Child Neglect in Barbados:

- "Mummy keeps me home from school to watch my sister."
- "My Parents are too busy to take me to the doctor."
- "Daddy calls me an idiot."
- "My father says I'm worthless."

A Review of Neglect Cases
Reported to the Child Care Board
April 2007-March 2011
Child Neglect in Barbados

Published by the Child Care Board in collaboration with the UNICEF Office for the Eastern Caribbean Area

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<tr>
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<td>Community Based Organizations</td>
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<td>Child Care Board</td>
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<td>CRC</td>
<td>United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child</td>
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<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<td>PAREDOS</td>
<td>Parent Education for Development in Barbados</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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<td>UNICEF-BECO</td>
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The increasing public pressure to promote and protect the development and well-being of the Children of Barbados has over the past decade led to more initiatives to improve the child protection system. As the leading child protection agency in the country the Child Care Board (CCB) has been actively involved in the process of re-examining its programming focus, its own role within the child protection system, and seeking ways to improve the outcomes of its services to children and families. Its efforts to better understand the nature and complexity of child abuse and neglect, and to develop a public sensitization campaign about the various forms of child abuse and neglect represents a recognition that urgent change is needed.

This review which involved a sample of 200 hundred reported cases of neglect (113 substantiated & 87 unsubstantiated) highlighted the complexities and particularities of child neglect in Barbados. Among its main findings was that a high proportion of the reports of neglect made to the Child Care Board emanated from the densely populated parish of St Michael. As many as 69% of the substantiated reports or cases involved very young children below the age of 9 years, and 29% involved children in the category birth to 3 years of age, which is a particularly vulnerable group for neglect because of their inability to protect or help themselves. Significantly, 15% of the substantiated cases involved single female-headed households with more than four children in each household, and these cases or households accounted for about 36% of the total number of 218 confirmed neglected children in this study. This is an important finding which confirms the view that single female-headed households, and especially those with large numbers of children were at significantly heightened risk for neglect.

The review also highlighted the that fact that the incidence of child neglect in Barbados, as elsewhere, was influenced by a wide range of corrosive and interlinked factors with poverty and conflict being among the most prevalent and important. Conflict of various types was identified as the most common risk factor for child neglect in Barbados, and was evident in over 90 per cent of the 200 substantiated and unsubstantiated neglect cases reviewed in this study.

The study revealed that poor, unemployed or occasionally employed, single mothers were by far the main perpetrators of child neglect but suggested that this was due in part to the overwhelming responsibility they had as the main breadwinners and providers of care in the majority of homes. The study revealed that men expected these mothers to assume the bulk of the responsibility for looking after the children. These men offered very little or no assistance to the mothers but called the Child Care Board in increasing numbers to complain about the inadequate care their children were receiving. A high proportion of these reports turned out to be false, and done for malicious reasons such as retaliation against the mothers for taking them to court for child maintenance.

Another important finding was that it was often was possible to identify several forms of neglect co-occurring within the same case. This made the prospect of creating discreet categories of the forms of neglect problematic. However, it was observed that 88 or

See Appendix 1 for definitions of the forms or types of neglect. Sources: See Emma Davies, Elizabeth Rowe and Ian Hassall. Approaches to defining child neglect and intervening to prevent it: A literature Review. Auckland, Australia: Institute of Public Policy, Auckland University of Technology, 2009; Johanna Watson. Literature Review: Child Neglect, Ashfield NSW: Centre for Parenting & Research, NSW Department of Community Services, May 2005
78% of the 113 substantiated cases had indications of physical neglect, 67 or 59% of the cases had indications of emotional neglect, 92 or 81% had indications of supervisory neglect, 35 or 31% had medical neglect and 75 or 66% had indications of environmental neglect. The more common manifestations of neglect included:

- Failure to provide child with daily food and nutritional requirements either for breakfast, lunch or dinner.
- Parent (usually the mother) out working (for example at nights and weekends) and the child is left unsupervised at home alone.
- Leaving the child at home unattended and unsupervised (for various reasons including going to purchase groceries) during the day or night.

This study also examined the quality of the Child Care Board’s responses, and its capacity to respond to, the various reports of neglect, especially the ones which were substantiated.
INTRODUCTION

A. Understanding Child Neglect

Child neglect is perhaps the most difficult form of child abuse to define and delineate. At a general level child neglect can be defined as “the persistent failure to meet a child’s basic physical and/or psychological needs, likely to result in the serious impairment of the child’s health or development. It may involve a parent or carer failing to provide adequate food, shelter and clothing, failing to protect a child from physical harm or danger, or the failure to ensure access to appropriate medical care or treatment. It may also include neglect of, or unresponsiveness to, a child’s basic emotional needs”. One of the challenges in trying to define neglect has to do with the fact that more often than not it arises from an act of omission rather than an act of commission. In other words, most neglect tends to be a more passive form of child abuse, and often there is no clear indication of intent by the parent or caregiver to cause harm to the child. Also, perceptions of what constitutes neglect varies from one culture to another. Additionally, there is often little consensus about minimum requirements associated with the provision of care for children and therefore what action or inaction by a parent or caregiver might be construed as child neglect. The issue of intent of the parent or caregiver as well as perceptions of the ability or lack thereof of the parent to provide expected care for the child also generates complications in assessing neglect. These issues often present severe challenges for social workers dealing with cases of neglect.

Compounding these challenges is the fact that our understanding of neglect is also influenced by other factors such as the age of the child, for example whether the child is a toddler/ preschooler or whether the child is a teenager. Also, definitions of neglect are often influenced by whether it is being used for research, policy, service provision, legal purposes or some other purpose. Resolving these difficult issues is equally critical in the quest to develop common philosophical tenets for child protection, and defining the scope of the problem, as well as developing strategies to mitigate or prevent the problem. The various causes and risk factors associated with child neglect are equally complex and multifaceted.

Data from many international studies and child abuse agency reports have shown that child neglect, though given least prominence among child abuse types, is in fact the most common or widespread form of child abuse. Likewise, in the context of Barbados the Child Care Board’s Annual Child Abuse reports show that neglect accounts for a high proportion of the child abuse cases during the period 2007-2011.

Ibid

In most studies neglect is usually divided into four main forms or categories, namely physical, emotional, medical and educational with some authors adding subcategories like supervisory neglect and environmental neglect. (See Appendix 1) The essential point however is that these various forms of neglect often occur in conjunction with each other, although at times one type may manifest more prominently than the others. Neglect often produces multiple short, medium and even long-term negative impacts for the child in terms of the child’s general well-being, stunting of his/her development and the manifestation of various behavioural, emotional and cognitive issues.

The emotional and psychological consequences of neglect may include, compromised ability to form meaningful relationships, the likelihood of intergenerational transmission of neglectful parenting practices, children displaying serious and diverse problems in school, an increase in rates of major depressive disorders and suicidal and self-injurious behaviour among neglected children. Neglect can sometimes lead to serious harm and death of children, and is especially impactful for babies and children under five years, as well as those with disabilities. In the United States for example it is estimated that over half of all child abuse fatalities can be linked either solely to neglect (35.6%) or neglect co-occurring with other forms of abuse (25.2%).

Child neglect and other forms of child abuse also produce substantial financial costs to families and the nation as a whole. One study conducted by the Centers for Disease Control in the United States indicated that “the total lifetime estimated financial costs associated with just one year of confirmed cases of child maltreatment (physical abuse, sexual abuse, psychological abuse and neglect) is approximately $124 billion”.

International Conclusions about Neglect

Although each country has its own unique features extensive reviews of the literature on neglect have provided keen insights into the general characteristics of neglect globally. The various studies conducted on neglect have made the following observations:

1. Children are at significantly higher risk of neglect (up to 4 times higher) if parents are substance (eg. drug & alcohol) abusers.

2. Younger age children are at higher risk of neglect given their inherent vulnerabilities.

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**Table 1: NEW/REASSIGNED/RECLASSIFIED Child Abuse CASES FOR THE PERIODS APRIL – MARCH (2007-2011)**

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Abuse</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Abuse</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>136</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neglect</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Abuse</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abandonment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No. of Intake Cases &amp; Children</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>714</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Child Care Board: Child Abuse Annual Reports 2007-2011
3. Neglected children are more likely to become neglectful parents.

4. Single-parenthood and non-married status were more closely associated with neglect than married households.

5. Young motherhood was more closely associated with neglect.

6. Parents with more effective parenting and social skills were less likely to neglect.

7. Maltreatment and neglect were about 22 times more likely for families below the poverty line than families above the line.

8. Parents involved in neglect were less likely to have effective social networks.

9. Parents in low socio-economic environments have heightened stress levels which increase the risk of neglect.

10. Children of parents with mental health issues (e.g., depression) were at increased risk of neglect.

11. Mothers were more likely to neglect due to a combination of their greater parenting role, greater likelihood of single parenthood, and the unique risk of maternal depression.

12. Mothers who neglected their children tended to have more children than non-neglecting parents.

13. Because mothering and parenting are often used interchangeably the mother is more likely to be blamed for the neglect, even when both parents live in the home.

Scope and Purpose of the report:
This review was initially and primarily about investigating child neglect in Barbados and researching the characteristics of perpetrators of neglect through an examination of Child Care Board substantiated and unsubstantiated cases pertaining to neglect. The purpose was to gather baseline data which could help inform a public sensitization campaign on the much neglected issue of child neglect. This campaign was considered important given the higher prevalence of neglect relative to other forms of child abuse.

It soon became apparent however, that the research project could not evolve simply as a review of child neglect in Barbados given the overwhelming indications in the data being reviewed of systemic failures across the child protection system in Barbados. Following discussions with UNICEF and the Child Care Board it was decided that a more comprehensive audit of the child protection system, starting with the Child Care Board was urgently required. This initial report on child neglect should thus be considered as a first step towards the more comprehensive review of all areas of the Child Care Board’s programming, including the other areas of Child Abuse. As such, an even better understanding of neglect should emerge once the additional research is completed and it becomes possible to do comparative analyses of the neglect cases with other forms of child abuse data.
The Child Care Board is the main investigative body for reports about child neglect.
METHODOLOGY and LIMITATIONS

This research on neglect was in part based on a desk review of national and international child neglect literature but the main source of information was the review of two hundred client case files. This required extracting data from the “Intake Form” and the mainly hand-written notes prepared by the various Child Care Board case workers. The specified data on the standardized Intake Form were completed in an inconsistent manner making both tabulation and comparative analysis of the data problematic.

Nevertheless, the case notes provided some valuable insights into the nature of the interaction between the clients and the social workers, the severity and chronicity of neglect, decision making processes relating to officers’ approach to neglect cases, and the closure of cases, the nature of the neglect, weaknesses in the child protection system in Barbados, clients attitudes towards child protection agencies and issues of neglect, motivations and behaviours of child neglect perpetrators, and the quality of the outcomes of the Child Care Board’s intervention, among other issues. Informal interviews and discussions were also held with senior management and several of the case workers in order to, in a relaxed, non-judgmental atmosphere, gather information and insights about their experiences with neglect cases. This proved to be a valuable strategy. Additionally, a focus group was held with those case workers who currently, and in the past, worked in the Intake and Neglect Sections of the Child Care Board. This discussion provided rich details and insights into the complex nature of neglect, its causes and the underlying risk factors which cumulatively contributed to and exacerbated child neglect in Barbados.

The Child Care Board is the main investigative body for reports about child neglect in Barbados and the various other child protection related agencies, such as the Police Department, routinely refer cases to the Board for investigation. This makes the Child Care Board a good source for data about child neglect. Nevertheless, it may still reasonably be asked whether this data is truly comprehensive and reflective of the national child neglect situation. One could also speculate whether, given the complexity of defining neglect, the fact that much neglect is not directly observable but rather inferred, the varying public perceptions about neglect, the fact that most of the neglect occurs within homes, and the stigma attached to a Child Care Board intervention, it can truly be claimed that the Child Care Board data represents a reliable estimation, or is in fact an underestimation as a consequence of unreported cases.

Additionally, some of the other cases of neglect and other forms of abuse which are routinely reported to several other agencies within the child protection system, may or may not be referred to the Child Care Board for investigation. These issues and the inconsistencies and inadequacies of the data recorded in the case files thus, to some extent, limit the degree to which the findings of this study may be generalized within the Barbadian context.

THE CHILD CARE BOARD & THE CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEM

The Child Care Board

The child protection system in Barbados is composed of a set of specialized institutions, laws, programmes, policies, and funding mechanisms which together are intended to safeguard the well-being of children and
their families through protection and child development mechanisms, initiatives, programmes and services. According to the 2000 Census, Barbados' total population was approximately 268,792 persons, with 129,241 (48%) males and 139,551 (52%) females. Table 2 above shows the population breakdown by age and sex under age 18 which represents the general pool of children to which child protection and development policies and programmes are targeted. A new Census was conducted in 2010 but the results are still being processed by the Government Statistical Department, which has not yet obtained permission from the Cabinet of Barbados to make the details available to the public.

The Child Care Board, through the Child Care Board Act of 1969 is the primary child protection agency and has a mandate under the amended Child Care Board Act 1981 to investigate reports of child abuse and neglect, and is authorized to, if necessary, remove children from their homes and under exceptional circumstances petition the courts for custody. The Board is empowered to:

- Provide and maintain Child Care Centres for children in need of care and protection (such as Day Care Centres and Children's Homes)
- Provide counseling and other services for:
  1. children in need of care and protection;
  2. the parents and guardians of those children
- Place children in Foster Care
- Register, license and regulate Private Day Care Services;
- Make grants to Private Institutions

**The Mission** of the Board is “To protect and care for every child through advocacy, counselling, and empowering the family; and, where needed, providing alternative families and support in an environment of trust with loyalty and competency.” **Its Vision** is “To have a comprehensive social service responding to the care and protection needs of the child and family.” It is obvious from both the mission and vision statement that the Board was established to provide services across the full continuum of child protection and development services including prevention, and not primarily as is presently the case to focus overwhelmingly on the tertiary stages where maltreatment has already occurred and there is now urgent need for intervention to prevent further harm to the child.

The Board’s services include Residential Care; Day Care (Government); Private Day Care; Foster Care; Adoption; Child Abuse/Care and Protection; Disabilities (early intervention, Prevention and Stimulation Programme), and Training. The Child Care Board does not operate alone but more often than not functions as the lead agency. Usually it seeks to build partnerships with other child protection related agencies like the Police Department, The Courts, Substance Abuse Treatment facilities, Churches, Welfare Department, healthcare institutions, and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Alliances are also built with other key stakeholders including mental health professionals, the public, members of the extended family, educators, and advocates working in such areas as domestic violence, in order to identify, prevent, investigate and address neglect and all other forms of child maltreatment.

**Legal Framework of Child Protection**

Barbados and the other English speaking Caribbean countries have committed themselves to protecting the rights of all children as outlined in the United Nations
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Article 1 of the CRC defines a ‘child’ as a person below the age of 18, unless the laws of a particular country set the legal age for adulthood younger. In this regard, the Committee on the Rights of the Child, which is the monitoring body for the Convention, has encouraged States to review the age of majority if it is set below 18 and to increase the level of protection provided for all children under 18. As signatories to the Convention these countries are all obligated to continually seek new and innovative ways of ensuring that these rights are upheld and given practical meaning and relevance in the lives of children.

Together the various articles of the CRC establishes a rights-based, child-centred framework within which countries could develop policies, programmes and services for children. The CRC represents the most comprehensive legally binding international instrument which outlines a variety of fundamental human rights, including economic, political, social, cultural and civil rights to which children are entitled. Within this framework children are not regarded as passive objects in need of protection by parents, families and governments, but as persons whose rights, views and concerns must be respected. Under Article 3 of the CRC agencies providing services to them are required to operate on the basis of adequate standards in provision of services. In addition to reactive measures aimed at curbing child maltreatment, States are required to adopt early intervention measures to prevent and minimize the incidence of maltreatment. Article 19 of CRC for example stipulates that:

1. “States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and 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, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.

2. Such protective measures should, as appropriate, include effective procedures for the establishment of social programmes to provide necessary support for the child and for those who have the care of the child, as well as for other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting, referral, investigation, treatment and follow-up of instances of child maltreatment described heretofore, and, as appropriate, for judicial involvement”.

The CRC’s core guiding principles include non-discrimination, the best interest of the child, the child’s right to life, survival and development, and respect for the views of the child. Signatories to the CRC are therefore required to adopt policies, programmes and initiatives which translate these rights into meaningful realities for children. Barbados has not entered any reservations to the CRC and the process of incorporating the Convention into domestic law through national legislation has been ongoing for some time. There remains need for an extensive and systematic review and evaluation to determine the extent to which progress has been made, and what other reforms are required to achieve full compliance. However, Barbados has established the legal and policy foundations for an effective child protection system, although more still needs to be done, and at a faster pace. The following pieces of legislation have been enacted and collectively provide the main framework for the protection of the rights of the child in Barbados, and for the prevention of neglect and other forms of child maltreatment:


For further details of these guiding principles see, http://www.unicef.org/crc/files/Guiding_Principles.pdf


Some limited reviews have been conducted by such agencies as the Child Care Board and the Family Law Council. See Ibid, p.40.
The Employment (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1977 Chapter 346
The Child Care Board Act, 1981 Chapter 381
The Sexual Offences Act, 1992 Chapter 154
The Change of Name Act, 1981 Chapter 212 (A)
The Maintenance Act, 1981 Chapter 216
The Family Law Act, 1981 Chapter 214
The Vital Statistics and Registration Act, 1980 Chapter 192 (A)
The Health Services Act, 1971 (revised edition) Chapter 44
The Juvenile Offenders Act, 1971 (revised edition) Chapter 138
The Offences Against the Person Act, 1994 Chapter 141
The Protection of Children Act, 1979, Chapter 220

The various pieces of legislation compliment each other but seek to address different areas of the child protection continuum. The Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act for instance states in part that:

“Any person over the age of 16 years, having the custody, charge or care of any child under the age of 16 years, who willfully assaults, ill-treats, neglects, abandons or exposes such child or causes or procures such child to be assaulted, ill-treated, neglected, abandoned or exposed in a manner likely to cause such child unnecessary suffering or injury to its health (including injury to, or loss of sight or hearing or limb or organ of the body and any mental derangement), shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be liable on conviction on indictment to a fine of $120 and, in default of payment of such fine, to imprisonment for 1 year, or to imprisonment for 1 year or to both such fine and imprisonment, or on summary conviction to a fine of $24 and, in default of payment of such fine, to imprisonment for 3 months or to imprisonment for 3 months, or to both such fine and imprisonment.”

By themselves these and other provisions of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act can in some ways be regarded as being deficient in terms of the level of punishment, and collective treatment of all persons, including children between the age of 16 and 18 who may commit neglect or abuse. Collectively however the various pieces of legislation which provide the framework of child protection in Barbados do provide a fairly comprehensive legal framework to protect and promote the well-being of children, including those with disabilities. Nevertheless, there is an urgent need to revise, clarify and expand the key child protection elements of these various legislations and codify them into a Children’s Act in order to better enable and support the adoption of national child protection and development policies and programmes, and enhance compliance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Policy Directions and Adjustments

Over the past decade there has been growing concern among policy makers, child protection specialists and the public about the increasing incidence and severity of child maltreatment, and its negative impact on the development of children. Consequently, the need for effective child protection systems and mechanisms have become priorities for the government of Barbados, as indeed for many governments globally. The government

In the United Kingdom for example, the Children’s Act 2004 provides the legal framework for the “Every Child Matters Programme” which seeks to ensure that all children are healthy, stay safe, enjoy and achieve, make a positive contribution, and achieve economic wellbeing.
of Barbados has consistently sought ways to improve child protection, whether in the context of the family or the wider community. Legislative and policy reforms as well as practical measures such as parenting initiatives, welfare services and public sensitization campaigns have all been part of this effort.

Yet increasingly there has been a growing realization that these efforts have not produced the best results possible. Part of the problem, as research is now showing, is that child maltreatment problems such as physical and sexual abuse or neglect are complex, multidimensional and interconnected. They also often occur in the context of multiple environmental stress factors including poverty, low self-esteem issues, physical or mental disability, mental health problems, alcohol and drug abuse, educational failure, and the challenges of single parenting, among other factors. Even with the emergence of greater awareness of child maltreatment globally consensus about child neglect has been complicated by differing and shifting perceptions across cultures and countries of what constitutes child neglect. This initial review of child neglect, using data from the Child Care Board, is therefore a first step in the process of shedding further light on the problem of child neglect in the Barbadian context.
single female-head households, & especially those with large numbers of children were at significantly heightened risk for neglect.
FINDINGS

Characteristics & Details of the Sample

The data contained in this report were obtained primarily from the review of the Intake Form and analysis of the case notes of the sample of the 200 neglect case files randomly selected within each of the periods 2007-2008 (53 cases); 2008-2009 (47 cases); 2009-2010 (55 cases); and 2010-2011 (45 cases). A more comprehensive picture of the different dimensions of neglect, such as certain characteristics of the perpetrators of neglect, might have been possible if greater care had been taken by the case workers in completing the Intake Form, which itself is also deficient as a data collection instrument. It was for example not possible to obtain data with any consistency on such variables as the perpetrator’s main sources of information, educational levels or religious affiliations.

The analysis of the 200 cases files consisted of 113 cases which were substantiated or confirmed by the investigation to be true, while 87 were unsubstantiated, that is, the allegations were deemed unfounded following the investigation. Determination of whether a case was substantiated or not was made based on the evidence produced from the investigation into the reported neglect. In the majority of the cases the validity of the neglect report was ascertained based on the case worker’s analysis and conclusions, and the consultant’s own review of the case notes which provided a good indication of whether the evidence supported the allegation or not. In 25 or approximately 22% of the 113 substantiated cases the neglect was accompanied by other types of child abuse, especially physical abuse in the form of corporal punishment.

The 113 substantiated cases involved a total of 218 children (129 girls & 89 boys). The 218 children fell into the following age groups: Under 1 year-11 children; 1-3 years 53 children; 4-6 years—47 children; 7-9 years 39 children; 10-12 years 37 children; 13-15 years- 26 children; and 16-18 years 5 children). Since 111 or 51% of the 218 children were aged between birth and 6 years of age, and 150 or 69% were in the category birth to 9 years it is possible to conclude that these children were particularly vulnerable to neglect. The most vulnerable however were those 64 children (29%) in the category birth to 3 years of age whom the literature on neglect has time and again identified as being at particularly heightened risk because of their inability to protect or help themselves. Significantly, 17 or 15% of the 113 substantiated cases involved single female-headed households with more than four children in each household. These 17 cases or households accounted for 78 of 218 children, that is about 36% of the total number of children. This is an important finding which confirms the view that single female-head households, and especially those with large numbers of children were at significantly heightened risk for neglect.

Of the 113 substantiated cases reviewed 63 or 56% were reports made from the Parish of St Michael and eleven of the seventeen households with more than four children were located in St Michael. Chart 1 also shows geographical or parish distribution of substantiated cases reviewed in this study. This pattern as Table 3 shows, was also generally consistent with the distribution of total child abuse cases recorded in the Child Care Board’s Annual Child Abuse report for 2010-2011, which was reflective of the trend for the previous five years as

Substantiated in this context means that the evidence collected through the investigation of the case would lead a reasonable person to the conclusion that neglect did occur and that this neglect was as a result of the action or inaction of the parent or caregiver.

There were no cases from St Andrew and St Joseph in the random sample used for this study.
Table 3: Parish Distribution of New/Reassigned/Reclassified Neglect Cases for the Child Care Board 2010-2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>No. of referrals</th>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>No. of referrals</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Michael</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>St. Peter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christ Church</td>
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<td>St. Joseph</td>
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<td>St. Philip</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. George</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>St. John</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Thomas</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Child Care Board—Annual Child Abuse Report 2010-2011
During the focus group discussion with the Child Care Board officers it was suggested that the high number of reports had to do with the fact that St Michael was, as Table 4 shows, one of the most densely populated parishes in Barbados.

Additionally, St Michael had several major densely populated urban communities and pockets of poverty, including the environs of Bridgetown where people live in very close proximity and where conflict among neighbours tends to be higher, and the incidence of poverty and drug use higher within the country. The pattern of most cases being reported from St Michael was the same for both the substantiated and unsubstantiated cases analyzed within the sample.

**TABLE 4: BARBADOS POPULATION BY PARISH 1980 - 2010**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sq. Miles</td>
<td>Km²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ Church</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>40,790</td>
<td>47,050</td>
<td>52,922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Andrew</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6,731</td>
<td>6,346</td>
<td>5,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. George</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>17,361</td>
<td>17,905</td>
<td>19,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. James</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17,255</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>24,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10,330</td>
<td>10,206</td>
<td>9,448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7,211</td>
<td>7,619</td>
<td>7,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucy</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9,264</td>
<td>9,455</td>
<td>9,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Michael</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>99,953</td>
<td>97,516</td>
<td>91,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Peter</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10,717</td>
<td>11,263</td>
<td>11,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Philip</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>18,662</td>
<td>20,540</td>
<td>24,566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Thomas</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10,709</td>
<td>11,590</td>
<td>13,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>166</strong></td>
<td><strong>431</strong></td>
<td><strong>248,983,250,963</strong></td>
<td><strong>260,490</strong></td>
<td><strong>268,792</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Various Census related Reports
the vast majority of child neglect in Barbados takes place within the home setting and its immediate premises.
close proximity of homes also enable neighbours to be more familiar with the affairs of each other. Additionally, many unregistered non-Nationals who are not entitled to free government social services, tend to congregate or live in communities like those in St Michael where they could get cheaper accommodation, and where the possibility of detection by the Immigration Department is probably less.

Chart 2 shows quite clearly that based on the sample of 113 substantiated cases, the vast majority of child neglect in Barbados takes place within the home setting and its immediate premises. It may be that an effective interagency child abuse reporting protocol needs to be formulated to enable mandatory reporting from schools and other sources so as to reduce the likelihood of neglect cases going unreported. Nevertheless, special attention needs to be paid to the very high incidence of neglect occurring within homes in Barbados.

On many occasions investigations into allegations of neglect were triggered by a single incident. However, as Chart 3 shows most neglect, as the review of the international literature on neglect revealed, tends to be more chronic, rather than occurring as a single episodic incident. Over 70% of the neglect recorded in the 113 substantiated cases occurred continuously throughout the day and night confirming the chronic nature of child neglect.

This has clear implications for any intervention strategy aimed at reducing neglect in Barbados, and for providing adequate outcomes for the neglected child. Another important aspect of the finding relating to where neglect occurred was that in approximately 13% of the cases there was neglect occurred between 3pm when the school day ended and about 6pm or even 7 pm when parents arrived home from work. Sometimes the parent worked the afternoon/evening shift and had to leave home at about 3 or 4pm before the child arrived home from school, and the other person delegated with the responsibility of supervising the child might only return from work around 6 or 7pm. In the absence of a
National Afterschool Programme some children were therefore left unsupervised during these periods in the late afternoon.

Chart 4 shows that the highest level of substantiated reports were made to the Child Care Board during the months of March and December. It is perhaps problematic however without a longitudinal study to offer any solid explanations as to why there were more reports during these months, especially March (21 out of the 113).

During discussions with the Child Care Board case workers it was revealed that previous to the introduction the National Summer Camp Programme about four years ago, and the rapid spread of private camps for children during Summer, Easter and even during the Christmas break in the last few years, the Board would normally experience an increase in child neglect reports during these periods. These camps have ostensibly led to a reduction of neglect reports as many parents are now able to have their children participate in the camps for much of the day.

Who Reports
The analysis of the source of the substantiated reports provided some important clues as to the important roles played by the public, grandparents (especially grandmothers) and parents themselves as guardians against child neglect in Barbados. These three groups accounted for 103 or 91% of the 113 substantiated reports. The role of grandparents and parents in reporting neglect is also interesting. In the case of the grandmothers it perhaps signals that special consideration needs to be given to them in order to help them provide support to families, especially where younger mothers are involved. The review of the case files revealed that these young mothers often lack proper parenting skills, are often stressed out, may want to continue their partying or clubbing ways, often are single and have little financial or emotional support from the fathers, or may struggle to work and care the child.

The fact that family members (especially grandparents and parents) are responsible for such a large percentage of the reports also suggests that this may be one strategy that families are using to signal their need for broad-based help from the state.

As such, one may speculate about the need for other strategies to identify such families and provide help even before they reach the point where they call to make a report about neglect. The role of the actual parents in making reports, and especially the fathers, is however, as we will see with respect to the unsubstantiated reports, a somewhat more complicated matter.

Chart 5 also shows that communities and the general public continue to be guardians against abuse and neglect and therefore need to be well informed about
such issues as what sort of things they need to report and what alternative or additional actions they can take to help reduce abuse and neglect in Barbados.

**Perpetrators**

Child maltreatment literature over the past decade has shown that parents, and in particular the mothers, are usually the main perpetrators. This review of the Child Care Board’s neglect cases confirms this trend. Chart 6 below shows that mothers accounted for 82 or approximately 73% of the perpetrators of the 113 substantiated cases of neglect reported to the Child Care Board. Most of these mothers were under 40 years of age. Although the age of the perpetrators was not recorded consistently by the case workers it is clear from Chart 7 that parents, and inevitably the mothers, under 40 years of age accounted for over fifty per cent of the neglect.

It is however important to note that the high incidence of mothers as offenders is also related to the fact that they are the main and often sole breadwinners and caregivers for the children in a significant number of homes in Barbados, and not necessarily that they are more prone to neglect. It is usually the mother in particular that society blames for any perceived problems the child is experiencing. Also, these mothers are often left to struggle with the difficult task of trying to work and carry out all the responsibilities associated with raising a child, such as taking them to and from school, without...
any support from the fathers. Chart 8 shows that in 87 or 77% of the 113 substantiated cases the perpetrators were single parents, mainly mothers.

Many of these mothers did not have any support from extended family members such as grandmothers or even from immediate family members such as sisters and brothers. As a result for example, some mothers used older children to undertake adult chores such as washing and caring for the younger children.

Other mothers struggled to find someone to supervise their children when they had to do some chore outside the house, including going to the shop to get groceries or some other activity of short duration. It is therefore critical that any child neglect intervention strategy which focuses on these mothers also take into consideration the context of broad-based challenges which most face on a daily basis.

Data on the employment status of the perpetrators was not consistently recorded on the Intake Forms but as Chart 9 shows 45 or 40% of the 113 were either unemployed or on welfare, while 26 or 23% were employed part-time or occasionally.

The challenge for these parents was compounded by the fact that poverty and related issues were evident in as many of 90 or 80% of the substantiated cases of neglect. The profile which emerges when all the factors are connected is therefore one of many single mothers who are the main perpetrators of neglect, living in poverty and having no or irregular means of employment.

**Manifestations of Neglect**

In terms of the manifestations or indications of neglect it was often was possible to identify several types co-occurring within the same case. This made the prospect of creating discreet categories of the forms of neglect problematic. However, it was observed that 88 or 78% of the 113 substantiated cases had indications of physical neglect, 67 or 59% of the cases had indications of emotional abuse, 92 or 81% had indications of supervisory neglect, 35 or 31% had medical neglect and 75 or 66% had indications of environmental neglect. (See Appendix 1 for definitions of forms of Neglect) The list below provides details of the forms of neglect discovered in the review of the substantiated cases with the green shaded area showing the most frequently occurring indications of neglect evident in the substantiated cases.

- Failure to provide child with daily food and nutritional requirements either for breakfast, lunch or dinner.
- Failure to send child to school on a daily basis in compliance with the law or sending child to school late on a regular basis.
- Parent (usually the mother) out working (for example at nights and weekends) and the child is left unsupervised at home alone.
- Leaving the child at home unattended and
unsupervised (for various reasons including going to purchase groceries) during the day or night.

- Parents or caregivers in the home gambling, or having sex or watching pornography or using drugs including alcohol, marijuana and cocaine, in the presence of the child.

- Parents exposing children to dangerous community environmental conditions such as on the block where people might be involved in cursing, smoking, gambling and various other undesirable activities.

- Child appears physically untidy and dirty

- Father (and occasionally the mother) failing to provide for the child financially

- Leaving younger children in the care of older children for varying lengths of time.

- Parents using children to perform adult duties for themselves, or for their younger siblings; for example picking up a younger child from school or nursery, washing their own clothes etc.

- Failure to show any interest in the child’s well-being such as ignoring the child and refusing to let child visit if living apart from parent, or not communicating with the child even when child attempts to initiate communication.

- Parents (usually young mothers) abandoning the child in the care of the grandmother for varying lengths of time ranging from several days to several weeks.

- Child allowed to wander around the neighbourhood or elsewhere on the streets begging and or stealing food, material goods, or money or even getting involved in sexual activity.

- Child left by parent for varying time periods and reasons with irresponsible siblings or other family members who then neglects the child

- Parents spitting and or cursing at the child

- Failure to seek proper medical attention for child if child becomes sick or gets injured, and failure to ensure that the child receives immunization as prescribed by law.

- Parents who may or may not be living together but one parent has the bulk of the responsibility for providing care, food, helping with homework, washing the clothes etc while the other parent provides minimum support.

- Child living in dirty and untidy home environment which may even be detrimental to the child’s life as in the case of an asthmatic child.

- Child travelling on buses to and from school or doing chores such as going to the shop alone.

- Failure to adequately supervise and care for child with some form of disability (eg Autism) sometimes putting that child at risk of serious harm.

- Failure to ensure child has required books for school

- Leaving children unattended in car in car parks while parent pays bills or do shopping or some other activity.

- Father evicting mother from home following dispute and then unable to provide proper care for the child residing with him.

- Parents keeping child out late at night after 9 or 10 pm with no good reason.
Parent sleeping elsewhere at night with partner and leaving the child unattended in the home.

Parent preoccupied with doing various chores at home or sleeping too much while the child is left unsupervised or even forced to do things for himself/herself such as using the stove to prepare a meal.

Underlying Risk Factors and Triggers of Neglect

The review of the case files showed that a number of factors were usually responsible for triggering or exacerbating child neglect in Barbados. Among the most important of these risk factors were poverty, unemployment, absence of support from fathers, the difficulties associated with being a single mother especially with large numbers of children, and conflicts of various types. Conflicts were by far the most important factor and manifested in over 90 per cent of both substantiated and unsubstantiated cases. More important it was discovered that these risk factors tended to be cumulative, interlinked and corrosive, and multiple factor were frequently evident in the majority of cases, but some more prominent than others. The most frequently occurring underlying risk factors in the Substantiated cases were:

- Various forms of conflict and lack of communication over a wide range of issues including, child maintenance, infidelity, parenting styles, personality issues, religion, multiple family issues, and parental priorities etc. Conflict was usually between the parents, the parents and child, the parents and grandparents (especially grandmothers), parents and neighbours, and among biological siblings or siblings of various family members. There was also conflict over access and control of the child
- Financial difficulty as a result of especially poverty and unemployment.
- Poor housing conditions such as cramped living arrangements, or even having no stable housing, no electricity and no running water or indoor toilet facilities.
- Drug abuse by parents and caregivers or others within the home.
- Mother putting father in court to obtain financial support for the child.
- Stress and depression among mothers, as reflected in such statements as “I am not coping well and things seem to be getting worse”; “I am so frustrated”; “I feel like everything is closing in on me”; “I am under too much pressure”; and one mother indicating that she felt like killing herself.
- Child having a medical or psychological problem (e.g., Autism or other disability or behavioural problem) and parent/caregiver finding it difficult or feeling ill-equipped to cope with caring for the child due to lack of skills, knowledge or financial resources.
- Parental indifference and irresponsibility, and failure to act as a role model for the child.
- Parental lack of knowledge and skills relating to proper parenting and caring for the child, especially so in the case of young teen parents; and parents displaying lack of knowledge of how their behaviour affects the child’s social and emotional development.
- Absence of extended family or community support for the parents and or family.
- Parents finding it very difficult to balance the demands of work and those of caring for the child.
- Absence of a father in the home and the challenges, risks and vulnerabilities associated with female-headed single parent households.
- Parents or caregivers having to do chore (e.g., going to the shop) and not having anyone to supervise the child for the duration of the trip.
- Grandparents (usually the grandmothers) overwhelmed by having to bear the bulk of the responsibility for the child and the parents not assisting with the care and support of the child; at times the grandmothers are in their late 30s or 40s and clearly want to “have a life” of their own.
- Parents having to go to work, especially at evenings and nights but having no one to help supervise the children.
- Parents spending their money on non-essential material goods like brand-name clothing and then not having adequate funds left to care and provide for the needs of the children.
Parents going through a divorce or separation or entering new relationships which trigger additional conflict and tension, and the neglect of the child caught up in the middle of these relationship dynamics.

Child is non-national and does not have necessary documentation or money to access the public or private education system.

Non-nationals having no resources and status and unable to access social services such as welfare and health services.

Parent or caregiver hospitalized or has medical problems including mental health issues and thus finding it difficult to care for the child.

Parents wanting to go partying at Crop Over, but more especially at the many fetes, shows and other social events which occur in Barbados on a regular basis.

Challenges of a poor single mother having many children (as many as six or more) to provide and care for, but with no support from the father or an extended family or the community.

Obvious absence of any extended family or community involvement or visible concern in caring for the child or providing any form of support for the family.

Child is an orphan or parents are living overseas and child is left with family members such as grandparents who might be struggling or are just overwhelmed by the responsibility of having to care and provide for the child, especially if the parents who live overseas do not assist financially or otherwise.

The perpetuation of a cycle of neglect and negative parenting cycles from one generation to another.

Parents seeing the advent of various feeding programmes such as breakfast programmes, and schools meals as an excuse for not ensuring that the child is properly fed and has a balanced diet or even getting a proper breakfast in the morning before going to school; some children even leave home untidy in order to try and get breakfast elsewhere before school starts.

Lack of effective enforcement of Barbados’ child protection legislations; for example with respect to children being in school and not wandering around during normal school hours.

The lack of connectivity and effective interface between the various child protection agencies in Barbados, which results in children being shuttled aimlessly around the system, falling through the cracks in the system and failing to get the right help when they need it.

Excuses of various merits (including no merit) such as the father or the father’s family expressing doubts that the child is really the biological child of the father.
keeping children safe and nurturing their development within their families and communities need to be seen as national priorities
The findings from the review of neglect cases at the Child Care Board is an important step in improving the national response to neglect and other forms of child abuse in Barbados. The review highlighted the fact that greater attention needs to be paid to better understanding the nature, causes, characteristics and circumstances of child abuse and neglect. Equally important, improving the efficacy of the Child Care Board’s response to cases of abuse and neglect, and enhancing the overall child protection system in Barbados must now be seen as urgent priorities. Most important however, the fundamental question or issue which must be resolved has to do with how the outcomes for children and their families might be significantly improved so as create sustainable and meaningful impacts in the lives of vulnerable children and families.

This review of child neglect points to the need for the Child Care Board to adopt policies and initiatives based on the notion that neglect is a complex phenomenon needs to be viewed as a shared responsibility requiring a nuanced understanding and an integrated response in order to produce best outcomes.

National leadership and action are therefore required to complement, energize and focus child protection actions and initiatives by the various agencies, and local communities if the problem of child abuse and neglect are to be effectively reduced.

While much good work is being done by the Child Care Board and its officers there is a responsibility to continue to seek new and innovative ways of safeguarding the safety and well-being of all children, particularly those most at risk of, and vulnerable to, abuse and neglect. In all of these reform initiatives the centrality and importance of the child and the families must always direct any policies and actions to enhance their well-being. Likewise, keeping children safe and nurturing their development within their families and communities need to be seen as national priorities and integral to the framework for any programmes and actions by child protection agencies like the Child Care Board.

Those social work officers who work on the front line carrying out investigations and interacting with affected families need to be given the fullest support possible so that their efforts might produce the best results for the children of Barbados.

Ultimately, the success of the Child Care Board and partner agencies in reducing the incidence of neglect and other maltreatment can only be judged based on the quality of outcomes produced for children and their families, and not on how well established procedures were followed.

This requires as dynamic approach to child protection based on high level professional practice backed by solid research and training and a recognition that there is no magic bullet, and no single solution given the complexity of maltreatment, especially child neglect. It is equally important that the Child Care Board and other protection agencies work together to provide the right or most appropriate cohesive packages of concrete and meaningful assistance to children and families for sustained periods of at least two to three years, complimented by effective monitoring.
The public should be made aware that child neglect is always chronic, cumulative and multiplicative in nature and as such inevitably has a major impact on the well-being and development of children.
RECOMMENDATIONS

There needs to be greater effort on the part of child protection officials in Barbados to clarify among themselves, in the context of Barbados’ cultural and national realities, as well as international norms and definitions, what constitutes child neglect. This is important in terms of who should receive services from the various child protection agencies, and it would help to minimize confusion between the public and child protection officials and agencies over what is, and what is not child neglect. This is a critical step to creating expectations for higher standards of care for children.

Parents and caregivers need to be encouraged to feel free to seek help at the earliest stages of problems without the fear of being ridiculed, shamed, or fear of major repercussions from child protection agencies; this of course requires them having good knowledge of the range of services available to children and families at the Child Care Board and throughout the entire child protection system.

This strategy should be coupled with a public sensitization campaign about what services the Child Care Board and other protection related agencies, both state and non-state, actually offer and how these services can be accessed.

Part of the public sensitization should be an emphasis on the notion that the safety and well-being of all children is a shared national, community and family responsibility;

The public should be made aware that child neglect is always chronic, cumulative and multiplicative in nature and as such inevitably has a major impact on the well-being and development of children.

There also needs to be a systematic programme to encourage children to ask for help whether it is from a teacher or school counsellor or other adult if they feel there is a problem, without feeling that this would lead to some embarrassment for the family or unwanted intrusion by the Child Care Board case workers or personnel from other agencies.

A systematic programme of retraining Child Care Board case workers should be undertaken to not only help them to engage in risk and vulnerability reduction after neglect has occurred, but equally so to help them to become better equipped to be able to identify families most at risk of neglect, and to be able to offer assistance to mitigate the risk before it is translated into a harmful reality for the child. Training should include such areas as strategies for family decision making such as Family Group Conferencing, case conferencing, case management, case worker-client relationships, knowledge base requirements for case workers, and other areas critical to the provision of good long-term outcomes for children and their families.
There needs to be extensive discussion, analysis and action taken to mitigate the core environmental stress factors (e.g. poverty, unemployment, conflict, mental health issues, and lack of parenting knowledge) which often precipitate child neglect in Barbados.

A mandatory reporting Child Abuse mechanism and protocol needs to be established in Barbados so that children affected by neglect are more readily identified, assessed and the risk of further harm quickly mitigated.

There needs to be a system designed to assess and track progress of the children and their families following social workers’ interventions through comprehensive single and multi-agency audits focusing on the quality of medium and long-term outcomes for children and their families.

The child protection system in Barbados should be complemented and strengthened through other initiatives such as the development of a National Afterschool Care Programme and System consisting of regulated public and private programmes. Such an initiative could significantly reduce the risks of neglect many children face between the time school ends around 3pm and when many parents return home around 6pm or later.

The Child Care Board should spearhead the development of a National Children’s Charter which includes standards of practice which seek to protect children’s rights, and which outlines the types of support that every Barbadian child has the right to expect. Moreover, all agencies which comprise the child protection system should be required to undertake regular audits in relation to the charter and the standards, under the auspices of the National Committee on the Rights of the Child.

The government of Barbados needs to urgently undertake a comprehensive national review of the child protection system in Barbados with the aim of reforming it and fostering more seamless and effective synergies across the system, so as to produce better outcomes for children.

The Child Care Board needs to strengthen its existing arrangements for the development and dissemination of knowledge about child rights and development, and issues relating to child maltreatment, including abuse and neglect.
REFERENCES


Dubowitz, Howard. Tackling Child Neglect: A role for Pediatricians. Baltimore, Maryland: Department of Pediatrics, University of Maryland School of Medicine, 2009.


NSW Department of Community Services. Policy on Child Neglect. NSW: Australia: NSW Department of Community Services, July 2006.


Appendix 1: Definitions of Forms of Neglect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Neglect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>General neglect:</strong> Inadequate nutrition, clothing or hygiene, conspicuous inattention to avoidable hazards in the home or other forms of reckless disregard for/of the child’s safety and welfare, such as driving with the child while intoxicated, or leaving a young child unattended in a motor vehicle etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Abandonment</strong> Desertion of child without arranging for reasonable care and supervision. This includes leaving children and not claiming them within two days, and when parents or caregivers leave children and give no (or false) information about their whereabouts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medical Neglect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Refusal of health care:</strong> Failure to provide or allow competent health care professional for a physical injury, illness, medical condition or impairment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delay in health care: Delay in seeking timely and appropriate medical care for a serious health problem which any reasonable layman would have recognized as needing professional medical attention.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supervisory Neglect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inadequate supervision:</strong> A child is left unsupervised or inadequately supervised for extended periods of time (e.g. a toddler being out of sight for over an hour) or allowed to remain away from home overnight without the parent or caregiver knowing or attempting to determine the child’s whereabouts (e.g. for a 13-16 year old).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emotional Neglect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inadequate nurturance or affection:</strong> Marked inattention to the child’s needs for affection, emotional support, attention of competence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chronic/extreme abuse:</strong> Chronic or extreme spouse abuse or other domestic violence in the child’s presence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Permitted drug or alcohol use:</strong> Encouraging or permitting drug or alcohol use by the child; parent or caregiver not attempting to intervene having been informed of the problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Permitted maladaptive behaviour:</strong> Encouraging or permitting behaviour such as chronic delinquency or severe assaultiveness or not attempting to intervene having been informed of the behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Refusal of psychological care:</strong> Refusal to allow needed and available treatment for a child’s emotional or behavioural problems in accord with professional recommendation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Delay in psychological care:</strong> Failure to seek or provide needed treatment for a child’s emotional or behavioural problem which any reasonable layman would have recognized as needing professional psychological attention</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Neglect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Permitted chronic truancy:</strong> Habitual or chronic truancy averaging at least five days a month if the parent had been informed of the problem and had not attempted to intervene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Failure to enroll:</strong> Failure to enroll or register a child of mandatory school age causing the school aged child to remain at home for non-legitimate reasons (e.g. to work, to care for siblings etc.) an average of at least three days a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inattention to special educational need:</strong> Refusal to allow or failure to obtain remedial services or following through the treatment of a child’s diagnosed learning disorder or other special educational need without reasonable cause.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental Neglect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Environmental neglect:</strong> Refers to the lack of environmental or neighbourhood safety, resources or opportunities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>