Violence against Children in Uganda

A Decade of Research and Practice, 2002—2012

Draft Report

Submitted to

Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD)

And

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Uganda

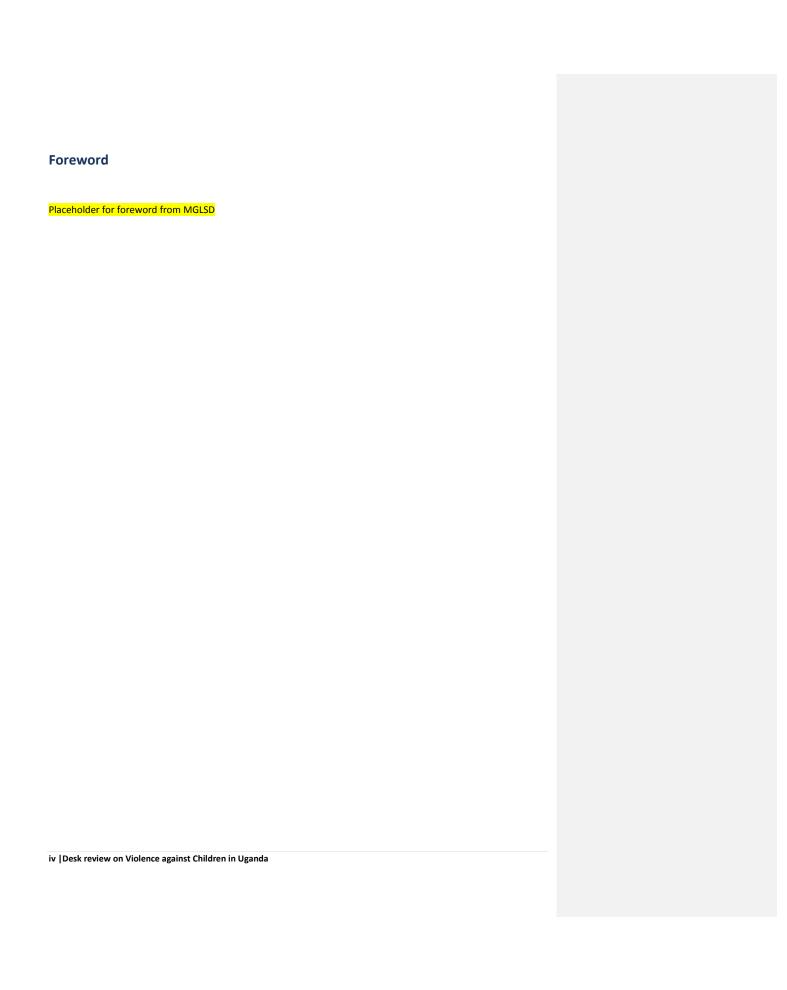
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October, 2012

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Recommended Citation: Walakira E.J, and Ddumba I. N (2012). <i>Violence against Children in Uganda: A Decade of Research and Practice, 2002—2012.</i> Kampala: Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development and UNICEF.	
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Acknowledgements

Undertaking this work was made possible by technical and financial support from UNICEF and the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. We are particularly grateful for the technical support from Sylvia Pasti (UNICEF Uganda's chief of child protection); Catherine Maternowska (from UNICEF's regional office); and UNICEF staff and consultants (Daniela Rojas, Jennifer Anthony, Rina Komiya, Yoko Kobayashi and Eleonora Mansi) for their support at every stage of the report and reviewing the drafts. Special appreciation goes to Mr. Kaboggoza (Assistant Commissioner for Children), members of the technical working group from the Ministries of Education and Sports, Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, ILO, and NGOs representatives. To all NGOs and Government departments that provided the requested information—we are very grateful for your assistance.



Executive Summary

This report presents the results of a desk review on Violence against Children (VaC) in Uganda, covering the last decade of research and practice. We expect the report to serve as a resource for government, UN and civil society stakeholders to plan and coordinate evidence-informed interventions for elimination of violence against children and to stimulate debate among practitioners so as to improve the quality of research and practice.

Five key findings underline this report:

- 1. Violence against children in Uganda is widespread, and occurs in a range of settings. Many children are routinely exposed to physical, sexual and emotional violence in their homes and schools, within state institutions such as care and justice systems, places of work and other settings. Much of the violence against children remains normalized and socially condoned. In too many cases, children experience violence at the hands of the very individuals responsible for their protection and well-being: their parents and guardians, their teachers, caregivers in institutions of care, the police and other law enforcement officials.
- 2. Violence against children is associated with multiple risk factors. Some of the risk factors are childrelated. For example, children with disabilities, orphaned children and children with absentee parents are at greater risk of violence. Social-cultural norms have also been identified as drivers of violence. For example, some forms of violence against children especially girls such as FGM/C and forced early marriages are embedded in culture and societal traditions. In addition, a confluence of macro risk factors, such as poverty, poor legal protections, illiteracy, large family size, and unemployment, create an enabling environment for violence against children. More research however, is needed to investigate the protective factors against VaC across the different settings.
- 3. Violence not only leads to the obvious signs of physical harm when children are victims, but often has implications for children's psychological, emotional and social development, whether the children are direct victims, observers of violence or its aftermath, or have family or friends who are victims. Detailed research is nonetheless needed in the Uganda context, to examine the association between violence and a range of psychological outcomes, across difference different settings and for different forms of violence.
- 4. In all settings, only a small proportion of acts of violence against children is reported and investigated. This silence and inaction allow violence against children to continue unabated. There are various reasons for this lack of reporting of incidents of VaC. These include the normalization of violence as part of disciplinary measures, lack of capacity to report, especially by very young children, fear of reprisal by perpetrators and stigma that is associated with some forms of violence. In addition, several challenges undermine effective investigation of cases of VaC and holding perpetrators accountable owing to ineffectiveness and/or limited functionality of the different structures in the justice system, children and caregivers' lack of awareness about their rights within

the justice system, absence of/inadequate legal advice and logistical support for children and their caregivers to follow up their cases, and corruption.

Numerous efforts have been undertaken by government and social partners to build a protective environment for children. These efforts are reflected in the several legislations, policies and programs undertaken. Nonetheless, gaps remain in the effective implementation of laws and policies. In addition, information on the effectiveness, quality and impact of VaC programs is limited. This is due, in part, to weaknesses in the monitoring and evaluation capacity of many institutions. Further, several knowledge management (KM) gaps hamper effective generation and translation of available knowledge on VaC into policy and practice. Some of the KM gaps include the absence of a national research database on violence against children in different settings; limited focus on knowledge-sharing and learning processes among key child protection actors; and insufficient efforts to develop a cohesive and well-resourced national data and research agenda on violence against children.

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PART A: INTRODUCING THE STUDY

1. Introduction

This report presents the results of a desk review on Violence against Children (VaC) in Uganda, covering the last decade of research and practice. The review was commissioned by the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD), in collaboration with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The report examines the scale and magnitude of violence against children, associated risk and protective factors, consequences, and current responses within the various settings in which violence takes place. The report also identifies the existing research and programmatic gaps and priorities for future research and response. The review is intended to provide a definitive 'baseline' from which public and private entities working in Uganda can better understand the context and magnitude of violence, and ensuing gaps in research and practice. We expect the report to serve as a resource for government, UN and civil society stakeholders to plan and coordinate evidence-informed interventions for elimination of violence against children and to stimulate debate among practitioners so as to improve the quality of research and practice.

1.1. Background and Context

International Context

Violence against children is recognized internationally as a serious public health, human rights, and child protection concern. Article 19 of The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) obligates states parties to undertake all necessary measures to protect the child against all forms of violence, exploitation and abuse, including sexual abuse and sexual exploitation. Available information, however, including the United Nations Secretary-General's (UNSG) World Report on Violence against Children, indicates that children continue to be exposed to high levels of violence namely; physical, emotional and sexual maltreatment throughout the world.

A study, for example, on *Child Disciplinary Practices at Home*, ² with data from 35 low and middle income countries, indicates that on average, three in four children between the ages of 2 and 14 were subjected to some kind of violent discipline, more often psychological than physical. While almost three fourths of children experience psychological aggression, about one-half experience physical punishment. The crisis of sexual violence is particularly acute. The most recently published international mean prevalence rates of Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) are around 20 percent for girls and 8 percent for boys. The World Health Organization (WHO) has also estimated that 150 million girls and 73 million boys under the age of 18 have experienced sexual violence involving physical contact. In addition, the 2005 WHO Multi-Country Study on *Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women* established that between 1 percent and 21 percent of women surveyed experienced sexual abuse before the age of 15.

Violence against Children is particularly widespread in countries in the Eastern and Southern Africa region (ESAR).^{6,7,8} For example, VaC surveys in Swaziland, ⁹ Tanzania¹⁰ and Zimbabwe¹¹ show high levels of sexual violence against girls and boys before the age of 18, and reveal that other forms of physical violence are also commonplace in children's lives. For instance, according to a 2007 study conducted by the US Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and UNICEF in Swaziland, approximately one in three girls and young women between 13 and 24 years of age experienced some form of sexual violence as a child and nearly one in four experienced physical violence as a child.¹² Similarly, in the *2010 Tanzania* Violence against Children Survey, nearly 3 in 10 females and approximately 1 in 7 males in had experienced sexual violence prior to the age of 18. In addition, almost three-quarters of both females and males had experienced physical violence before the age of 18 at the hands of an adult or an intimate partner. The Tanzania survey also revealed that 25 percent of those surveyed had been subjected to emotional violence by an adult during childhood.¹³

The consequences of violence against children are far-reaching, both in the short-term and the long-term, not only for those who experience it, but also for families and communities; they hence constitute a critical societal concern. ^{14, 15} The short- and long-term repercussions for children are often grave and damaging. ¹⁶ Exposure to violence affects children's health, well-being and their capacities to learn and grow. ¹⁷ Violence hampers children's development, learning abilities and school performance; it inhibits positive relationships, provokes low self-esteem, emotional distress and depression; and, at times, it leads to risk taking, self-harm and aggressive behaviours. For example, forced sex in childhood has been shown to increase the likelihood of engaging in unprotected sex, having multiple partners, participating in sex work and substance abuse—all of these behaviours are likely to increase the risk of HIV acquisition. ^{18,19}

Violence against children is also associated with later adjustment failures, including internalizing²⁰ and externalizing disorders²¹, physical health problems, reduced capacity to communicate and form emotional bonds, suicide ideation, antisocial behaviour and aggression, and a cycle of gender-based violence²²—specifically partner violence and sexual abuse.²³ These consequences may vary depending on a child's age when abused, the duration and severity of the abuse or neglect, the child's innate resiliency, and co-occurrence with other maltreatment or adverse exposures such as the mental health of the parents, substance abuse by the parents, or violence between parents.^{24,25,26}

To improve response to violence against children, the *UN Study on Violence against Children* calls upon states to improve data collection and information systems in order to identify vulnerable sub-groups, inform policy and programming at all levels and track progress towards the goal of preventing violence against children.²⁷ The study also called for the development of a national research agenda on violence against children across settings where violence occurs. Similar recommendations are included in the WHO *World Report on Violence and Health* and the WHO publication on *Preventing Child Maltreatment*: A *Guide to Taking Action and Generating Evidence*.

Uganda: political and socio-economic context

After more than two decades of instability and violence, [†] Uganda has experienced more than 20 years of relative political stability and economic growth. Since 1986, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government has implemented far reaching political and economic reforms—including the introduction of the decentralized system of governance, changes in tax and fiscal policy, and restructuring aimed at minimizing government expenditures—that have seen the country register positive developments. While the positive developments cannot be discounted, the country still faces many hurdles in a number of areas.

As a result of the economic reform, GDP growth rates averaged 7.2 percent between 1997/98 and 2000/01, 6.8 percent between 2000/01 and 2003/04 and 8 percent between 2004/06 and 2007/08. The impressive GDP growth performance in recent years has contributed to a significant reduction in poverty levels, with the percentage of the population living below the poverty line declining from 56 percent in 1992/93 to 24.5 percent in 2009/10.²⁸ However, according to recent statistics, poverty remains deeprooted. According to the Uganda National Household Survey (UNHS), about 7.5 million persons in Uganda are poor. ²⁹ The incidence of poverty remains higher in rural areas than in urban areas. The poor in the rural areas represent 27.2 percent of the population but only 9.1 percent in the urban areas.

The rural areas with 85 percent of the population constitute 94.4 percent of national poverty. The incidence of poverty remains highest in the Northern region. ³¹ On average, poverty incidence in Northern region (46.2 percent) remains higher than the national average (24.5 percent). ³² Of the people trapped in poverty, children bear the greatest brunt. Household poverty has serious ramifications for children's vulnerability. Poverty affects children's access to education, and results in early entry into work, which exposes children to exploitation (including sexual exploitation) and other hazardous working conditions, early pregnancy and motherhood. ³³

In addition to poverty, the country continues to grapple with the HIV and AIDS epidemic and associated effects. According to the most recent UNAIDS data, there are approximately 940,000 people living with HIV in Uganda,³⁴ and approximately 1.8 million children have lost at least one parent to AIDS-related causes.³⁵ The loss of parents renders families, communities and economies unable to function normally. The impact of HIV and AIDS is further felt by other vulnerable children, including those living with a chronically ill parent or guardian, and has exacerbated the difficulties experienced by the population living below the poverty line. With little access to education and socialization, economic and emotional support that parents largely provide, children cannot acquire the skills and knowledge they need to become fully productive adult members of society. Many communities are responding to the needs of Orphans, but either do not have adequate capacity to assist the growing number of children in need or are limited in the number and type of services provided and their households due to lack of resources.

[†]The first two and a half decades following Uganda's independence in 1962 were dominated by political turmoil and war, including nine years rule under the dreaded Amin regime (1971-79). In 1971, a military coup by Idi Amin sparked a trajectory of violence and mismanagement that reduced the country to a failed state and a collapsed economy. Political and economic turmoil continued between 1979 and 1985, with successive coups, and a disputed election in 1980, resulting in civil conflict across the country

It is also worth noting that Uganda is home to many cultures based on over 50 tribal groupings. Many of the groups have cultural practices that protect children. However, there are also those with cultural practices which expose children to violence and exploitation (e.g., Female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C), child marriages, child sacrifice).

Politically, while most of the country has been at peace, the northern region has, for more than two decades, been trapped in violent conflict between the government forces and the 'Lord's Resistance Army' (LRA), culminating into displacement, destruction of physical and social infrastructure, and other essential amenities. Children were particularly affected by the conflict and over the period from 1986 to 2006 were emotionally, physically and sexually abused by members of the LRA. A mission by members of parliament who comprise the Forum for Children[‡] in 2007 indicated that 80 percent of the camps were populated by children and women, with 20 percent of the children chronically malnourished and visibly without any rights to talk about.³⁶ In addition, an estimated 25000 children were abducted by the LRA³⁷ and forced into roles as soldiers, labourers, and rebel 'wives', or used as human shields in combat.

While the conflict in northern Uganda has ended, the effects on children still linger. As a result of the prolonged conflict, insecurity and marginalization, Northern Uganda also has the largest population of children classified as income poor³⁸ and a countless number of children continue to live in households characterised by low consumption expenditure.³⁹ Further, the northern region has the highest proportion of vulnerable children, aged 0-17 years (43 percent), including orphans, children who are not attending school, child labourers, idle children, children living in child-headed households, children with adult responsibilities (i.e., heading households, children who are married) and children with a disability; with figures in most cases far above the national average (38 percent).⁴⁰ Data based on the 2009/10 Uganda National Household Survey indicates that up to 16.8 percent of the children in the region are orphans, compared to the national average—at 12.7 percent, and up to 20 percent of the households have 4 or more orphans.⁴¹ In addition, the reintegration of abducted children back into their communities has been slow and difficult, and many children are rejected.^{42,43}

The above political and economic context that frames Uganda's past and recent history has much to do with violence at the societal level, all of which we argue has, over time, affected huge cohorts of children. Issues such as history, the use and abuse of power, and gender inequities that put women and girls at greater risk of violence, along with cultural issues (embedded in social norms) are macro forces that have shaped the context in which Ugandan children live and thrive today. Empowering children and the adults (including service providers) who are said to protect them will be central to any future work on violence prevention, care and treatment.

[†] The Uganda Parliamentary Forum for Children (UPFC) is a non-partisan, all-party parliamentary group in the Ugandan Parliament formed during the 7th Parliament to specifically put children's issues on the priority agenda of Parliament. More than 120 Members of Parliament (MPS) of the 8th Parliament, from different political parties and different regions of the country, are part of the forum. Most of its activities and agenda were facilitated by Save the Children in Uganda.

1.2. Violence against Children in Uganda

Violence remains a harsh reality for thousands of children in Uganda. Children continue to be exposed to diverse forms of violence, often permissible and buttressed by cultural beliefs and practices. 44 Violence against children occurs on a large scale and in virtually all settings. Available evidence shows that children are routinely exposed to physical, sexual and emotional violence in their homes, schools, care and justice institutions, communities and place where children work. 45

Physical abuse reflected in caning, slapping, kicking, pinching and burning has become largely normalized both in schools and homes all over the country. ^{46,47,48,49} For example, a 2005 study by Raising Voices and Save the Children found that 98 percent (n=1,406) of the children in five different districts (including in and out of school children, ages 8-18 years) had experienced physical or emotional violence. About 60.4 percent of in-school children reported routinely being beaten and humiliated for reasons such as coming late or making noise in class, or to elicit required behavioural modification and expectations from the child. Within homes, children are physically punished for many reasons including disobedience, lying, answering back, stealing and fighting, and for failure to do domestic chores or poor performance in school-homework. While the intention in some cases may not be to harm the child, more often than not, children suffer injuries, pain, and in some cases impairment. ⁵⁰

Sexual violence is also widespread. According to the Uganda Demographic and Health Survey, almost one in four women aged 15 to 49 (24 percent)⁵¹ reported that their first sexual intercourse was forced against their will, and more than half of these (54 percent) first suffered sexual violence below the age of 18.⁵² The 2011 *National Report on Sexual and Gender-Based Violence* also indicates that between one-third and two-thirds of known sexual assault victims are of age 15 or younger.⁵³ Further, while administrative data is not always reliable or consistent, court statistics show that 70 percent of the criminal cases registered in the various courts in Uganda are related to defilement[§] of girls. In addition, various police reports also identify defilement as the leading sex-related crime reported in the country.⁵⁴

Other studies carried out in Uganda validate the high prevalence of sexual violence against children. A retrospective survey carried out by the African Child Policy Forum (ACPF) revealed that among the Ugandan girls interviewed (n=500), 89 percent had experienced verbal sexual abuse, 53 percent were indecently sexually touched, 42 percent were raped and 11 percent were forced to perform oral sex. ⁵⁵ In the study by Raising Voices and Save the Children, more than two-thirds (75.8 percent) of the children reported having experienced sexual violence such as being touched, being exposed to adults having sex, being forced to touch adults in sexual ways, or being forced to have sex. While boys experienced lower levels of sexual violence than girls, they were also victimized. ⁵⁶ About 13.3 percent of the boys reported being forced to have sex, and 27 percent reported being touched sexually against their will. Other forms of harassment for boys included being teased about their sexuality, made subjects of lewd gestures, or being threatened with castration by older men if they misbehaved.

⁵ The Penal Code Act defines defilement as unlawful sexual intercourse with a minor under the age of 18. And section 129 provides the death penalty for the offence of aggravated defilement "if the offender is infected with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV)."

Overall, the authors concluded that, "there appears to be an oversight around sexual vulnerability of boys and a further more detailed study is needed to understand the extent of the problem." ⁵⁷

1.2.1. Perpetrators and Reporting of incidents of Violence against Children

Available evidence in Uganda suggests that violence against children in its diverse forms is mainly perpetrated by those most closely associated with the children, such as parents and other caregivers, teachers and children, and duty bearers in the justice system (e.g., wardens in remand homes, police personnel). ^{58,59} This trend is consistent through Eastern and Southern Africa, as evidenced in the recent Violence against Children (VaC) Surveys conducted in Swaziland, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. ^{60,61} Unfortunately, only a small proportion of all acts of violence against children are reported and investigated, and few perpetrators are held accountable.

VaC is under-reported for various reasons. First, the normalization of violence as part of disciplinary measures used in child-raising and thus forms part of the cultural fabric of many communities in Uganda. For example, in the 2005 study by Raising Voices and Save the Children, most adults (91.3 percent) reported using a combination of physical and emotional punishment to control children, most commonly caning, shouting, and assigning physical work—above and beyond normal chores. In addition, although most adults (80 percent) were aware that children were deliberately beaten, shouted at, and denied food or basic needs in their communities, the preferred word for these actions was "punishment" rather than "violence."

Second, sometimes parents are perpetrators of violence against children, or parents may remain silent when violence is committed by other family members or by powerful members of the community or society. Such silence is reinforced by informal community-based systems where the practice of settlement of VaC cases, including cases of sexual violence such defilement, outside the judicial system is also common. An Indian fail to report violence due to fear of reprisals, and stigma that is associated with some forms of violence. For example, a 2011 study by ANPPCAN conducted in 25 schools located in five districts indicated that while 92 percent of the students surveyed said they knew where they could report such incidents; the vast majority did not do so. Reason cited for non-reporting of incidents of violation, included fear of being subjected to further abuse, fear of being expelled from school if a teacher was the abuser, fear of being laughed at by fellow pupils, and long distances to the police station. Set This silence and inaction allows violence against children to continue unabated.

Several challenges also undermine effective investigation of cases of VaC and holding perpetrators accountable. Many of the challenges that hinder effective investigation and prosecution of perpetrators relate the ineffectiveness and/or limited functionality of the different structures in the justice system such due to gaps is human, technical and financial resources, corruption among poor coordination or coordination difficulties, operational constraints and lack of logistical support to effectively discharge their responsibilities, limited awareness and appreciation of their obligations, poor technical competence especially among the grassroots child protection duty bearers (Local Council leaders). ^{65,66}

In addition, several challenges deter children and caregivers from seeking remedy. These include children and caregivers' lack of awareness about their rights within the justice system, absence of/inadequate legal advice and logistical support for children and their caregivers to follow up their cases, and corruption.⁶⁷ The social and economic costs associated with accessing justice also affect children's and caregivers demand for justice. For instance it is a widespread practice in Uganda 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 arresting and pursuing the necessary investigations.⁶⁸

Additional challenges include difficulties in certifying the child survivor's age due to widespread lack of birth registration and difficulties associated with proving incidents of violence especially sexual violence. With respect to the latter, many children who suffer sexual violence along with their caregivers face insurmountable challenges in getting medical examination by a police surgeon (i.e., medical doctor) and getting a medical examination report (i.e., Police Form 3—PF3 form), which is required in the courts of law and on which effective proof of cases of sexual violence hinges. In many parts of the country, accessing a police surgeon involves a long and costly journey. For example, a 2009 evaluation of CARE International's Sexual and Gender Based Violence Project in northern Uganda revealed that there was only one police surgeon in Pader district and two in Gulu and Amuru districts— authorized to fill out the PF3 form.⁶⁹ The information on the form is adduced as evidence to enable prosecution of perpetrators.

Uganda's history and a set of factors that are institutional and agency-related make for an uneven, unfair and inequitable environment for protecting children.

1.3. Objectives of the study

The main objective of this desk review was to document the extent, forms, and manifestations of violence against children in Uganda, including the main drivers of violence based on existent data, with the ultimate goals of:

- Raising awareness of the issue of violence against children as a central issue to the national social and public health agendas.
- Making recommendations for strengthening and coordinating responses at the national, district
 and local levels both within the Government and among international and national partners.
- Providing evidence of good practices and innovative programming on prevention and response.
- Identifying data gaps to inform future investigations, subsequent evaluation and monitoring practice.

The Desk Review answers the following specific questions:

- What is the current understanding of VaC in Uganda at various levels and settings, such as, but not limited to, country, regional, school, community, gender, age, type, scale and manifestations, rural, urban, post-war areas?
- What is known regarding violence prevalence in Uganda?

- What is known regarding the impact of violence on children and the society? For example, how does domestic violence affect children?
- What are the primary drivers of violence against children?
- What are the current protective and harmful practices with regard to violence against children in Uganda (e.g., protective social norms, effective programs, campaigns, initiatives)?
- What are current practices to prevent and respond to child survivors/victims of violence (e.g., health, legal, psychosocial and reintegration assistance)?
- What are the main constraints/bottlenecks for the children's access to protection services with respect to: (a) enabling environments, (b) supply, (c) demand, and (d) quality including the 10 critical indicators?
- What are the gaps in knowledge and practice related to all the areas identified above?

1.4. Understanding violence— concepts and definitions

This study draws on the definitions of violence in general and of different types of violence against children in particular, notably the definition presented in the WHO World Report on Violence and Health: "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation." ⁷⁰ This definition embodies several aspects that are central to the understanding of violence against children. First, it incorporates the concept of "power" and, thus, implies analysis of the transaction in terms of a relationship. Second, it includes the use of actual force as well as threatened force, the latter characterizing the bulk of the violence perpetrated against children. Third, it includes the acts that lead to psychological harm, maldevelopment, and deprivation, all of which are critical concerns when understanding the impact of violence on children. ⁷¹

For the purpose of this review, violence against children is limited to three forms: sexual, emotional, and physical.

Definitions of the different types of violence (Leeb et al. 2008)⁷²

Types of violence	Definition	
Physical violence	Intentional use of physical force against a child that results in or has the potential to result in physical injury, includes hitting, kicking, punching, beating, stabbing, biting, pushing, shoving, throwing, pulling, dragging, dropping, shaking, strangling/choking, smothering, burning, scalding, and poisoning.	
Emotional Violence	Overt or covert behaviour that conveys to a child that he/she is worthless, flawed, unloved, unwanted, endangered, or of value only in meeting another's needs (e.g., in situations of divorce), includes blaming, belittling, degrading, intimidating, terrorizing, isolating, restraining, confining,	

corrupting, exploiting, spurning, withholding affection, and belittling the child's capabilities, qualities and desires, or otherwise behaving in a manner that is harmful, potentially harmful, or insensitive to the child's developmental needs or can potentially damage the child psychologically or emotionally.

Sexual Violence

Sexual violence is any sexual act that is perpetrated against someone's will and encompasses a range of offenses, including a completed non-consensual sex act (i.e., rape), attempted non-consensual sex acts, abusive sexual contact (i.e., unwanted touching), and non-contact sexual abuse (e.g., threatened sexual violence, exhibitionism, verbal sexual harassment).

1.5. Analytical framework

This review was guided by the *ecological model* and *risk and protective framework*.^{73,74} It is further complemented by a political economy analysis. The rationale is to provide a deeper understanding of the multi-level and multi-faceted nature of VaC, and the range of factors that have both historically and presently increased the risk of violence toward children or the ability to protect against it. The ecological framework conceptualizes violence to be the result of a combination of factors (risk and protective), acting at different levels or contexts. Risk factors are events or circumstances that increase a child's risk of adverse outcomes and compromise a child's right to protection and safety.⁷⁵ Protective factors,⁷⁶ also often referred to as resilience factors, interact with risk factors to reduce the likelihood of adverse outcomes for a child and enhance the child's well-being.⁷⁷ The interplay between risk and protective factors determines the level of resilience that children will display when faced with violence. While an accumulation of risk factors and a low level of protective factors tend to predict poor outcomes in coping, a high number of protective factors can shield children from the consequences of violence.⁷⁸

The various factors at the different levels of the ecological model are affected by the context or the settings that children interact with and/or in which childhood is experienced (e.g., home and family, schools, alternative care institutions and detention facilities, places were children work). The risk factors within these different settings interact in a number of ways and create vulnerable spaces for children. This implies that risk factors in one setting affect risk in another and that protective factors in one setting may compensate for risk in another setting.⁷⁹ The more risks that children are exposed to, however, the less likely they are to experience protection, ⁸⁰ which underlines the need for preventive strategies that enhance children's protective factors.

1.6. Methodology

Document Review

This report is based on a review of nearly two hundred published and unpublished documents on VaC, including: national and international reports about violence in Uganda (e.g., white papers, policy briefs, research and survey reports); unpublished reports from universities and from international and national conferences and meetings (Uganda and internationally); peer reviewed publications and administrative data from the government departments such as police; and project and monitoring and evaluation reports from NGOs, government, development partners and civil organizations working on violence against children in Uganda.

A four-step process was employed during the review of documents. First, a document search was undertaken to collect the necessary documents, using a pre-determined criteria.** Relevant documents were collected from different agencies including government departments, local and international NGOs, and through a broad search via databases (e.g., EBSCOhost SAGE, and PubMed). Information was also collected through contact with several known researchers. All collected documents were catalogued into defined categories: studies, documentation or reviews on VAC in different settings: home, schools, in situations of work, care and justice institution, and other settings; policy and legal documents relating to violence against children; programme planning documents, and evaluations of particular projects on VAC.

Once the documents were collected, each one was assessed by the consultants to determine whether it met the inclusion criteria. At this point, a small number of documents were excluded from the review. Third, each included document was then fully analysed by one of the two consultants and relevant Information and findings were summarized in relation to the key objectives. The summary included a document description (e.g., title, publication status), methodology employed, results (based on the relevant themes for the desk review), conclusions drawn and implications for policy and practices, where applicable. Based on the summaries, the desk review report was prepared, reflecting the multiple realms/ settings in which VAC occurs: home and family setting, schools and educational settings, care and justice institutions, and other settings.

Key Informant Interviews

In-depth interviews were also conducted with selected key informants from different organizations. Data was specifically collected on institutional/organization programmes relating to the prevention of and responses to violence against children, and research selected organization on VaC.

For purposes of focus and manageability, the search was limited to only: Policy and legal documents relating to violence against Children; Programme documents, and evaluations of particular projects on VAC; Studies, documentation or reviews on VAC in different settings: home, schools, in situations of work, care and justice institution, and other settings; documents written in the past 10 years; and English language documents only.

Technical working group (TWG) meetings

Three technical working group meetings, comprising stakeholders and experts on VaC from different Government Departments, Non-Government Organizations (national and international), and UN agencies, were planned. The first technical working group was organized during the inception phase. During the meeting, the inception report (IR) was presented and input was sought from TWG members with respect to the overall approach to the assignment, possible sources of data and scope of the study.

In the second TWG meeting, the draft report was presented and input sought from stakeholders and experts of VaC. The MGLSD, Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES), National Council for Children (NCC), International Labour Organisation (ILO), Centre for Justice Studies and Innovation (CJSI), Child and Family Protection Unit (CFPU) and UNICEF were represented. TWG members were allowed to share their views, concerns and comments. The draft final report was presented during the third TWG meeting which also served as a validation workshop. Additional comments and inputs from TWG were incorporated in the final report.

PART B: EVIDENCE ON SCALE AND MANIFESTATIONS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN

2. VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN IN THE HOME AND FAMILY^{††}

2.1. Introduction

A basic assumption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of The Child (CRC) is that the family is the natural environment for the growth and well-being of all its members – particularly for children. ⁸¹ The role of families, defined widely, in protecting children and safeguarding their physical and emotional welfare is underlined in Article 5 and Article 18 of the CRC. The family is a setting where children are expected to enjoy a secure environment and special protection. However, families can be dangerous places for children. For example, the 2005 study by Raising Voices and Save the Children revealed the family as the context in which Uganda children report most violence against them. ⁸² Children experience different forms of violence within families owing to a range of causal and contributory factors such as poverty, living conditions, marital discord and lack of child protection policies.

This section discusses the various types of physical, emotional and sexual violence that occur in home and family settings, their consequences, current responses and suggestions for improving these responses.

2.2. Nature and extent of violence against children in the home and family

Physical violence

- 38.8 percent of the children reported experiencing physical violence mainly at home, while 31.8 percent reported experiencing it at home and school (Naker, 2005).
- •43 percent of girls suffered beating by their parents (ACPF, 2006).
- 35 percent of the children living and or working on the street reported physical violence as the reason they were on the street (Walakira, 2012).

Sexual Violence

- 32.2 percent of children experience sexual violence mainly at home (Naker, 2005).
- Average number of defilement cases reported to police annually is 9461 (Police report, 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011).
- •16 percent of females in Uganda are married by the age of 15 (UBOS, 2006).

Emotional violence

• 42.6 percent of the children said they experienced emotional violence mainly at home, while 35.5 percent reported experiencing psychological violence both at home and at school (Naker, 2005)

^{††} The term 'family' is used as shorthand to refer to those within the caring circle of a child. This caring circle varies according to culture and circumstance; thus, the use of the term 'family' recognizes that in many societies, the care environment of a child is broader than the immediate family and includes the extended family. The term also recognizes that in some circumstances, children are primary caregivers.

2.2.1. Physical violence

The use of physical violence within homes and families is widespread in Uganda communities. The majority of physical violence against children occurs in the context of disciplining the child. ⁸³ Violent physical discipline, also known as corporal punishment, ⁸⁴ is often used to obtain children's compliance with the adult's directive and to educate the child about acceptable and unacceptable behaviours. Children are physically punished for many reasons including disobedience, disrespect (i.e. being disrespectful of their elders), stealing, lying, answering back, fighting and for poor homework. ⁸⁵ Most corporal punishments involve hitting ('smacking', 'slapping', 'spanking) children, with the hand or with an implement – stick, shoes, a broom, belt, wooden spoon, or anything else at hand. ^{86,87} It may also involve such acts as kicking, shaking or throwing children, scratching, pinching, biting, pulling hair or boxing ears, forcing children to stay in uncomfortable positions, and burning.

In the study by Raising the Voices and Save the Children, 98.3 percent of the children consulted reported having experienced physical violence, such as caning, slapping, pinching, being locked up, or burning. Of these, 38.8 percent of the children said they experienced physical violence mainly at home, while 31.8 percent reported experiencing it both at home as well as at school. In a recent survey of 668 children living and/or working on the street aged 11-17, more than one-third (35 percent) of the children reported violence, mainly physical violence, as the main reason for their decision to leave home and try to survive in the often unprotected and hazardous street milieu. In a retrospective survey among Ugandan girls, carried out by the ACPF, 43 percent of the girls reported that their father beat them during their childhood and a further 42.9 percent that their mother beat them. In addition, 46.4 percent had witnessed someone being severely beaten in their home.

In the 2004 *National Survey of Adolescents in Uganda*, a sub-group of adolescents were asked whether a parent or other adult living in their home ever hit them hard enough to leave marks or cause injury before the age of 10. About 16 percent of females and 23 percent of males interviewed reported that someone in their households had hit them hard enough to leave a mark or cause injury. ⁹¹ In the 2005 study by Raising Voices and Save the Children, more than one in six children reported being burned deliberately by an adult as a form of punishment. More boys than girls reported being burned as a form of punishment. ⁹²

A case of a burnt child in Bundibugyo

In Busaru village, Nyahuka Sub County, Bundibugyo District; a girl aged 13 years was reported by a neighbor who claimed she had stolen 1000 Uganda Shillings. The allegation that the girl had stolen money infuriated an uncle aged about 28 years staying with the girl. The uncle decided that since the hands were the ones used to steal, he would punish them. He therefore tied the girls' hands with dry banana leaves and fibers and set them (hands) on fire. The guardian (S.A)^{‡‡} was on a long journey away from home at the time the girl was burnt. "The girl is my grandchild. She was burnt by the uncle who has been staying with her since her father died on 5th March 2005'. She should be about 14 years now. I was told that the uncle got some banana leaves and tied them on her both hands and then lit them on fire. He ran away when he saw the girl burning. People in the neighborhood rescued the girl. We have been in hospital for over three months. We first took her to our Health Centre 4 at Nyahuuka.

^{**} Names not revealed for purposes of confidentiality

We were afterwards referred to the hospital in Bundibugyo where she has been admitted for over three months". The guardian reported that the uncle had run away. Neither the police nor the guardian knew his whereabouts. The girl was still in pain at the time the research team visited her.

Source: Walakira and Opio, 2006

Mothers (particularly step mothers) and fathers are the main perpetrators of physical violence, although violence by siblings is also common. Additional evidence suggests that women are more likely to use corporal punishment compared to men, owing to fact that women spend more time with their children compared to men.⁹³

2.2.2. Emotional violence

There is very limited data related to emotional abuse against children within homes or at the family level in Uganda. Nonetheless, available data indicate that emotional violence is far more common than any other violent disciplinary practices in families. Children, both boys and girls, are overwhelmingly battered psychologically by their close family members, especially their parents, female relatives and siblings. By shouting at children, cursing and calling them names, these perpetrators make children feel stupid and worthless and internalize the belief that they are failures in life. These represents some of the most prevalent forms of emotional violence experienced by children. In a Raising Voices and Save the Children study, 98.2 percent of the children reported having experienced emotional violence expressed in the form of shouting, insulting and threatening harm. Of these, 42.6 percent of the children said they experienced emotional violence mainly at home, while 35.5 percent reported experiencing emotional violence both at home and at school.

Emotional violence may be the product of uncontrolled frustration, or it may have a similar purpose to that of corporal punishment: to cow a child into obedience and 'retrain' his or her unruly behavior. ⁹⁶ For example, acts of omission, such as withholding love and affection or exclusion from discussions, may be aimed at children who are expected to respond to a subtle form of emotional punishment. ⁹⁷ Available evidence also suggests that emotional violence often co-exists with other forms of violence. Children experiencing others form of violence—sexual or physical—are also likely to experience various levels of emotional violence. For example children exposed to sexual abuse may also be threatened, manipulated, or coerced into silence which creates a kind of relationship or, rather, complicity between the child and perpetrator. ⁹⁸

2.2.3. Sexual violence in the home and family

Besides physical and emotional violence, children are also exposed to diverse forms of sexual violence in the home and family. A study by Raising Voices and Save the Children identified the home and the immediate environment as the main settings where children are sexually abused, disturbingly, often by people who have a duty to provide care. In this study, nearly one-third (32.2 percent) of the children reported that they experienced sexual violence mainly at home, including being touched, given unwanted attention, being exposed to adults having sex or being sexual, being forced to touch adults in

sexual ways, or being forced to have sex. An additional 34.3 percent reported having experienced sexual violence both in a home and at school.

Although administrative data is not always reliable or consistent, police reports show that, on average, 9,461 cases of defilement are reported to the police annually (See Table 2.2-1), with the majority of the victims being within the age category of 9-17 years. There was a general decline in the number of defilement cases reported to police between 2007 and 2011, as the table reveals. However the reasons for the decline remain unclear. Nonetheless, a Situation Analysis by ANPPCAN Uganda Chapter 2007 indicated that 50 percent of all defilement cases reported to police, courts of law, and civil society organizations involve close relatives of the victims.

Table 2.2-1: Defilement cases reported to police annually

Year	Number of Defilement cases reported to police
2007	12,230
2008	12,463
2009	7,360
2010	7,564
2011	7,690

Source: Annual Police report, 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010; and 2011.

Girls are more likely to be victims of sexual violence than boys. ⁹⁹ Much of this sexual violence is inflicted by family members or other people residing in or visiting a child's family home. ¹⁰⁰ Usually the perpetrator is male and, disturbingly, often somebody the child should be able to rely on for protection, such as a father or stepfather, a sibling or a friend, an uncle, workers in the house and friends of the family. ¹⁰¹ Available evidence also suggests that children who experience sexual abuse in the home are more likely also to experience other forms of violence in the home, including neglect. ¹⁰²

Unfortunately, many children, especially girls, rarely disclose incidents of sexual violence within a home to those around them, and much less to authorities. Most children do not report the sexual violence they experience at home for a variety of reasons including guilt, shame, fear of not being believed, or even being reprimanded for what has occurred. Others are reluctant to let others know about their experiences of sexual violence because they are afraid of what will happen to them and their families, that their families will be ashamed or reject them, or that they will not be believed.

Early marriage

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)—ratified by Uganda in 1985—provides that the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and that all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage. In its 1994 General Recommendation on equality and family relations, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) recommended that the minimum age for marriage for boys and girls should be 18. However, in Uganda, a large proportion of girls get married before the age of 18. ¹⁰⁴ Early marriage is "hazardous to the best interests of the girl child, given the health risks of premature pregnancy,

foregone education and, frequently, the marriage being arranged or enforced contrary to or regardless of the girl's consent, often with a substantial age difference between the girl and her marriage partner. $^{\prime\prime}^{105}$

Table 2.2-2:Timing of marriages in Uganda (%). 2006

	Married add	olescents	Percentage of women aged 20-25 years	
	Percentage	of 15- to 19-	Married before 18 years	Giving birth before 18 years
	Year-olds	married		
	Boys	Girls		
All Uganda	2.4	21.4	56.9	43.5
Rural	2.7	22.3	60.1	44.7
Urban	0.6	17.4	40.5	36.7
			By sub region	
Central 1	0.4	16.4	48.2	45.6
Central 2	1.2	20.6	50.7	43.1
Kampala	0.6	10.7	34.2	37.7
East central	1.4	18.2	66.9	47.6
Eastern	1.7	27.4	59.9	45.5
North	5.1	30.6	69.3	49.7
West Nile	2.7	22.9	57.5	27.5
Western	5.5	28.6	67.3	48.4
South western	0.4	11.1	43.2	32.4

Source: MGLSD 2011, Situation analysis of children and poverty, draft report pp. 98 (based on UDHS 2006)

Data based on the Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS) (see, Table 2.2-2) indicate that over 20 percent of adolescent girls were married in 2006, compared to just 2.4 percent of boys. The table also shows that in the North, Western and Eastern sub regions, more than one quarter of adolescents were already married. In addition, 57 percent of the women aged 20-25 were already married before the age of 18. Due to the high prevalence of child brides, child mothers are also pervasive in Uganda. The last column of table 2.2-2 shows that at least 43 percent of women aged 20-25 had given birth before the age of 18.

Further, in a retrospective survey among 500 Ugandan girls carried out by the ACPF, 48 percent reported that they had been pressured to marry, mainly by their female relatives, fathers, and mothers or step mothers. A key factor is the economic motive, with the marriage of children often seen as a strategy for economic gains and/ or survival. Poverty-stricken families see early marriage as a way to offload themselves of the responsibility of bringing up girls, ¹⁰⁷ or an opportunity for receiving bride wealth. Girls may also seek early marriages to escape from poverty within their own families. Some parents further encourage early marriages because it is what they expect for their daughters, or they have the expectation that it will contribute to the care and protection of the girl. For example, a study by Refugee Law Project conducted in four refugee settlements in Uganda reveals that many parents

perceived early marriage as the best–and often, the only means of safeguarding their daughters from the high levels of SGBV prevailing in Uganda's refugee settlements. 109

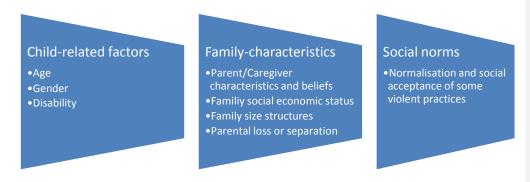
An insidious form of sexual violence, early marriage is associated with a wide range of negative health, education, and economic outcomes. Recently published global reviews have documented that young women who marry early are more likely than their peers to drop out of school¹¹⁰ and have lower earning capacity, earlier and more frequent childbearing, and complications in pregnancy, higher maternal mortality, increased risk of HIV infection, and higher infant mortality. For example, studies in Kenya and Zambia report that HIV infection rates among married girls are 48 to 65 percent higher than among sexually active unmarried girls. In addition, girls who marry before the age of 18 are more likely to suffer domestic violence, including sexual violence at the hands of their partners. Married girls also tend to be more isolated, exacerbating their vulnerability. They are also the most likely to extend vulnerability to their children, by perpetuating intergenerational cycles of poverty and gender discrimination.

2.3. Risk and Protective factors for violence against children

This section provides an analysis of factors that put children at risk on the one hand and those that contribute to their strength and ability to escape and recover or resist violence on the other. Usually, a variety of factors come together to create the conditions in which violence occurs. Vulnerable children tend to be exposed to multiple forms of abuse, with one problem or situation contributing to another as reliance and the ability to adopt positive coping strategies are progressively undermined. ¹¹⁷ For example, a female child labourer may also be living on the streets, which exposes her to sexual violence. It is, however, imperative to note that not all children who are exposed to the various risk factors that create vulnerability are actually subjected to violence, although many may be. For example, poverty is a risk factor, but it is erroneous to suggest that all parents of poor children are subjecting their children to abuse or exploitation.

2.3.1. Risk factors

A range of risk factors exist for violence in the home setting, including characteristics of the individual child, familial risk factors such parent characteristics, societal and cultural factors (e.g., social norms and values). Each set of these factors are discussed in turn below.



Child-related factors

Researchers have identified a number of individual factors associated with a greater risk of experiencing violence, including the following:

Age and Gender

Individual risk factors such as age and gender have been identified as underlying risk factors for violence against children. Available evidence indicates that young children are more likely to be abused by primary caregivers and other family members. This is, in part, attributable to their close dependence on them and limited, independent interactions outside the home and family setting. ¹¹⁸On the other hand, older children are more likely to be victimized by people outside the home and family. ¹¹⁹ Additional evidence indicates younger children, especially those aged 5–9, are more likely to experience violent punishment than older children. ¹²⁰ Younger children tend to be more at risk of physical abuse compared to older children, while older children (i.e., those who have reached puberty or adolescence) generally tend to be more at risk of sexual abuse.

Gender also plays a key role, as girls and boys are at different risk for different kinds of violence. Boys are more likely to experience physical abuse and girls are more likely to experience sexual abuse. ^{121,122} In addition, girls tend to experience more of the subtle forms of physical violence, such as pinching or twisting of the ears, while boys (especially older boys) experience more of the extreme forms of physical violence, such as burning, tying up, or severe beatings. ¹²³ The greater vulnerability of girls to sexual violence is in large part a product of the influence of gender-based power relations. ¹²⁴

Disability

Disability has also been has been identified as a risk factor for violence against children. Children with disabilities are vulnerable to different forms of violence. The number of children with disabilities (CWD) in Uganda has been steadily growing over the years. According to the 2005/06 UNHS, the number of children between 0-17 years in Uganda who live with disabilities was estimated at 205,000 125-representing two percent of all children. Of these, 115,000 (56 percent) were boys, while 90,000 (44 percent) were girls. The majority of CWD (92 percent) live in rural areas. Disability among children in Uganda is more prevalent within the 10-14 age group. Results from UNHS 2005/06 also show that disabled children account for about 3.6 percent of the children aged 5 to 17 years.

The World Report on Violence against Children observes that, 'children with disability experience heightened risk of violence for a variety of reasons, ranging from deeply ingrained cultural prejudices to the higher emotional, physical, economic, and social demands that a child's disability can place on his or her family.'127 While attitudes of individuals naturally vary and some forms of disability are relatively socially acceptable, others, perhaps particularly those with mental disability, are viewed with negativity. Children with disabilities, especially children with mental disabilities, are sometimes objects of fear, partly because they are perceived as "different" but also because it is frequently

believed that their condition is somehow contagious or the result of witchcraft. ¹²⁹ Parents and relatives are often ashamed of the child with disability. ¹³⁰ CWD are subject to ridicule, cruel imitation, and even deliberate harm. ¹³¹

Family-related risk factors

At the family level, risk factors associated with VaC include parental/caregiver characteristics and beliefs, family income, parental loss or separation, family breakdown, violence (including intimate partner violence), social and cultural norms, including low status of the child in parent–child relationships. These are discussed in turn below.

Parent/Caregiver characteristics and beliefs

Limited research has been conducted on parental or caregiver characteristics and the risk of violence against children in Uganda. Nonetheless, studies from elsewhere identify a number of parental/caregiver characteristics that increase the risk of VaC. First, low parental education has been identified as a significant risk factor for physical and emotional violence against children. For example, previous research has found that less educated parents are more likely to engage in violent discipline than their peers. ¹³² Second, research indicates that children with parents who abuse alcohol or drugs are at significantly increased risk for child abuse, including sexual abuse. ¹³³ Third, young and single parents also tend to be more violent. ¹³⁴ Forth, parents who use violence against their children may well have experienced or witnessed violence as children. ¹³⁵ There is also evidence to suggest that prior history of abuse during childhood makes parents more likely to abuse their own children. ¹³⁶ This illustrates internalisation of violence, its transmission and the resultant intergenerational cycle of violence.

Lack of awareness of child development (and of appropriate parenting practices for a child's developmental level) and belief in the effectiveness of physical punishment as a means of discipline are also key risk factors. ^{137,138} With respect to the later, children are more likely to experience physical punishment by any member of the household if their mother/primary caregiver believes that physical punishment is a necessary part of child rearing. In households where the mother/primary caregiver does not believe in physical punishment, the child is less likely to be subjected to it. ¹³⁹ This underlines the importance of addressing attitudes and norms in society regarding child rearing and child discipline in order to change behaviours.

Poverty and unemployment

Available evidence indicates that poverty and unemployment increase family stress. Financial stress and parental inability to cope with stress results in a higher likelihood of violence against children in the home. ¹⁴⁰ Poor families are also often forced to live in overcrowded conditions, which results in children sharing sleeping spaces with sexually active adults and, inevitably, becoming aware of sexual activity. These arrangements place children at risk of sexual abuse by adults or older children in the home. ¹⁴¹ In addition, poverty can be a cause of changing family circumstances, contributing to family tensions, dysfunction and separation, ¹⁴² all of which heighten children's vulnerability to violence. Poverty may also increase pressure on children to work (outside the home). ¹⁴³

Family size and structure

Family characteristics such as size, household composition and structure have been identified as significant risk factors for violence against children. For example, previous research has identified household size and overcrowding as risk factors for VaC.¹⁴⁴ Available data shows that parents in families with four or more children are three times more violent towards their children than parents with fewer children.¹⁴⁵ In addition, data from a range of countries indicate that household overcrowding increases the risk of child abuse.¹⁴⁶ One possible explanation for this could be the higher levels of stress generated by overcrowding.

Vulnerability to violence also increases where family structures have been weakened. ¹⁴⁷ In Uganda, poverty, HIV and AIDS, and conflict are some of the factors putting families into difficulties contributing to dysfunction and reducing their ability to provide care and protection. ¹⁴⁸

Parental loss or separation

Parental Loss: Due to HIV and AIDS or conflict, overwhelming numbers of children in Uganda are without parents. ¹⁴⁹ Recent estimates show that at least 2.3 million children (12.7 percent of children under the age of 18) have lost at least one parent. ¹⁵⁰ Available evidence also indicates that a quarter of all households in Uganda contain an orphan. There were more households with single orphans (about 18 percent) than with double orphans about 6 percent. ¹⁵¹ Orphaned children are particularly at risk of violence. Orphan-hood reduces the network of care and protection available to children. Evidence available indicates that 70 percent of the families taking care of orphans are headed by poor, often elderly care-givers. ¹⁵² In a study by World Vision, community leaders in Uganda reported that corporal punishment was more severe and common against orphans compared to other children in the household who were more closely related to adult caregivers or to the head of the household. ¹⁵³ The study also revealed that orphans who were taken in by extended family members were frequently subjected to sexual violence from uncles, stepfathers, and cousins.

Parental loss due to HIV or violent conflict has also been responsible for the escalation of the number of child-headed households in Uganda. According to the 2009/10 Uganda National Household survey, 0.4 percent of the households in Uganda are headed by children.¹⁵⁴ A situation analysis of orphans and other vulnerable children reports that children within child-headed households (who benefit less from the guidance of adults) are more vulnerable to deprivation, abuse, violence and risky sexual behaviours.¹⁵⁵

Parental separation: In Uganda, a substantial but unknown number of marriages or relationships break up, leaving children under the responsibility of one parent. Previous research suggests that children in single-parent households are more likely to experience violent discipline than children living with both parents. Previous research suggests that children in single-parent households are more likely to experience violent discipline than children living with both parents. Previous research suggests that children in single-parent households are more likely to experience violent discipline than children living with both parents. Previous research suggests that children in single-parent households are more likely to experience violent discipline than children living with both parents. Previous research suggests that children in single-parent households are more likely to experience violent discipline than children living with both parents.

Domestic Violence

Available research also suggests an association between domestic violence in the home and violence against children. Domestic violence¹⁵⁹ includes "violence perpetrated by intimate partners and other family members"¹⁶⁰ Literature has documented both the co-occurrence of wife abuse and VaC, and an increased risk of VAC posed by wife abuse.¹⁶¹ Studies indicate that children in families where adults use violence against each other are more likely to be abused, either emotionally, physically or sexually.¹⁶² Additional evidence also indicates that wife abuse increases the likelihood that mothers would physically punish their children. Further, women who have been victimized are also likely to experience depression, anxiety and feelings of powerlessness, which significantly impacts the quality of their parenting. Such women may become emotionally unavailable and unresponsive to their children.¹⁶³

Exposure to domestic violence is itself a form of abuse. Available evidence suggests that children who are exposed to physical violence directed at their mothers often display the same psychological distress as children who are actually abused. ¹⁶⁴ This shows that children do not have to be directly victimised in order to suffer the negative consequences of violence.

Social and cultural norms

Cultural values and social norms are powerful contributing factors to child violence. Social and cultural norms shape the way members of a society think and behave. They are often deeply ingrained in the values, policies and practices of society and provide an indication of acceptable or unacceptable behaviour.¹⁶⁵

Recent research suggests that social norms and values that place children in a subordinate position in the home influence the violence directed at them. In Uganda, children are regarded as the property of their parents, and are expected to be obedient and deferential to adults. ^{166,167} Children are expected to unquestioningly obey or submit without question to the injunctions of older family members. Where children do not conform to adult expectations of appropriate behaviour, physical punishment is, in general, widely accepted as an appropriate means of correction and guidance. ¹⁶⁸ Adults may also use violence to exert their power over children. ¹⁶⁹ For example, in a 2005 study by Save the Children and Raising Voices, when asked why they punished children, most adults claimed that they did it to make them compliant, obedient, and respectful of traditions. In the same study, most adults (91.3 percent) described using a combination of physical and emotional punishment to control children, most commonly caning, shouting, and assigning physical work (above and beyond normal chores), while 87.9 percent of adults said they punished children to guide them on how to behave.

Research in Uganda also shows that "in the hierarchy of power distribution within the family, children occupy the lowest rung of the ladder, and as a result, are most vulnerable to violence." ¹⁷⁰ Children often become scapegoats for the frustrations of adults around them by mere virtue of their position in this hierarchy. ¹⁷¹ In some instances, children are seen as semi-individuals – and therefore the full moral force of conscience is discounted when adults, particularly family members, treat children badly. ¹⁷² Unfortunately, the belief in the sanctity of the family makes neighbours and authorities reluctant to speak when they know children are being victimized. ¹⁷³ Consequently, children and the perpetrators of

violence against them may accept violence, particularly physical and emotional violence as an inevitable part of childhood. ¹⁷⁴

There also appears to be widespread normalization and social acceptance of some violent practices described or disguised as 'discipline' in Uganda. ¹⁷⁵ Violent disciplinary practices, including physical punishment and psychological aggression, are socially accepted and often perceived as needed for children's upbringing. For example, in a study by Raising Voices and Save the Children Uganda, much of what the research team defined as violence and abuse was regarded by community members as appropriate punishment with the best interest of the child in mind. ¹⁷⁶ In the same study, most children perceived physical violence to be a normal part of their relationship with adults, and/or a valid and necessary form of discipline. ¹⁷⁷ Children are expected to tolerate the violence and would be considered impertinent if they tried to respond in any way other than submission. ¹⁷⁸

2.3.2. Protective factors within the home

Much less research has been conducted on protective factors for VaC in the Ugandan context. As such, little is known about what prevents families from becoming violent. Nonetheless, research conducted elsewhere reveals range protective factors for VaC in the home. Parental good health¹⁷⁹, knowledge of parenting and child development, positive parent–child interactions and strong attachment between parents and children¹⁸⁰, are all considered to be potential protective factors for violence against children. Research also shows that good parent and sibling relationships provide children with protection and foster resilience.¹⁸² In addition, parents who understand the usual course of child development are less likely to abuse their children.

Friendships with other children, spirituality (i.e., religious and belief systems) and involvement in recreational activities ¹⁸³ also play protective roles and may even help children deal with experiences of violence. At the community level, strong social cohesion and stable families in terms of family structure and circumstances are also considered as protective factors, ¹⁸⁴ as is social capital and thriving social networks and neighbourhood connections at the wider socio-cultural level. ¹⁸⁵ Detailed research is, however, needed in the Uganda context to examine the association between protective factors and children's experience of violence in homes.

2.4. Consequences of violence against children in a home

The consequences of violence against children are wide-ranging, and vary depending on the nature and severity of the violence. The violence that children experience in the context of home and family can lead to lifelong consequences for their health and development. ¹⁸⁶

Physical and health consequences

In extreme cases, violence against children can result in a child's death, in disability, or in severe physical injury. Solution injury. Violence can also have a negative impact on a child's psychological health. Child exposure to violence is associated with feelings of guilt and shame, and of rejection and abandonment which affect children's ability to relate to others and form healthy relationships, affects their self-esteem and

undermines relationships of trust^{§§} between children and adults.¹⁸⁸ Violence against children is also associated with transitional thoughts of suicide and/or revenge, and the more severe the violence, the higher this risk.¹⁸⁹

For example, in a study by Raising Voices and Save the Children, children reported that their experiences of violence shaped their beliefs about themselves and some children discussed how experiencing violence undermined their trust in adults and confidence in themselves. ¹⁹⁰ In addition, some children admitted to displacing their anger on younger children. Other emotional responses to violence against children include fury, rage, bitterness and resignation, or internalizing blame for what happens to them. ¹⁹¹

Available evidence suggests that children do not have to be direct targets of violence in order to experience negative consequences. ¹⁹² Children can be psychologically and emotionally damaged by witnessing violence in the home, such as interpersonal violence between parents or other family members. ¹⁹³ Such children may exhibit the same behavioural and psychological disturbances as those who are directly exposed to violence. ¹⁹⁴ For example, child witnesses to domestic violence have higher rates of anxiety, conduct disorder, and alcohol abuse/dependence in adolescence. ¹⁹⁵

The reproductive and sexual health consequences for victims of violence, particularly sexual violence can also be severe, and may include teenage and unwanted pregnancy, vulnerability to STIs, including HIV and urinary tract infections, gynaecological complications such as vaginal bleeding or infection, genital irritation, pain during intercourse, and chronic pelvic pain. Early and forced marriage, a form of CSA, is associated with earlier and more frequent childbearing, and complications and even death during pregnancy and childbirth. 198

Further victimization

Family violence against children is believed to be associated with increased risk of violence in other settings. ¹⁹⁹ For example, children who have been sexually abused, or extremely neglected, or who have experienced violence at home, may run away or drift into a street life. While the street can offer respite from violence within households, they expose children to other settings that on a daily basis expose them to physical, sexual and emotional violence. ²⁰⁰ Available evidence also shows that many of the girls forced to marry before the age of 18 face significant risk of physical, sexual and emotional violence at the hands of their husbands. ²⁰¹ They may be physically forced, or threatened into having sexual intercourse against their will, or may have sexual intercourse out of fear of what their partner will do if they refuse to acquiesce. ²⁰²

Social and economic consequences

The social and economic consequences of child exposure to violence are also enormous. For example, severe forms violence against children may result into lasting injury or disability, and productivity losses

Trust in human beings is essential for human development. Learning to trust from infancy onwards through attachments in the family is an essential task of childhood, and closely related to the capacity for love, empathy and the development of future relationships (Phineiro, 2006: 63)

in the future life of the child. VaC further has economic implications for families and society, including direct costs such as the cost of medical care for victims, and legal services.

Child exposure to violence may affect a child's performance in school and increase the risk of dropping out of school. For example, girls who marry early are more likely than their peers to drop out of school, ²⁰³ which subsequently affects their employability or earning potential.

Long-term consequences

Limited literature exists on the consequences of VaC over the long term in Uganda. Research elsewhere, however, provides some useful evidence that indicates that violence against children leads to socialization of children into violent lifestyles which perpetuates the intergenerational cycle of abuse and broader societal violence. Research shows that children who are abused are likely to use violence against their spouses and their children in their adulthood.²⁰⁴ Childhood experience of violence has further been linked to harmful behaviors like alcohol and drug abuse.²⁰⁵

2.5. Responses to violence against children in the home and family

Legal and policy responses

The protection of the rights of children from violence and maltreatment has been recognized and entrenched in both international and national laws and conventions. Uganda, as a ratifying member of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989, recognizes that all children are entitled to the full range of rights, including the right to be protected from all forms of violence by parents or other caregivers. Legislative protection of children against all forms of violence in all settings is contained in the Children's Act, CAP 59; The Penal Code Act, CAP 120 (as amended); Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995 (as amended); The Sexual Offences Bill, 2011; The Domestic Violence Act, 2010 etcetera. These legal provisions have been compressed into a summary document referred to as the Compendium of Children's laws. 206 Nonetheless, the current national legal framework remains insufficient when it comes to clear prohibition of violence within a home setting.

The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995 (as amended)	 Article 34 (7) requires the law to accord special protection to orphans and other vulnerable children. Article 24 states that, "No person shall be subjected to any form of torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."
The Children's Act, CAP 59 and draft Children's Act (<i>Amendment</i>) Bill, 2010	Any person having custody of a child shall protect the child from discrimination, violence, abuse and neglect (Sec. 5 (2))
The Sexual Offences Bill, 2011	Defilement and aggravated defilement are punished with life imprisonment.
The Penal Code Act CAP. 120 (as amended)	Prohibits violence and the different forms of child abuse, including violence against children.

The Domestic Violence Act, 2010

- The Act prohibits a person in a domestic relationship from engaging in domestic violence. Domestic relationships are defined in section 3 of the Act to include a family relationship, a relationship similar to a family relationship or a relationship in a domestic setting. Children who may be covered by this Act as victims of domestic violence may be related to the perpetrator by consanguinity, affinity or kinship or they may live with the perpetrator.
- In section 2, the Act further defines what constitutes domestic violence under four categories: physical, economic, emotional and sexual.

Prevention programme

Research shows that violence against children in the home and the family setting can be reduced significantly by the implementation of laws and programmes which strengthen and support families, and that address the underlying community and societal factors that allow violence to thrive. ²⁰⁷ Some of the promising strategies to prevent VaC in the home and family context include parental education and home visitation programmes, early education and child care programmes, Child helplines and life-skills training programme for children. ²⁰⁸

In Uganda, a number of programmes are implemented especially by NGOs to prevent VaC in the home and family context. For example, organizations such as African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN) and World Vision conduct community training and awareness raising sessions on VaC targeting caregivers. Other organizations such as Uganda Youth Development Link (UYDEL) conduct life-skills trainings, with the specific aim of enabling children to recognize and avoid risky situations. Such interventions usually teach children about appropriate and inappropriate touching, and who they can talk to if they experience violence. However, while these programmes have improved awareness and knowledge about VaC among parents and children, longer-term evaluations are not generally available to enable an understanding of the effectiveness of these programmes.

In 2005, three NGOs (UCRNN, ANPPCAN and Action for Children), in collaboration with the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MGLSD) set up a Toll-Free Child Helpline, a phone service that links children in need of care and protection to services and resources. The child helpline is expected to improve the reporting of incidents of violence, to help children escape from abusive situations and act as a deterrent against those who perpetrate violence against children, including caregivers.

Early Education and Child Development programmes (ECD) are also increasingly promoted to help in providing not only basic care but also stimulation and education for their children. There is evidence that they can be effective in reducing the factors that engender violence in the home. ²⁰⁹However further research is needed to examine the protective effect of ECD programmes on VaC in the home and family context.

Interventions when violence becomes known

In Uganda, there is an institutional structure, albeit with conspicuous functional deficiencies, for responding to violence. In most cases, reporting of cases of violence against children is mainly done by those who have suffered violence, their parents, neighbourhoods or community members to the different statutory actors in the justice systems such as local authorities, police, district probation and social welfare office. These actors work hand in hand with other child protection actors including hospital/ health facilities, courts of law, and NGOs working with children to ensure child survivors access the necessary legal, health and social support services (See section 7.3). The limitation and challenges in accessing the different response services are extensively discussed in sub-section 7.3.3.

Removing a child from the family is considered a last resort. In most cases, family-based solutions are preferred over institutional placements. A child who is separated from the family environment for his or her own best interest is entitled to special protection and assistance. Recently, the government developed a *National Alternative Care Framework, 2012*, which provides actors at different levels with clear guidelines and placement options for children in need of alternative care, institutes gate keeping mechanisms to screen the entry of children into institutional care, and puts in place mechanisms to support existing government structures such as the probation and welfare office (PWO) to carry out their statutory responsibilities for overseeing the care of children in alternative care.

Advocacy and public education

Violence against children in the home and family in Uganda receives little media and research attention compared to issues such as commercial sexual exploitation of children, or child labour. Nonetheless, a number of organizations such as Raising Voices and ANPPCAN have been implementing public information or prevention campaigns to raise awareness about violence against children and promote rights of children to a violence-free childhood and change community attitudes, beliefs and norms surrounding the use of violence, using different mass media, including TV, radio and newspaper adverts. Much less attention, however, has been given to participatory research on violence against children in the family in which boys and girls are involved not only as respondents but as co-researchers, as well as advocacy based on such research.

2.6. Suggestions for improving responses

Better data

No effective responses can be developed without adequate scientific data. Accurate and reliable data on the magnitude and consequences of family violence against children are essential to evidence-based advocacy, policy development, resource allocation and programme implementation. Scientific research is needed to fill data gaps on VaC in the home and family context. Data is particularly needed on the prevalence, risk factors, and effective responses. Research is also required to ascertain and validate effective child protection prevention and responses against VAC and best strategies for implementation.

Implement violence prevention programmes

Promote positive disciplinary practices: There is need to identify and promote positive disciplinary practices within the various cultures that effect positive behavior change among children and which do not constitute violence

Parental education: There is a need to develop and implement culturally appropriate and gender sensitive good-parenting programmes, and promote positive, non-violent disciplinary practices and participatory forms of child rearing. Parental education programmes should aim to increase parents' understanding of the physical, psychological, sexual, and cognitive development of infants, and expand child-rearing and parenting skills for fathers and mothers, including skills in the management of family conflicts, and addressing gender stereotypes. Parents and caregivers also need to be made aware of children's cognitive development in order to have a better understanding of the context of children's behaviour and their capabilities at any given developmental stage. This would make parents more empathic towards their children which may result in decreased levels of violence being used against them. In addition, parental education programmes should seek to promote children's rights, by educating parents about these rights.

Early engagement to strengthen families: There is need to strengthen and enhance the capacity of families to ensure prevention and protection of children against violence. Efforts that address family structure, create positive parent-child relationships and encourage more parental supervision of children are crucial interventions as they have been found to be protective factors for violence exposure.²¹¹

Address adult vulnerabilities: Specific programmes targeted at vulnerable families, children and communities must be considered to mitigate the negative influences that can create opportunities for violence to occur. Examples of factors that need to be addressed include:

- Identifying homes with parents who are addicted to alcohol and other substances. Alcohol and
 drug rehabilitation programmes need to be made available to individuals as well as follow-up
 support and services.
- Social protection programmes to address poverty in vulnerabilities in families as a measure to
 address violence in its multiple forms. Families that are severely constrained financially have
 their children more exposed to violence than those with higher incomes. This suggests the
 emerging stress that owing to inability to meet basic obligations in a home setting. Violence in
 this case is applied as a measure to suppress expression of need or demand for fulfillment of
 basic rights to provision (applies to mainly physical and emotional violence)
- Supporting access to education by care givers –including adult learning.

Address socio-cultural norms: socio-cultural norms are a powerful contributing factor towards violence against children. They are frequently used to justify violence against children. While legal reform can influence norms, it is unlikely to have a substantial impact—unless accompanied by change in norms regarding the status of children, and acceptability of violent punishment, and an alteration of gender roles, and a reversal of the culture of non reporting of violent incidents. There is thus greater need for public awareness through various fora aimed at increasing awareness of child rights, and changing social and cultural norms that perpetuate violence against children.

3. VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS AND EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

3.1. Introduction

Article 30 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda makes education a constitutional right. Section 5 of the Children Act Cap 59 obligates a parent, guardian or any other person having custody of the child, to fulfil a child's right to education and guidance. Currently, an estimated 84 percent of children aged 6-12 years and 77 percent children aged 13-18 years are attending school. Since the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE), primary school enrolment more than doubled, from 3.1 million children in 1996 to more than 8 million children in 2011 (Figure 3.1-2).

Available data also indicate that a total of 508,617 children were enrolled in Pre-primary Schools/ECDs in 2011 (compared to 59,829 in 2001), while up to 1,258,084 students were in secondary schools—with girls accounting for 47.3 percent of enrolment. Primary school completion rates have also significantly improved, with 54 percent of the children who join primary school being able to complete (i.e., complete primary level 7) in 2011, compared to 48 percent in 2006

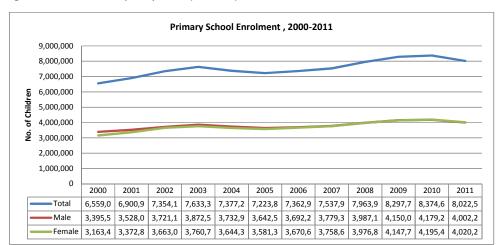


Figure 3.1-1: Enrolment in all primary schools (2000-2011)

Source: Ministry of Education and Sports (2012)

Table 3.1-1: Primary School completion rates

Year						
	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Total (%)	48	47	49	52	54	64
Boys (%)	55	50	51	55	56	65
Girls (%)	42	44	47	48	51	63

Source: Ministry of Education and Sports (2012)

3.2. Legal provisions

Article 28 (2) of the UNCRC obligates State Parties to undertake all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention. Legislative protection of children against all forms of violence in all settings, including schools is contained in the Children's Act, CAP 59; The Penal Code Act, CAP 120 (as amended); Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995 (as amended); The Sexual Offences Bill, 2011 (see Box 3.2-1). This notwithstanding, cases of violence in the school and educational continue to be reported

3.3. Nature and extent of violence against children in schools

Children are exposed to multifarious forms of violence in and around schools and educational settings which include; sexual, physical and emotional violence. These are discussed below:

3.3.1. Physical violence

A disquieting number of students experience physical violence in Ugandan Schools. For example, in a Raising Voices and Save the Children study, 29 percent of the children, both boys and girls, reported that they experienced physical violence mainly at school, while 32 percent reported experiencing it both at school and in the home. Physical violence is mainly perpetrated by teachers and older school children. The properties of the children are considered by teachers and older school children.

The use of corporal punishments²¹⁶ by teachers as a method of school discipline is particularly widespread (see Box 3.3.1). Most often children are hit with a wooden cane, though they are also slapped, kicked, pinched or forced to stay in uncomfortable positions by teachers for disruptive classroom behaviour such as 'making noise' in class, for coming late to school, not doing their homework, missing school without permission (even for unanticipated illnesses), poor academic performance, and sometimes for no reason at all. ²¹⁷

Box 3.3-1:Physical Violence Against children in and around school settings

- In the 2011 ANPPCAN study on violence against children in schools, most children reported that, as
 punishment, they had been beaten at school (81 percent), made to do difficult work at school such digging
 or slashing the compound (82 percent), made to kneel in front of class (48 percent), or locked up in a
 room (18 percent).
- According to a study carried out by Raising Voices and Save the Children, despite the many teachers who stressed the "official policy" that they do not beat children, 60.4 percent of in-school children reported routinely being beaten and humiliated.²¹⁹
- In a retrospective survey carried out by the ACPF among the Ugandan girls, 48 percent of the children reported having been beaten at school by their male teachers.²²⁰
- A 2009 baseline study by ANPPCAN identified caning (85 percent), slapping (79 percent), and pinching (61 percent) as the most common forms of physical violence experienced by children in and around school.

3.3.2. Sexual Violence

Sexual violence is a reality for school-going children in Uganda.²²² The true extent of the problem is unknown, but available figures provide some useful insights. In two separate studies—one conducted in 2005 and another in 2009—about 24 percent of the children, both boys and girls, reported that they experienced sexual violence mainly at school. ²²³ More than one-third (34.2 percent) of the children also reported having experienced sexual violence both at school and in the home. ²²⁴ However, 59 percent of the children in a 2009 ANPPCAN study reported that they had experienced sexual violence in a school setting. ²²⁵ Sexual violence in schools often takes the form of sexual relations (both consensual and nonconsensual), inappropriate physical contact or remarks and transactional encounters. ²²⁶

For example, a 2011 ANPPCAN study on violence against children in schools conducted among 990 pupils from 25 schools in five selected districts established that 8 percent of the children had been forced to have sex; 18 percent had received marriage proposals; 24 percent had been spoken to in a sexual way; 25 percent had been touched or fondled; and 29 percent had been made to look at sexual scenes. In another study, in-school children reported, with greater frequency, being forced to touch or kiss the mouth. Also, during a mid-term review of a physical violence project implemented by Save the Children, the majority of the girls who experienced sex abuse reported being told sexually suggestive words (81 percent), having their body parts touched (45 percent) and in some cases, forced sexual intercourse (3 percent).

The main perpetrators of sexual violence are older students, particularly boys and teachers—indicating a gross abuse of teacher-pupil relations, trust and authority. For example, according to a report published by Plan International in 2008, 8 percent of 16 and 17-year-olds (n=1041) had had sex with their teachers, and 12 percent with ancillary staff. ^{229,230}

Girls are particularly at risk of sexual violence. Girls may be fondled, verbally degraded, assaulted and raped—in school toilets, in empty classrooms and in dormitories. ²³¹ They are also subjected to aggressive sexual advances. Sexual demands are often accompanied by threats of physical punishment or bad grades, force, and manipulation—including promises of better grades, reduced school fees or material supplies and financial rewards. ²³² Nonetheless, boys too fall victims of sexual harassment and abuse. For example, in one study, a total of 13.3 percent of the boys reported being forced to have sex, and 27 percent reported being touched sexually against their will. ²³³ Other forms of harassment for boys included being teased about their sexuality, being made subjects of lewd gestures, or being threatened with castration if they misbehaved. Overall, the researcher concluded that, "there appears to be an oversight around sexual vulnerability of boys and a more detailed study is needed to understand the extent of the problem."

Disturbingly, victims of sexual violence are often hesitant to report acts of sexual violence in and around the school setting for fear of being shamed and made jest of, stigmatized, fear of being expelled from school if a teacher was the abuser, long distances to the police station, or because of fear of not being believed, and retaliation from perpetrators.²³⁵

3.3.3. Emotional violence

Emotional violence against children in and around school settings is a widespread practice. In a Raising Voices and Save the Children study, some 21.2 percent of the children reported experiencing emotional violence at school, while 35.5 percent reported experiencing it at school and at home. The most common forms of emotional violence include shouting, insulting, threatening, staring at someone, or embarrassment. ²³⁶ For example, in a 2011 ANPPCAN study on violence against children in schools, most children reported that that they had been stared at or shouted at (80 percent), had witnessed a friend being beaten (86 percent), or had been bullied or threatened (65 percent). A 2009 baseline study by ANPPCAN also identified shouting (65 percent) and insulting (56 percent) as common forms of emotional violence. ²³⁷

Research in Uganda also indicates that the practice of bullying is widespread; although there is limited quantitative data on the prevalence of the practice. The *World Report on Violence against Children* considers bullying to be a pattern of behaviour rather than an isolated event. The three crucial notions of bullying are 'repetition, harm and unequal power.' The most common form of bullying is verbal. Bullying can include a wide range of threats such as name calling, false accusations to make trouble for the victim with authority figures, damaging or stealing belongings, threats, and intimidation. However, left unchecked, bullying may also involve physical violence. Boys are more likely to engage in physical bullying, while girls most often engage in verbal forms of harassment of their peers.

3.4. Risk and Protective factors

3.4.1. Risk Factors

There is limited research on risk factors for violence against children in and around schools in Uganda. Existing studies; however, highlight some factors that increase children susceptibility to violence. Some these factors are discussed below:

Age and gender

Age and gender have been identified as underlying risk factors for violence against children in and around school settings. Older girls are more vulnerable to sexual violence, while older boys are more vulnerable to extreme forms of physical punishment. ²⁴² Younger children are at an increased risk of being bullied by older children and to emotional violence. ²⁴³

Disability and stigmatised illness

Children with disability (CWD) are at an increased risk of violence in and around school settings. They are bullied, ridiculed and stigmatized. They are often easy victims because they have difficulties defending themselves or reporting the abuse.²⁴⁴ Children living with HIV/AIDS (CLWHA) or whose parents are living with HIV are also at risk of physical and emotional violence. For example, a Save the Children study conducted in 2007 revealed that CLWHA are routinely shunned, taunted and at times beaten by their fellow pupils. For instance, a 10-year-old HIV positive girl observed: "When at school, my

friends don't want to play with me because I have rashes all over my body and they say they can't play with me because they will get the rashes. Others fight me and because they know I am weak, they always beat me."²⁴⁵ Such emotional and physical violence affects children's interest and continuation in education.

Children with learning difficulties also face a heightened risk to violence. They are easy targets for bullies within school (both teachers and other pupils). They are often labelled as 'unintelligent' by their teachers and fellow pupils, resulting in poor self-esteem and self-image and putting them at risk of violence within school, which can lead to an increase in dropping out of school.

Children in Boarding School

Boarding schools are particularly difficult environments. Children in such schools often have limited contact with their parents. Adult supervision in the schools is also limited. As such, they experience an increased risk of violence from their peers and teachers. However, further research isneed to examine the prevalence of violence against children in boarding schools, as well as the specific risk and protective factors.

Socio-economic vulnerability

Poverty increases the vulnerability of children to various forms of violence in school. The most common is sexual violence, particularly in cases where girls engage in transactional sex with teachers, school staff or other adults.

Normalization and socio-acceptance of violence

Vulnerability of children to, especially physical and emotional violence is exacerbated by its normalization as part of disciplinary measures. Teachers and parents often consider violence as 'necessary' for children to learn or behave well. Teachers also believe that it is the most effective form of disciplinary action. ²⁴⁶ Sayings like, "spare the rod and spoil the child" are therefore often invoked to justify physical severe punishment of children in schools.

Other factors

Other factors that increase vulnerability to violence include unsafe physical environment i schools, such as the failure to provide separate and adequate toilet facilities, lack of a school monitoring and reporting system through which parents and children can lodge complaints, and low job satisfaction of teachers. Alcohol abuse by teachers is also identified as a risk factor, especially in the case of sexual violence against girls.

3.4.2. Protective factors

Some of the protective factors for VaC in educational settings include having separate and adequate toilet facilities for boys and girls, ²⁴⁷ vigilance of the teachers in protecting the most vulnerable pupils, and enforcement of laws and regulations concerning schools and teachers' professional conduct. In

addition, school polices that support non-violent behaviour can protect against violence, harassment and bullying at school. Anecdotal evidence also suggests that having more friends at schools and moving in groups is associated with decreased levels of violence.

3.5. Consequences of violence

Consequences for children's Education

Violence can seriously impact children's ability to learn effectively, ²⁴⁸ and affect their cognitive and emotion development. For example, research shows that children who are bullied exhibit a marked decline in school achievement including underperforming in the classroom, and a reluctance to participate in school activities. ²⁴⁹ Violence may also contribute to a child's dislike of school, and can be a contributing factor for dropping out. Research indicates that children may drop out of school due to perceived harsh school environments, unwanted and early pregnancies. ²⁵⁰ For example, in a study by Makerere Institute of Social Research and Ministry of Education and Sports, approximately 11 percent of interviewed parents perceived early marriage as a cause of drop out for girls. ²⁵¹

Physical and Health consequences

Violence against children in and around the school settings could result in serious repercussions for a student's mental and physical health. In extreme cases, violence against children results in physical injury ranging from abdominal/thoracic injuries, bruises, swelling and cuts, and fractures to disability or death. ^{252,253}

The negative impact of violence in schools goes beyond the children who are directly affected by it. It also has an insidious effect on pupils who witness it, creating an atmosphere of fear, anxiety, and insecurity incompatible with learning. ²⁵⁴ Violence—physical, emotional or sexual—is also damaging to a child's sense-of-self and esteem ²⁵⁵ and could perpetuate or reproduce violence in schools. ²⁵⁶ For example, children who are bullied often become isolated and rejected by their peers, which leads to depression, poor self-image and low self-esteem and even thoughts of suicide. ²⁵⁷ Studies have in addition linked VaC in and around school to slow development of social skills, depression, anxiety, aggressive behaviour and a lack of empathy or caring for others. ²⁵⁸ However, further investigation is needed to examine this link in the Ugandan context.

Evidence further suggests that children, especially girls, exposed to different forms of sexual abuse become psychologically traumatized and may view themselves and their bodies differently. Consequently, some girls may trivialize commercial sexual encounters and view their bodies as a bargaining chip to obtain material possessions or good grades. ²⁵⁹ Others are at risk of infections with HIV or other STIs or may experience unwanted pregnancies, which they seek to terminate through non-medical abortions.

3.6. Responses to violence in schools and educational settings

Legal and policy measures

Uganda ratified international and regional legal instruments protecting children against all forms of violence such as United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), 1989 (See Box 3.6.1). In recent years, progress in the domestication of international and regional commitments into national laws, policies and regulations has been documented. At the national level, key legislation governing education in Uganda is contained in the Education Act, a law that consolidates and streamlines all laws relating to the development and regulation of education and training in Uganda. In addition, the legislative protection of children against all forms of violence in all settings is contained in the Children's Act and the Penal Code Act (see Box 3.6 1).

Box 3.6-1:Legal and Policy Framework

International and Regional Legal framework

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) 1989

- School discipline consistent with child's human dignity (Article.28 [2])
- Educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse (Article 19 (1))
- Encouragement of regular attendance and limits on drop-out rates
- Education for all (to include disadvantaged groups)

The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, 1990

Measures, including educational measures to protect the child from all forms of torture, inhuman or degrading treatment and
especially physical or mental injury or abuse, neglect or maltreatment including sexual abuse (Article 19 (1))

National

The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995 (as amended)

- Article 34 (7) accords special protection to orphans and other vulnerable children.
- Article 24 states that, "No person shall be subjected to any form of torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

The Children's Act, CAP 59 and draft Children's Act (Amendment) Bill, 2010

- Any person having custody of a child, including teachers, shall protect the child from discrimination, violence, abuse and neglect (Sec. 5 (2))
- Criminalization of corporal punishment in schools (section 18, draft amendment Bill)²⁶⁰
- Requires professionals in various child care settings, especially teachers, to report violence against children (Section 13, the draft amendment Bill)

The Sexual Offences Bill, 2011

- Defilement and aggravated defilement are punished with life imprisonment.
- Bill is not location-specific; it applies even when a child is sexually abused at school.

The Penal Code Act CAP. 120 (as amended)

Prohibits violence and the different forms of child abuse, including violence against children

Despite the progress made in developing relevant legal provisions, several gaps have been identified with the existing provisions in tackling violence in and around school settings. These include absence of a common and shared definition of violence against children in schools; multiplicity of poorly coordinated institutions; and unavailability of legislation stipulating that school authorities must report

violence against children.²⁶¹ In addition, the MoEs guidelines and standards of conduct enacted are not harmonized with law enforcement neither do they point out prevention and response.²⁶² Lastly, several laws, policies and institutions address violence against children in different settings without underlining the need for monitoring of progress or lack of it, coordination of responses and provision of necessary services to survivors.

In 2006, a circular was issued by the Director of Education and copied to primary schools, post-primary institutions, tertiary institutions, colleges and polytechnics to expressly forbid corporal punishment in any school in Uganda. This circular replaced the first circular issued in 1997 by the Commissioner for Education communicating a temporary ban on the use of corporal punishment in schools and colleges. It requires each school's Management Committee or Board of Governors to approve a school disciplinary policy, and any incident of punishment be recorded in a specific punishment book maintained by the school.

The Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) has also designed and is presently implementing the Basic Requirements and Minimum Standards (BRMS) for education institutions, which among other things, provides a framework for addressing violence against children in schools. The BRMS comprises thirteen (13) indicators some of which directly relate to violence e.g. indicators on physical safety; violence and abuse; school rules and regulations; prevention procedures; mechanisms for reporting and responses to cases of violence. The MoES with support from UNICEF also developed and issued an Alternatives to Corporal Punishment Handbook, 2008, for schools and developed a 'Safe School Environment' handbook for primary school teachers. The Alternatives to Corporal Punishment handbook serves as a guide for teachers and other duty-bearers to think about alternatives to corporal punishment and how to put these alternatives into practice in the schools.

School Programmes

Several school programmes aimed at preventing and responding to VaC in and around the settings are currently being implemented by different actors including UNICEF, ANPPCAN, Save the Children, Plan (Uganda) and Raising Voices. For example, Save the Children supports children's right clubs in selected schools. Raising Voices, through partnerships with several organizations is also currently implementing the Good Schools Program. Program, Raising Voices works with schools and other stakeholders involved in education delivery to create examples and experience of Good Schools, with the help of practical tools (i.e., the Good School Toolkit). The Good School Toolkit contains a set of ideas and tools that will help educators explore what a good school is and guide them through a process that will help them create one.

A boy aged 17 from Ntoroko primary school Bundibugyo district had this to say:

Save the Children has implemented activities such as making available, counsellors, who counsel children about the various forms of violence [survivors of violence]. It has also provided us with information about child abuse, including who to approach in case of abuse, and this has enabled us as children to open up more to those whom we believe can help. I have participated in the debate club and football club because I believe it will improve my communication skills and the football club helps me to stay physically fit. These activities have enabled me to exercise my rights as a child for example, freedom of speech and, right to education. I have gained confidence in speaking as well as knowing how to listen to people's views and learnt to respect other views and come to consensus with other people having different views.

Source: Walakira (2009) 'Reducing physical violence against children in Western Uganda. Mid Term Review report' Kampala: Save the Children, Uganda, pp, 14

UNICEF in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) have also been implementing the Girls' Education Movement (GEM) in selected schools in Uganda since 2001. The programme is aimed at combating gender inequality and creating safe schools and communities. Through school-based clubs (GEM-clubs), children work together to improve girls' access to education and also equip learners with skills to address a range of other school factors. These include, access to education, safe school environments, HIV prevention, life skills and youth leadership. These empower children to contribute to the improvement and development of their own schools and communities. Thus, the GEM is an empowering programme for young girls as it addresses the gender norms that result in violence and inequality for girls. At the same time, boys become allies in advocating for gender inequality. This not only creates a shift in the school environment, but also has an impact on the broader community. Children's involvement in decision-making and planning about aspects that affect their lives build self-esteem, making them more likely to act out against violence and other negative aspects of their lives. The same time and the programme and other negative aspects of their lives.

ANPPCAN in partnership with ChildHope is also currently implementing a five year project (2010 to 2014) aimed at reducing violence against school children in five districts of Uganda: Apac, Arua, Kitgum, Mukono, and Rakai. The project focuses on improving life skills and providing training for children to protect themselves and their peers from violence in schools and at home. Core activities comprise establishing, training and supporting a network of parents, teachers and school officials to take on the challenge of preventing and responding to violence against children; supporting schools to develop and enforce alternative methods of discipline that reward good behaviour, in an environment where children and adults respect one another; providing support to victims of violence; and documenting, disseminating and sharing best practices about the prevention of violence against school children in Uganda.

Plan Uganda's Learn without Fear (LWF) Campaign

The LWF Campaign aims at protecting children from violence in educational settings. Plan Uganda's LWF campaign has three objectives that align with the Learn Without Fear (LWF) global campaign:

- Lobbying for mandatory laws to prohibit violence against children in schools which include strong enforcement and regulatory and monitoring systems to ensure child rights;
- o Building the capacities of stakeholders to understand approaches to eliminate violence against children; and
- o Raising awareness on LWF concepts and practices and to promote alternative means of children's discipline.

The key strategies used in the implementation of the LWF campaign in Uganda include:

- Capacity building for children, parents, teachers, SMCs and education officials on corporal punishment and how it
 impacts children, and the good school model that promotes positive discipline as an alternative to corporal
 punishment.
- Creating momentum for change through building coalitions and alliances around the issues of violence against children. Plan Uganda recognizes that it cannot achieve significant change unless it works with like-minded organizations and interested partners to create the needed momentum for change.
- Partnership and networking with parents, teachers, children and education officials to develop a safer and friendlier school environment via discussions on corporal punishment: Who does it and why? Who is most affected and how?
 And suggesting recommendations on how to combat it.

Source: Plan & Uganda Law Society (2012)

3.7. Suggestions for improving prevention and responses programming

To address school-related violence in Uganda, a proactive, holistic, and multifaceted approach is required. Such an approach should entail: (i) engaging families and communities, teachers and emphasizing the links between violence occurring in the classroom with that occurring in children's households and in the wider society; and (ii) treat violence in schools as an institutional problem reinforced by the decaying physical school environment, by gender and age hierarchies and reflecting social norms that occur outside educational settings.

The available research evidence shows that peer to peer violence is common, and children can be both perpetrators and victims. Involving children, also the particularly vulnerable, in tackling all forms of violence in schools is viable. Thus, along with responsible adults, children should be listened to and their views taken into account when it comes to deciding on what measures need to be taken in prevention and protection.

Specific suggestions are outlined below:

- Introduce non-violent forms of discipline in standard teacher training programs. Specifically, teachers should be trained on non-violent, inclusive classrooms and on anti-bullying techniques.
- · Enhance monitoring, accountability and school policies
 - Schools should be supported to develop policies on VAc and reporting systems to facilitate reporting of abuse.
 - The Ministry of Education must monitor schools to ensure that they adhere to the minimum standards set out in the BMRS and Education Act 2008
 - Schools must be held accountable for the violence that occurs in them and have a duty to create an environment of zero tolerance towards all types of violence.
 - o Internal monitoring mechanisms need to be put in place to ensure that adults in the school context are held to account for their behaviour.
 - Confidential reporting systems are very important to ensure that victims of violence come forward without the fear of being exposed or humiliated. Proper action must be taken by school authorities to investigate complaints and deal with perpetrators

- Instigate effective disciplinary measures and confidential complaints procedures in schools to
 enable pupils to report violence or harassment, to be listened to and access accountability.
 Particularly, more efforts, including adequate allocation of budgets, should be invested in
 building effective, appropriate and child-friendly reporting, complaint and monitoring
 mechanisms.
- Policy development, research and programme activities need to be linked through knowledge of
 good practice. Thus, there is need to develop a set of standardized indicators which are locally
 meaningful and internationally comparable with regard to the measurement of the prevalence,
 incidence and nature of school-based violence. Second, there is a need to develop impact
 assessment tools and indicators for measuring violence reduction initiatives and programmes.

4. VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN IN CARE AND JUSTICE INSTITUTIONS

4.1. Introduction

It has been estimated by the UN that approximately 8 million children globally are living in care institutions (orphanages, children's homes and care homes). ²⁶⁹ In 2009, UNICEF also estimated that there were around 1.1 million children worldwide deprived of their liberty (i.e., placed in prisons, juvenile detention facilities and reform schools. ²⁷⁰ The UN study on *Violence against Children* indicates that although these institutions are established to provide care, guidance, support and protection to children, the boys and girls in these institutions face heightened risk of violence compared to children under the care of parents and teachers.

This section examines the extent and nature of violence against children in care and justice system, the risks and protective factors, consequences, and existing responses.

4.2. Children in Institutional Care

In Uganda, residential (or institutional) care is considered a last resort for children in need of alternative care once all other care options along the continuum namely, family re-unification, kinship and community care, domestic adoption, foster care, inter-country adoption—have been exhausted.²⁷¹ Yet, despite efforts to ensure a safe family environment, it is inevitable that some children are placed in care institutions. It is estimated that over 40, 000 children in Uganda live in institutional care.²⁷² Children are placed in care institutions for a number of reasons: because they are abandoned by their parents/caregivers or orphaned, as a means of escaping the violence in their homes, or are given up by their parents who, due to poverty, are unable to care for and support them.²⁷³

Reasons for being in Care institutions (N=7893)

Other reason

Abject Poverty

7.8

Orphan hood

9.6

Abandonment

81.9

Figure 4.2-1: Reasons for being in Care institutions

Source: Report on the status of babies and children's homes in Uganda 2010

At the macro level, the rising numbers of children that require alternative care is associated with the rising vulnerability of children due to HIV and AIDS, armed conflict and wide-spread displacement,

natural disasters, and changing social patterns due to urbanization. The 2010 OVC situation analysis indicates that some 8 million children in Uganda, representing 51 percent of the child population are vulnerable.²⁷⁴ Recent estimates show that at least 2.3 million children (12.7 percent of children under the age of 18) have lost at least one parent²⁷⁵ largely due to HIV and AIDS or and conflict.²⁷⁶ Until recently, the extended family has normally absorbed orphaned children and other victims of family casualty, and rates of institutionalization have traditionally been low. However, there are suggestions that most extended family systems have been stretched.²⁷⁷

Over the last years, child care institutions have mushroomed in Uganda, as NGOs, FBOs, and private donors seek to respond to the growing number of children in need of alternative care. In 2009, government records indicate that there were 212 child care institutions; of which only 32 were formally certified to operate. Most of these child care institutions are located in the central region. Out of the 212 institutions, 198 are registered either as Community-based organizations (CBO), Faith-based organizations (FBOs) or Non-Government Organizations (NGOs). The majority of the care institutions take advantage of the supervision limitations of the responsible government institutions to operate outside of the guidelines for running child care institutions. As such, they usually have poor standards of care that make children susceptible to violence.

For example, a recent Assessment of the Status of Babies and Children's Homes in Uganda, 2010 found that a number of institutions were exploiting, rather than providing care and protection to the children under their care, ²⁸⁰ and many institutions were running as 'businesses' that need children in their facilities in order to justify their existence—because of the large amounts of sponsorship money that can be generated from running an institution.

4.2.1. Extent and nature of violence in care institutions

Data are scarce on the nature and extent of violence against children in care institutions in Uganda. This owes to the hidden work of these institutions and the failure by government institutions to monitor their work. However, anecdotal evidence and newspaper reports reveal that the enrolled children experience shocking and sometimes deadly level of abuse, neglect and gratuitous cruelty. Common practices include severe beatings, humiliating treatment or punishment, isolation and rape. Violence against children in care institutions is mainly perpetrated by staff and caregivers of the institutions and other children housed within these institutions.

4.2.2. Risk and protective factors

Data on the risk and protective factors for violence against children in care institutions in Uganda are scarce. Nonetheless, studies elsewhere identify a range of factors that make children in care institutions susceptible to violence. Most of the factors derive from the way the institutions are organized and managed, the resource provisions and the attitudes of the duty bearers.

Non-separation of children

Due to resource constraints, institutions often fail to separate children based on vulnerability criteria such as age, gender and disability status. Non-separation may lead to older children and possibly those with a history of violence being kept with young ones. This increases the risk of victimization.²⁸¹ For example, children previously exposed to violence and who have suffered trauma before their placement in care institutions, tend to have conduct and emotional problems and are aggressive against other children.²⁸²

Low levels of supervision

The level of supervision of children in care institutions improves with more staff on the ground and this in turn has an implication on how children relate with or treat each other. Indeed, levels of child to child violence increase if staff to child ratio is high.²⁸³ This owes to low levels of supervision.²⁸⁴ With more children to watch over staff tend to resort to violent measures to maintain discipline.²⁸⁵ Most child care institutions in Uganda are not only understaffed, but also the few staff present are rarely qualified in care practice. A recent *Baseline Study on the state of Institutional Care in Uganda* revealed that 65 percent of the child care homes had insufficient human resources both in quantity and qualifications. Less than 30 percent of the homes had a qualified and acting social worker.²⁸⁶

Poor regulation and oversight

Poor regulation and inadequate supervision of child care institution makes children within institutions susceptible to neglect and abuse, including trafficking. Child care institutions in Uganda are poorly regulated and supervision is inadequate. The vast majority of institutions are unknown to authorities, and closed to outside scrutiny, especially those run by private agencies, faith-based organizations, and NGOs, or that are situated in isolated areas. Some operate outside government regulations²⁸⁷ and are as such not aware of their legal responsibilities.²⁸⁸ Probation and Social Welfare officers (PSWO) often struggle to undertake the field work necessary to make proper case assessments and recommendations; after placement follow up; and to irregularly inspect child care institutions due to lack of resources.²⁸⁹ Physical and sexual abuse in such instances is rife.

Individual risk factors

Young children in care institutions are more prone to violence compared to older children, who are usually more aggressive and in a position to defend them-selves. In addition, children with various types of disabilities are at a higher risk because these require extra attention from the care givers. In situations where the staff is overwhelmed by large numbers of children, children with disabilities often bear the wrath of staff burnout. ²⁹¹

4.2.3. Consequences of violence

Data on the consequences of violence against children in care institutions in Uganda is scarce. Nonetheless, studies conducted elsewhere indicate that keeping children in care institutions is associated with poor physical health, severe developmental delays, disability, and potentially irreversible psychological damage.²⁹² For example, poor conditions of living in the care institutions can

lead to a decline in a child's socio psychological functioning, which affects a child's ability to look after themselves and develop caring relationships.²⁹³ Child exposure to violence within care institutions is further associated with suicide ideation, aggression, bitterness, and feelings of shame, depression, and anxiety about normal situations.²⁹⁴ Violence in addition forces children out of the care institution onto the streets, where they are, in some instances, exposed to more excruciating violence. Children sexually abused within the institutions experience the risk of contracting HIV infection and other STIs, unwanted pregnancy, and in the long run could experience relationship and parenting difficulties.

4.2.4. Response to violence in Care institutions

Legal and policy response

The Children Act, CAP 59 provides the overarching legal framework for child care and protection in all the settings where they spend time. The Children Act draws heavily from provisions of the CRC and the ACRWC (see Box4.2-1). The government has developed the *National Framework for Alternative Care* which operationalizes the UN Alternative Care Guidelines and Article 20(3) of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The National Framework for Alternative Care lays down the provisions for delivering and facilitating access to appropriate alternative care options for children deprived of parental care. The government has also developed the Children (Approved Home) Regulations Assessment Toolkit, 2011 to assist Probation and Social Welfare Workers (PSWO's) and Child Care Institutions to achieve compliance with the Children (Approved Home) Regulation 2010.

Box 4.2-1:Legal and Policy Framework

International and Regional Legal framework

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) 1989

- The CRC requires states parties to provide special protection to children who are deprived of a family environment (Articles 19, 20).
- Other articles reiterate the centrality of the family in the upbringing of the child, except when the child's best interests dictate that
 alternative arrangements be made. Article 9 concerns family contact in cases where children are separated from their families;

United Nations Guidelines (A/Hrc/11/L.13 2009) For Alternative Care

- The United Nations issued guidelines for alternative care in February 2010 to enhance implementation of the Convention on the Rights
 of the Child and provisions of other relevant international instruments regarding the protection and wellbeing of children deprived of
 parental care or those at risk of being deprived
- An overriding principle of the guidelines is that all decisions concerning alternative care should take full account of the desirability, in
 principle, of maintaining the child as close as possible to his or her habitual place of residence, in order to facilitate contact and
 potential reintegration with his or her family and to minimize disruption of his or her educational, cultural and social life.

National

The Children's Act, CAP 59 and draft Children's Act (Amendment) Bill, 2010

- The Act provides for the care, protection and maintenance of children, including guidance on alternative care for children.
 Probation and social welfare officers (PSWOs) are mandated by the Children Act to make regular visits to caregivers of children deprived of the family environment and to ensure that they fully comply with the laws.
- The draft Children's Act (Amendment) Bill, 2010, provides for the establishment of inter-sectoral Alternative Care Panels at district level to regulate the continuum of care for children who are temporarily or permanently without parental care (Sec. 43).

The National Framework for Alternative Care

It among others:

• Provides actors at different levels with clear guidelines and placement options for children in need of alternative care based on a

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- defined continuum of care for children in the country
- Institutes gate keeping mechanisms to screen the entry of children into institutional care, taking into account the continuum of care for children in the country
- Puts in place mechanisms to support existing government structures to carry out their statutory responsibilities for overseeing the
 care of children in alternative care.

Other initiatives

A number of NGOs have started to embrace non-institutionalized Alternative Care options such as fostering and adoption albeit, on a limited scale, moreover, with minimal government input and oversight. A few institutions are, in addition, replicating a family environment whereby a child is placed in a home, with a primary care giver and attached to a father or mother figure. These facilities are often referred to as Children's Villages. Uganda has seen an increase in Children's Villages over recent years.

Box 4.2-2: Watoto Case study

Watoto children's homes are constructed in the form of small, vibrant communities referred to as villages. Homes are built to cater for children who have lost their family or are vulnerable for many reasons. The houses are positioned in clusters, with each cluster comprised of at least 9 houses, with each housing 8 children (2 years and older) and a 'mother' to take of them. In one house, there are three bedrooms, one for the mother and two for the children. The house incorporates a communal area with a dining and lounge space. Watoto homes are also designed to have running water and a bathroom.

The mothers provide constant counselling, guidance and emotional support to these children. In conjunction with the ministry's home church, Watoto also runs a programme called Father's Heart. Respectable men from the church regularly visit the children in their villages and provide the father figure and male role models needed to complete the family structure. Watoto has a strict code of conduct, which is enforced by the mothers, a senior mother*** (at cluster level) and the senior warden of the village. It enforcement however needs to be independently evaluated.

In addition to the homes, each village includes a complete school system (junior and High section), a medical clinic, a church/community center, an agricultural project providing food, a clean water source and electrical power.

Social protection interventions have also been implemented by both the government and the CSOs to augment the capacity of families and households to take care of children. Some of the social protection initiatives have prioritized economic strengthening for impoverished families, provision of microfinance services through support to organized groups, and targeting support directly to children.

4.2.5. Suggestions for improving response to violence in Care institutions

 There is need for an in-depth study on the nature and extent of violence against children in residential care. This research should include information on the scale and magnitude of Vac IN Care Institutions, perpetrators and the context in which the violence takes place, and the effects of VaC on children's growth and development

^{***} A senior mother (woman) who is responsible for overseeing and supervising the work of the mothers

- There is need to ensure that all homes for children and other institutions offer safe environments, including development and enforcement of child protection policy, accompanied by a code of conduct for all staff and children. Registration, monitoring and inspection of all institutions that house children should also be done to ensure adherence to quality standards.²⁹⁵ Particularly, the probation and Social Welfare Office (PSWO) should be facilitated to regularly supervise babies and children's homes
- All information relating to children entering institutions needs to be recorded. Data on the
 institutions must be collected systematically and published to improve the understanding of what
 occurs within these settings. This information also ensures proper accountability measures are in
 place and that abuse is not hidden from public view.
- Enhance the capacity and skills of staff: Staff who work with children in institutions need to be trained on children's rights, children's development as well as child care and the possible reasons that children end up in institutions which will build empathy. Stereotypes and myths around orphans, disabled children and any other children who are institutionalised need to be challenged in order to change social attitudes that perpetuate violence against them. Training must also include knowledge and skills on communicating with children.
- Locating alternative care for children within their families and communities is required so that institutionalisation is truly a last resort for children in Uganda. More specifically:
 - Work on family preservation and community-based care must be supported so that alternative care options are afforded to children, and institutionalisation becomes a last resort
 - The placement of children in these systems should be reviewed on a regular basis to assess whether better options can be provided for them as an alternative where appropriate to avoid long term institutionalisation.
- Children in both care and justice systems should have simple, accessible and safe opportunities to complain about the way they are treated without risk of reprisal.
- There is also need to improve economic and social safety nets for disadvantaged and at-risk families.
 With appropriate economic and social support services, many parents who might otherwise
 abandon a child or resort to institutionalization can be helped to care for him or her. Family support
 can address violence in the home and other factors that are linked with institutionalization of
 children.

4.3. Children in the Justice System

Thousands of children in Uganda are arrested and detained annually for actual or perceived offences. Table 4.3 shows the number of juveniles reported as suspects in crimes, based on the Uganda Police crime statistics between 2008 and 2011. Children may be arrested and detained for such acts as defilement, petty theft, assault, substance abuse, and criminal trespass. ²⁹⁶ Children in street situations are also forcibly arrested by police under charges such as vagrancy and begging, or, most disturbingly, for no reason at all. ²⁹⁷

Children aged 15-17 years account for the majority of the child offenders in the juvenile justice system.²⁹⁸ Studies further indicate that boys are more likely to be in conflict with the law compared to girls. For example, a 2005 Save the Children baseline study found that almost 9 out of every 10 children in conflict with the law were boys aged between 13-17 years of age.²⁹⁹ A 2002 Criminal Justice Baseline survey conducted by JLOS found that the majority of the suspects arrested for capital offences were males.³⁰⁰

The high number of children in conflict with the law (although it shows a slight reduction between 2008-2011) is attributed to violence in the home and the pressures of chronic poverty, poor socialization, and lack of adequate care and protection systems. For example, in a study of young offenders in three districts of Uganda, 70 percent of children said that meeting their own needs, including those for food, was their main motivation for stealing.³⁰¹

Table 4.3-1: Children in conflict with the law

	2008	2009	2010	2011		
Type of crime	Juveniles as suspects in crimes, 2008-2011					
Defilement	18.5	35	25	30.1		
Theft	25.8	18.3	14.4	17.9		
Assault	9.6	13.6	8.8	17.2		
Breakings	0	8.9	7.9	11.3		
Robberies	0	5	8.3	2		
Other crimes*	46.1	19.2	40.6	21.4		
Total (%)	100	100	100	100		
Number of crime cases	3,572	2,245	1,861	1,774		

Source: Uganda Police Annual Crime and Traffic Road Safety Reports, 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011

*Other crimes are not defined in the police reports—they could however include drug use, homicide, child to child sex, arson, false pretence etc.

Children in conflict with the law (CICL) including those who have committed minor offences, are often detained for long periods, some are arrested inappropriately while in other situations, children suffer long delays between arrest and trial that is beyond the statutory period. Child offenders may also be detained for petty offences because diversion programmes and structures are poorly developed and/or weak. The arresting officers also often neglect the legal provision in the Children's Act that requires

them to inform the child's parent, guardian or secretary for children affairs (SCA) upon arrest. As a consequence, some children appear in court unaccompanied and the magistrate is forced to deny them bail and remand them. 304

Box 4.3-1:Children over staying on remand

Children in conflict with the law are not supposed to stay on remand for over three months for minor offences and a maximum of six months for capital offences according to the Children's Act cap 59, 2000 Section 91 (5a-b). However, the records at Naguru Remand Home suggest that for various reasons, a significant number of children stay on remand longer than what is provided for under the law as table 4.3 2 below shows:

Table 4.3-2: Statistics of juvenile admissions and discharge at Naguru Remand Home 2005-2010:*

Admissions:			Non-capital offences ⁺⁺⁺ : (remand period of a maximum 3 months)		Capital offences:***(remand period of a maximum 6 months)		
Year	Male	Female	Total	Less than 3	Over 3 months	Less 6	Over 6
				months	(over stayed	months	months (over
					on remand)		stayed on
							remand)
2005	236	23	259	90	21	86	20
2006	263	51	314	162	16	78	12
2007	291	49	340	203	33	67	16
2008	433	73	506	244	133	76	20
2009	610	64	674	459	51	84	15
2010	448	56	506	243	107	69	19

The Children Act Cap 59, requires separate facilities for children in conflict with the law in order to prevent abuse and exploitation. Section 90 (8) provides that a child offender who is kept in lawful custody or detention shall be kept separately from adult offenders. CICL must be placed in one of four remand homes while awaiting trial or in the Kampiringisa National Rehabilitation centre (KNRC) if they have received orders or sentences. The four remand homes include Fort Portal Remand Home, Gulu Remand Home, Naguru Remand Home, and Mbale Remand Home. Kampiringisa National Rehabilitation Centre (KNRC) serves as a rehabilitation centre.

The remand homes and KNRC, however, are characterized by poor physical conditions, inadequate staffing, limited spaces and very few resources.³⁰⁵ Remand homes also lack medical facilities for treatment of children, are and children don't have access to adequate food. 306 Children in the remand homes and the rehabilitation center also have limited access to meaningful activities and programmes for their rehabilitation and reintegration into society. 307 A recent study on Juvenile Detention Institutions

^{***} Murder, defilement, and aggravated robbery are some of the capital offenses.
*** Theft, simple robbery, burglary, possession of stolen goods, and possession/smoking of drugs such as opium, are some of the non capital

in Uganda also found that at KNRC, younger children are housed with, and looked after by, much older offenders, potentially putting them at risk of violence.

Available evidence also indicates that contrary to Section 90 (8) of the Children's Act, some CICL end up in adult prison cells^{308,309}—putting them at risk of physical, emotional and sexual violence³¹⁰ and at risk of learning other criminal behaviour from 'hard-core criminals' which complicates reform efforts.³¹¹ For example, a prisoner's census conducted in 2007 showed that 0.4 percent of all the inmates in 48 central government prisons were juveniles.³¹² A 2011 UHRC report found 64 cases of children detained with adults, especially at police stations and police posts.³¹³ Further, a 2005 Save the Children baseline study found over 102 children locked up in adult prisons in two districts—Kasese and Bundibugyo.³¹⁴ Some of the reasons for incarceration of children with adults included lack of cells for juveniles, absence of remand homes in most districts, and difficulties in ascertaining children's ages are to the widespread lack of birth registration. Fewer than four percent of children have a birth certificate despite the state's obligation to register births.³¹⁶ Thus, ages of children are mostly subjectively determined, either based on appearance or inspection of teeth.³¹⁷

Box 4.3-2: Mothers incarcerated with their children

Cases of mothers incarcerated with their children in detention facilities are common in Uganda. These children represent a unique group at risk of violence in detention facilities. The Ministry of Internal Affairs for the period of January – July 2012 recorded about 171 children younger than18 months old with their mothers in Ugandan prisons. Nonetheless, the true number of children held in detention nationally is unknown as their continued stay is dependent upon the local prison staff members and their number is not included in the monthly reports of detainees. Although it is better for the children to stay with their parents to avoid separation, their stay in prison subjects them to the prison environment which may not be in their best interest. In addition, while the law stipulates only children under-18 months can reside with their mothers in practice children often remain with their mothers longer often due to an absentee father and a lack of relatives willing to look after the child. However, these institutions seldom provide the necessary conditions to protect these children. Most detention facilities neither have a specific budget to cater for the children nor child-friendly facilities to accommodate these children.

A recent Human Rights Watch report for example, highlights the lack of adequate nutrition as one of the major challenges faced by pregnant women prisoners and women with small children in prison. ³²² Despite international standards calling for special provisions for children incarcerated with their parents, ³²³ and Ugandan law requiring children imprisoned with their mothers to be supplied with "necessities of life," ³²⁴ food is not generally provided for these young children. ³²⁵

4.3.1. Extent and nature of violence against children in Juvenile justice system

Children in conflict with the law are usually susceptible to various forms of violence at different stages in the juvenile justice system. This section examines the nature and extent to violence against children in CICL.

Physical violence

In Uganda, Children in conflict with the law (CICL) frequently experience physical violence at the hands of police and other law enforcement officials at the time of arrest, and during interrogation and detention. At the time of arrest, children are subjected to forms of torture such as severe beatings, handcuffing, kicking, and being tied up.³²⁶

CICL are also subjected to mob justice during arrest.³²⁷ For example, in the 2004 study on *Violence at time of arrest and during interview and interrogation*, 51 percent of the children interviewed attest to having been subjected to some form of torture and mistreatment during arrest, including direct physical abuse (beating), handcuffing, or being tied up.³²⁸ In a recent survey of survey of children living and/or working on the streets, 58.4 percent of the children who had previously been arrested reported that they had been harassed by the police.³²⁹

Police and other law enforcement officials often fail to apply good practices that protect the rights of children during interrogations and retrieval of information from children. Child offenders are subjected to brutal interrogations and torture in order to elicit confessions or information.³³⁰ In addition, children in police custody and detention suffer violence by staff, as a form of control or punishment. Such violence takes the form of corporal punishments in particularly in the form of caning³³¹, and other cruel treatments such as forced and hard labour, and denial of food. ^{332/333} Some children are forced to sleep on cold floors without bedding. ³³⁴ Children incarcerated with adults, or older children are also at-risk of physical and sexual abuse. ^{335,336}

Box 4.3-3:Violence against children in Adult Cells

Jaralidin is aged 16 years, and was remanded in Rusese prison. He had this to say: "While in prison, whenever we went to Mweya (which is the prison garden) to cultivate, we couldn't eat, but when we worked for private individual farms, we would be served with at least porridge. On other days we would eat only one meal in the evening'. When asked whether he was visited by the Probation and Welfare Officer he replied "I don't even know him". Moreover, the conditions in the prison cell were deplorable. As the boy explained, "We were mistreated, beaten and sometimes left in a room with feces and urine in a bucket." He also claimed that in prison, adult prisoners "forced him to take marijuana". What is worse is that the boy even contracted malaria and syphilis.....

Source: Walakira and Opio (2006) 'Child Protection and Empowerment Baseline survey. Report of a Study in Apac, Bundibudgyo, Kasese and Lira Districts' Kampala: Save the Children in Uganda, pp 28

Another compelling case is that of a 16-year-old boy who was initially detained in Luzira Prison cited in the 2006 Uganda Human Rights Commission Report:

I was horrified since I had to sleep and drink with adults who were very hostile and bullying me all the time. The cell leader had earlier asked me to give him my pair of shorts... and I refused, for which I was beaten severely and my finger was broken as you can see. But the worst time came when I got sick. The same was responsible for giving out medicine and he refused to give me the medicine..."(Narration of a 16-year-old boy initially detained in Luzira Prison in Kampala)³³⁷

Sexual Violence

CICL further experience sexual violence although information on the magnitude and extent is still minimal. The limited evidence available reveals that children in the custody of police, or in detention are susceptible to rape, and other forms of sexual assault and harassment. Girls are particularly at risk. Sexual violence against CICL is mainly perpetrated by police and law enforcement officials or by older, more aggressive peers and adults detainees. ³³⁸ For example, a recent survey of children living and/working on the streets found that 7.4 percent of the children who had been arrested and detained by police reported having been sexually assaulted during detention, with some mentioning being forced to provide sex in exchange for release from police custody. ³³⁹ Another study found that due to inadequate protection at KNRC, girls are raped by boys and staff, and some staff forced a few girls to perform sex for other staff and community men for a profit. ³⁴⁰ In the same study, one girl specifically reported leaving the centre because of being pressured by a staff member to have intercourse with other members of staff and that some girls gave in to such pressures in order to get extra favors. ³⁴¹

Emotional violence

Children in conflict with the law are also exposed to emotional violence at the different stages in the juvenile justice system, including forced admission of guilt, ³⁴² intimidation, threats and beatings from police and local leaders, isolation and denial of affection especially during detention, and humiliation (e.g., being stripped naked in public). ³⁴³ For example, two recent studies highlight the presence of isolation cells at KNRC for purposes of punishment. ^{344/345} Isolation of children is likely to cause emotional stress culminating in emotional violence. More evidence indicates that new inmates in detention facilities are forced to dance and sing for older inmates, and are subjected to beatings if they refuse to comply. ³⁴⁶

4.3.2. Risk factors for violence against children in the justice system

Incarceration of children with adults

Detention of children with adults is prohibited by law.³⁴⁷ However incarceration of children with adults or older children, in both prison and police detention facilities, is common in Uganda. In some cases, children are charged as adults (due to difficulties in ascertaining children's age) and automatically detained in adult facilities, in other cases, children are held in adult facilities because there is simply not enough room for them in juvenile facilities.³⁴⁸ The incarceration of children with adults or older children makes them susceptible to violence—including physical and sexual victimization by other older children and adult inmates.

Mixing different levels of vulnerability

Children in conflict with the law are rarely separated taking into account factors such as such age, disability status, history of violent behaviour, or nature of crime committed. For instance, in most cases there is no separation between the children who have committed petty offences from those involved in more serious offences like defilement.³⁴⁹ The failure to segregate vulnerable children from dangerous

peers, in police custody and other detention facilities, puts them at greater risk of experiencing as well as copying and applying all forms of violence—physical, sexual and emotional.

Other institutional factors

Violence against CICL is also attributed to poorly paid and ill equipped police officers and other law enforcement agents, a culture of violence within law enforcement agencies that fosters abusive behaviour, inadequacy and non-implementation of legal safeguards, inadequate regulation and oversight, and lack of effective complaints mechanisms and inspection systems.³⁵⁰

Children's vulnerability to violence is also accentuated by the widespread understaffing in detention facilities. For example, a study on *Juvenile Detention in Uganda* found that that KNRC was operating on a skeleton staff of 18, with 22 positions vacant.³⁵¹ Due to understaffing, the study found that younger children were looked after by much older offenders, potentially putting them at risk of violence. Overwhelmed by large numbers of children, staff are also likely to resort to extremely punitive measures of dealing with the children.

Individual risk factors

Personal characteristics like age and sex can be a risk factor for one becoming a target of violence in the justice institutions. For example, a young child can easily experience violence from the adults; and girls are more likely to encounter sexual violence, including improper touching during searches, sexual assault and rape. Children that are unruly are also more likely to face violence since the juvenile detention institutions are by design almost wholly punitive. Extreme stubbornness may be a source of violence in the form of tough responses by staff or as a collective action by a group of peers.

4.3.3. Consequences of violence

There is paucity of data on the consequences of violence against children in the justice system in Uganda. Nonetheless, studies indicate that in extreme cases, violence against children can result into a child's death, in disability, or in severe physical injury.³⁵² In addition, children who are sexually abused are at risk of infections with HIV or other STIs and unwanted pregnancies. Violence against children in detention is also associated with suicide ideation, feeling of revenge, and aggressive behaviour. It can also contribute to the perpetuation of violence (i.e., increase the likelihood of engaging in self-harm, aggression towards others, and criminality.)³⁵³ In addition, children subjected to detention are more likely to commit offences in the future than children placed in diversion programmes.³⁵⁴

4.3.4. Responses to violence in justice system

Legal and policy response

The Children Act, The Constitution of Republic of Uganda, and other legislations provide for the framework to protect children in juvenile justice system. The Ugandan Constitution article 34 (6) outlaws the detention of children together with adult offenders. In the Children Act, provisions for dealing with juvenile justice are the most comprehensive of all provisions. The Children Act draws

heavily from provisions of the CRC and the ACRWC, and United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Administration of Juvenile Justice (Beijing Rules, Adopted by General Assembly resolution 40/33 of 29 November 1985) (see Box 4.3-4)

The Children Act specifically provides for separation of children from adults in remand, special protection measures for female children, provision for the age of criminal responsibility, arrest, bailing, trial, sentencing, procedures for detention of a child and rehabilitation of child offenders. The Act puts the age of criminal responsibility at 12 years, and provides that children in conflict with the law access an equitable, fair, and transparent judicial process. The Children Act further provides for establishment of and mandates the Family and Children Courts (FCC) to handle criminal cases involving children with the exception of murder and other capital offences. The Act underlines restorative other than retributive justice and advocates the protection of children's privacy in circumstances when they come into conflict with the law.³⁵⁵

Box 4.3-4: Legal and Policy Framework

International and Regional Legal framework

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) 1989

- Article 37(b) asserts that "the arrest, detention and imprisonment of a child shall be used only as a measure of last resort, and for the shortest appropriate period of time."
- Article 40 concerning children in conflict with the law asserts that children should be treated "in a manner consistent with the child's
 sense of dignity and worth... and which takes into account the child's age and the desirability of promoting the child's reintegration."

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) states that the sentence of death shall not be imposed for crimes committed by persons below 18 years of age (article 6).
- The Covenant also contains provisions which stipulate that juvenile offenders shall be segregated from adults and be accorded treatment appropriate to their age and legal status (article 10).
- Article 14 of the Covenant states that procedures against juvenile persons should take account of the age and the desirability of promoting rehabilitation.

Convention against Torture and other Cruel. Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

 In addition, the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment states that States should take effective legislative, administrative, judicial or other measures to prevent acts of torture (article 2).

UN standards on juvenile Justice

- The Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice, known as 'the Beijing Rules', adopted in 1985, offer guidance on
 the administration of justice in such a way as to provide for the protection of children's rights and respect for their developmental
 needs
- Two other standards adopted in 1990— the UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (the Riyadh Guidelines) and the
 UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty (the JDL Rules) complete the framework of prevention, case
 management, and social rehabilitation of children.

Justice, Law and Order Sector (JLOS) Initiatives

A number of initiatives have been undertaken to ensure the protection of children within the justice system, with varying degrees of success. These initiatives include the Chain-Link Initiative, which sought to bring various actors dealing with issues of juvenile justice (e.g., the police, probation and social welfare officers) into regular consultations so as to effectively manage juvenile cases. This programme achieved a reasonable degree of success but was not sustained beyond the pilot phase. 356

In 2001, the government of Uganda initiated the Justice Law and Order sector (JLOS) with the aim improving safety and access to justice, especially for the poor and vulnerable. Using a sector wide approach, the JLOS sector brings together the government ministries and departments involved in the justice system like: Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Judiciary, Uganda Police Force, Uganda Prisons Service, Judicial Service Commission, Uganda Law Reform Commission and Directorate of Public Prosecution. Other departments include: Local Council Courts (Ministry of Local Government) and Probation Services (Ministry of Gender and Social Development). It is an innovative approach involving the administration of justice and maintenance of law and order through increased communication, coordination and cooperation among several stakeholders who collectively implement reforms that have been drawn from a single policy and expenditure plan. Funding is also coordinated through JLOS Development Partners Group together with government.

Recently, the Justice Law and Order Sector (JLOS), with support from UNICEF, launched the Justice for Children (J4C) Programme. The programme also seeks to expand and improve the quality of services to children in the justice system. The programme, implemented by the Centre for Justice Studies and Innovation (CJSI), aims to make children's needs more visible in the justice delivery system through integration of all interventions and programmes that seek to increase children's access to justice, and increased advocacy for justice for all children, including ensuring that the needs of children in search for care and custody, protection, child witnesses and victim and children offenders are well attended to, both in the formal and informal justice system. The programme also seeks to strengthen the overall capacity of the sector to respond to the need of children in the justice system, which would ensure protection for children from all forms of violence. The J4C programme is currently being piloted in the districts of Mbale, Fort Portal, Entebbe, Nakawa, Gulu, Pader, Amuru, Kitgum, Agago, Nwoya and Lamwo, through the District Chain-Link Committees (DCC). The district Chain-Link Committee is comprised of the police, probation and social welfare officer, magistrates, prisons officers and representatives from the District Local Government. The program has not been evaluated yet. However, preliminary reviews indicate that it has made tangible progress in dealing with a backlog of children's cases and developing child friendly guidelines that the judiciary has recommended for adoption and use by all judicial officers handling cases involving children.

Further, a Professional Standard Unit (PSU) was established in 2007 within the Uganda Police force, as a mechanism of redress for complaints of human rights violations by the police force. Currently there are 10 PSUs within regional centers based in Kampala Metropolitan, Kabale, Fort Portal, Jinja, Arua, Masaka, Mbarara, Hoima, Gulu and Mbale.³⁵⁷ Evidence on the effectiveness of the PSU in addressing issues of VaC will have to be generated.

Government has also prioritized the provision of services for CICL in the National Strategic programme plan of Interventions (NSPPI) for Orphans and Vulnerable Children. Some of the priority action areas in the NSPPI II (2011/12—2015/16), with respect to children in conflict with the law include: supporting initiatives aimed at diversion of children from the formal justice system; appropriate rehabilitation and reintegration services to children in contact with the law; promotion and supporting the institution of FIT persons and Community Based Interventions as alternatives to incarceration of children in contact with the law; and building the capacity of community justice systems to handle minor cases in accordance with legal provision.

4.3.5. Suggestions for improving responses in justice system

A variety of responses are required to prevent and respond to violence against children in care and justice systems.

First, although there is some information on the violence experienced by children in justice institutions, there is a great need for more research and data. Violence against CICL is only mentioned in passing in the existing research, without particular emphasis or detailed analysis.³⁵⁸ There is need for detailed research into the nature and extent of violence perpetrated against children in conflict with law at the different levels in the justice system. This research should include information on perpetrators, the context in which the violence takes place and the current measures to minimise risks.

Second, in the interest of reducing the number of children taken into custody, criminal codes and other legislation related to crime and policing need to decriminalize status offences and survival behaviours (such as begging, loitering, vagrancy) to remove the legal basis upon which many children are taken into custody. In addition, law enforcement officers should be encouraged to exercise their power of caution and release or release on bond.³⁵⁹ Detention must be a last resort, for the most serious crimes and the shortest time possible.

Third, establishing solid reporting, investigation and enforcement mechanisms for children who are victims of violence in care and justice systems is crucial. These mechanisms need to be efficient and treat reported abuse as a very serious matter. Individuals who perpetrate violence against children in these settings must be dealt with promptly and with real consequences.

There is need to train law enforcement agents to work with children, and end impunity of police who abuse the rights of children. Governments should ensure that police need to be trained about children's rights as well the basics of child development and how to deal with particular groups such as street children. At the same time supervision of police practices must be improved, while officers who abuse children's rights must be held accountable for their actions.

Fourth, there is a need to introduce service-based information systems' record of information about individual children's exposure to and involvement in violence to facilitate appropriate coherent case management and tracking of individual children in the juvenile system. With such information systems, select indicators on exposure and reactions to violence could be easily and uniformly recorded for all children who enter the juvenile justice system.

5. VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN IN PLACES OF WORK

5.1. Introduction

Child labour is a major violation of children's rights and is a form of violence. Child labour is distinguished from child work. Child work is the same as *light work* for children. According to the Child Labour Policy, 2006, ³⁶⁰ the term *light work* refers to;

Non-hazardous activities done by children within their homes under observation and supervision by their families in an environment free of exploitation. Light work can enable children to learn the roles that they are expected to take on during adulthood. Household activities if done in moderation and in consideration of the capacity and age of the child are acceptable as a process of learning and exercising responsibility within the household, to the extent that such activities do not constitute a threat to the well-being of children or prevent attendance in educational programs. pp.3

Child Labour is defined as;

Work that is mentally, physically, socially and/or morally dangerous and harmful to children; work that interferes with children's school attendance; hazardous work which by its nature or circumstances under which it is performed, jeopardizes the health, safety and morals of children.

Examples of children in the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) include; children in armed conflict, child trafficked, children in slavery or bonded labour, children who are commercially and sexually exploited, some children in domestic service, children in commercial agriculture, and children in the informal sector.

This section shades light on the current situation of child labour, pointing out the WFCL, the drivers and consequences, and responses undertaken by government, civil society organization (CSOs) and other actors in addressing the problem.

5.2. Legal provisions

Uganda has over the years ratified several international instruments that outlaw child labour, such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) 1989, the ILO convention on Worst forms of Child Labour No. 182, 1999, ILO Convention on Minimum Admission to Employment No. 138, 1973, the Optional Protocol to The Convention on The Rights Of The Child on The Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, 2000, The African Charter on The Rights and Welfare of The Child,

and The Optional Protocol to the CRC on Combating the use of Children in Armed Conflict, among others. Many of these instruments have been domesticated in national legislations such as The Uganda Constitution, Children Act Cap 59, the Employment Act 2006 and the Occupation Safety and Health Act 2006.

The legislative framework outlined above notwithstanding, child labour continues to be a major problem and a reality for thousands of children in Uganda, with far reaching consequences for children's school attendance, as well as their health, physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development.

5.3. Nature and extent of the problem

Key highlights

- 51% of children aged 5-17 are working
- 25% of working children are in child labour
- Working children increased by 19% between 2005 and 2010
- Child labourers increased by 9% between 2005 and 2010

According to the 2009/10 Uganda National Households Survey, 51 percent of all children aged 5-17 years in Uganda are working,³⁶¹ with males (52 percent) having slightly higher rates than females (49 percent). The western region (56 percent) has the highest proportion of working children, followed by the eastern region (53 percent). Up to 25 percent of working children aged 5-17 years are involved in child labour—with males (28 percent) having slightly higher rates than females (24 percent). More children in the age group of 5-11 years (34 percent) were involved in child labour compared to other age groups [i.e., children aged 12-13 (16 percent) and children ages 4-17 (9 percent)]. Compared to data from the 2005/06 Uganda National Households Survey (UNHS), the 2009/10 UNHS reveals an increase of 19 percent and 9 percent in the proportion of working children and child labourers, respectively.

Table 5.3-1: Working children (5-17 years) by region (percent)

Working Children	Kampala	Central	Eastern	Northern	Western	Uganda
Male	25.2	53.3	54.4	47.1	55.4	51.8
Female	25.4	50.3	51.4	43.5	56.0	49.4
Both Sexes	25.3	52.1	53.0	46.3	55.7	50.6

Source: 2009-2010 National Household Survey, UBOS, 2010. pp 134

Data based on previous Uganda National Household Surveys³⁶² re-analyzed through *Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Project* shows that the majority of working children are in agriculture to the tune of 93 percent, domestic service with 2 percent and manufacturing with 1.4 percent, just to mention a few of the sectors. Gender plays a significant role in determining the different types of work done by

boys and girls; for example, girls predominate in domestic labour, while boys are heavily represented in mining and quarrying.

For the majority of the children, the kind of work they are compelled to do is never suitable for their age. The working conditions and arrangements are intolerable, while health and safety standards are deplorable. Child laborers often endure long working hours under difficult and harmful circumstances. For many, physical abuse is another feature of their daily lives. Child laborers are prone to beatings or other forms of violence by their employers or supervisors. They are accused of working too slowly, making mistakes, or appearing tired – or the abuse is not based upon a specific complaint but is used as a means of intimidation.

5.4. The Worst Forms of Child Labour

5.4.1. Children in domestic service

Domestic service in Uganda is categorized among the WFCL in the Child Labour Policy and the Guidelines for identification of child labour. The use of children for domestic work is a widespread practice, especially in urban areas. Children in domestic service (i.e., child domestic workers, or CWDs) have been singled out both in the Child Labour Policy, 2006 and the National Guidelines on Child Labour as one of the categories of children in WFCL. CDWs constitute the largest proportion of children trafficked internally. Find a Employers, mainly from urban areas, recruit children from rural areas through family, friends and known contacts. Victims are mainly orphans and/or children from extremely poor families or single families. In other circumstances, parents send children to work in homes of well-to-do relatives under the guise of being provided with help such as feeding, shelter, clothing and education. Girls are particularly affected; because they are perceived to be more obedient and honest, thus less likely to run away with domestic property. Since the property of the service of the children from the Guidelines of the Guideli

Children in domestic service lack clear terms of service, often work long hours, are not paid or paid very low wages, and, in most cases, are at risk of physical abuse, emotional abuse and sexual exploitation.³⁶⁷ However, this form of child labour remains unreported and hidden. Thus, the number of child domestic workers cannot be estimated.

5.4.2. Commercial and Sexual Exploitation of Children

The commercial and sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) is a worst form of child labour according to the ILO Convention 182, 1999, the Uganda Employment Act, 2006, and the National Child Labour Policy, 2006. While a significant number of children are affected, the nature and magnitude of Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation (CSEC) in Uganda remains to be ascertained. This owes to gross under-reporting and the absence of systematic systems for documenting prevalence over time. Nonetheless, a study conducted by ILO on CSEC in 2004 in Uganda covering child prostitution, pornography and trafficking estimated about 12,000 children mainly girls between ages 14-17 years were affected in the country; with ratio of nine girls to one boy. ³⁶⁸

Another study shows that the number of children affected by CSEC increased from an estimated 12,000 children in 2004 to 18,000 in 2010; that girls were more impacted than boys; and that most cases of CSEC occurred between ages 14 and 18.³⁶⁹ The approaches used to arrive at these estimates in both studies may not have been rigorous enough to suggest that the estimates were realistic. Notwithstanding, the researchers noted an upward trend of child prostitution in fishing communities and urban centres. CSEC was more prevalent in urban settings and the major risk factors for becoming involved in CSEC were lack of parental care, having dropped out school (mainly primary school) and poverty.³⁷⁰ Indeed, while the study provided an estimation of the magnitude of the problem of CSEC, it did not provide a consistent and appropriate methodology for arriving at the estimation. The researchers themselves cautioned that further investigations are needed to "generate evidence and country wide picture of the problem of CSEC."³⁷¹

The consequences of CSEC are wide-ranging. Children involved in commercial sex are at risk of contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and unwanted pregnancies—which they often seek to terminate through non-medical abortions, and thus experience a host of reproductive health complications. ³⁷² Commercial sexual exploitation is further associated with increased involvement in delinquent activities, and increased rates of alcohol and substance abuse. ³⁷³ In addition, it exposes children to other forms of abuse and violence at the hands of their clients, such as rape, physical assault, and use of 'objects' for sexual satisfaction. ³⁷⁴ Unfortunately, cases involving such violence are rarely reported to police because children fear that the police can turn on them as well, for engaging in unlawful practices.

5.4.3. Child Labour in the Agricultural sector

Approximately 93 percent of the working children in Uganda are in the agricultural sector, which comprises commercial and subsistence agriculture (land tilling, sowing, weeding and harvesting) and fishing.³⁷⁵ The children – especially those in plantation agriculture, rice and tobacco growing, and coffee growing – are expected to work for hours in scorching heat, pulling heavy weights of produce and working in the most hazardous conditions, in which they are exposed to chemicals. The children also experience injuries because of the dangerous and sharp tools they use, and are prone to snake and insect bites.

5.4.4. Child labour in the informal sector

The informal sector in Uganda (excluding agriculture), comprises micro enterprises which employ less than five persons. The sector provides 58 percent of Uganda's non-agricultural employment³⁷⁶ and contributes over 20 percent to the GDP annually.³⁷⁷ The Uganda National Household Survey of 2009/10 indicates that 3.5 million people were engaged in informal businesses, including non-crop agriculture. 2.1 million people engaged in non-agriculture businesses. In total, 1.2 million households had an informal business. ³⁷⁸ The majority of the persons working in the informal sector are children aged 5-17.

Children in the informal sector work as hawkers, trading assistants, mechanics in garages, assistants in carpentry workshops, domestic servants, house cleaners, cooks and hostesses in restaurants and bars;

and offer themselves for prostitution. The majority of the children (46 percent) are never paid.³⁷⁹ The consequences of child labour in this sector include injuries and sicknesses such as fractures, swollen feet, chest pain, eye infection, backache, infections, fever, flue, cough, skin rash, fatigue, burns, cuts, stomach problems and genital discomfort. Over 80 percent of child workers in the informal sector are labouring.

Table 5.4-1: Work that children do in the informal sector (N=274)

Activities		
	Freq	Percent
Hawking	43	15.7
Cooking/serving food	33	12
Cleaning the house/utensils	26	9.5
Small business/trading assistant	24	8.8
Food vending	23	8.4
Garage attendant/mechanic	22	8
Carpentry workshop	19	6.9
Collecting water	18	6.6
Going to the market/shop	17	6.2
Domestic servant	16	5.8
Metal workshop/blacksmith	15	5.5
Bar/restaurant attendant	11	4
Child minding	9	3.3
Luggage carrier	7	2.6
Hair dressing saloon	4	1.5
Caring for the aged members of the family	3	1.1
Brick laying	3	1.1
Scavenging	3	1.1
Wheel barrow pushing	3	1.1
Cattle keeping/gardening	3	1.1
Store keeper	2	0.7
Prostitution	2	0.7
Caring for the sick	2	0.7
Fish monger/vender	2	0.7

Source: ILO & MGLSD, 2004:49

5.4.5. Child Trafficking

Article 3(a) of the 'Palermo Protocol' (2000) defines trafficking as:

... the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation." ³⁸⁰

A limited but growing body of evidence suggests that child trafficking is a serious problem in Uganda.³⁸¹ The country is both a source and destination for children trafficked.³⁸² Child trafficking includes recruiting, harbouring and moving a child from his/her home for commercial sexual exploitation or to work in other forms of exploitative labour.³⁸³ Internal trafficking is most common, and is typically characterized by the trafficking of children, especially girls, from poor rural areas to major cities.³⁸⁴ Trafficked children are often recruited to serve as Child Domestic Workers (CDWs), child soldiers, street beggars, bar and restaurant attendants, commercial sex workers, nude dancer or strippers (at night clubs and during karaoke shows) and vendors,^{385,386} with no access to education, no freedom of movement and working long hours in poor conditions for little or no pay.³⁸⁷ There are also increasing incidences of child trafficking for ritual practices, including murder, which is framed as child sacrifice.³⁸⁸ Victims of child trafficking are oftentimes deceived by false promises of legitimate employment,³⁸⁹ defrauded, tricked, threatened with, force, coerced, abducted or even sold by their parents.³⁹⁰ For example, in an article titled *Child Trafficking Prompt Earring Craze in Uganda* the [Northern Uganda], a regional police liaison officer is quoted to have observed that:

People [traffickers] are taking advantage of impoverished IDP [internally displaced persons] parents... Children are being trafficked out of the region, having been tricked into believing they can get work such as baby sitting or house-helping for rich families in the towns...The parents are promised money and a good life for their children, but the children end up miserable...and abused... ³⁹¹

Box 5.4-1:Evidence of Child Trafficking in Uganda

A recent survey on child trafficking in 3 districts (Katakwi, Soroti and Kampala) in Uganda³⁹² shows that due to the hard conditions of life in Karamoja the parents of many children sell them off to interested buyers. In most cases, the Karamojong boys are used by the people in the Teso sub-region to take care of big herds of cattle and the girls have to work as domestic servants, mainly cultivating the gardens. Some of the Karamojong girls are sexually exploited by the men who take them as wives while others are forced into early marriages with Iteso men.

The report further reveals that in 2009, the Katakwi district Probation and Social Welfare Office conducted a head count to establish the total number of Karamojong children who had been trafficked into the district and were living in the sub counties of Ngariam, Ongongoja and Katakwi town council. It was established from this exercise that 300 Karamojong children were present in these three sub counties alone, and they were being exploited by the families that were keeping them. Probation and Social Welfare Office also found that many Karamojong boys are made to work without any pay in Katakwi and when they ask for their money, the Iteso families for whom they are working threaten to falsely report them to police for defiling their daughters.

Incidents of cross-border trafficking on children—in and out of the country have also been reported. For example, it is noted that children are trafficked into the country from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (D.R.C.), Rwanda, and Burundi for commercial sexual exploitation, and other forms of forced labour^{393,394} In other cases, children are sold to neighboring countries or sold within. This is particularly the case with children from Karamoja region as noted by Save the Children International Uganda (SCIU) are sold in cattle markets by intermediaries to work in Uganda's major towns and City or across the border in Kenya³⁹⁵

In addition, there are reports of women and children being trafficked to other African countries, the Middle East (particularly United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia) and Europe for prostitution and for domestic labour. ³⁹⁶ For instance, in January 2008, police in Mbarara district arrested three suspected traffickers and rescued 11 children who were allegedly being trafficked to Australia, Canada, and the United States. The suspects appeared in court in early February. One suspect, a Rwandan, pleaded guilty and was cautioned prior to being released. The other, a Burundian, was charged with illegal entry into Uganda and was co-accused with a Ugandan woman of robbery, and both remanded to jail. ³⁹⁷

Box 5.4-2: Trafficking of children and sexual exploitation

Available evidence points to growing incidents of child trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation in Uganda. In a recent survey of children living and/or working on the streets in Uganda, 7 percent of the girls, and 3 percent of the boys admitted to have been trafficked for commercial and sexual exploitation.³⁹⁸ A retrospective survey on violence against girls conducted by ACPF also established that 51 (representing 10 percent) of the 500 young women interviewed in Kampala slums, had been trafficked as girls for sexual purposes.³⁹⁹ Of these, 44 girls said they had been trafficked between the ages of 14-17 years, while 7 reported that they had been trafficked at a much earlier age.⁴⁰⁰ In the same study, 35 young women (representing 7 percent) admitted being forced into prostitution before they were 18 years old.

Risk factors

Child trafficking is associated with multiple causes and risk factors. Gender is a significant risk factor. Although both boys and girls are targeted for trafficking, girls are more likely to be victims. ⁴⁰¹ Available evidence also reveals that orphan-hood—either due to HIV and AIDS or conflict, children from poor households, children out of school, children who live and/or work on the street, children separated from their parents, children with low formal education, and children living in violent households are particularly at risk of being trafficked. ⁴⁰² For example, in families where violence is present—whether between the adults or among the children or inflicted by parents on the children—children opt to escape the violence by taking up offers to go with a recruiter. ⁴⁰³

Perception and expectations of a better life, and greater opportunities has been argued to push children and young people into the hands of traffickers. Other factors that increase the vulnerability of children to trafficking include poor enforcement of existing legislations, weak child protection systems, porous borders, demand for cheap labour and simple indifference by parents.⁴⁰⁴ The widespread lack of birth

registration also fosters an environment prone to trafficking due to the state of powerlessness it imposes on the individual. ⁴⁰⁵ For example, children without birth registration fall prey to trafficking more easily, since their age and nationality cannot be documented, and are more easily passed off as adults to anyone who asks.

Consequences

Trafficked children are placed in environments devoid of the requisite protection. They are exposed to severe physical, sexual, and emotional violence at the hands of the traffickers and unscrupulous employers. They are prone to the worst forms of child labour, including, but not limited to child prostitution, pornography, illicit activities, bonded labour, and work under intolerable conditions. These include; unpaid labour, long working hours, use of dangerous tools, exposure to toxic substances, and violent punishment. Owing to lack of protection, those forced into sexual exploitation are constantly in danger of contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted Infections, risk unwanted pregnancy and tend to suffer from reproductive health complications. 406 Commercial sexual exploitation is associated with increased involvement in delinquent activities, and increased rates of alcohol and substance abuse. 407 Girls' marriage prospects are usually affected once they are associated with prostitution.

The impact on families is also often severe. While many families may believe that sending or allowing their child to relocate to find work will bring benefits, they may never see the trafficked child again; many more never receive any of the promised income. 408

5.4.6. Children affected by armed conflict

All forms of violence and abuse that take place in other parts of the country exist in conflict-affected areas, exacerbated by the appalling conditions under which people live and by the additional warrelated violence. In conflict situations, children are the frequent targets of brutal, indiscriminate acts of violence. For example, widespread sexual violence against women and girls during armed conflict and in the post-conflict period has been reported in northern Uganda. During the two-decade rebellion of the Lord's Resistance Army's (LRA) a countless number of children were murdered, mutilated, tortured, beaten, raped, and enslaved for sexual purposes.

Thousands of children (ranging between 20,000—25,000) were abducted to work as slaves, child soldiers and sex workers. ⁴⁰⁹ Girl children, mostly aged 14 or 15, comprised 20 percent of the abductees. Many of the abducted girls were sexually exploited, some were defiled and others were turned into sex slaves by the rebels. ⁴¹⁰ Studies show that only a few of the abductees have been able to return home over the years; as child mothers and others after they were infected with HIV/AIDS by their abductors. ⁴¹¹ For children conscripted into the LRA ranks (as child soldiers), they reported suffering brutal tactics to cow them into obedience—and at worst, witnessed the punishment of death for those children who attempted to escape, or were forced to beat or kill other abducted children. ⁴¹²

5.5. General risk factors for children's involvement in work

Several factors underpin the growing phenomenon of child labour in Uganda such as poverty, orphan-hood, schooling problems, and prevailing perceptions about children work. These factors are discussed in turn below.

Poverty and economic insecurity

Poverty is singled out as the major reason for children's involvement in hazardous work such as sex work and various informal sector activities. Poverty in its diverse forms creates conditions that make children very vulnerable, helpless and desperate to survive. In various studies, children often cite the need to supplement family income, the inability of parents or guardians to meet their basic needs, or the 'need to survive' as reasons for their involvement in work. For example, poverty and the growing demand for sex services have been singled out as the major drivers for involvement of children in CSEC. In an Investigation into Commercial Sex Exploitation of Children (CSEC) in Kawempe, the researcher observed:

... Girl child sex workers (CSWs) explained that their guardians/parents—mostly women, were poor and could not meet their basic necessities. Having no other option, they decided to join the practice. One [CSW] remarked: "I did not have anything to eat ... I joined to be able to buy food,... support my mother and to cater for other needs..." It could probably have been easier for these children to opt for better means of survival. But the lack of opportunities further compounds their problem. Majority of the girls in CSEC are primary school dropouts. 415

Data based on 2005/06 UNHS also shows that, an increase in the level of household income by 10 percent, reduced the probability of a child working full-time in economic activity by 1.6 percentage points. ⁴¹⁶ This underlines the importance of improving household incomes.

Orphan-hood

The population of orphans is currently estimated at 2.3 million. ⁴¹⁷ HIV/AIDS, malaria and armed conflicts are largely blamed for the ballooning problem of orphan-hood. Many orphaned children lack adequate provisions and often drop out of school. In their quest to survive, they are compelled to work while in other situations, they have to take care of their young siblings when their parents die. ⁴¹⁸ For example, a UNICEF study of six countries in Eastern and Southern Africa found that the "dissolution of families from HIV/AIDS increases the likelihood of children being forced into exploitative labour.... Just when children should be in school, their burdensome new role as family breadwinner forces them to drop out." ⁴¹⁹

Schooling problems

Out-of-school children are comparably at a higher risk of engaging in child labour than school-going children. The decision not to enrol or drop out of school may be influenced by myriad factors such as lack of access to scholastic materials, poor grades at school, long distance to school or non-availability of school within a given locality, insecurity, teacher absenteeism, and low quality of education that makes attendance a waste of time for the pupil. For example, in a recent ethnographic study of children in fishing community, the research established that a considerable number of children had dropped out

of school and were engaged in fishing-related activities because they and their parents perceived the education offered to have limited relevance to their livelihood concerns. 420

Attitudes and Perceptions about children's work

Recent research has also attributed the growing problem of child labour to the prevailing perceptions and attitudes that normalize children's involvement in work. For example, some parents view child labour as a normal part of child development.⁴²¹ Involvement of children in subsistence agriculture, domestic work and household economy is considered a normal part of childhood in many of Uganda's communities and is viewed as necessary for training and family livelihood provisioning.

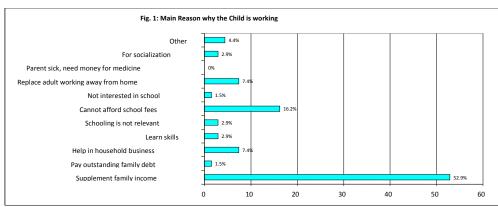


Figure 5.5-1: Reasons why children are working (N=420)

Source: Walakira E.J., J. Byamugisha, J. Omona, G. Nakabugo (2005)

Other drivers

Other factors that increase children's vulnerability to child labour include violence against children within households, household exposure to socio-economic shocks, poor and neglectful parenting, preference of employers to children's labour, which tends to be cheaper, 422 children's preference of work to schooling—usually driven by the desire for quick money, and other material gains, and weak enforcement of child labour laws.

5.6. Consequences of Child Labour

All forms of child labour have adverse effects on children's psychological state, emotional wellbeing, physical development and health, intellectual capacity, moral or social skills development. Essentially, children who are forced to work in gruelling conditions are robbed of their childhood and joy. All Child labour affects children's schooling, and exposes children to dangerous chemicals, long working hours, life-long consequences some of which may be irreversible. In addition, they contract various kinds of illnesses and infections. Als, Ale Children working in other sectors experience, they are

additionally exposed to early pregnancy, reproductive health problems, sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS, and early death. 429,430

5.7. Responses to violence in places of work

Legal and policy framework

Several legislative measures have been put in place to protect children from exploitative and hazardous work, such as the Uganda Constitution of 1995, Children Act Cap 59, the Employment Act 2006, and the Occupation Safety and Health Act 2006. In addition, several policies have also been developed to guide all levels of planning, resource allocation and implementation of programmes to combat child labour, including the WFCL (see Box 5.7 1). For example, with support from the ILO, the MGLSD has developed a five-year National Action Plan (NAP) to address child labour (2010-2015). The NAP is the operational instrument for implementing the National Child Labour Policy, 2006 and provides for the immediate elimination of WFCL.

Box 5.7-1: Legal and Policy Framework

Legal framework

The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995 (as amended)

- Article 34 (4) of the Uganda Constitution guarantees protection of children from economic and social exploitation;
- Article 25 prohibits all forms of slavery, servitude, and forced labour.

The Employment Act 2006

- Section 32 (4) prohibits the employment of children in any work that is injurious to the child's health, dangerous or hazardous or otherwise unsuitable.
- Section 32 (1) of the Act states that "... a child under the age of 12 years shall not be employed in any business, undertaking or workplace."
- Section 32 (2) states that "...any child under the age of 14 years shall not be employed in any business, undertaking or work place, except for light work carried out under supervision of an adult aged over 18 years, and which does not affect the child's education.

The Children's Act, CAP 59 and draft Children's Act (Amendment) Bill, 2010

• Sec. 8: "No child shall be employed or engaged in any activity that may be harmful to his or her health, education or mental, physical or moral development."

Other Legislations

- The Occupational Safety and Health Act No. 9, 2006, provides for the inspection of work places, identification of hazards at the
 work place and other connected matters.
- The Trafficking in Persons Act, 2009 provides for the protection of both children and adults from trafficking, which leads to various forms of exploitative work and other insidious human rights abuses.
- It criminalizes trafficking and provides for the establishment of the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Commission to coordinate, monitor and oversee the implementation of the Act.
- Section 131 of the Penal Code criminalizes procuring a female and causing her to become a common prostitute, to leave the
 country to frequent a brothel elsewhere, or to become an inmate of a brothel.

Policy Framework

- National Child Labour Policy, 2006
- National Action Plan on Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour 2012-2016. The plan prioritises the elimination of WFCL
 and other hazardous work and underlines that education is the principal occupation of children
- National Action Plan on Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation, 2010-2015. The overall goal of the NPA is to ensure that all children in
 Uganda are protected from all forms of sexual abuse and exploitation. The NAP identifies four priority areas; prevention; policy
 and legislative framework; child protection and support services; as well as coordination and partnerships

- The National Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children Policy (NOP) and its related operational plan—the National Strategic Programme Plan of Interventions (NSPPII 2010-2015)
- The Universal Primary Education (UPE), 1997 and The Universal Secondary Education (USE) 2008 Policy

However, gaps remain in enforcement and implementation of the above laws and policies. Effective policy implementation is particularly hampered by underfunding and weak institutional capacity, in both government and non-government institutions. In addition, existing laws such as the Employment Act and the Occupation Safety and Health Act 2006, do not compel employers to keep registers where the age of children can verified.

Universal Primary Education and Universal Secondary Education

The Universal Primary Education (UPE) program has been running since 1997. Since its introduction, primary school enrolment more than doubled from 3.1 million children in 1996 to 7.4 million in 2008. Similarly, the introduction of USE has increased enrolment in secondary schools by 25 percent from 814,087 in 2006 to 1,165,355 students in 2009. UPE and USE have provided an opportunity for many children who otherwise would never have had an opportunity to attend school and most of whom could have ended in child labour.

Nonetheless, several challenges are encountered by children who enrol for UPE leading to low retention and high dropout rates —with only two thirds completing the primary school cycle in a given cohort. The poor infrastructure, lack of access to adequate learning materials, and large classes undermine pupils' interest in education and affect their performance. Ultimately, many children who drop out become susceptible to child labour. The problem is compounded by the limited number of vocational institutions to cater for the skills needs of children who may not continue with secondary education. The planned implementation of the *Skilling Uganda* program under the Ministry of Education could provide respite to many children to acquire livelihood skills within the school system.

Other Child Labour elimination Programmes

Since 1999, the government, in partnership with development partners, has also implemented several programmes aimed at elimination of child labour. These include:

Box 5.7-2:Some Child Labour programmes implemented, 1990-2008

- The National Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour in Uganda, 1999-2003;
- Prevention, Withdrawal and Rehabilitation of Children Engaged in Hazardous Work in the Commercial Agriculture Sector of Africa 2001-2004;
- Combating Exploitation of Child Domestic Workers in Africa (Uganda and Zambia) and Asia (Cambodia and Sri Lanka) (TCRAM phase I) 2002-2004;
- Multi media campaign on child domestic work in Uganda 2003;
- Preventing and Eliminating Exploitative Child Domestic Work through Education and Training in Anglophone Africa (TCRAM Phase II) 2004-February 2006;
- Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) 2003-2004;
- Building the Foundations for Eliminating the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Uganda (Capacity Building Project (CBP) 2002-2006;
- Combating and preventing HIV/AIDS –induced labour in Sub-Saharan Africa: Pilot action in Uganda and Zambia 2004-2008

Several interventions have also been undertaken by CSOs, with support from MoGLSD and ILO, in the area of prevention, withdrawal and re-integration of children affected. Notwithstanding, protection services for children, especially those involved in WFCL, are limited in scope and geographical coverage. For example, despite the general increase in NGO's services for CSEC, few of these organizations have the financial resources or the capacity to address the large scope of this problem. Moreover, the interventions undertaken rarely cater for building effective relationships with law enforcement agencies including police and local authorities; and are insufficiently linked to national-level advocacy. 433

Other emerging gaps and weaknesses in the fight against child labour that have been identified include weaknesses in law enforcement; the limited scale of direct interventions in light of the enormity of the problem; the limited progress in improving access to quality education so as to maintain high enrolment levels and retention; the failure of duty bearers to identify, report, and handle cases of WFCL; the normalisation of traditional cultural practices that endanger children's lives; and the limited progress in improving income and social security at the household level.

Interventions to combat child trafficking

There are currently few programmes focusing on the prevention of child trafficking, and much less for withdrawal, protection and reintegration of victims. Nonetheless, to respond to the growing incidents of trafficking of women and children, a special unit, known as the Anti-Human Sacrifice and Trafficking task force, was created within police in 2009. The task force's main objective is preventing human trafficking and sacrifice through enhanced timely detection, public sensitization and effective investigations. However, the task force's work has greatly been undermined by human resource constraints and inadequate funding.

Several CSOs are also involved in the provision of various protection services such as accommodation, education, medical treatment, psycho-social support, and reintegration of victims of child trafficking with families. Some of the organizations that have programmes that address the protection and rehabilitation needs of victims of child trafficking include UYDEL, AMECET Home in Soroti, World Vision, Trans-cultural Psychosocial Organization (TPO), Avocats Sans Frontières (ASF) and FIDA-U. Other CSOs such as ANNPCAN have undertaken a number of interventions aimed at raising awareness about child trafficking, including such measures as advocacy and communication campaigns and community dialogues.

Box 5.7-3:Some programmes on Child trafficking

Avocats Sans Frontières (ASF which means "lawyers without borders"), a Belgian-founded international organization in partnership with the Association of Women Lawyers in Uganda (FIDA-U) have, since 2010, been implementing a project to combat child trafficking in Uganda in the districts of Katakwi, Soroti and Kampala. The overall objective of the project is to combat child trafficking through engaging in a set of integrated activities that are aimed at creating a dynamic for change, including grassroots education about child trafficking, access to free legal aid and representation for victims of trafficking. ³⁵ The project also involves training judicial actors such as police, lawyers, state attorneys, prosecutors and magistrates about the law prohibiting child trafficking in Uganda and the role that each profession has to play in

ensuring that victims of child trafficking are protected. 436

Uganda Youth Development Link (UYDEL), a non-government organization, has also been implementing a project on child trafficking in Kawempe and Rubaga Divisions in Kampala district. The project focuses on rescuing children who are trafficked; offering to trafficked victims the necessary psycho-social support services; sensitizing communities about child trafficking; providing temporary shelter for the victims of child trafficking; and making referrals of child trafficking victims to other relevant service providers.

5.8. Suggestions for improving responses

The progressive elimination of child labour in Uganda requires a policy and programmatic response targeting three broad groups: (1) children at risk of involvement in child labour; (2) children already harmed by exposure to child labour; and (3) children in the worst forms of child labour requiring immediate, direct action. Suggested responses include:

Reducing household economic vulnerability

There is a need to scale-up measures to reduce household economic vulnerability through expansion of social protection, and through development and expansion of community-based social safety mechanisms such as micro health insurance plans, community saving groups, and micro-credit initiatives, targeting poorest.

Measures to reduce barriers to school access

There is broad consensus that the single most effective antidote against child labour is to increase access to quality education and prolong children's stay in school. The concerted effort of the Ministry of Education and Sports to improve the quality of UPE is slowly but progressively improving school retention. For example, the proportion of children successfully completing primary seven increased from 48 percent (55 percent male; 42 percent female) in 2006, to 64 percent (65% male; 63% female) in 2011. However there is further need to address the non-school fees related barriers to schools that affect children enrolment and retention on school. Results elsewhere (e.g. in Peru) suggest that school incentive schemes that provide cash or in-kind subsidies to poor children conditional on school attendance offer one possible route in this context. However there is further the subsidies to poor children conditional on school attendance offer one possible route in this context.

Withdrawal, recovery and reintegration

Prioritization of direct action measures aimed at identifying and withdrawing children from child labour is critical. Particularly, direct action is needed to rescue children from unconditional WFCL and provide them with the support and follow-up needed for their recovery and reintegration. Such action is particularly important in cases of trafficked children, children subjected to commercial sexual exploitation, bonded labour, war children and those involved in illicit activities among others. There is an urgent need to share best practices in withdrawal, rehabilitation and integration as well as committing resources to access the critically needed support for the affected children and their care givers.

Legal and policy reforms

First, dependence on labour inspectors to monitor and enforce labour laws is grossly insufficient. There would be a need to depend on multi actors —community structures (local leadership, religious leaders,

and traditional leaders) police, CSOs, and children's vigilance. Second, regulations on child labour seem to challenge aspects of child raising practices (i.e., involvement of children in domestic work and household economy intended for training and family livelihood provisioning). As such, they need further discussions with the families affected if they are to be effectively implemented. Third, the ILO Convention on Work in Fishing, 2007 (No. 188) should be ratified to.	
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6. VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN IN OTHER SETTINGS

This section sheds light on violence suffered in other settings such as the general community and/or violence against children experienced in more than one setting, settings that have not been covered above. The section pays particular attention to violence against children in street situations, children who experience the threat of ritual murders, and those exposed to the danger of female genital mutilation.

6.1. Children in street situations

The definition of 'street children' is contested. Nonetheless, many practitioners and policymakers use UNICEF's concept of boys and girls aged under 18 for whom 'the street' (including unoccupied dwellings and wasteland) has become home and/or their source of livelihood, and who are inadequately protected or supervised. 439

Estimating the number of 'street children' is fraught with difficulties. There are three main obstacles to counting children in street situations: defining these children (i.e. definitional difficulties), locating these children owing to the mobile nature of their lives (i.e., children's fluid circumstances). ⁴⁴⁰ While the exact number of children living and/or working on the streets remains to be ascertained, estimates made over 10 years ago suggested there were 10, 000 'street children' in Uganda's towns. ^{441, 442} As of now, children living and or working on the streets in Uganda's major urban areas could more than quadruple that number. To ascertain this, a study to establish the numbers of these children should be undertaken. Once on the streets, children look out for any work they can do and more often, they resort to begging, robbery, and even prostitution in order to survive. ⁴⁴³

The growing presence of children on the street is driven by factors such as economic impoverishment with the effect that basic provisions such food and sending children to school cannot be met. This contributes to drop out of school and the subsequent search for work. Factors such as the breakdown of supportive family environments due to death of parents ⁴⁴⁴ and violence or mistreatment within homes have also been cited. ⁴⁴⁵ Other factors include conflict and displacement, cultural practices that unfairly burden young people on the basis of age, sex and kinship orientation, ⁴⁴⁶ poor parenting, ⁴⁴⁷ peer pressure, ⁴⁴⁸ and the processes of rapid urbanization—with children filtering into city centers due to the provision of a variety of informal survival opportunities. ⁴⁴⁹

Several reports further highlight the growing presence of children on the streets from drought and conflict-stricken regions such as Karamoja in the north east. The Uganda Parliamentary Forum for Children (UPFC) report noted: 'in recent times, the term street child in Uganda has become synonymous with Karimojong children.' ⁴⁵⁰ Factors driving Karamoja children to the streets include insecurity orchestrated by cattle raids—a traditionally accepted practice which nonetheless leaves families displaced and scores killed, the disarmament exercise that forces those with guns to run away and abandon their children or when parents and children lose lives in the process, cultural practices including FGM and early marriages, child trafficking, water, food and nutrition inadequacy. ^{451,452}

6.1.1. Violence against children in street situations

Children in street situations are constantly exposed to diverse forms of violence.⁴⁵³ These include physical, sexual and psychological violence that often intersect or overlap, with several violations commonly occurring to the same children, at the same time.⁴⁵⁴ In a recent survey of 668 of children living and/or working on the street aged 11-17 in 21 major towns across the country, 76 percent of the children reported to have experienced at least one or more form physical violence, while 61 percent and 89 percent of the children reported to have experienced one or more forms of sexual and physiological violence respectively.⁴⁵⁵

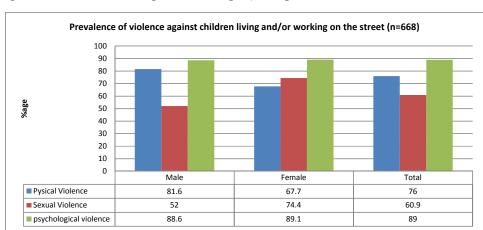


Figure 6.1-1: Prevalence of violence against children living and/working on the street

Source: Walakira, 2012

Box 6.1-1: Summaries of the study on violence against children in street situations

Physical violence

About 76 percent of the children, both boys and girls (n=668), reported having experienced one or more forms of physical violence in the 12 months prior to the survey— with males (81.6 percent) having slightly higher rates than females (67.7 percent). Beating (including punching, kicking or slapping) was the most prevalent form of physical violence experienced by children, with 6 out of 10 reporting having experienced this form. Other forms of physical violence experienced by children included whipping or caning with a belt, stick or object (47.5 percent), pulling of hair, pinching and/or twisting of arms (40.7 percent), being hit with stones or sticks or stabbed with knives (29 percent), or being tied up with a rope or chains (24.2 percent). More than two thirds of the children experienced these forms of physical violence at least once a month. Boys were more exposed to all the different forms of physical violence, except the pulling of hair, pinching and/or twisting of arms.

Sexual violence

Nearly 6 out of every 10 children living and working on the streets reported to have experienced at least one or more forms of sexual violence and exploitation. A higher percentage of girls (74.4 percent) reported experiencing at least one or more forms of sexual violence, compared to boys (52.0 percent), which is also a high proportion. Twenty one percent were raped, while 10 percent were forced into commercial sex work.

Emotional violence

Eighty nine percent (n=668) of the children reported having experienced one or more forms of emotional violence in the last 12 months prior to the study. The proportion of girls and boys was nearly even—at 89.1 percent and 88.6 percent for girls and boys respectively. Public hostility and stigmatization on the basis of their appearance and activities are a common form of violence experienced by children in street situations. ⁴⁵⁶ Public hostility is revealed in local words used to label children in street situations: 'chokora' or 'scavengers,' which harbours connotations of 'filth', 'drug use', 'criminality', and 'aggressive behaviour. ⁴⁵⁷

Source: Walakira, 2012

Children in street situations frequently experience violence at the hands of other children—child-to-child violence, from strangers, police and other law enforcement officials.^{458, 459} For example, periodic round-ups of children, extortion, threats, physical abuse, victimization, and rape by police officers were reported. Law enforcement and government authorities often try to justify roundups or prolonged detention of these children as means of identifying them and re-uniting them with their families.

Box 6.1-2: Children in street situation and State-sponsored Police Violence in Uganda

As Uganda prepared to host the Commonwealth Heads of Government (CHOGM) meeting in November 2007, the police and Kampala city Council (KCC) embarked on an aggressive campaign to rid the city of Kampala of children on the streets. In December 2006, facilitated by UNICEF, the Ugandan Government began consultations with NGOs over their draft strategy for dealing with this problem. The government's draft strategy had considered withdrawal of children from the street and taking them to Kamparingisa National Rehabilitation Centre (KNRC) as a transit point and onward re-unification with their families. KNRC is a juvenile detention centre outside the city.

Given the past experience of forcefully rounding up children on the street, NGOs in Kampala lobbied the government to change their proposed strategy which would involve forcible round-ups of children on the streets. Instead they asked for resources to help NGOs provide holistic support to rehabilitate and resettle children in street situations in a sustainable way which respected the children's rights. The NGO approach was not considered when on 4th February 2007, the Ugandan Government started rounding-up children in street situations and adults. It is estimated that on day 1, around 500 children and adults were rounded-up and subsequent round-ups continued throughout the week. 460 Children were taken to KNRC juvenile detention centre. The Center became overcrowded because it was never meant to accommodate large numbers of children. Efforts to reintegrate them while pursued, they are usually slow due to failure to identify the parents of the children, in addition to the limited resources committed to the exercise.

Disturbingly, most of the victims rarely report incidents of violence. The silence and inaction allow violence against children to continue unabated. Reasons for not reporting include fear of reprisals from perpetrators, mistrust, perception that their complaints won't be taken seriously, previous experience of failure to receive needed assistance, ignorance of the appropriate mechanism for reporting, accepting violence as a normal part of their life, and the fact that, in many cases, the perpetrators are strangers who cannot be traced. The few who report incidents of violence, usually report their peers rather than duty bearers.

6.1.2. Consequences of violence against children in street situations

Long term effects of accumulated violence on children living on the streets are under-researched and evidence to date is mixed. However, that violence impacts on children's development and life choices has been well documented. Violence against children in street situations can result in a child's death, disability, or severe physical injury. ⁴⁶¹ Perceptions of multi-sourced stigma against children in street situations is associated with low self-esteem, depression, self-hatred, and loneliness, which compromise the mental health of children already grappling with myriad risks and challenges. ⁴⁶² Some children in street situations also contemplate suicide. ⁴⁶³

In addition, 'street survival situations' puts children at an increased risk of alcohol and drug abuse, prostitution, and crime. ⁴⁶⁴ For example, a recent survey revealed that, to cope with the different hardships associated with street life (including violence), some children resort to use of drugs such as cannabis and marijuana, and chemical inhalants such as paint thinner, petrol etc. ⁴⁶⁵ The use of drugs however exposes them to brutal arrest by police, and increases the likelihood of these children perpetuating violence against other children.

Children who are exploited sexually are at risk of early and unwanted pregnancies, and sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV and AIDS. Available evidence also indicate that forced sex in childhood has been shown to increase the likelihood of engaging in unprotected sex, having multiple partners, participating in sex work and substance abuse—all of these behaviours are likely to increase the risk of HIV acquisition. 466

6.1.3. Risk and Protective Factors for Violence against children in street situations

Risk factors

Several risk factors underlie the vulnerability of children to violence in street situations. First, most children in street situations are deprived of family care and protection, and, in most cases, lack adults to whom they can turn for assistance. Children in street situations also face hostile perceptions; often seen as outcasts, ⁴⁶⁷ vagrants or criminals. ⁴⁶⁸ This exposes them to violence at the hands of police officers and other law enforcement agencies and other community members. Therefore challenging perceptions around these children is considered a crucial dimension of the protection of their rights.

Gender and age influence the risks of violence to which children in street situations are exposed and their responses to violence. Available evidence indicates that street boys tend more to replicate violence as aggressors and report more physical violence, ⁴⁶⁹ while girls tend to internalize violence and may be more vulnerable to ongoing abuse and victimization. ⁴⁷⁰ Girls are also more likely (although by no means exclusively) to be subjected to sexual violence, compared to boys. Younger children's relative physical weakness can also expose them to violence from older children.

Protective factors

The protective factors against violence inflicted on children in street situations are not clearly documented in the Ugandan context. However, anecdotal evidence points to children's membership in street groups where members provide protection. The groups could as well be targets of attack from rival groups on the street. Notwithstanding, these groups have norms and communication signals that guide members in the way to defend each other, identify work for livelihood and in regard to many other issues concerning their welfare on the street.

Possession of certain skills and talents gives an advantage to some children in street situations and could serve as an opportunity for children to have a career and a dwelling off the street often in sporting activities such as football, joining performing and music groups, or entry into other more decent paying forms of work.⁴⁷¹

The presence of service providers, particularly CSOs, which extend services to children on the streets and a functioning probation and welfare office, also often serve as a key protective factor. As mentioned earlier, the efficacy of these factors needs to be established through rigorous research.

6.1.4. Responses to violence against children living and Working on the street

Despite their visibility, children in street situations have more often served as tragic illustrations of neglect and vulnerability than as genuine targets of policies, programmes and services. There is neither a "coherent set of arrangements in the form of laws, policies, rules and regulations, nor are there specifically targeted, sufficiently resourced and coordinated programs in place, to address the plight of the children in street situations".

There is no specific law or policy that has been formulated to target only children in street situations. Rather, the concerns and priorities of children in street situations are considered in legislative and policy provisions that target children in general and more specifically, those defined as vulnerable. The legal instruments include: The Children Act CAP 59, The Local Government Act Cap 243, The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995 (Art. 34), The Prevention in Trafficking of Persons Act, 2009and the Employment Act, 2006. The policy and national plans of action include National Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children (OVC) Policy (2004), The National Strategic Program Plan of Interventions (NSPPI)—NSPPI-I (2005/6-2009/10) and NSPPI-II (2011-2016) and The National Policy on the Elimination of Child Labour (2006).

In general, there is still a conspicuous absence of a specific policy or strategy targeting children in street situations. There is however a multi-sectoral task force under the leadership of the First Lady and State Minister for Karamoja Affairs which has coordinated efforts for withdrawing and integrating children particularly those from Karamoja off the streets. With respect to the regulatory and policy framework, while the amalgam of policies and laws to some extent prioritise the concerns and priorities of children on the streets, the absence of a well-resourced initiative that specifically targets them still daunts efforts to comprehensively address their needs. The MGSLD has also made efforts to develop a national

strategy for *Children in street situations*. This strategy is yet to be finalised and fully implemented. Yet even in the absence of concerted efforts to reach out to children on the street, the government, through its agencies, has undertaken initiatives to facilitate the withdrawal and rehabilitation and resettlement of children in street situations. For example, between January 2007 and May 2010, the Ministry facilitated resettlement and reintegration of 2,535 children in street situations. Of this number, 1,906 children were from Karamoja, while 629 children from other regions. In addition, institutions such as Naguru Remand Home and Kampiringisa National rehabilitation Center are used for transit purposes, to offer temporary protection to children in preparation for their re-unification with families. Often with high populations of children, the space, staffing, and other services of the centers become over stretched.⁴⁷⁴

Because they are mixed with offenders, the children tend to be treated as offenders yet they are not necessarily offenders. Owing to lack of adequate staff at KNRC, children withdrawn from the streets like other children receive care from offenders. ⁴⁷⁵ Logistical issues are also usually identified as key factors in delaying resettlements, to the extent that children often stay beyond one month. ⁴⁷⁶

Services for children in street situations

A bulk of services for children in street situations is provided by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), which are dependent on donor funding and whose outreach is severely limited. ⁴⁷⁷ Some of the notable organizations, mainly based in Kampala and a few major towns, include Retrak with branches in Uganda and Ethiopia, Dwelling Places based in Kampala, Christian Restoration Outreach (CRO) based in Mbale, and a few others with indirect programs such as Uganda Youth Development Link based in Kampala and largely targeting child sex workers and out of school youth addicted to drugs. ⁴⁷⁸ The range of services provided differs between organizations. Some organizations provide education, material support (e.g., clothes) to children and/or work to reunify children with their families. Others such as Children Restoration Outreach (CRO) home and Salem Brotherhood provide shelter for children living on the street. The prevention of violence is inbuilt within the services aimed at rehabilitating children.

Retrak program: Sustainable reintegration of orphans and vulnerable children into family and community life in Uaanda

Retrak is a Faith Based Non-Governmental Organisation working with Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) on the streets in Africa and committed to providing each child with an individual route back to family and community. Retrak aims to enable OVC living on the streets to return to a stable and caring family setting. This is achieved through reintegration with their own relatives or through placement with local foster care families and with support to build the capacity of these families to meet the needs of their own children.

Retrack 1: Enables OVC to begin the transition from street life through meeting their psychosocial, health and education needs. Under this Retrak; a) Provides counselling and basic commodities to OVC on the streets, b) Enables OVC on the street to participate in life skills, health & hygiene classes and HIV/AIDS peer-education, and c) Provides catch-up education to OVC on the streets and

Retrak 2: Re-integration into family and community life. Retrak approaches returning children to family and community life in three ways; i) Reunification (reintegration) with biological parents or kinship care with relatives; ii) foster care with carers selected, trained and monitored by Retrak; and iii) Preparation of older children to live independently on their own. Between2009-2011, Retrak had served 2,517 and had resettled a total of 193 children in Uganda.⁴⁷⁹

While the efforts of the NGOs are commendable, several limitations have been observed. First, most NGOs reach only a few children, leaving the majority unattended to in most of Uganda's urban centers. Second, few NGOs offer programs that aim to prevent the conditions that drive children on the streets. As such the programs are reactive rather than pro-active. As Third, owing to inadequate funding, most NGOs are unable to provide comprehensive services for effective withdrawal, rehabilitation and reintegration of children in street situations. Consequently, cases have be reported of resettled children returning to the street owing to failure to adequately respond to livelihood challenges facing the family or the household where the child in question is resettled.

6.1.5. Suggestions for Improving Response

There is a need to develop a comprehensive child protection strategy that targets specifically children living and those working on the streets. The strategy should aim to holistically address the concerns of children in street situations including withdrawal, rehabilitation, and reintegration in communities that will not perpetrate violence against children.

There is also a need to mobilise support for CSOs working with children on the streets so as to scale up the services and also to target drivers of the phenomenon. Finally, there is a need to sensitise government law enforcement agencies to protect children and provide them with the necessary support including withdrawal, rehabilitation and re-integration.

6.2. Harmful traditional practices

In several Ugandan communities, some cultural traditions involve practices which inflict pain and 'disfigurement' on children or result into physical injury and death. Some of these practices include female genital mutilation/cutting, and other harmful practices involving both boys and girls.

6.2.1. Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting (FGM/C)

Female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C) is a common practice among the Pokot in Nakapiripirit and Sabiny in Kapchorwa. However, there is still paucity of data on the number of girls and women who have undergone FGM in Uganda. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), FGM/C is defined as "all procedures, which involve partial or total removal of the external genitalia and/or injury to the female genital organs whether for cultural or any non-therapeutic reasons."

The practice is rooted in culturally embedded practices and power structures. Girls between 15 and 18 years old are expected to undergo this form of genital excision, according to tradition or culture, as an important rite of passage to adulthood. 483,484 The practice is thought to promote virginity and reduce marital infidelity due to the female's reduced sexual desire as a result of the removal of the clitoris and in some cases other parts of the genital organ. However, the practice has several health implications. Complications as a result of the procedure can arise and can cause severe pain, shock, bleeding, infection and injury as well as long-term consequences such as infertility, bladder infections, cysts, childbirth complications and death. 486

While parents, family members and girls often recognize that the practice causes serious and permanent harm, they are bound to it because it is part of their cultural tradition. In doing it, they believe they raising a girl in a proper way to prepare her for adulthood and marriage."⁴⁸⁷ The failure to adhere to this cultural practice results in social exclusion and harassment. Names such as 'horny lady' are used to refer to those who do not undergo FGM and they are often shunned by fellow women and girls during social interactions, leading to the fear that uncircumcised daughters will not be able to find acceptable husbands. ⁴⁸⁸

Recently, the government passed the FGM Act, 2010. The Act prohibits FGM practices and provides for protection of females who refuse to undergo FGM. For example, Section 3 of the Act creates an offence of Aggravated FGM whose punishment is life imprisonment. Additionally, sections 11 and 12 of the Act create offences around stigmatizing and discriminating against persons who do not undergo FGM or the relatives of those who do not undergo FGM. The Act also covers the possibility of self-harm, making it an offence for a person to perform FGM on oneself. However, the effectiveness of legal prohibition is hampered by poor enforcement and the low levels of awareness of this legislation.

6.2.2. Child sacrifice/ritual murders

Child sacrifice or the ritual killing of children is a grave violation of children's right to life. Over the past few years, newspaper and police reports have pointed out several incidents of ritual killing of children. Between 2008 and 2011, a total of 69 cases of *child sacrifice* were reported and investigated by the police. 489 However, given the illicit and hidden nature of the practice, the number of victims of child sacrifice could be higher. For example, in a recent qualitative assessment of child sacrifice in Uganda, community members perceived a higher level of prevalence of the practice of child sacrifice—far beyond what has been documented and investigated by the Police. 490

Ritual murders are blamed on unscrupulous traditional spiritual healers whose activities and operations lack effective regulation and a monitoring mechanism. 491 Victims are sacrificed for quick wealth and for business prosperity, protecting investments against future risks and losses (insurance), construction projects and for other material gains.

Suspected Ritual murders, reported and investigated by police 2008-2011

- 2006: 25 cases of child sacrifice
- 2008: 18 cases; twelve (12) were male and six (06) were female (girls) (Police Report, 2008)
- 2009: 29 suspected ritual murders, 15 were children while 14 were adults. (Police Report, 2009)
- 2010: 14 cases 09 were children, while 05 were adults. There were also 02 cases of attempted murder for witchcraft rituals in 2010 (Police Report, 2010)
- 2011: 8 cases (Police Report, 2011)

Pleasing ancestors and protection from evil spirits (i.e., spiritual superstitious beliefs) have also been identified as forces driving this heinous practice. 492

More often, child sacrifice incidents usually involve collaboration between two or more parties. These parties include the person intending to sacrifice, an agent hired to execute the kidnapping or trafficking of a child to be sacrificed and a ritual facilitator who is almost in all cases a traditional healer who claims to be a spiritualist with supernatural powers. 493 Children are often kidnapped, or sometimes parents are coerced to surrender their children by promising them a better life. 494

Risk and Protective factors

Children, both boys and girls, are targeted for sacrifice because they are more easily lured and believed to be "pure" compared to adults. A sacrifice requires something considered innocent or pure. Children are considered spiritually clean and virgin, a fact that makes them a soft target for witchdoctors' ritualistic practices. There is also a strong belief that a mutilated body ceases to be spiritually powerful. This partly explains the growing popularity of circumcising their children and adorning them with earrings to deter would-be perpetrators; encouraged by the belief that "witchdoctors do not want circumcised children or those with earrings."

In a recent *qualitative assessment of child sacrifice in Uganda*, children without or with limited parental care were perceived to be at risk of child sacrifice. The specific categories identified included: orphans, abandoned children, school drop-outs, children involved in child labour, and children in street situations. However, this is not supported by evidence from police case profiles of victims of child sacrifice.

Responses to violence in other settings

Legal and Policy responses

In Uganda, a legal framework legal framework for protection of children from the insidious ritual killing practices is in place. For example, the *Witchcraft Act*, 1957 prohibits acts of witchcraft that involve threatening others with death. Convictions lead to prison sentences of up to five years. The Act also forbids hiring of an individual to practice witchcraft or who, for evil purposes, consults with another person who practices witchcraft. However the law has rarely been enforced, reducing its deterrent and retributive functions against those involved in witchcraft practices, particularly those which involve human sacrifice. However the law has rarely been enforced, reducing its deterrent and retributive functions against those involved in witchcraft practices, particularly those which involve human sacrifice. However, the lack of a systematic body of knowledge on ethical principles on the practices of traditional healing. Moreover, there is no clear government policy to guide the operations of traditional practitioners' practice and provide minimum standards for ethical practice, which undermines efforts to identify quack traditional herbalists who demand specific human body parts.

Recently, the government enacted the Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act, 2009. The Act contains specific provisions for the prevention and response to the trafficking of children for use of their body part. Nonetheless, the effectiveness of legal prohibition of trafficking is still hampered by poor enforcement, low levels of awareness of this legislation among local justice, law and order authorities, and general delays in concluding the prosecution process— which leads to some suspects' 'release on bail after the mandatory remand period.

With support from development partners, a National Action Plan on Child Sacrifice, 2009 was recently developed. The plan provides a general framework and direction for all actors who are concerned with responding to child sacrifice, and underscores the need to strengthen the national policy and legal framework to effectively respond to child sacrifice, strengthen cooperation and partnership to respond to child sacrifice between the government, civil society, the media and traditional healers for comprehensive planning based on full participation and joint responsibilities. However, there is no evidence of implementation of the plan.

Interventions by Government and CSOs

The issue of child sacrifice in Uganda has been highlighted in the media over the past years. The media has therefore been instrumental in creating awareness about the problem and highlighting the need for better child protection. Awareness campaigns have also been conducted by NGOs such as ANPPCAN-Uganda and faith-based organizations such as Kyampisi Childcare Ministries (KCM).

To respond to reported incidents of child sacrificial murders, a unit was formed within the Uganda Police Force in 2009, known as the Anti-Human Sacrifice/Trafficking Task Force, for which over 2,000 police officers were trained. The task force's main objective is to prevent human trafficking and sacrifice through enhanced timely detection, public sensitization and effective investigations. §§§ However the work of the task force has been beset by a number of challenges, including inadequate logistical facilitation, and an absence of regulatory framework for traditional healers. However, reports of missing persons and suspected ritual murders are sometimes made late to Police and the scenes of crime are sometimes tampered with before the arrival of Police officers.

Notably, a few programmes are available to support families affected by child sacrifice. Only a few organizations such as ANPPCAN provide counselling and psychosocial support for affected families. However, the support by ANPPCAN is limited in scope and cannot meet the existing need for those affected by child sacrifice.

Suggestions for improving responses

There is a need to:

- o Build the capacity of community and school-based structures for both prevention and response interventions that address child sacrifice within the context of children rights violations.
- o Develop a communication and advocacy strategy addressing issues of prevention and response to issues of child sacrifice. This should be developed within the context of child abuse but emphasize issues of child sacrifice.

Specifically, the task force is mandated to: establish well-coordinated criminal intelligence networks throughout the country and make the best use of the criminal intelligence received to fight the crime\to enhance expeditious investigations into all cases reported to police; develop guidelines for effective and professional handling of incidents, suspects, witnesses and victims related to human sacrifice/trafficking; develop a national data bank about the crimes related to human sacrifice and trafficking in the country; and develop a mechanism of monitoring the country's border entries/exits and airports with the intention of identifying and arresting these people who deal in human sacrifice and trafficking though those points.

- Develop a regulatory framework for traditional healers, and registration of traditional healers for easy monitoring.
- Support the police anti-trafficking and anti-sacrifice units to effectively investigate reported incidents and hold perpetrators accountable.
- o Develop psychosocial interventions to respond to the needs of survivors, their families and families of children who have been victims of child sacrifice.

PART 3: BUILDING AN EFFECTIVE CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEM: REFLECTION ON RESPONSES

7. SYSTEMS COMPONENTS AND FUNCTIONALITY

Child protection systems are comprehensive and sustainable mechanisms that prevent and respond to child rights violations. According to UNICEF, a child protection system comprises a set of laws, policies, regulations and services required across all social sectors to respond to and prevent protection related risks. ⁴⁹⁷ UNICEF suggests that an ideal child protection system should consist of the following nine components: legal and policy framework; effective regulation and oversight; preventive and responsive services; effective coordination between sectors at different levels; knowledge and data on child protection issues and good practices to inform evidence-based policy development and advocacy; a skilled child protection workforce; children's voices and participation; an aware and supportive public; and adequate funding and accountability mechanisms for all of the elements listed above, and appropriate budgeting processes. ⁴⁹⁸ This section examines the existing child protection system for responding to violence against children.

7.1. Legal and policy responses

Uganda ratified several international and regional legal instruments protecting children against all forms of violence, including the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and Optional Protocols to the CRC such as the Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Pornography (2000) and the Optional Protocol Involvement of Children in Armed conflict;, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC); The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979); the ILO Convention 182 on elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour (2000); and the ILO Convention 138 on the minimum age of Employment (1973).

At the national level, several laws have been enacted to ensure a protective environment for children. Legislative protection of children against all forms of violence in all settings is contained in the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, Children's Act Cap 59; the Penal Code Act; Magistrates Act 2007, Trafficking in person Act 2009, The Police Act 2000, Registration of Birth Act, Education Act 2008, Employment Act 2006, The Domestic Violence Act; Local Council Courts Act; Local Government Act 1997 among other legislations. In addition, the government has undertaken efforts to develop policies and plans aimed at protecting children from violence. These include National Orphans and Vulnerable Children Policy (NOP) and the associated NSPPI (NSPPI I, 2005-2009 and NSPPII 2010-2016)—which aim to contribute to the social protection and well-being of poor and vulnerable children etc., the National Plan of Action on Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation, 499 and The National Child Labour policy, 2006, that makes special provisions for children involved in child labour.

However, the existence of these laws and policies has not effectively translated into the implementation of programs that sustainably combat violence and other rights violations against children. Although

there are several policies, they need harmonization and integration. Several factors also undermine the effective implementation of the existing policies and laws in place. These include the weak infrastructure of Uganda's justice institutions; limited monitoring and reporting of VaC in all its forms; limited funding (resources committed by Uganda government to the line Ministry—MGLSD are less than less than 0.2 percent of the national budget) for the public and private initiatives that are attempting to prevent and address VaC; and the lack of mechanisms for communication and partnership between the NGOs that are attempting to address this problem on the local level and the national offices that are establishing policy. These weaknesses in the implementation of the policies and laws need further understanding and redress. 500

7.2. Functionality of state and non-state structures

State Actors

Through its various statutory institutions, the government legally shoulders the primary responsibility for child protection, including prevention and response to VaC. The MGLSD is the lead line ministry on issues of child protection. The National Council for Children (NCC)**** is mandated to provide a structure and a mechanism that ensures proper coordination, monitoring and evaluation of all policies and programmes related to survival, protection and development of the child. However, the institution is still incapacitated to fully perform its function because of lack of autonomy, limited funding, limited staff and limited technical competence. This structure needs to benefit from urgent capacity building measures to undertake its responsibilities or else it remains an entity with minimal functionality.

In accordance with the Local Government Act 1997, the MGLSD is linked to the districts through the Community Based Services Department (CBSD), which houses the Probation and Social Welfare function. The District Probation and Social Welfare Officers (PSWO), in accordance with Children Act Cap 59, are mandated to assist parents and victims of physical and sexual abuse in collaboration with police surgeons to obtain medical examination reports and to present evidence required in court; provide initial counselling to child victims and the family so as to cope with abuse and; to liaise with other justice institutions and the community to ensure that children are not victimised in the justice system and in their home environments. They are also responsible for fostering and adoption and ensuring that standards in children's homes comply with the guidelines in place. In addition, they are responsible for following up through the justice system, the children who are in conflict with the law. At sub-county level, Community Development Officers (CDO)/ Assistant community Development officers (ACDOs) perform these roles under the supervision of the Probation and Social Welfare Officers (PSWO). CDOs are particularly responsible for overseeing the situation of children in the community, including following up on cases of child abuse in the same area, assisted by the secretary for children affairs at the local level.

^{****} The NCC is a statutory body established by the National Council for Children Act, CAP. 60

Other state actors in addressing acts of violence against children include the Uganda Police Force (UPF) under the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Courts of Law under the ministry of Justice and Constitutional affairs. Both the police and the courts law are key justice institutions, with varied roles in ensuring children's access to justice. The courts of law are ensuring that perpetrators of violence are held accountable, while police plays a key role in investigation, apprehending and prosecution of perpetrators of children's rights violations. In 1998, the Uganda Police Force established a child and family protection unit (CFPU), that receives, investigates, mediates and refers cases involving children to courts of law. The CFPU gets referrals of child abuse cases from the Criminal Investigation Department (CID), Community Liaison Officers, District Probation and Welfare Office (DPSWO), Secretaries for children Affairs (SCA) and local leaders.

The functionality of the above structures however is riddled with deficiencies. The 2010 assessment commissioned by War Child Holland and UNICEF⁵⁰² identifies capacities, strengths and limitations of the various child protection structures in Northern Uganda. Although the assessment focused on structures in northern Uganda, the issues identified are not very different from what obtains in other parts of the country. Some of the factors that undermine functionality of the different child protect structures include limited financial and human resources, poor coordination or coordination difficulties, operational constraints and lack of logistical support to effectively discharge their responsibilities, limited awareness and appreciation of their obligations, poor technical competence especially among the grassroots child protection duty bearers (Local Council leaders), as well as very inadequate funding for child protection activities at all levels. ⁵⁰³ All these factors limit the capacity of these structures to effectively respond to children's child protection needs.

For example, the PSW office is unable to effectively monitor and prevent children's rights violations owing to inadequate human resource capacity and funding. These limit their ability to collect data from the victims, assessment of abusive environments, and enforcement of care orders. ⁵⁰⁴ In addition, due to logistical challenges and poor facilitation, the capacity of the police to effectively apprehend perpetrators, investigate and follow-up cases of VaC is severely limited. ⁵⁰⁵ For example, there is evidence that the child protection units with the police (CFPUs) are poorly facilitated and often lack such basic materials as stationary, let alone transport to effect arrest and follow up cases. ⁵⁰⁶ Further, most local courts lack the knowledge and technical capacity to handle matters related to children, and tend to be influenced by social attitudes that may foster the continued abuse of children. The family and children courts (FCC) are also underfunded and understaffed, which results into a backlog of cases in which children are involved. It is therefore of no surprise that some children overstay on remand.

Government health facilities are also key actors in VaC response. They are primarily responsible for meeting the health and psychosocial needs of children who have suffered violence through the provision of screening and treatment services and counselling or psychosocial assistance. However, access to health services for survivors of violence in most government facilities is undermined by shortage of trained personnel, lack of necessary drugs and sundries, lack of space and privacy in health units for providing counselling services and conducting screenings, few communication materials, and

an insufficient and weak referral system to provide psychological assistance. ⁵⁰⁷ In worst case scenarios, survivors sometimes fail to get the necessary medical services in government health facilities and are instead referred to private health service providers, where they are required to pay a certain fee to access the services. ⁵⁰⁸ Owing to poverty, many victims resort to traditional health providers or practice self-medication. The consequences of these practices are yet to be fully documented. However, it is expected that children who are unable to receive care under skilled attendance are susceptible to health, including emotional, risks that have lifelong negative consequences.

Other actors in the child protection system

Civil Society Organizations

The government's institutional framework for prevention and response to VaC is supported and/or augmented by a range of CSOs and UN agencies such as UNICEF, international and national NGOs, CBOs and FBOs. Different CSOs play a very significant role in creating a protective environment for children including direct provision of services for children who have suffered violence or at-risk of violence. Specific child protection interventions undertaken by CSOs include advocacy, legal aid, tracing the families of children without parental care and supporting their reunion, supporting investigation of cases of violence against children, psychosocial support, training on the legal rights of children, research, shelter, skills training, healthcare and coordination and networking.

Some of the CSOs have also contributed to the creation and/or strengthening of inter-agency child protection structures for enhanced prevention and response to violence. Notably through inter-agency effort and with support from UNICEF Child Protection Committees (CPCs) have been created, bringing child protection agencies and district authorities together to prioritize and meet the needs of vulnerable children in a district. The rationale is to maximize the existing resources, expertise and capacity within communities through an integrated package of services, including referrals and follow-ups.

Due to efforts by a number of CSOs, relatively positive improvements have been registered in prevention and response to violence. Notably, there have been improvements in the areas of reporting of violations, owing to substantial investments in public education and awareness with new innovations such as the child helpline service offering greater opportunities for reporting, documentation and response. These progressive developments are however still undermined by the absence of an effective referral mechanism as well as the inadequacy and sometimes total absence of response services, lack of a comprehensive, harmonized reporting and feedback mechanism on violence against children. The helpline has also not yet been evaluated to determine its efficacy regarding prevention and response.

Informal child protection systems

Besides the formal and statutory actors, most of the protection and response services are provided within the realm of the informal child protection system. The informal child protection systems largely take the form of kinship networks and structures within the extended family network/clan system,

voluntary groups formed in response to specific child vulnerability concerns which often transform into community based organizations, or faith-based arrangements and initiatives. The informal child protection mechanisms in Uganda provide a range of vital services in the form of physical safety for vulnerable children, informal foster care and psycho-social support. For example, when violations occur, it is largely the family and community support systems that provide the first line of response. 511

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 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. Single Property of the serious violations against children such as sexual abuse in a manner that compromises the rights of the affected children.

7.3. Prevention and responsive services

Comprehensive child protection programming must address three main areas: responsive actions to alleviate the immediate effects of specific forms of violence, preventive actions to enhance the protective environment, and remedial actions leading to social inclusion of vulnerable children.

7.3.1. Reflection on existing programmes/services rendered

Several programmes for prevention of violence against children (VaC) have been implemented or are currently being implemented by both government and CSO actors. A large number of efforts are undertaken to prevent violence by and against children in the community through public information or prevention campaigns aimed at changing community attitudes, beliefs and norms surrounding the use of violence. For example, several NGOs such ANPPCAN, Plan International, Save the Children and Raising Voices are implementing campaigns to raise awareness about violence against children and promote rights of children to a violence-free childhood at national and local levels, using different mass media, including TV, radio and newspaper adverts. There are also a number of initiatives by different organizations, particularly NGOs, which are geared at empowering children with knowledge and skills about how to protect their rights and respond to child rights violations. Such initiatives take the form of awareness and sensitization activities targeting children, child rights clubs for children in and out of school and other forms of children and youth organization.⁵¹⁴

However, lasting change tends to require a combination of efforts beyond campaigns alone. In general, these types of campaign seem to be most effective in increasing knowledge and awareness, as altering social norms concerns some types of violence. But such campaigns, when implemented in isolation,

^{*****} Because of their informal and voluntary nature, informal systems are often resource constrained and are more inclined to offer support that does not involve substantial financial costs.

have not consistently led to changes in behaviour or to a reduction in violence. For example, a number of studies undertaken recently have demonstrated significantly high levels of awareness by both adults and children about the major forms of child rights violations and how they come about. However, the increased awareness has not necessarily translated into greater protection for children. This is, in significant part, attributable to the inadequacy of interventions geared at addressing the specific risk factors that pre-dispose children to abuse in the various contexts within which children live. As a consequence, even when children and parents demonstrate high levels of awareness, many children experience violations.

On the other hand, several programmes are being undertaken by government and CSO actors to improve response to violence. These programmes involve diverse activities. One of the most recent innovations has been the launching of a Toll Free Child Helpline – a telephone facility that offers both adults and children an opportunity to report child rights violations and receive support either directly on the telephone or be referred for appropriate services. The Child Helpline, which was launched in 2005, is a collaborative effort between Government (MoGLSD) and three civil society organizations (UCRNN, ANPPCAN and Action for Children). No specific evaluation has, however, been done to evaluate the effectiveness of this intervention.

Generally, most of the VaC response services such as justice and health services are provided through the government child protection sub-systems, particularly the law/ order and justice sub-system that focuses on enforcement, legal protection and dispensation of justice as well as the basic social service sub-system that includes health and educational services. For example, the police and other actors in the justice system, such as the PWO and courts of law, are mandated to ensure children's access to justice. Children who have suffered abuse can also access health services in government health facilities. However, owing to limitations and challenges within government service delivery mechanisms, NGOs are increasingly playing a very significant role in interventions for vulnerable children, including direct provision of services such as psychosocial assistance, shelter for abused children, legal aid and support to abused children to access the necessary services. For example, some NGOs provide transport facilitation to enable children access to medical services and under-go medical examination to obtain evidence to be used in courts of law.

Some CSOs, which are undertaking programmes with the specific aim of strengthening the response capacity of different duty bearers such as police, PWO, community development officers, magistrates, have also been undertaken. For example, Makerere University (SWSA Department and AfriChild) in collaboration with the Ministry of Gender labour and Social Development and TPO have particularly undertaken child protection trainings targeting local government in-service workers. With support from International AIDS alliance, up to 1200 PSWOs and Community Development Officers have been equipped with knowledge and skills to handle cases of the critically vulnerable children, apply the basics of legal provisions, mobilise resources and undertake monitoring and evaluation. Other organizations such as Child Fund and TPO have also undertaken efforts to build or strengthen community structures and support systems for prevention and response to violence against children. Such efforts include selection and training of community-based paralegals and community resource persons, local

authorities. A recent ANPPCAN evaluation revealed efforts to identify and train community-based volunteers to protect children from sexual abuse, provide psychological and social support to traumatized children, and link them to vital services like health, police and schools. 518

7.3.2. Reporting, investigation, handling and case management

Guidelines on investigation and handling of cases of violence against children are provided for in the Children's Act and the Police Act. However, there is no mandatory child abuse reporting mechanism. Thus, reporting of violations is a voluntary endeavour. Reporting of cases of violence against children is mainly done by those who have suffered violence, their parents, neighbourhoods or community members and other child protection structures to the different statutory actors in the justice systems (e.g., local authorities, police, district probation and social welfare office). These structures work hand in hand with other child protection actors, including hospital/ health facilities, courts of law, NGOs working with children to ensure a professional and immediate handling of children who have been abused.

For example, a police officer is mandated to arrest alleged perpetrators of violence and investigate incidents involving child rights violations, and make appropriate referrals. In the cases related to sexual violence, the police is required to issue a medical examination form (PF 3 form), which should be filled in by a qualified medical doctor after examination of the victim. This form is required for successful proof of cases of sexual violence in the courts of law. After concluding the investigations, police is required to forward the file (containing details of the violation case) to the district state attorney and a decision is then made to refer the case to the relevant court of law. The PSWO is mandated to assist parents and victims of physical and sexual abuse obtain medical examination reports and to present evidence required in court; provide initial counselling to child victims and the family so as to cope with abuse and; is supposed to liaise with justice institutions and the community to ensure that children are not victimized in the justice system and in their home environments.⁵¹⁹

The above government institutional framework is augmented by different civil society organizations (CSOs) which play a central role in ensuring children access to medical and legal services. For example, several NGOs such as ANPPCAN assist parents and victims of physical and sexual abuse obtain medical examination reports through provision of transport support, provide legal aid services to abused children and provide psychosocial assistance to children who have experienced violence. 520

The above notwithstanding, major barriers still hinder many children from accessing appropriate responses from the formal child protection mechanisms, including non-responsiveness by the formal systems due to financial and logistical constraints, corruption, the unfriendly nature of the response systems especially the police, justice and health systems as well as the costs involved in accessing these services. For example, within the justice system, parents or caregivers of children who have suffered violence may be required to meet the transport costs for the police to arrest and transport alleged perpetrators, pay for medical examinations, medical treatment for the victims, and even offer bribes to different bearers to enable successful handling of the case. S22 Another fundamental challenge that

hinders effective reporting and handling of child rights violations is the absence or inadequate registration of births of children—contrary to the law on Birth and Death Registrations Act, CAP 309. The challenges in the registration of children and hence inability to prove ages of children makes it hard to hold perpetuators of abuse accountable ⁵²³

7.3.3. Constraints to children's access to prevention and response services

Available research identifies a range of constraints/bottlenecks that affect children's access to VaC prevention and response services. These can be categorised in terms of supply constraints (service providers, the government mandated agencies) and demand constraints (children, community members, parents).

On the demand side, access to response services is generally undermined by the lack of reporting of cases of violations. Very young children who suffer violence in the different settings lack the capacity to report, while others generally lack information on where and how to report. Children may also feel pressed to conceal incidents of violence and abuse; particularly when perpetrated by people they know and trust. Description of the children are afraid to report incidents of violence against them for fear of reprisals by perpetrators. In other cases parents, who are supposed to protect their children, may also chose to remain silent if violence is perpetrated by spouse or other family member, or a more powerful member of society.

On the supply side, VaC prevention efforts by the different actors have largely focused on awareness creation and advocacy, and less on addressing the specific risk factors that pre-dispose children to abuse in the various contexts within which children live. The response mechanism is also extremely poor for children who are victims of violence at the national, regional and local levels. Potentially, it would appear as if the most basic services that abused children require (police, health, education) are widely available throughout the country through the government mainstream service provision. The other actors, and or their services are hardly accessible to abused children in a manner that is sensitive to their vulnerability and needs.

When children or parents seek services, they are most likely to visit health care and legal officers; however, the quality of service responses from these service providers is generally poor. Across the country, researchers have documented many failings of these sectors, including continuing gaps is human, technical and financial resources, overly bureaucratic and complicated procedures (e.g. in seeking justice), discriminatory and patriarchal attitudes and behaviours of service providers who justify the actions of perpetrators and blame the victims, resulting in re-victimisation, the failure of the system to protect children from retributive actions by perpetrators etc. 529

In addition, children access to services is also undermined by the fragmented and most times unfriendly nature of services and sheer absence of certain core services such as police surgeons, and temporary emergency shelter. The latter is particularly most evident when it comes to child sexual abuse. Even in

situations where services are available, there is a serious lack of referral mechanisms among the various actors. Where referrals occur, they are often ad hoc and poorly documented without adequate follow up to ensure effective service delivery. There are also wide variations in the availability and level of functioning of referral pathways between rural and urban areas in Uganda partly due to the uneven distribution of services, the distances involved in accessing these services and the availability of NGOs working in the areas of child protection. Although children in urban areas face complex difficulties in accessing services even when the services are existent, the rural counterparts face serious lack. Many rural towns have few or no NGOs operating there while government programmes are generally lacking or very distant. Some studies have actually confirmed that communities in fishing villages such as Kalangala, and rural towns like Mpigi, even when they are near the city have very few NGOs operating there while others such as pastoral communities and war/conflict ravaged districts like Karamoja and Northern Uganda are nearly forgotten. 530

For children caught up in the justice system, the absence of accessible and appropriately equipped remand facilities poses a major constraint as children end up being kept in adult facilities or kept in children's remand homes for long periods due to absence of logistical means for them to access court.

7.3.4. Involvement of Children in Prevention and response to violence

The call for children's meaningful and ethical participation in research, policy advocacy and programming in relation to VaC has increasingly gained prominence. The United Nations Study on Violence against Children for example, underlines the need to 'actively engage with children and respect their views in all aspects of prevention, response and monitoring of violence against them.' Available evidence indicates that participation by children can play an important role in protecting them from abuse, violence and exploitation, including sexual exploitation. ⁵³² For example, through their participation, girls and boys – survivors of violence and those at risk – can highlight the violations they experience and, as agents of change, take action to prevent and address abuse and exploitation. They can therefore be effective advocates for realizing their protection rights. ⁵³³

In Uganda, several efforts have been undertaken child protection actors in ensure the involvement of children in prevention and response to violence. For example, with respect to policy development, children were meaningfully involved the process of developing the National Plan of Action against Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children, and National strategic programme plan of interventions (NSPPI) for Orphans and Vulnerable children. In both cases, girls and boys of different ages and backgrounds participated in local, district and national consultations, and their views and opinions reflected in the plans.⁵³⁴ In addition, research on children's own views and experiences of violence and child protection is becoming more common. These voices are increasingly being used to communicate urgency of the need for efforts to end violence against children.

Box 7.3-1: Raising Voices in Uganda: Gathering and using information about violence against children

Over 1,400 children were involved in research in five districts of Uganda in 2004 and 2005. It focused on the various types of violence they experienced at home, in schools and in the community, how it made them feel, and their ideas about violence-

free childhoods. Also involved were almost 1,100 adults who provided their perceptions of punishment and discipline, mistreatment and how they also felt about the issues. The research fed into an evidence-based advocacy campaign, launched in 2006, directed at protecting and promoting children's rights to live free from violence. These efforts were intended to increase public debate and break down the barriers to taking action. The campaign made an important contribution to the Ministry of Education and Sport's initiative on banning all corporal punishment in schools in Uganda.

Source: Pinheiro, World Report on Violence against Children 2006 p.322

Efforts to involve children violence prevention and response programmes have also been documented. There are growing initiatives by different organizations particularly NGOs that are geared at ensuring children report violations meted against them, speak out on violence experienced and offer peer support to fellow children. Such initiatives take the form of awareness and sensitization activities targeting children, child rights clubs for children in and out of school and other forms of children and youth organizations. But these are still limited in scale and do not reach the vast majority of vulnerable children in Uganda.

7.3.5. Programming gaps

The review unearthed a range of programming gaps. First, child protection programming has until recently focused on particular issues or specific groups of vulnerable children, the silo based approach. Child protection issues that have received much attention in recent years include alternative care, justice for children, children affected by armed forces and groups, trafficking, sexual exploitation, child labour and child separation. However, many children experience multiple vulnerabilities. While vertical, issue-focused programming can be very effective in serving the specific cohort of children targeted, it can result in protection gaps, lack of coherent referral systems and insufficient attention to early intervention, family support mechanisms and prevention efforts. 535

Second, it is widely acknowledged that an ideal child protection system is one that offers integrated and child-friendly services for children that interface with it. In Uganda, efforts to offer integrated services are undermined by the apparent disconnect between the various child protection sub-systems (the law/order and justice, the basic social services) as well as the lack of effective coordination within the various sub-systems. ⁵³⁶ Because of the lack of coordination of child protection institutions and agencies at national and local government levels, both vertically and horizontally, issues such as violence against children fail to be addressed in a holistic manner.

Third, given the general inadequacy of most child protection services at community level, in many communities it is not possible to access the full range of required services for abused children. Unfortunately, few initiatives have been undertaken to remedy the situation and ensure that children who suffered violence have access to a continuum of response services. One such initiative is one supported by Oak Foundation, in which four organizations‡‡‡ are working on a pilot initiative to offer an integrated response to abused children in one district- Kampala. This initiative offers important lessons about the enormous potential inherent within a coordinated and integrated approach in terms

^{****} These organizations include; UCRNN, ANPPCAN Uganda Chapter, Action for Children and Uganda Health Reproductive Bureau.

of harmonizing the landscape for service provision to abused children. However, this kind of initiative still faces serious challenges if the interface between the statutory service providers is not well integrated or where certain services e.g. shelter are not readily available. ⁵³⁷ This initiative needs to be evaluated and identify possibilities for replication and scale-up.

Fourth, like in other ESARO countries, few efforts in Uganda have been undertaken to provide or refer children who have suffered violence to child-friendly medical services. Within government facilities, access to health services by child survivors is 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. Thus there is an urgent need to reform health centres systematically to address VaC, starting with enactment of agency policies, protocols, and guidelines for every staff to follow; followed by the piloting of a one-stop service centre for child survivors. In addition, any national policy or guidelines concerning the Gender Based Violence should be made child friendly and age sensitive, taking into consideration the special needs of child survivors of violence in relation to different age groups. The draft GBV Policy and the draft Guidelines for Establishment and Management of Gender Based Violence Shelters should ensure the child friendliness of the content before the finalization. This is critical especially given that the significant proportion of survivors in the country, are in fact children.

Monitoring and Evaluation Gaps

In addition to the above programming gaps, effective prevention and response to VaC is undermined by the lack of sound administrative data and limited evidence about the effectiveness different interventions. The latter is, in significant part, due to weaknesses in the monitoring and evaluation capacity of many institutions. Without identifying which interventions work and why, it is impossible to determine whether approaches employed by different organisations to prevent and respond to violence against children are actually effective, or to know how to strengthen practices on-the-ground. Where evidence is available, the problematic nature of ensuring research utilisation and translating both research and policy into practice is challenged by complexities and context-specific nature of interventions, and problems in generalising findings across cultural diversities.

With respect to administrative data, the collation of official data from government departments such as the police and other Justice, Law and Order Sector (JLOS) institutions with regard to violence is fraught with many challenges. First, there are few existing sources of reliable information as episodes of cases of abuse, violence or harassment are rarely reported to the authorities. This is for a number of reasons including the fact that violence of any kind may not be considered important enough to warrant reporting, or because there is a culture of silence around the issue. There is also limited documentation of cases of violence handled by the different child protection duty bearers. For example, probation officers have no comprehensive records of the cases they handle. Within the health system, most forms of violations are not recognized as a primary diagnosis and are therefore not captured in the medical records. For example a case of sexual abuse reported to a hospital will be recorded in relation to the

medical symptoms presented without reference to the cause of the symptoms. ⁵³⁹ This means that for instance, within the health system, it is not possible to track the number of child sexual abuse cases reported and handled. ⁵⁴⁰

In the care and justice system, there are limited attempts to consistently record and report on the placement of children in institutions and alternative care, or in detention, and as well as limited attempt to collect information about violence against children in such placements.

Notably, the police force has registered progressive improvements over the years in the documentation of crime cases. The Uganda Police statistical Unit is the most relied upon source of incidence data on crimes committed against and by children. Yet even with the police, the level of documentation is still limited to the police information needs at each policing level. For instance, at the national level, the information available is often limited to the number of cases per district/region, the type of crime (abuse), the age and sex of the abuser/victim and the status of the case. Detailed information on perpetrators relationship to the survivor/victim, the context of abuse, setting in which violence occurred, services provided to the survivor and the status of the survivor among others is not readily available. This lack of comprehensive data at both national and district levels makes it challenging to understand what type of violence is more prevalent in specific settings, regions, age, gender that would help to determine where to put resources.

In general, the lack of sound administrative data and the unexplored bottlenecks to service provision provide a justification for undertaking bottleneck analyses as part of the Uganda government and partners approach to Monitoring and Results for System (MoRES). In essence, the government and partners need to develop a sound M&E plan around violence and coming to agreement about common but a few indicators to measure.

7.4. Research and knowledge gaps

Evidence-based research is increasingly accepted as a component of successful policy-making and practice. ⁵⁴² Good data and research are indispensable to support government planning and budgeting for universal and effective child protection services; to inform the development of evidence-based legislation, policies and actions for violence prevention and response; and to ensure a steady monitoring process to assess results and impacts. Without good data, national planning is compromised, effective policy-making and resource mobilization are hampered, and targeted interventions are limited in their ability to prevent and combat violence against children. ⁵⁴³

This section explores the methodological limitations of existing research on VaC in Uganda, existing knowledge gaps, gaps in information and knowledge management and proposes a research agenda on VaC in Uganda.

7.4.1. Existing studies and statistics: Methodological issues and research quality

Several studies on violence against children have been conducted in Uganda, mostly by NGOs and UN agencies working with and for children. These studies vary according to scope and methodologies used. However not all studies have used rigorous methodologies or have sample sizes that are sufficient to give confidence that the findings are representative. In most studies, the definitions of violence used, the sampling methods and data quality appear often to be less than rigorous. Some of the limitations of existing studies are listed below:

- The generalizability of findings from some existing quantitative studies on the prevalence is limited because they are based on small sample sizes.
- There are inconsistencies in the definition and lack of common measurements for the different forms of violence. 544 The heterogeneity in definition of some forms of violence and use of different time frames of reference (e.g., violence ever experienced versus violence experienced over last year) makes comparison difficult.
- Some concepts used are subjective and open to constant social reinterpretation, which pose a challenge in estimating an accurate prevalence of VaC. For example, in a study by Raising Voices and Save the Children Uganda, much of what the research team defined as violence and abuse was regarded by community members as appropriate punishment with the best interest of the child in mind.
- Nearly all studies reviewed also fail to make the important holistic connections to understand the inter-connection between violence in different settings (e.g., the relationship between violence in schools and that perpetrated in children's families and communities).
- Demographic and Health Surveys have a standard domestic violence module with specific questions.
 This could, in the absence of other data, be used as a starting point for assessing the prevalence of violence generally. Unfortunately, data collected is limited in that it excludes children or adolescents less than 15 years of age.
- o The UBOS has incorporated questions relevant for VaC prevention and response programming in various surveys (e.g., questions on orphan-hood, child work). These have generated statistical information based on relatively largely sample sizes on a narrow but important range of issues. However, large scale prevalence and more specific interventional impact data is lacking.

7.4.2. Knowledge management

Knowledge management is critical in bridging the gap between what is known and what is actually done, (i.e., the know-do gap). This review; however; revealed several knowledge management gaps that hamper effective generation and translation of available knowledge on VaC into policy and practice. The gaps are reflected in:

- Limited documentation and evaluation of agency programmes to inform future practices, to promote good practice, scale up innovations and influence policies.
- Dearth of a national database on violence against children in different setting to ensure that different actors have access to this knowledge in order to develop evidence based advocacy and interventions.
- Less focus on strengthening knowledge-sharing and learning processes among key child protection actors
- Insufficient efforts to develop a cohesive and well-resourced national data and research agenda on violence against children.

7.4.3. Proposed research agenda

This desk review suggests a range of areas that need further research to enhance violence prevention and response efforts in Uganda:

- Large scale prevalence to establish valid baselines and more specific interventional impact data is lacking. There remains limited knowledge on the manifestations, risk factors and vulnerabilities and characteristics to better inform interventions.
- Research is needed to examine the association between violence and a range of psychological outcomes, across different settings and for different forms of violence.
- o There is also a need to examine the impact of violence against children on the country's economic growth.
- o Future research should also pay attention to the association between the different forms of violence or the fact that children frequently experience multiple forms of violence in their lives.
- More research is needed to explore variations across cultures and generations in the definition of acceptable disciplinary behaviours.
- Relatively few studies have been carried out on the effectiveness of VaC responses. Many of violence prevention and response interventions are often un-documented and remain un-evaluated. The paucity of interventional impact data raises concern that scarce resources may be wasted through investment in well-intentioned but unproven prevention and response efforts. There is therefore need for intervention research to facilitate an understanding and learning of what works and to identify replicable and scalable interventions

⁵⁸⁵⁶ The only notable exception is the interagency child protection database to facilitate Family Tracing and Reunification of children with their families and communities supported by Save the Children, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and UNICEF. This has been popular with organizations working with children associated with armed conflict and other vulnerable children programs. It provides quick lists of children that need follow-up and attention, outlines reintegration packages and durable solutions, helps evaluate changes and understanding trends, provides critical information for advocacy efforts and facilitates inter-agency sharing and synchronization of information between agencies for cross-border tracing. It must however be noted that even with these databases, Uganda still has a long way to go in terms of establishing a child protection data management system that works uniformly across the country

CONCLUSION AND WAY FORWARD

Violence against children is a pervasive problem in Uganda. Violence is experienced across settings, implying that children inhabit multiple risky spaces. Exposure to violence socialises children into violent behaviours and leads to the acceptance and tolerance of violence. One example of this that is presented in the report is the high level of physical punishment of children in various contexts, which is often linked to the social norms and values that condone this form of discipline. Through this experience, children learn to use violence as a means of conflict resolution and accept violence as an appropriate interaction. Not only are they more likely to use violence against their own children when they are older, but children who are exposed to violence are more likely to associate with delinquent peers and to develop anti-social behaviours in adolescence and adulthood which impacts on the level of violence in society. In other words, the cycle of violence is perpetuated through the use of violence against children.

The report provides recommendations or suggestions for improving response to violence against children across settings: home and family (see Pg. 27), school and education setting (see Pg. 39), care and justice system (see Pg. 45&55), places of work (see Pg. 70), and other settings (see Pg. 81). In addition to the setting-specific recommendations, general policy and programme recommendations include the need to:

Enhance Collaboration and Coordination

There is increased recognition that the prevention of violence against children requires cooperation and collaboration among many partners. ⁵⁴⁵ Collaboration is needed between different government departments, and between government and civil society organisation. This will allow for better coordination of services and responses to violence against children in the country. More specifically:

- There is need to develop a comprehensive national plan of action that is based on evidence and that has a multi-level, coordinated approach to addressing violence against children. This plan needs to be rights-based.
- Civil society organisations need to work together to coordinate their approaches to avoid a
 duplication of some services and gaps in others. Partnerships with community-level structures
 and child protection actors are also important in terms of a collaborative and coordinated
 approach to the issue of violence against children.

Effective implementation laws and policies

Uganda has an elaborate child protection legislative and policy framework. Nonetheless, gaps remain in the effective implementation of these laws and policies in practice. Fiscal and human resources as well as accountability measures are required to ensure that all provisions set out in these various documents are fulfilled. The following are some of the major aspects that need to be considered:

 Measures to enhance the functionality and effectiveness of the institutional framework entrusted with the protection of the rights of children, including protection from violence Comment [NI1]: You can revise this

- Child protection actors need to be trained to implement laws more effectively and responses to
 cases need to be strengthened. Strict accountability measures should be instituted to ensure
 that every child protection actor does their part to combat violence against children
- Government must examine its allocation of resources to ensure that they are being channelled
 into the most important actions to end violence against children and to ensure that a multi-level
 approach is being undertaken.
- The Government needs to ensure that services provided to children are of high quality and that
 they are available to all children in the country, especially children in rural areas, homeless
 children, children with disabilities, orphans and other vulnerable children. A general
 strengthening of responses through health and social services to children is required
- Law enforcement training must be enhanced so that a more complete record of statements and
 cases is kept which can facilitate prosecution of perpetrators of violence against children. Also, a
 coordinated approach between legal, health and service responses is necessary
- There us need to increase budge allocation for national and district-level child protection actors

Prioritise prevention of VaC

- At present, there is a large focus on responses once violence has already occurred which is important given the amount of violence in society. However, an equal focus needs to be placed on early intervention and prevention efforts that identify potential risk factors that can be addressed prior to any negative experiences as well as efforts that build on protective factors in children and adults. These efforts are needed to prevent violence before it occurs and to build resilience in individuals, families and communities. Policies and programmes should address immediate risk factors such as lack of parent-child attachment, family breakdown, abuse of alcohol and drugs, poverty and unemployment, gender and other forms of inequalities etc
- Efforts to transform attitudes and values that perpetuate violence against children need to be enhanced through communication campaigns (see recommendations for communication campaigns). For example, educational programmes to target wider communities need to be developed which include topics on children's rights, substance abuse, parenting skills, child safety as well as conflict resolution and anger management. These educational programmes can be organised in central locations such as community halls, churches or schools and are a valuable mechanism of change at a community level.
- Within the child care, justice systems and schools and educational settings, child protection
 policies must be developed and enforced, monitoring systems need to involve children who
 have passed through these settings inquiring about their experiences of violence and how to
 address it.

Strengthen reporting mechanisms

 Establish or reinforce child-friendly and gender sensitive mechanisms for children, their representatives and others to report violence against children.

- Developing a tool for early identification, reporting and addressing violence within the family, school and other settings which can be used by actors in the community including officials from local councils, other community structures, police, probation and welfare officers and any other actors.
- Develop a national toll free helpline to facilitate reporting and response to child abuse

Birth registration

• Birth registration should be accelerated as a measure to hold accountable, those who avoid justice by misreporting the age of children

Improve access to and Quality of Victim services

- Focus should be put not only on holding perpetrators accountable, but also designing and implementing programs that ensure early intervention for victims or survivors of violence. There is need to improve access child-sensitive recovery and social reintegration services for children including health care services (psychosocial support services, post exposure prophylaxis), follow up support, and legal assistance to children and, where appropriate, their families when violence is detected or disclosed.
- There is need to develop a referral pathway, highlighting the roles of various actors, to ensure effective response to violence

Communication Campaigns

There is also need to develop and/or scale up communication campaigns targeted at the following topics and disseminating the following information:

- o <u>Laws and policies</u>: Information about children's rights as well as both children's and adults' responsibilities that are linked to particular rights; Laws as they relate to different types of violence perpetrated against children; Laws relating to traditional practices and the harm that can be caused when the provisions set out in the law are not adhered to; Laws relating to child labour and children in care and justice systems
- <u>Perceptions and social norm</u>: Challenging widespread social norms and values that perpetuate violence against children as well as the general acceptance and tolerance of violence in society; Challenging stereotypes and myths and creating empathy towards children with disabilities, HIV/AIDS orphans, children in care institutions, street children and children in conflict with the law:
- <u>Consequences of violence and services that can be accessed</u>: The consequences of children's exposure to violence and the importance of taking action; Information on resources and services that can be contacted for assistance both for adults and for children;

Enhance children's life skills, knowledge and participation

- Children need to be educated at an early age as considered appropriate, about the practices
 that comprise sexual, emotional and physical violence and be empowered to report these acts
 to persons they trust
- Some children in Uganda are unaware of their rights, which present a considerable barrier to
 protection efforts. Educating children about their rights as well as helping them to identify risky
 situations is a priority.
- Children also need to be consulted when policies, laws, budget allocation and programmes are developed which affect them.

Enhance the capacity of all who work with and for children

- There is need to invest in systematic education and training programmes on child protection for teachers, police officers and law enforcement agents, parents, institutions to ensure effective prevention, detection and response to violence against children
- In addition, codes of conduct and clear standards of practice, incorporating the prohibition and rejection of all forms of violence, should be formulated and implemented for teachers, staff in care institutions, and police law enforcement agents.

Research

Need for nationally representative data

While several studies on violence against children have been conducted in Uganda, large scale prevalence and more specific interventional impact data is lacking. The full scope of the problem of violence against children cannot be understood until the lack of nationally representative data is addressed. Building information systems from a range of sources would also prove useful because the current research is fragmented and different definitions of violence are used between studies.

Need for specific data

More research is needed to gain a better understanding of the issue of violence against children in Uganda. A better understanding of these issues will result in better solutions through programmes and policies. Research is specifically required for the following:

- Richer data is needed regarding violence against children in care and justice systems
- Research is needed to examine the association between violence and a range of psychological outcomes, across different settings and for different forms of violence.
- More research is needed to understand specific risk and protective factors for violence against children in the Uganda. This knowledge is important for primary prevention efforts as it allows for better identification of children who are vulnerable to violence and also informs strategies that build on children's protective factors.
- The co-occurrence of different types of violence needs to be better understood. Research on s Research on this topic would aid in informing prevention strategies.

- More research is needed to explore variations across cultures and generations in the definition of acceptable disciplinary behaviours.
- Cyberbullying was highlighted as an emerging issue during the TWG meetings. More national
 data is needed to understand this issue more fully in the Ugandan context. This will inform
 prevention strategies to deal with this problem, since the issue will only likely become worse as
 technology evolves.

Need to evaluate programmes

- Relatively few studies have been carried out on the effectiveness of VaC responses. Many of
 violence prevention and response interventions are often un-documented and remain unevaluated. The paucity of interventional impact data raises concern that scarce resources may
 be wasted through investment in well-intentioned but unproven prevention and response
 efforts. There is therefore need for intervention research to facilitate an understanding and
 learning of what works and to identify replicable and scalable interventions.
- There is also need develop a systems for monitoring violence against children as part of the Uganda government and partners approach to Monitoring and Results for System (MoRES)

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 21 Externalising disorders include Attention-Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Oppositional Defiant Disorder (ODD), and
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