sisters)	Other family member	Teacher/ principal	Friends/ peers	Neighbour	Unknown/ strangers
Sexual Violence								
Approached or spoken to you in a sexual way or wrote sexual things about you	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.9	29.5	21.0	13.3
Touched or pinched your private parts [e.g. breasts, buttocks or genitals], or made you touch theirs	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	2.0	32.7	14.3	10.2
Made you watch a sex video or look at sexual pictures in a magazine or computer when you did not want to	3.2	0.0	9.5	1.1	2.1	34.7	9.5	8.4
Physical Violence								
Pushed, Grabbed, or Kicked you	5.8	0.0	13.1	5.3	1.0	32.0	5.3	4.4
Hit, beat, or spanked you with a hand	25.3	1.8	9.8	9.3	19.1	14.7	2.2	3.6
Hit, beat, or spanked you with a belt, paddle, a stick or other object?	27.8	5.1	4.0	11.4	35.2	6.3	2.3	2.8
Pulled your hair, pinched you, or twisted your ear?	19.3	3.6	6.8	10.4	32.3	16.1	2.1	2.1
Emotional Violence								
Screamed at you very loud and aggressively	39.2	7.8	7.8	13.1	7.3	6.9	4.1	1.6
Called you names, said mean things or cursed you?	13.1	6.3	8.0	10.8	3.4	26.1	6.8	0.0
Made you feel shamed/embarrassed in front of other people in a way you will always feel bad about?	8.1	2.0	10.8	9.5	8.8	37.8	6.1	0.0
Threatened to hurt or kill you, including invoking evil spirits against you?	25.2	6.1	6.9	8.4	0.8	13.3	14.5	13.7
Been bullied (teased, embarrassed) so that you feel sad or bad	5.1	1.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	47.5	5.1	7.1

4.4.4. Reporting abuse

Disclosing an incident abuse to someone may be a first step in accessing help directly, or may, in the case of disclosure to friends or non-professional adults, through their feedback and advice, influence the decision on whether professional help or police are accessed.

During the study, all children who reported that they had experienced any form of sexual, physical or emotional abuse were asked whether they had reported or talked to someone about the incident. Generally, the level of disclosure of incident child abuse, by children to those around them remains low, and even much less to authorities (see Table 13). Results shows that less than 35 percent of children had reported or talked to someone the last time a person made them watch a sex video or look at sexual pictures when they did not want to, spanked them with a hand or an object or pulled/twisted their ear. Less than 45 percent of the children also disclosed or talked to anyone the last time a person made them look at his/her private parts, and only 50 percent disclosed incidents of forced (induced) marriage.

Further, 40 percent of the children who reported that they had been raped also did not report or talk to relevant individual (s) and/or organization (s) that have the capacity to adequately follow up the case.

Reasons for non-reporting

The reasons for children's reluctance to disclose incidents of abuse are varied. For example, over 50 percent of the children who had not disclosed or talked to someone the last time they were pushed, grabbed, kicked, hit or spanked with a hand or object, burned or scalded, called derogatory names or screamed at, shown pornography; and whose private parts were touched or pinched or made to touch another person's private parts, believed that the abuse did not seem quite severe enough to warrant reporting. This reflects the growing normalization of some acts of child abuse, by children. Other children did not report such acts because they were financially dependent upon the abuser, or didn't know who to tell; but also didn't think they would be believed or the abuser threatened to hurt them or their family **(see Annex A.2).**

Similarly of the children did not report or disclose incidents of rape because the abuser threatened to hurt them or their family (50%), or did not know who to tell (25%) (**See Annex A.2).**

These findings are corroborated by qualitative data. FGD participants reported that some children do not speak about or report incidents of abuse or maltreatment because they were afraid of the abuser, did not have the self-confidence to face the consequences, or felt that their parents were helpless in dealing with the abuse cases. In case of more common practices, such as scolding and beating by their elders and teachers, children might be more inclined not report; taking it in their stride, as if it was their normal fate. Participants also reported that some children are reluctant to report incidents of abuse, especially where the abuser/perpetrator is a parent, and/or the family bread winner, the loss of whose support would cause significant harm to the family.

> *When you report a teacher who could be the perpetuator and he/she is arrested when they are released, then you as the pupil, you should forget ever passing his/her subjects or even passing to the next class if he/she is the class teacher* (FGD with children in school, Jinja district).

> *Some perpetuators are caregivers and parents, now if you report your parent and he/she is arrested, then what happens to you? This means you won't have any one to provide for you and also the community will hate you saying* ***"Look at this fool who reported and caused the parent to be arrested"*** *(FGD with children in school, Kitgum district).*

> *The victims fear to go and report to police because after you have reported maybe your parent was the perpetuator and you have to come back home later then you will face it rough so you would rather don't dare report (FGD with children in school, Kitgum district*).

Shame/stigma associated with disclosing incidents of abuse, as also reported to be a significant barrier to children's disclosure of incidents of abuse.

> *Others fear to be stigmatized that she will be ashamed* (FGD with community members, Kitgum district).

> *If you report you caregiver or parent for abusing you, the community can reject you regarding you as a spoilt and a disobedient child* (FGD with children in school, Kitgum district).

> *some people fear to report because of shame for example if you defile a girl or you are raped, girls fear to report because they want to save their identity otherwise the community will stigmatise them* (FGD with children in school, Kitgum district).

Table 13: Reporting abuse

Forms of violence	% of Children who reported	PERSON REPORTED TO							% who received assistance
		Father/ Mother/ Others in family	Teacher/Principal	Friend	Other Community leader	Cultural/ Religious leader	Police	Others	
Sexual Violence									
Touched or pinched your private parts [e.g. breasts, buttocks or genitals], or made you touch theirs	57.1	55.6	18.5	22.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	69.2
Made you watch a sex video or look at sexual pictures in a magazine or computer when you did not want to	31.25	36.7	26.7	30	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	70
Made you look at their private parts or wanted to look at yours	40.0	58.3	8.3	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50
Raped or forced you to have sexual intercourse (vaginal, anal or oral)	60.0	87.5	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.7
Forced (induced) you to consent to marriage or consensual union	50	0.0	0.0	0.0	50	50	0.0	0.0	57.1
Physical Violence									
Pushed, Grabbed, or Kicked you	52.7	61.0	25.7	3.8	5.7	1.0	1.0	0.0	71.3
Hit, beat, or spanked you with a hand	32.4	65.7	18.6	10.0	1.4	1.4	0.0	0.0	70.4
Hit, beat, or spanked you with a belt, paddle, a stick or other object?	26.1	67.4	14.0	7.0	9.3	0.0	2.3	0.0	62.2
Pulled your hair, pinched you, or twisted your ear?	34.4	59.4	21.9	10.9	4.7	1.6	0.0	0.0	47.6
Burned or scalded you, (including putting hot chillies or peppers in your mouth)?	55.6	90	0.0	0.0	10	0.0	0.0	0.0	88.9
Emotional Violence									
Screamed at you very loud and aggressively	44.1	68.9	10.7	9.7	5.8	1.0	0.0	1.9	63.8
Called you names, said mean things or cursed you?	59.3	56.7	19.4	13.4	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	69.0
Threatened to hurt or kill you, including invoking evil spirits against you?	59.2	77.8	2.8	9.7	6.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	60.8
Been bullied (teased, embarrassed) so that you feel sad or bad	46.9	33.3	48.9	13.3	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	81.8

4.4.5. Access to services for abused children

Table 13 shows that they majority of the children who had reported or disclosed incidents of abuse had received some form of assistance/service. In majority of cases the person a child had reported or disclosed to, talked/reprimanded the perpetrator/abuser (50-81%), or offered counselling/psychosocial support (11-50%) (See Annex A.2). Even for most serious forms of victimisation, such as rape, only

During FGDs, participants revealed that access to health and legal aid services remains a challenge, especially for sexually abused children. Access to justice for survivors is in most cases hampered by inefficiencies and limited functionality of key legal and judicial institutions such as the police, judiciary, and absence of or limited access to legal aid services. For example, it is a common practice for the police officers to demand money to arrest and transport suspects. The failure to pay the amount demanded by the police usually results in the police not pursuing the investigations.

In addition, the practice of amicable settlement of cases of child abuse was also common. Amicable settlement involves the transaction of money or valuable domestic animals such as cows or goats. For cases of defilement, it may also be agreed that the perpetrator should marry the victim.

On the other hand, access to health services for abused children is affected by lack of access to child-friendly medical services. Within government facilities, access to health services by child survivors continues to be undermined by constant shortage of trained personnel, lack of space and privacy in health units for providing counselling services and conducting screenings, few communication materials, lack of an effective referral system to move children through the system for immediate and longer term care and treatment.

> *The other challenge we have is with the medical personnel, whereby medical offices are limited and in case a child is abused sexually, it is difficult to get that child examined immediately, because the medical offices are at the district. And we also lack officers able to do PEP examinations on these children* (Deputy OC CID, Kitgum).

4.5. Existing harmful traditional practices (HTP)

This section presents some of the harmful traditional practices, as identified in both Jinja and Kitgum districts that threaten the safety of children. The most commonly cited harmful tradition practices cited during FGDs with children and community members were early and forced marriage, child sacrifice/mutilation, and discrimination against the girl-child.

Forced and early marriage

During FGDs, early marriage was by far the most frequently cited harmful traditional practice. Early and forced marriages were more commonly reported in Kitgum than Jinja districts. Poverty was identified as a major factor driving early marriage. FGD participants reported that some parents faced with poverty, marry off their children so as to gain property and livestock from bride wealth exchanges. It was reported that orphans and other vulnerable children were sometimes married off to relieve the financial and social burden on their caretakers. Difficult financial situations may also force some young girls to resort to marriage as a way to escape poverty.

> *The traditional practice that is bad is forcing children into marriage at an early age; that is, when still young. Family poverty forces parents to marry off their young girls because they are a source of wealth in the form of bride price. They say that a girl has reached this [body] size … they just push her to marriage* (FGD community members, Kitgum)

> *Early marriages, most children especially the girls have for so many years been forced to get married so that the parents can get bride wealth (FGD with in-school children, Kitgum district)*

FGDs participants also observed that many girls marry early due to unintended pregnancy. Whether as a result of adolescent sexual exploration or sexual abuse, pregnancy is seen to reduce girls' options. Girls who become pregnant while still in school have to withdraw. Without education or skills to earn a reasonable livelihood, they and their parents frequently see marriage as their only choice, especially because pregnancy outside of marriage is stigmatized. It was therefore reportedly common for parents to force girls who become pregnant (including those raped) to marry the father of the child, as reflected in the voice below:

> *I know of a young girl who had been defiled and was forced to marry the perpetrator, while her family took the bride price. Here, only in cases when the family fails to get bride price, are such cases of defilement reported to the police. Some parents do not take defilement as a capital offence; it is often discussed in the community and resolved. When they fail to agree, it is reported to the police often to put pressure on the abuser."* (Key informant, Kitgum district)

> *That is very common like the other one I was talking of, because the parent were negotiating when the girl was raped, the parent gave the girl to the boy despite the girl being young. She was still in P6* (Head teacher, Kitgum).

An insidious form of sexual violence, early marriage is associated with a wide range of negative health, education, and economic outcomes. Although the consequences of early marriages were not explored

in this study, recently published global reviews have documented that young women who marry early are more likely than their peers to drop out of school and have lower earning capacity, earlier and more frequent childbearing, and complications in pregnancy, higher maternal mortality, increased risk of HIV infection, and higher infant mortality.[6]

Child sacrifice/mutilation[7]

Child sacrifice/mutilation of children was also identified as a negative harmful cultural practice that affects the safety of children in both districts. Child sacrifice or mutilation of children was blamed on traditional spiritual healers and failure of government to enact and/or enforce law prohibiting witchcraft, spiritual superstitious beliefs, and desire for quick wealth, as reflected in the voices below:

> *Child sacrifice in our community due to lack of money, parents believe they will get money quick children are abandoned so they loiter around the villages* (FGD, children, Jinja).

Discrimination against the girl-child

Participants also perceived discrimination against the girl-child to be a harmful traditional cultural practice.

> *The traditional practices that girls should not go to school but rather remain and do house chores* (FGD with in-school children, Kitgum district).

> *There so many problems children face. Where I am a teacher, the parents have negative attitude on education especially on the girl child education, you find that the boy child is being sent to school, and the girls remain at home to do house work, like preparing food or keep the young ones as the parents are drinking or working. Secondly, the girls are being groomed and brought up especially for marriage like a young girl is given more dresses than the boys mainly for marriage and to make her attractive for the man. So there are cases of early marriages in this community* (Head Teacher, Arom Sub-county, Kitgum district).

[6] UNICEF (2005). Early Marriage, a Harmful Traditional Practice: A Statistical Exploration 2005. New York: UNICEF; International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) (2007) Child Marriage and Domestic Violence. Washington, DC: ICRW

[7] Child Sacrifice is the harmful practice of removing a child's body parts, blood or tissue while the child is alive. These body parts, blood or tissue are either worn, buried or consumed by an individual in the belief they will assist with a number of issues including overcoming illness, gaining wealth, obtaining blessings from ancestors, protection, initiation, assisting with conception and dictating the gender of a child.

4.6. Community understanding and perceptions about child protection

Overall, both children and caregivers could not provide a precise definition of child protection. Nonetheless, most of them demonstrated that they understand the general concept of child protection and were able to provide a description of different elements that constitute child protection that was remarkably consistent across districts. For most care givers and children, child protection meant: "ensuring or safeguarding safety of children", "protection of children from abuse and danger," 'preventing harms to children," " showing love to the child and providing all the basic needs", "guiding children on how to behave to ensure they don't place themselves at risk of abuse" among others.

Children and caregivers also identified a range of protective beliefs & practices, related, positively, to child protection and wellbeing. Table 14 summarizes all the input on child protective beliefs and practices obtained through group and individual interviews. Protective practices identified by KIIs and FGD participants include, among others, (a) community monitoring of child wellbeing and shared supervision of young children ('a child is everyone's child'); (b) sending all children to school, particularly girls; (c) parents encouraging children to attend religious services; and (d) good child-parent relations, including parents reading or playing with children. Involving children in decision making was praised: "whether parent want to make rules for the house or prepare meal, the child must also make a say in it [...]. The child must also be involved in the decision making of the home."

Other protective practices, such as reporting of abuse, supportive social networks (friends and family), family cohesions, positive disciplines and parent-child communication, were also mentioned. Section 5 provides recommendations which are partly based on the identified positive practices, to inform ANPPCAN child protection programming in both districts.

Table 14: Community definitions of child protection

		UNDERSTANDING AND PERCEPTIONS ABOUT CHILD PROTECTION
Key informants		– Shared supervision of young children – Girls are now encouraged to go to school –— Parents encourage children to attend church or mosque. – Children clubs (cultural awareness & child involvement) – Keeping children at home – Parents disapprove of early sex – Shared monitoring of child wellbeing (belief that *a child is everyone's child)* – Parents' belief that *children should be respected and be cared for* (+ biological children) – Sending children to school (boys & girls) – Police arrest children in streets & summon parents –Community leaders advise/mediate parents-children
FGD	**Children**	– Providing for basic needs of children (food, clothing) – Parents supervise children – Parents supporting/reading with children – Providing for basic needs of children (food, clothing, shelter, healthcare) – Children living with parents – Parents/guardians show love to children – Allowing children to play games & playing with parents – Allowing children to sing, dance, and practice sports – Buying football for children to play – Parents showing love to children (*talk nice*) – Parents addressing children with respect – Sending children to school (free) & supporting study – Both parents living at home – Parents showing love to children – Parents involving children in family decisions
	Community Members	– Child supervision – Set limits to child discipline activities – Both parents living at home – Parents encouraging children to bathe daily – Parents give children time to study & play – Teachers giving advice to children – Parents not giving hard punishment – Parents addressing children with respect – Parents encouraging & giving advice to children – Stopping harmful talk towards others – Parents treating all children equally – Parents talking & playing with children – Allowing children time to play – Sending children to school (free) & supporting study – Religious values, practice, & study at home/community – Parents surprise children with gifts/give money

4.7. The family and child protection

Parents have the first hand, sole, and biggest responsibility to play in the lives of the children and protecting the children (FGD with community members, Kitgum)

The family represents an important child protection structure. The family is the first line of protection for children. Parents and caregivers are responsible for building a protective, safe and nurturing environment for their children in order that they grow, learn and develop to their fullest potential. For example, during FGDs, both children and adults spoke of how it is the role of the parents to teach children proper behaviour (such as respect for elders and not stealing or fighting), help them go to school, and avoid getting in trouble. Parents and caregivers also monitor and supervise children and keep them from getting hurt or from engaging in activities such as taking drugs or drinking alcohol.

This section therefore provides an in-depth exploration of children's perceptions on the role of parents, and parenting practices in the study communities. With respect to parenting practices, we mainly focus on parental monitoring and supervision, parent-Child Communication Practices, and parental discipline strategies.

4.7.1. Children's perception on the role of parents

Most commonly, children referred to the role of parents in protecting and fulfilling the basic care-giving needs of children and in providing guidance, authority and emotional support to their children.

Care-giving

Children typically described the role of parents as, '*taking care of the family'* and *'looking after us.'* By far the most common description of basic care-giving was the provision of food and nourishment to children, necessities such as clothes and shoes, and other *'nice things.'*

The care-giving role also extended to children's health and the parents' role in looking after children if they are sick or have an accident. Children described how if they were sick, parents are expected to take them to the hospital or doctor, or give them medicine. Also, in the event of an accident, it was a parent's job to make the child feel better and attend to any injuries. Finally, children described parents' role in providing a home and shelter for them, and ensuring that children were clean, warm and comfortable.

Ensuring child safety

Another key role fulfilled by parents was that of protection and security. Children described the parents' role in keeping their children safe and ensuring they are not in danger. Younger children, in particular, provided examples of how their parents might keep them safe or protect them from danger, such as "not sending them to shops at night", "advising them to stay in school", and "limit[ing] hours of the child's movement. "

Parental responsibility toward child safety and protection also extends to ensuring that they report cases of child abuse, within the family and the community to authorities, as reflected in children voices below:

> *Parents are also protecting their children by reporting the occurrence of any kind of abuse in the family and in the neighbor-hood usually they report to the police and the local council (FGD with children in school, Kitgum district)*
>
> *The case can be reported to our parents, they can help us to warn or take the matter to the local and higher authorities* (FGD with children in school, Kitgum district)

Guidance

Children also considered parents to be an essential source of guidance. Within this 'guidance' theme, parents' roles as teachers and guides for their children were highlighted. Children described that it is their parents' role to help them learn (e.g. by assisting with homework) and teach them different skills (e.g. cooking,). Children, especially older ones, also described parents as moral guides for their children, teaching them *'right from wrong'* by setting a good example and talking to them about the parameters of acceptable and unacceptable behavior.

Authority and control

Parents were also perceived as figures of authority and control in the family. They are therefore responsible for monitoring and checking their children's activities and whereabouts, enforcing limits and boundaries and disciplining children. Typically, parents' checking activities, involving asking questions and checking where the child is going and with whom, as illustrated in the voices below:

> *'They ask you who you're going with, see if they know the people you're going with'*
> *'Say when you're going out to play, they ask you where you're going and to be backat a certain time or something like that'*

Emotional support

All children in the study said that what they want most from parents is to be loved and cared for. Parents were also perceived to be an important source of emotional support i.e. *'If you're ever in trouble, they're there for you.'* During focus groups, in both Jinja and Kitgum district, open communication and listening to each other (e.g. *'parents that listen instead of shouting'*) emerged as key features of emotional support, as illustrated in the voice below:

> *'…it is important to be able to talk to your children such that they are able to come back to you if they have problem.'*

Generally, children's perceptions of the role of parents were gendered, with more parenting closely aligned to either mothers or fathers. The responses gathered from children across locations about the expected roles of a good father and a good mother were analyzed and grouped (see Table 15).

Table 15: Perceived role of Parents

Role of a good father"[8]	Role of a 'good mother'
Providing material and financial support: • Provides me with all the necessities • Gets something for me as soon as he can when I ask for it •Buys new clothes (at the time of special occasions, especially during religious festivals such as eid and christimaas) • Buys new books for me every year	**Taking care and satisfying regular needs:** • Takes good care of us • Cooks for and feeds us • Buys us the things we love • Gives us food on time and what we want to eat • Bathes me • Fulfils our necessities
Taking care of the development of the child and providing guidance: • Takes me to the doctors when ill • Takes care of my health • Protects me from danger • Advises me for my good • Offers encouragement • Does not let us fight • Does not allow us to steal.	**Showing love and affection:** • Is loving and expresses love • Loves us and also respects us • Talks to us affectionately • Feeds us with love and care • Tells us nice stories at bedtime
Providing opportunities: • Sends me to school • Does not send us to work in the fields (at the time of study) • Treats girls and boys equally • Does not allow early marriage • Allows us to visit relatives during vacation • Allows me to go to church and wear new clothes during special occasions	**Providing opportunities:** • Sends us (girls) to school and tells us to study • Treats girls and boys equally • Does not make us work in the fields • Lets us mix with friends and go out • Lets us play • Allows us to visit relatives' places during holidays
Showing affection: • Loves me very much • Talks to me affectionately • We eat together with the whole family • Takes me on his lap and feeds me	**Providing comfort, sacrifice and place for sharing feelings:** • Is willing to do anything, any sacrifice for her children. • Wants to make the child happy • Comforts me when I cry • Does not leave me alone anywhere •Understands the pain of her child (only my mother understands my pain and comforts me when I'm frustrated)
Active engagement with children to support their development: • Encourages me to study • Pays attention to my studies–buysnotebooks, school stationery and uniforms	**Providing support and appreciation:** • Comforts us when the fathers says anything wrong to us • Praises us
Positive discipline, valuing and appreciating children: • Does not beat me • Talks to me with respect • Explains to us • Helps us to understand right and wrong • Forgives me	**Providing information and guidance:** • Gives us information on household matters • Gives us advice • Teaches us good things • Stops us from doing anything bad • Forbids us to say bad things

[8] All sentences in all the four tables were extracted from quotes of children collected at the time of consultations, FGDs or DIs during the study.

Unacceptable behavior of parents as expressed by some children

Children were also asked about what they perceived to be 'unacceptable behaviors of parents. Three key behaviors were commonly cited: domestic violence, alcoholic parents, physical and humiliating punishments, and unequal treatment.

Parental/domestic violence
Children reported they did not like to see their parents physically or verbally abuse each other's. For example some children described how they "dislike seeing their mothers being beaten by their fathers" or their father "verbally abusing their mother and calling her names"

Alcoholic parents
All children condemned excessive drinking habits of fathers or mothers. They said that an alcoholic parent tends to be unpredictable in his/her behavior. For example, an alcoholic father can be really nice and sometimes he can be very violent towards his wife and children. Some children also reported that, when their parents are excessively drunk, they find it difficult to communicate with them, which often leaves them frustrated and angry.

Physical and humiliating punishment
Most of the children in this study disliked physical and humiliating punishment by their parents and other caregivers. Instead they preferred parents to talk to them.

Unequal treatment
Children also reported that they prefer that their children treat them the same way.

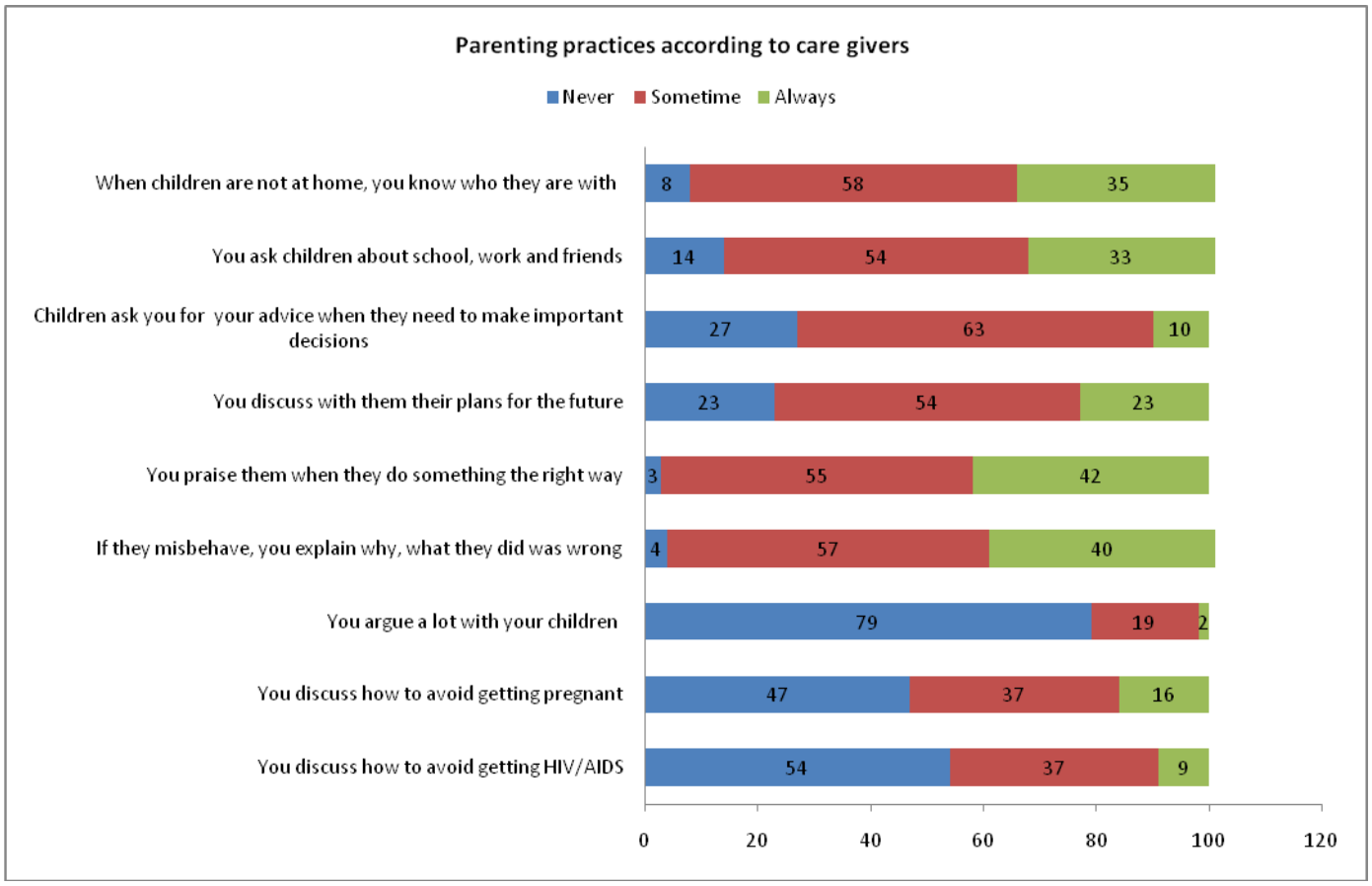
4.7.2. Parenting practices

Parent-child relations are at the core of family life, the development of human bonding, the understanding of child behavior, and the adjustment of children to their community and their environment.[9] There is accumulating evidence that positive parenting practices such as quality parent-child communication, and parental monitoring and supervision, play a protective role on child development and adjustment.[10,11] Thus, this section focuses on the three main parenting practices: (i) parental monitoring and supervision, (ii) parent-child communication, and (iii) parental discipline strategies.

[9] Bronfenbrenner U. *The ecology of human development: experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; 1979.
[10] DeVore ER, Ginsburg KR. The protective effects of good parenting on adolescents. *Current Opinion in Pediatrics.* 2005;17(4):460-465.
[11] Marjorie S. Good parenting: Making a difference. *Early Human Development.* 2010;86(11):689-693

During focus group discussions, care givers were provided with a list of situations regarding parent-child relations (particularly, about parental monitoring and supervision, and parent-child communication and asked whether these ever happened in their homes, and if so how frequently (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Parenting practices according to care givers



Parental monitoring and supervision[12]

According to caregivers, when children are not at home, they sometimes (58 percent) or always (35 percent) know who they are with (Figure 1). We found that parents employ a repertoire of strategies to monitor their children.

Most commonly, verbal communication was cited by children as the way in which parents monitored their behavior. For instance, a boy in Jinja commented: *'They [parents] like to always know where they [children] are going and with whom".* In most cases, verbal communication includes asking children questions or relying on the accounts of others (e.g. teachers, neighbors) for information regarding children's activities. Most children referred to parents talking to them and asking them direct questions in order to ascertain where they were and what they were up to, as illustrated in the voices below:

[12] Parental monitoring traditionally refers to a set of parenting behaviors relating to parental oversight of the child's activities. Parental monitoring traditionally has been defined as the acquisition of knowledge about the activities, whereabouts, and companions of one's son or daughter

*My parents ask about my whereabouts, why I walk, where I go (*FGD with children, Jinja district*)*

'You get a million questions before you go out …where are you going, who are you going with, what time will you be in and that kind of thing' (FGD with children, Kitgum district)

In contrast to direct communication between children and their parents, a smaller number of children reported that their parents consulted with other adults or siblings in order to provide a check on the behavior of their children. Parents were also perceived to monitor their children's behavior by keeping an eye on the friends they were keeping company with.

On the other hand, some children described their parents as being 'all-knowing' and having 'secret powers' with regard to monitoring and checking their behaviors. One boy in Jinja district said, *'I don't know … they just know everything … It's sort of a weird thing with parents …. They just sort of know.'* While another girl in Kitgum noted that, *'Like… it's just like she has eyes in the back of her head and she just knows where I'm going'.* A number of children across all age groups also underscored the ability of parents to accurately read their behaviors to inform themselves of their children's whereabouts and activities. Inherent in these narratives is that, being attentive to patterns children's familiar behaviors and a close parent–child relationship makes it possible for parents to detect any unexpected changes in children's routines, or when they are in trouble or at risk.

Children reaction and response to parental monitoring

Children's reactions to parental control attempts vary; they can range from irritation to ambivalence to appreciativeness. Generally, it appears that children do not mind their parents' monitoring behaviors, as long as they perceive them to be warranted. For example, most children appear to recognize that parental questioning of 'where they are going' is helpful and necessary at times. However, some children perceive parental monitoring as excessive and interrupting. Children also believed that parental monitoring should decrease as they get older. The study also revealed that children respond to parental control attempts in a variety of ways. Typical responses include complying, complaining, or attempting to change the parent's mind (i.e., persuading).

Neglectful and Bad Parenting

Although most caregivers acknowledged the importance and necessity of parental monitoring and supervision of children, information from KIIs and FGDs shows some parents were less inclined to monitor or check children activities (i.e. supervision) and points out to problems of bad parenting that in some cases bordered on neglect, although local people (both adults and children) did not tend to use that term. For example, several references were made to the practice of leaving children left home alone while their parents go to the farm or to the market. "Kids are left alone while parents go fetch water," said an interviewee from Orom sub-county in Kitgum district. No details were provided as to the presence of others (e.g., siblings or neighbors) to supervise children in those situations. Participant

observations in Kitgum also indicated that young children (2-3 years of age) were sometimes left on their own, even when they were close to a road and were in danger of being hit by passing vehicles.

In one community in Jinja districts, an informant reported that children as young as eight years are often left unsupervised at night and try to sneak into or get someone to pay for them to go to the video 'show where people sometimes watch graphic sexual images. Similarly, some parents in Kitgum were reported to send their children (at night) to buy cigarettes or alcohol and, which aroused concerns among some adults that parents' were exposing them' to bad habits at an early age.

Parent-Child Communication Practices

Being listened to and communicated with are basic needs of any human being and therefore of children. The communication between parents and children is particularly important. Communication builds understanding about each other, which is necessary for the parents to guide and care for the child and for the child to learn from parents or to access them for support. A child who is never listened to properly grows up feeling that adults are not interested in him/her, which may create low self-esteem. Communicating with the child also reduces the chances of child abuse as the child gets the opportunity to tell parents about any problem or discomfort and parents get the chance to be there to offer help and protection.[13]

Parent-child communication on daily life

Several statements were used to assess different traits of parent-child communications. Most caregivers sometimes (54 percent) or always (33 percent) ask children about school, work, and friends yet 14 percent never asks. Also, about three out of every four caregivers discuss with children their plans for the future and/or give them advice when they need to make important decisions (see Figure 1). FGD participants identified parents encouraging and giving advice to children as a protective practice. There is nonetheless a sizeable proportion (23–27 percent) of caregivers who never communicates on these matters with the children in their care.

Validation and transmission of a moral order

Figure 1 indicates that in most cases, if children misbehave caregivers sometimes (57%) or always (40%) explain the reason why what they did was wrong. Similarly, most caregivers sometimes (55%) or always (42%) praise children when they do something right. These practices are said to happen consistently in about one-third of cases. The prevalence of these practices is consistent with children's reports too.

Most children reported that when they misbehave (that is; do something they are not supposed to do), their parents/caregivers often (52%) or sometimes (37%) discuss the misbehavior in with them, in a parenting way. In addition, 92 percent reported that their parents/caregivers praise them when they do

[13] NSPCC (2000). *Listening to Children: A guide for parents and carers.* London: National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC).

something right and/or for their efforts and hard work. The differences by gender and district were slight (see Table 16)

Table 16: Parenting Practices

Discuss the misbehavior in a parenting way?	Districts						Overall		
	Jinja			Kitgum					
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Never (%)	5.8	6.1	5.9	12.1	24.1	18.8	7.8	14.4	10.9
Sometimes (%)	20.3	23.5	21.6	72.7	53.0	61.7	37.3	37.0	37.1
Often (%)	73.9	70.4	72.5	15.2	22.9	19.5	54.9	48.6	51.9
Number of children (n)	*138*	*98*	*236*	*66*	*83*	*149*	*204*	*181*	*385*
When you behave well or do a good job; does your parent praise you?									
Yes (%)	95.6	98.0	96.6	90.9	80.2	84.9	94.1	89.7	92.0
No (%)	4.4	2.0	3.4	9.1	19.8	15.1	5.9	10.3	8.0
Number of children (n)	*137*	*98*	*235*	*66*	*86*	*152*	*203*	*184*	*387*

The above findings are corroborated by information from focus groups with care givers and children. Participants reported that when a child does something right or well, it was a common practice for parents/caregivers to: praise/compliment the child (*you are the best, keep it up!),* tell the child's siblings the good she/he has done or give the child gifts or reward.

Communication around sensitive issues: sexual intimacy

Approximately half of caregivers never discuss how to avoid getting HIV/AIDS (54 percent) or getting pregnant (47 percent) with the children in their care. This is corroborated by information from FGDs with children and community members. Both children and parents described feeling 'uncomfortable' or 'embarrassed' to talk about sex and sexual health. For example, some girls reported that they would not dare talk about sexual health related with their parents or else they would be labeled as 'bad girls.' Consequently, most children usually rely on their peers and the media for information about sex and reproductive health.

> *Issues of sexual relationship, parents fear especially talking to the girl child about protection or use of condoms now that HIV/AIDS is rampant and this is because it's not been the practice to talk to children about sex.*

> *Most times we fear to discuss some things with children especially the boy child it's hard to talk about sexual relationship and more so telling them to use condoms because if you don't tell them, they can contract HIV, this is very hard, when children reach adolescent age they can't be controlled.*

What I see is the issue of reproductive health and these parents cannot discuss it with their children and sometimes it causes fights in the home because actually it's unacceptable.

Children's perception on communication between parents and children

In both districts, most children (97%) perceived communication with parents to be important. Indeed most children (90%) reported that they talk to their parents/caregivers. Particularly, children talk to their parents about their education/school activities (35%), their essential needs (17%), their future plans/aspiration (10%), and personal health and safety issues (18%). During FGDs, children also revealed that they talk or discuss with their parents on issues related to children's hygiene, household chores, and about expected behavior from children.

My parents can talk to me about house chores, what I should be doing (FGD with in school children, Kitgum district)

We talk about how to behave well, having a good company (FGD with in school children, Kitgum district)

We discuss how we children should behave and live in the community (FGD with in school children, Kitgum district)

We also discuss things of hygiene and inner clothing like under wears and others (FGD with in school children, Kitgum district)

Most children talk to their mothers (67% of girls and 55% of boys). Only, one in every five children in reported talking to their fathers; with more boys reporting talking to their fathers compared to girls (29% vs. 11%). Focus group discussions revealed that fathers are 'generally busy' or 'not always at home' and have less interaction with children. Most children talked to their fathers only when they needed any school stationery, school fees or anything that involved money. They also talked to the father when they were ill.

Most children reported that they mainly talk to their mothers, because their mothers are usually available at home. So, there are more chances of interaction. Most children, especially girls, also described having a 'closer relation with their mothers' and finding it "easy" to talk to their mothers when they have problems or when they need something, because they '*are usually more understanding and empathetic*.'

I talk to my mother because she gives me time. My father is ever away he has no time for me (FGD, children, Jinja district)

Mother is a woman like me so she understands my problems as a girl (FGD, with in-school children, Kitgum district)

However, 10 per cent of girls and 9 percent boys reported that they do not normally talk to their parents. A higher proportion (36.5% of boys and 48.8 % of girls) also said that they do not confide in their parents about their personal problems. The reason behind this gap as identified by both children and care givers was that some parents did not have the patience or time to listen to their children, fear that their parents 'would not understand', and that some parents are rude, not understanding or unapproachable or had the tendency to lecture or criticize everything that children said. To some children, parents only listen to things that they want to hear. They do not listen to them if they do not want to.

Some parents don't have time for their children... after drinking, they come back late and the children do their own things without consulting the parents (FGD with community members, Kitgum)

*Some parents are rude, so children fear to face parents (*FGD with children, Jinja district).

I have no parents all of them are my step parents, they do not listen to me (FGD, children, Jinja district)
I talk to none because they do not give time. (FGD, children, Jinja district)

No they do not trust us, even though you tell your father about your personal problems, they just leave the issue there unattended to (IDI, survivor of violence, Jinja district)

What makes children fear is that most parents are not friendly to their children because he/she know that they will shout at them (FGD, community members, Koona Village, Kitgum)

Children fear because if the parents are very tough or unapproachable then they cannot be open to talk or discuss anything with them (FGD with children, Kitgum district)

Parents are tough that's why the child would prefer to tell someone else or a friend (FGD with children, Jinja)

Some parents don't show love to their children, so children can't tell such parents anything they would rather be quiet and approach issues in their own way (FGD with children, Jinja)

Children also do not confide in their parents about their personal problems because parents become judgmental, criticize them and frequently put restrictions on them. For example, if they talked about a friend getting into trouble or falling in love then parents start lecturing and admonishing them and prevent them from mixing with that friend. So children would rather share and discuss their thoughts, desires, ideas and secrets with friends and/or turn to their friends for advice. Many girls and boys also said that they would lie to their parents in order to avoid interrogations, lecturing and scolding.

Parental discipline strategies

Children's views on the kinds of discipline responses and strategies that parents adopt in response to child misbehavior were explored in the focus groups. The discipline strategies identified by children can be, broadly categorized under the broad headings of power-assertive discipline strategies, and inductive discipline strategies. A distinction is often made between "power-assertive" and "inductive" discipline. Power-assertive disciplinary methods involve following a child's inappropriate behaviour with a negative consequence (smacking, threats, withdrawal of privileges) without explanation or justification. Inductive methods involve setting limits, setting up logical consequences, reasoning and explanation.[14] (Holden 2002)

Power-assertive discipline strategies

Power-assertive discipline strategies were mentioned predominantly in children's interviews with regard to the discipline responses they experienced. The most common power-assertive strategy used by parents reported was physical punishment (51.2%). The most common forms of physical punishment used by parents are beating with a stick, cane or whip, pinching, pulling the hair and ears, slapping the face and head, kicking and punching, pushing and shoving the child.

Non-physical methods such as denying a child food, removal of privileges (such as, not being given pocket money), and/or being allocated more household chores were also reportedly used by parents to enforce children discipline (9.1%).

Table 17: Child disciplinary strategies

Disciplinary strategies	Districts		Overall
	Jinja	Kitgum	
Physical punishment	42.6	59.4	51.2
Non-physical methods	13.1	5.3	9.1
Talking to children	43.6	34.9	39.1
Others	0.7	0.4	0.6

Inductive discipline strategy

Talking was also reported to be a common discipline strategy. This typically involves explaining to the children why the behaviour is wrong, and asking the child not to do it again. For example, during FGDs several parents described how they "talk to or communicate with their children (especially older children)" when they misbehave, in order to challenge or change what they (parents) considered inappropriate behaviors, and to explain more about what they expected from them. In return, parents expected children to apologize, as reflected in the voice below:

> *We talk to children when they misbehave. Then the child should be able to apologize. Other children start to cry. I think at that time you need to hold up and then humbly stand again to talk*

[14] Holden, G.W. (2002) "Perspectives on the effects of corporal punishment: Comment on Gershoff (2002)" *Psychological Bulletin*, 128(4):590–595.

until they listen.(FGD, community members, Koona village, Kitgum village)

4.8. Traditional practices of child care and protection

This section provides an exploratory overview of traditional practices of child care and protection. Our study identified four important traditional practices, related, positively, to child protection and wellbeing. We however maintain that a detailed investigation in future could provide a nuanced picture of the specifics of these practices, including their negative implications for child protection.

'It took a village to raise a child'

Traditionally, child care rearing was considered a communal responsibility. A child 'belonged' to the whole community and every member of a given community had the responsibility for a given child, including monitoring and supervision, discipline and punishment, and resolution of crimes perpetrated against that child. For example, it was the norm for any community member to discipline any child found misbehaving, including those caught in situations that place them at a greater risk of abuse.

However, the culture that embraces child rearing as a communal effort has been severely eroded. This was particularly blamed on 'western' modernization ideals that place strong emphasis on individualism and 'glorify' the freedoms of children, and break down of social and cultural norms in some communities due to conflict and urbanisation. Participants revealed that nowadays too many people seem to think that they can raise the children on their own, and do not want anybody to *'*touch', *'*talk to' or discipline their children, even when they misbehave.

> *There was communal disciplining of the child, every parent had responsibility to all children, but today a parent can kill you and grudges begin from there if you try to talk about a child's evil deed* (FGD, community member, Jinja district)

> *They were good children, punishment was communal but today the parent can ask you questions how can you beat my child, you punish your own child didn't you produce?* (FGD, community member, Jinja district)

> *You see those days children were taken care of communally but these days I hear children aren't allowed to be beaten by anyone, neighbours don't want their children to be touched and so the don't respect at all.* (FGD, community members, Kitgum district)

However, one key informant succinctly offered an alternative explanation for a shift in the communal child rearing dynamic:

> *Long ago it used to be that way and the saying and theory worked, not anymore. Time Change, people change. And so do villages. Everything has changed. Your neighbours are not really who you think they are. Parents are now very careful about entrusting their children to others in their community. There are lots wrong people out there…You don't know how many wrong people live within our vicinity. People are too selfish.* So it is our *responsibility as parents to keep our*

kids away from the 'village idiots' regardless of who they are; uncles, cousins, step-dads, step-moms, and the irresponsible parents, and maybe even grandparents. Remember, even clergy-men so sometimes fall into the category of the 'village idiots'.

Extended family and the nurturing of children

Traditionally, extended families played a more pronounced role in child nurturing, care and protection, than is the case now days. In the past, there was a stronger sense that family is not just the father, mother, and children, but it's inclusive of the uncles, aunts, grandparents and other extended family members, all of whom would contribute, in various ways, to a person the child eventually became.

The extended family were a key support for protecting children, including providing for the needs of family members or friends who had come upon difficult times. Even orphans are effectively supported and protected by this traditional system of family care and protection. For example, an uncle or a neighbour could help support the school fees, provide for medical assistance, or take in a child orphaned by both parents. This support was organic and culturally expected, and was a sustainable protective mechanism. However, this traditional system of care based on kinship has been severely eroded due to urbanisation and weakening social ties, or have already been overstretched by the increasing number of vulnerable children and financial difficulties.

Taboos, Idiomatic Expressions, Proverbs

Traditionally, idiomatic expressions, taboos and proverbs provided important cultural resources for child care and protection in communities in both Jinja and Kitgum districts. Most of the proverbs and expressions offer positive and negative reflections of how childhood is and children traditionally are regarded. Most proverbs portray children as sweet, decent, honest and vulnerable and dependent. Several other proverbs suggest that children need support from adults and guidance. They confer responsibility to parents as well as the community, to ensure that children are protected, trained and nurtured properly to become responsible or 'cultured' [demonstrating acceptable behaviour according to community values, beliefs and norms](see Box 2).

In addition, several expressions and taboos inherently reflect various positive attitudes, practices and mechanisms in communities that help to protect children from different forms of abuse and that could potentially be built upon, supported or expanded as a starting point in future child protection interventions. For example, children were reportedly protected through the use of taboos that made them desist from certain practices that could cause them harm. Some of these are summarized below, without aiming to be exhaustive:

- Children are not supposed to sit on cooking stones, which protects them from getting burnt, and on grinding stones for purposes of hygiene as the stone is used for grinding food.

- Children were also told not to sit near the fire, saying that "your uncle will die." So the children wouldn't want this to happen to their loved ones and obey immediately but these days when you discipline or stop a child from doing what is wrong, they will say you are abusing the child's right.

- Children were also told it was a taboo to walk in the evening and at night. They were told, *" wor wor weko inono man otyeno"*—meaning "if you walk at night you will step on testicle of the evening". *"This was meant to prevent children from the dangers associated with moving at night. Hence children had to take care and move during day. In the process you stay safe because you are avoiding the dark and loneliness (FGD with children, Kitgum).*

Box 2: Some proverbs and expressions about children

Value of children	Children innocence and poor judgment
A child is the greatest delight and anticipation for a person: Once received, you ought to handle with tender loving care.	*A small child always cries for [longs to get] whatever [she/he] comes across [what belongs to others/doesn't own]*
OR *A child [to be born] is eagerly awaited: [once received] you do not treat her carelessly [ignore, neglect or abandon]*	Child discipline *An undisciplined child is a source of blame to the mother*
Children are flowers who need care	*A disobedient child does not pass a big stool. As a punishment the parent will give it little to eat) –Basoga-Jinja*
Children are the beauty of life	*You punish a disobedient child by biting off the meat and giving it the bare bone –Basoga Jinja*
A well-reared child will benefit the parents	
A child is not thrown away	
A child should not be abandoned (not even an ugly one)	

Spending time with boys and girls: Storytelling

It was noted that parents used to spend considerable amount of time with their children to prepare them for their roles in society. For example, in Kitgum district, the "*wang oo" (sitting around the fire in the evening) was* a common practice. Similar or related practices were also common in Jinja. This provide a forum for parents to tell their children stories, and implicitly teach children "how to relate with people, and [different aspects of] culture and norms" It also provided an opportunity for parents to discuss with their children ways in which they can protect themselves, and talk about what was expected of them.

The "wang oo" meaning sitting around the fire in the evening, this was good when we could sit and then tell them that girls do home chores instead of taking cows to the field this would protect them from different defilers or rape (FGD with children, Kitgum district).

4.9. Role cultural and religious leaders in child protection

This section explores the role of cultural and religious leaders in child protection, and suggests practical ways of incorporating them in the formal child protection systems.

4.9.1. Religious Leaders

Religious leaders play an important role in the life of communities in both Jinja and Kitgum district. They act as the 'moral compass' of the community, and the moral and spiritual leadership of religious actors often provides significant contribution to people otherwise struggling to deal with everyday adversities.

With respect to child protection, religious leaders were reported to play a significant role. For example, religious leaders play an important role in the spiritual nurturing and development of children, through religious teachings and counselling. Studies show that spirituality and religion can have a profound influence on children's development and socialization and have the potential to reinforce protective influences and promote resilience. Religious leaders also play a key role in challenging social norms and values that place children at greater risk of abuse, through counselling and spiritual leadership to their congregation, and raising awareness about an array of child protection issues. For example, it was reported that during sermons some religious leaders often preach about the value of child (children as a gift from God), and underscore the importance of taking children to school.

Besides spiritual guidance and support, religious leaders are also active in providing direct services, including education and many other supports. For example, in Jinja district, some participants said that some religious leaders have helped to keep children in school by raising funds to pay school fees or identifying people or organizations that would sponsor children's education. This has enabled several boys and girls who had hitherto dropped out of school, to re-join school, as reflected in the voices:

The pastor got me white sponsors who pay my school fees. The sponsors have made me reach where I am. Otherwise I would not have gone to school (FGD with children, Jinja district)

In buleba there was a boy who was lame and had no help the sponsors took him to Kenya for further studies by the help of a pastor (FGD with children, Jinja district)

In some communities, religious leaders have carried out some very effective advocacy on child protection, including speaking out against all forms of violence against children, including sexual abuse of girls and boys, in their communities and beyond.

Religious leaders also play a role in mediation and intra-family conflict resolution, and supporting children and families through potentially traumatic events. According to some participants in the study,

they prefer religious actors to solve family and community conflicts rather than local authorities. The confidence religious actors inspire at the individual and family level makes them crucial partners for any attempt to strengthen protective responses.

Given the means available, ANPPCAN can help to strengthen their protective capacity by first training religious leaders in the priorities of child protection, and then engaging them as 'drivers of change', or leaders in the efforts to engage community members in the protection of children. During the research there was a sense that religious leaders are not maximising their potential to engage parents and children in strengthening their protective capacities. Given that many of the risks being posed to children – e.g. girls not knowing the value of their bodies, or parents having lost hope in caring for their children – are also largely existential, religious leaders may be the best placed to contribute to positive attitude and behaviour shifts. In addition, clerics, bishops, imams, preists, nun etc—can be powerful allies in advocacy for children's rights. Religious leaders speak with authority on behalf of significant portions of the population, and they bring that authority and legitimacy to child rights work that may be perceived as primarily secular.

It is important to note that leaders of the different religious communities bring to every partnership an array of assets that contribute to ensuring the well-being of children. When the collective energy and resources of a number of these leaders is harnessed, even better outcomes can be achieved. Nonetheless, it is imperative to identify the leadership level at which engagement is necessary for the planned programming (e.g., national, district, local), particularly with religious communities that are very hierarchical.

Strengths and Resources Religious leaders can bring to child protection include:

1. Most religions stress an ethical obligation to care for and protect children (evidenced in religious texts and tenets)
2. Religious actors are also uniquely positioned through their values, moral authority and extensive networks to ensure the well-being of children.
3. Religious communities tend to have well-established structures of authority in most environments that a child protection actor might enter.
4. Because religious actors are able to enter the family sphere in a way most outside actors cannot, they can be a conduit of communication for social change and transformation.
5. Because of the depth of experience of religious leaders in crafting messages to influence their members, potentially, they can be effective partners in advocating for changes to improve children's safety and wellbeing.
6. Religious communities often approach children's needs as part of a whole (family, community, etc.) as opposed to the compartmentalization of a child-centered focus.

4.9.2. Cultural leaders

Cultural and traditional leaders are an essential fabric of any society. Cultural leaders, such as paramount and village chiefs retain a special role in the community for ensuring child welfare and

protection. They, greatly influence the way children are perceived and treated in their communities, and more than anybody else, are better placed to influence their communities to promote positive cultural practices as they command respect and influence in their respective rural communities.

Study participants also perceived cultural and traditional leaders, such as the *Rwot Kweri* (in charge of 10 households) in Kitgum, to be best placed and trusted to handle cases of child abuse exploitation in the community. They yield power and have authority to mediate in cases of child abuse, counsel and offer advice to victims, resolve inter and intra-family conflict, and ensure justice for children who have experienced abuse based on restorative principles. Justice based on restorative principles (that is, traditional justice) was perceived by community members to be fair because it seeks not only to punish the offender , but also compensate the family/community and reconcile the offender with the victim and the community. Even in case of defilement or rape, cultural leaders may be called upon to perform purification rituals to cleanse and re-integrate offenders into the community to avert bad omen as cited by one of the respondents.

> *The victim can report to a relative or the clan leaders who can help to counsel the abusers or even to the victim* (FGD with children, Kitgum district).

> *When the child misbehaves, I do get time to talk to the child if the mother is also around; we include the clan elders and the siblings especially the older ones and inform the child on the way to go and if the child becomes remorseful she will ask for forgiveness* (FGD with community members, Kitgum district).

In some communities, cultural and traditional leaders especially, the Chiefs were highly active in raising awareness about various harms to children, and in challenging negative cultural norms that predispose children to violations. In addition, some have passed various by-laws against practices such as children working outside school while schools were in session. Although the by-laws were unevenly enforced in most communities, their existence did signal what was regarded as right or wrong conduct in the community.

Overall, participants considered cultural and traditional leaders to be an important resource for child protection. However, it is necessary to ensure considerable scrutiny upon cultural leaders to ensure that serious cases, such as rape, are report to appropriate duty bearers for investigation and prosecution of perpetrators. In both districts, the was a strong sense that cultural and traditional leaders were abiding by the law and reporting cases beyond their decision-making powers to higher authorities. . However, many other respondents reported that some cultural leaders and elders continue to 'compromise' cases by taking decisions within the village. In deciding a course of action, for example, a clan leader or Chief may take into consideration, for example, the role of the perpetrator as sole breadwinner for their family or that the village reputation will become tarnished by a conviction.

4.10. Community-based child protection groups

The study established existence of a range of community-based structures/groups for child protection in both Jinja and Kitgum districts. These groups are known by a variety of names, such as , child protection committees', 'community owned resource persons', 'child welfare committees', or 'child rights committees', 'community sensitization volunteers' among other terms. The groups vary considerably in regard to their formation, composition, roles and responsibilities, and functions. Generally, however, these groups address a full array of child rights and protection issues.

Most community-based child protection groups are initiated with the support of an external agency, mainly NGOs and CBOs such as ANPPCAN, Child Fund, WarChild Holland among others. The level of support they receive from these agencies varies according to context and the range of partnerships they have built. For example, supporting agencies may provide groups with bikes, stationery, t-shirts or other resources. However, all supporting agencies provide community-based child protection groups with some form of training and capacity building. Most groups have 8–20 members, but the status and skill of the individuals involved can vary significantly. In most community groups, members are all volunteers who have no professional training or skills related to child protection, but are usually parents themselves, community or religious leaders or other persons interested in child protection issues.

The study established that the community child protection groups play a key role on identifying and responding to, and preventing risks to children's protection and well-being. They identify child protection cases and report violations to LCs and other authorities raise awareness and educate communities about child protection issues, provide information about where people should go if they have concerns relating to violations of children's rights, and provide psychosocial support for survivors of abuse, exploitation, and violence. Members of these groups also settle cases of minor nature, and make restitution and give cautions or warnings. They also collaborate with police, local government, the social welfare department, parents, and teachers, and children to ensure access to necessary services for children who have suffered abuse.

Discussions with key informants during the study indicated that community-based groups are appreciated as community-based responses. They were lauded as a a key resource in fostering community responsibility and galvanizing community level efforts for child protection, creating a supportive environment for children who experience abuse, and are a means of changing social norms and values, some of which may harm children altering social norms that predispose children to abuse. They study also revealed that because of the efforts of these groups, communities are able to identify and highlight child rights violations and act on them. Some cases of abuse are reported by communities to member of community child protection groups and are reported directly to the police. In defilement cases, parents were said to have become more vigilant in following the right channels for reporting; for example, they seek an immediate medical examination in order to ensure the evidence is not destroyed.

Participants also perceived the use community groups in child protection to be a low cost strategy of reaching a large number of vulnerable children, compared to an individually oriented casework approach. The provision of support on a wide scale is made possible by building horizontal connections among community-based child protection groups, and vertical connections with district-level and

national-level mechanisms, both formal and non-formal. In addition, community groups can draw on a range of community resources, and practices that potentially can support child protection. Working with community groups can also ensures the creation of contextually appropriate, sustainable supports that outlive the life of externally funded projects.

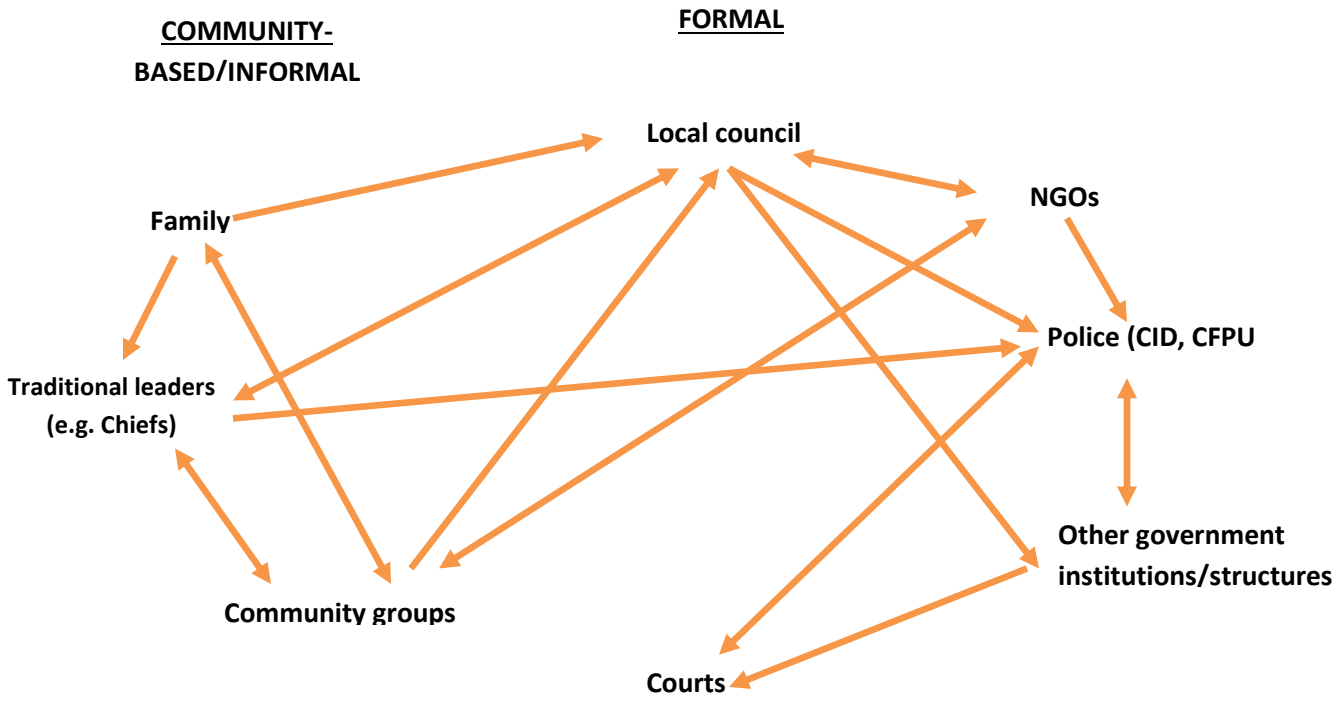
4.11. Interface between community-based and formal child protection mechanisms

This section describes the interface between the community-based and formal child protection systems, paying particular attention to linkages and information sharing between these systems. The formal child protection systems and mechanisms are generally based on statutory instruments or other formal instruments enacted by the government which designate specific functions and authority to actors and institutions at various levels to discharge child protection functions. Informal child protection mechanisms on the other hand are based on cultural and traditional organisational forms and sources of authority. They are mostly voluntary and driven by the concepts of shared responsibilities for child care. They are generally more localised.

Our findings show that the two systems are not mutually exclusive; rather they co-exist and, to some extent interact with each other—to form a chain of protection (see Figure 3). In both districts, community-based child protection mechanisms are the first (and sometimes the last) recourse for families and communities to deal with child protection issues. Many child protection problems often times are resolved within communities. When a child rights violation occur, responses begin from within the family and progressively involve other actors if and when the problem is not resolved, as outlined below:

- Immediate family reaction (mediation, negotiation)
- Extended family involvement (mediation, counsel families, negotiation, family arrangements)
- Neighbours / community (meetings and mediation processes, typically at the family level)
- Notification and involvement of community leaders such as elected local officials, traditional and religious leaders (mediation, counsel, sanctions and family arrangements, referral to police-exceptionally).
- Police involvement (prosecution): When the problem is very serious or cannot be solved at the community, it is reported directly to the police, or through and in coordination with community leaders, community child protection groups, and CBOs.
- Courts of judicature (*rare*)

Figure 3: Linkage between formal and informal child protection actors



Overwhelmingly, people used traditional family and community mechanisms in responding to child protection issues. For example,, community leaders continue to resolve the majority of child protection issues. Only the most egregious cases of abuse are reported to the police, by the different actors (see Figure 3). Cases referred to the police are followed up by the family, community leaders and members of community groups to ensure perpetrators are dealt with according to the law.

Children may also be referred by community-based structures to Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), and other formal government child protection actors such as probation and social welfare officers (PSWO) and health facilities for protective and response[15] services etc. These services may include medico-legal services, such as psychosocial counselling, alternative care and rehabilitation. For example, government health facilities is required to provide free treatment and to provide a forensic examination if requested. Counselling may also be provided at the health facility level.

Formal and informal child protection systems are therefore, to some extent, linked through this referral system. Nonetheless, our findings show that documentation and record keeping of the cases referred to the various child protection actors between and with the two systems, and how they were concluded remains a challenge. In addition, child protection information management systems in both are quite weak, and there are no mechanisms for consistent, on-going information sharing and data analysis

[15] Response services refer to the help that children receive when they are in need of special protective measures.

between agencies and structures involved in child protection. This undermines effective linkage between the different actors between and within the two systems.

The study also revealed that, even in regard to criminal offenses, most people are reluctant to use formal child protection mechanisms as outlined in the different statutory instruments. This disconnect between the local mechanisms that people actually use and the government-led aspects of the national child protection system owes partly to problems of access but also to cultural and social norms and negative perceptions of the formal system. Additional research, including on community-driven interventions for linking communities and formal mechanisms, is therefore needed to identify the effective means for addressing these obstacles and enabling the alignment of the endogenous and formal mechanisms.

4.12. Effectiveness of locally generated and owned mechanisms for preventing and protecting children from abuse

Community-based or locally generated mechanisms for child protection form an important component of national child protection. These mechanisms largely take the form of kinship networks and structures within the extended family network/clan system, community-based structures formed in response to specific child vulnerability concerns. These community based protection mechanisms provide a range of vital services, including ensuring physical safety for vulnerable children, and offer a means of prevention and response on a large scale to the diverse child protection threats that arise at community level, through creating supportive communities.

In fact, most of the protection and response services are provided within the realm of the community-based and informal child protection system. For example, when violations occur, it is largely the family and community support systems that provide the first line of response.

Community structures such as Child Welfare Committees also play a vital role on in effective identification of vulnerable children, and ensuring effective referral for abused children. Therefore, community-based child protection mechanisms (CBCPMS) form an important part of the national child protection system, and are perceived to represent contextually appropriate, sustainable supports that can outlive the life of externally funded projects. Even externally facilitated CBCPMs can be sustainable, if they have been organized in a manner that promotes community ownership.

However, the functionality of the informal child protection systems is fraught with several challenges. First, the capacity of the family and communities to prevent and respond to violence has over the years been progressively eroded due to breakdown of family/community cohesiveness. Second, if not well linked to the formal systems, in respect of certain violations it is likely that the children who are left entirely within the realm of the community-based informal system will miss out on critical services such as health remedies and justice.

Third, given the varied perceptions of what constitutes child abuse, self-interest imperatives, the inclination to prioritise harmonious co-existence within families and communities as well as the limited appreciation of the adverse impact of child abuse on the children, many community level structures tend to mis-handle serious violations against children such as sexual abuse in a manner that compromises the rights of the affected children. Fourth, because of their informal and voluntary nature such systems are often resource constrained and are more inclined to offer support that does not involve substantial financial costs.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

The findings above raise several implications for programming. Based on the above findings several recommendations for strengthening community-based responses for child protection are suggested. These include, the need to strengthen the capacity of families to protect and care for children, build children's capacities for self-protection, and strengthen and complement the capacity of key community-based child protection actors

Strengthening the capacity of families to protect and care for children

- ANPPCAN needs to engage with parents extensively and intensively, including offering training and awareness-raising in basic protection principles, knowledge on how to communicate with their children, and guidance and psychosocial support in meeting the extreme challenges of daily survival.

- There is also need for parenting education to enhance child care and protection. Dissemination of efficacious parenting strategies (including parent–child communication, parental monitoring and discipline strategies) is particularly needed.

Build children's capacities for self-protection

- ANPPCAN should develop developed culturally appropriate and child-focused education interventions to enhance children child abuse knowledge and self-protection skills For example, children need to be educated to identify uncomfortable or inappropriate touching, and sexual requests, and be effective in stopping the abusive behavior (e.g., say "No!" and try to get away from the abusive situation or potentially dangerous situations). In addition, it is important to teach children not to keep the abusive incident secret and to tell a trusted adult if an abusive incident occurs.
- Children should be taught how to obtain help from trusted adults and other resources in the local community.

- Investigate the possibility of culturally appropriate ways for children to share their experiences and views on child protection issues, for example through songs, storytelling or drawings

- Establish a child-friendly mechanism at different levels (e.g community, schools) for reporting abuse and providing children with appropriate support.

- There is also need to establish children foras in the community where children can meet and child protection concerns themselves. These meetings can be used for continuous tracking of issues of concern to the children that need redress, and in way this facilitates the full participation on the project, and creates a base upon which other actors on child development can rely.

Supporting parents and promoting dialogue

- The perception that children's rights undermine parental authority should not be ignored. To protect children, strengthening parental legitimacy broadly speaking is important. In consequence, messages regarding children rights should focus as much on children responsibilities as well; local norms and understandings of what constitutes good parenting should be explored and open discussion about culture and acceptable types of discipline and initiation should be promoted.

- Use a dialogue centred approach involving all stakeholders, including elders, religious leaders, women, children and local government representatives. Enable on-going discussions, information exchange, analysis of different views, and critical reflection and decision-making by the community about what is in the best interests of their children

Strengthen and complement the capacity of key community-based child protection actors

- Hold workshops with cultural and religious leaders to explore the linkages between cultural and religious norms, and child rights and protection and engage cultural and religious leaders in awareness raising on child protection issues.

- Need to Strengthen capacity (knowledge, skills, and attitudes) of religious actors, particularly inter-religious mechanisms, to protect children

- Develop child protection monitoring and reporting mechanisms together with communities, for example through the establishment of community child protection committees. These committees need to be linked to formal child protection mechanisms and to be provided with follow up support for an extended period of time to be effective.

- Coordination between the formal and non-formal systems has been shown to strengthen both government and community protection responses. There is therefore need to promoting more effective linkages between the formal and Informal child protection mechanisms.

Annex

A.1. Frequency of occurrence of the different forms of physical and emotional l violence , by gender.

	FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THE MOST COMMON FORMS PHYSICAL VIOLENCE (%)				
	Almost every day	1-3 times a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice in three months	Once or twice a year
Pushed, Grabbed, or Kicked you					
Male	9.8	34.4	25.4	11.5	18.9
Female	3.6	27.4	29.8	14.3	25.0
Total	7.3	31.6	27.2	12.6	21.4
Hit, beat, or spanked you with a hand					
Male	8.9	31.7	25.2	19.5	14.6
Female	5.8	29.1	31.1	13.6	20.4
Total	7.5	30.5	27.9	16.8	17.3
Hit, beat, or spanked you with a belt, paddle, a stick or other object					
Male	8.8	36.3	25.0	18.8	11.3
Female	2.1	29.5	30.5	23.2	14.7
Total	5.1	32.6	28.0	21.1	13.1
Pulled your hair, pinched you, or twisted your ear?					
Male	7.5	31.1	30.2	17.0	14.2
Female	10.5	27.9	23.3	12.8	25.6
Total	8.9	29.7	27.1	15.1	19.3

	FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF THE MOST COMMON FORMS PHYSICAL VIOLENCE (%)				
	Almost every day	1-3 times a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice in three months	Once or twice a year
Screamed at you very loud and aggressively					
Male	17.7	33.8	27.7	11.5	9.2
Female	21.6	33.6	19.8	13.8	11.2
Total	19.5	33.7	24.0	12.6	10.2
Called you names, said mean things or cursed					
Male	34.2	40.1	10.5	8.8	6.1
Female	38.7	22.6	21.0	11.3	6.5
Total	35.8	34.1	14.2	9.7	6.3
Made you feel shamed/embarrassed in front of					
Male	18.0	38.2	23.6	7.9	12.4
Female	8.5	30.5	25.4	13.6	22.0
Total	14.2	35.1	24.3	10.1	16.2
Threatened to hurt or kill you					
Male	7.5	31.1	30.2	17.0	14.2
Female	10.5	27.9	23.3	12.8	25.6
Total	8.9	29.7	27.1	15.1	19.3

A.2. Service accessed by abused children and reasons for non-disclosure of incidence of abuse

Service Received by abused children	EMOTIONAL VIOLENCE				PHYSICAL VIOLENCE					SEXUAL VIOLENCE			
	Screamed at	Called you names, said mean things or cursed you	Threatened to hurt or kill you	Bullied	Pushed, Grabbed, or Kicked	Hit with , or spanked you with a hand	Hit, beat, or spanked you with a an object	Pulled your hair, or twisted your ear	Burned or scalded	Touched or pinched your private parts or made you touch theirs	Shown pornography	Raped or forced you to have sexual intercourse (vaginal, anal or oral)	Forced into marriage
Counselling/psychosocial-support	35.8	28.6	19.1	11.8	30.7	35.3	28.6	19.4	25	22.2	18.75	16.7	50
Shoulder to cry on	3.0	2.0	4.3	2.9	1.3	5.9	7.1	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Talked to/reprimanded the perpetrator	49.3	57.1	63.8	76.5	57.3	56.9	57.1	61.3	37.5	66.7	81.25	50.0	50
Alternative care services	3.0	6.1		0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	6.5		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Police intervention	3.0	2.0	4.3	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0		12.5	5.6	0.0	16.7	0.0
Legal aid/support	0.0	0.0	6.4	2.9	4.0	0.0	3.6	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0
Treatment services	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	2.0	0.0	3.2	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	6.0	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Reason for not reporting													
The abuse doesn't seem quite severe enough to warrant reporting	52.6	66.7	34.5	72.2	75.0	55.9	55.5	66.9	57.1	71.4	53.0	25	0.0
I was scared I was going to be abandoned	24.8	14.7	34.5	3.7	10.0	23.0	24.2	11.3	14.3	0.0	7.6	0.0	28.6
Financially dependent upon the abuser	2.3	1.0	5.5	0.0	0.0	2.6	2.3	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I didn’t know who to tell	5.3	6.9		14.8	3.0	6.6	3.1	7.3	0.0	14.3	22.7	0.0	28.6
I didn’t think I would be believed	4.5	3.9	9.1	7.4	5.0	4.6	0.8	3.2	0.0	4.8	10.6	25	14.3
The abuser threatened to hurt me or my family	8.3	6.9	14.5		4.0	6.6	8.6	7.3	14.3	0.0		50	14.3
Others	2.3	0.0	0.0	1.9	3.0	0.7	5.5	0.0	0.0	4.8	4.5	0.0	14.3