2017

A study of the drivers of violence against children and positive change in Tanzania and Zanzibar

Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children

Mzumbe University

University of Huddersfield

unicef for every child

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Community Development,
Gender, Elderly and Children

Disclaimer

The study of the drivers of violence against children and positive change in Tanzania and Zanzibar is a qualitative study, produced by Professor Barry Percy-Smith, Dr. Ena Trotman Jemmott, Professor Adele Jones and Leanne Monchuk, from the Centre for Applied Childhood, Youth and Family Research, University of Huddersfield, United Kingdom in collaboration with Dr. Seraphina Bakta and a team of Researchers from Mzumbe University in Tanzania. The findings, interpretations and conclusions highlighted in the study are deduced by the authors from community engagement with various groups including parents and caregivers, service providers, community leaders, children and youths. The opinions and statements presented here do not necessarily represent those of UNICEF.

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Foreword

The experience of violence erodes the strong foundation that children need for leading healthy and productive lives and violates the fundamental right of children to a safe childhood. Violence against children is never justifiable and it is entirely preventable if the underlying drivers are identified and addressed.

Tanzania has made significant progress in strengthening its child protection system. The Government has laid down policies and a legislative framework to protect children from violence and abuse. Ratification of international conventions, formulations of policies, review of legal frameworks and programme development are significant factors that aim at creating a protective environment for children. Important instruments that the Government has signed include the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of Children, Maputo protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on Rights of Women in Africa that prohibit harmful traditional practices such as female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C). Furthermore, the development and review of laws to safeguard the rights of children to be protected from violence, abuse, neglect and exploitation are clearly stipulated in the Law of the Child Act No. 21 of 2009.

Mobilizing partners through multi-sectoral collaboration has been a key strategy in responding to violence against children based on the National Plan of Action. Currently the country is implementing the second generation National Plan of Action to End Violence Against Women and Children 2016/17–2021/22, building on the previous National Plan of Action for Prevention and Response to Violence against Children 2013–2016 which was anchored on evidenced-based facts and figures about the situation of sexual, physical and emotional violence from the National Violence Against Children Survey conducted in 2009.

Tanzania's progress has received global recognition, through the Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children which works with countries to tackle violence, build political will to end violence, seize the opportunities presented by the Sustainable Development Goals and align partners towards preventing violence. Tanzania, along with Sweden, Mexico and Indonesia, has seized the opportunity of becoming a pathfinder country in this global partnership.

Tanzania was selected based on our country's response to the findings of the Violence Against Children study carried out in 2009, which manifested political will to translate the research to action through multi-sectoral platforms. Tanzania was the first country in Africa to undertake a national study on violence against children , measuring all forms of violence (sexual, physical and emotional) against girls and boys and providing national estimates of the prevalence of violence. Building on this evidence, further steps were taken to explore socio-cultural norms and traditions that contribute to violence against children and identify possible drivers of positive change. The results of this study, which you are about to read, indicate that socio-cultural factors manifested in gender norms, male entitlement and community power relations exacerbate risk factors of violence against children. Family stress due to poverty and alcoholism surfaced as problems among parents and caregivers, inhibiting their ability to provide care and a protective environment for their children. Children also live in fear as they do not feel safe either at home or in school which leads to emotional and psychological problems with negative health and developmental consequences in their childhoods and beyond. The findings highlight the vulnerability of children to physical violence through a form of socially accepted beating, a common practice in child rearing, that is seen as a means of correcting bad behaviour and instilling discipline in children, so that they become responsible and productive adults in future.

The method used in the participatory action research has been useful in fostering community dialogue on issues that are not openly discussed in communities. Participants were able to question the social and cultural legitimacy through collective learning and reflection, and not simply providing the expected answers. Through critical reflection, participants developed a better understanding of violence in their community, reflected on prevailing attitudes and practices, and in light of their new learning, were able to collectively explore possibilities for providing a protective environment for children.

The findings of this study will inform the overall strategy in social and behaviour change communication interventions for child protection, laying the foundation for social change from national to community and family levels.

Our sincere thanks to UNICEF for being at the forefront in supporting efforts to generate this seminal evidence which will go a long way in improving the lives of the children of Tanzania.

Together we can stand up for zero tolerance on violence against children.

Ummy A. Mwalimu (MP)

Minister for Health, Community Development,
Gender, Elderly and Children

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Authors and research team

This report is based on research undertaken as a partnership between The Centre for Applied Childhood, Youth and Family Research at the University of Huddersfield, UK, and Mzumbe University, Tanzania, on behalf of UNICEF, Tanzania.

The core research team included:

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These researchers were supported by two community researchers in each location who undertook the research in phase two. These were: Subisya Kabuje, Neema Mambosho, Rukia Abdalla Jaha, Abubakar Mohammed Ali, Ibrahim M Juma, Asya A Said, Salumu Massagah, Stellah Joseph, Fortunata Kamugisha, Michael Mhagama, Bicko J Gwimile, Frank Matto, Feruzi Mziray, Mariam Rashid, Happy Eliufoo, Sango O Dunia, Simon Kazzo Ruhinga, Majulisho Agnes Gavument, Agutu Wilson, Mustapha Isabuda. Field work in Tanzania and Zanzibar was coordinated by Seraphina Bakta. Translation services and cultural advice were provided by Arnold Lazaro, Regina Kessy, Emmanuel Chacha, Mary Kishimba and Zubeida Tumbo-Masabo. Leanne Monchuk from University of Huddersfield was the principal analyst and contributed to the report writing.

This report has been written by Professor Barry Percy-Smith, Dr. Seraphina Bakta, Dr. Ena Trotman Jemmott, Professor Adele Jones and Leanne Monchuk.

Disclaimer

There were no declared conflicts of interest between persons involved in undertaking this research. Researchers from Mzumbe University have no connections with the local district authorities they were researching. Personnel employed to work as community researchers were local professionals working as social welfare officers, child protection officers, non-governmental organizations and project workers. This was important to ensure the level of skills necessary to undertake the work and to contribute to building capacity in each study location.

Acknowledgements

The research team would like to thank all the children and adults who contributed to this study and shared their views and experiences. We are grateful for the cooperation and support of district and ward offices in each study location for providing advice and help in gaining access to participants, and identifying suitable venues to hold the research workshops and focus groups. We thank the schools for allowing us the use of their premises. Our gratitude also goes to Mzumbe University in Morogoro and Dar es Salaam for use of their facilities for research training purposes. Many thanks to Claire O'Kane (Independent Consultant) and Vicky Johnson (University of Brighton) for their suggestions on project design. We are grateful for comments on the report from Clare McCrum (DFID Tanzania Social Development Advisor), Mona Korsgard (UNICEF Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist), Yolande Baker (UNICEF Child Protection Specialist), Georgina Mtenga (UNICEF Communication for Development Specialist), Birgithe Lund-Henriksen (UNICEF Chief Child Protection). Finally, we are grateful to UNICEF for commissioning this study together with financial support from the EU.

List of abbreviations

ANPPCAN	African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect
CPO	child protection officer
CRG	community reference group
FBO	faith-based organizations
FGM/C	female genital mutilation/cutting
IRC	International Rescue Committee
KAP	knowledge attitudes and practices
MVCC	Most Vulnerable Children's Committee
NGO	non-governmental organization
PAI	participatory action inquiry
SWO	social welfare officer
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
VAC	violence against children

Executive summary

Introduction and aims

Violence, abuse, neglect and exploitation are daily realities for a large number of children in Tanzania. Adults – parents, caregivers, teachers and others in roles of nurture and authority – are frequently perpetrators of violence against children (VAC).Traditional socio-cultural practices contribute to putting children at risk of harm and denying them their rights. Children, as a result, have no means to protect or defend themselves from abuse. They do not feel safe anywhere, as they see and experience violence in every sphere of their lives. Harm is caused not only by the physical reality of violence, but also by the fear and anxiety that children experience in response to the possibility or expectation of violence. This is a worrying fact for Tanzania's growth and future as a nation.

In 2014–2015, UNICEF Tanzania, in collaboration with the Government through the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children, commissioned a study on the ways in which socio-cultural norms and practices in Tanzania give rise to different forms of violence against children and examined effective strategies to challenge and change these. The study was undertaken by the Centre for Applied Childhood Studies, University of Huddersfield, United Kingdom, working in partnership with Mzumbe University in Tanzania. It used qualitative research methodologies to gain a deeper understanding of the underlying issues and dynamics that drive widespread violence against children in Tanzanian society and how this affects the provision of a protective environment for children. The study built on the 2011 National Tanzanian Violence Against Children Survey,[1] with the aim of informing programme work to combat violence against children. The findings highlight the need for parents to adopt more positive parenting practices, and for communities to be both more aware of practices that cause harm to children and have the capacity to prevent and respond effectively to those behaviours. Moreover, girls and boys need to be empowered to manage the risks and challenges they face, and given a voice so that their opinions and rights are respected.

Methods

The study was conducted in two stages between October 2014 and December 2015 in 10 regions across mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. The first stage involved six focus group discussions undertaken in each study location with boys, girls, mothers, fathers, professionals, and community leaders. The second stage involved six community action research workshops with parents and community members and participatory research with children in each location. Additionally, to ensure a degree of local ownership, three community reference group meetings were held in each location to engage local stakeholders in a process of reflection and sense-making at different stages of the research. Over 2,188 people, including 603 children, were involved in this study.

Key findings

- In Tanzania, there is a significant problem of violence against children.
- Children experience physical violence, emotional/psychological violence, sexual violence and social violence in every sphere of their daily lives.
- Children are potentially unsafe everywhere – violence is found in the home, at school and in the wider neighbourhood.

[1] UNICEF, CDC and MUHAS, National Violence Against Children Survey (2011).

- Physical violence includes being beaten, hard labour, child mutilation or sacrifice, and female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C).
- Emotional violence includes name-calling, shaming and humiliation.
- Sexual violence includes unwanted sexual touching and rape. Although sexual violence is widely seen as unacceptable, it commonly occurs at home, in school, in public spaces, during traditional dances, celebrations and initiation ceremonies, as well as through transactional sex.
- Social violence includes discrimination, denial of basic rights (including education), neglect, isolation, child marriage and exploitation.
- Problems and causes of VAC appear to be widespread with little regional or gender variation.
- All children are vulnerable to violence but girls are considered as being at greater risk than boys due to the prevalence of gender inequality and perception of male entitlement in Tanzanian society.
- Street children, orphans, children with albinism and children with disabilities are also vulnerable to high levels of violence.
- Drivers of VAC within the home include poverty, breakdown of the family, alcoholism, lack of parenting skills, and the traditional distance between parents and their children.
- Community expectations and a culture of fear and silence maintain the status quo of harmful social norms.
- Children often have no voice and are afraid to report incidences of violence for fear of being disbelieved.
- Police and social workers have limited capacity and outreach, especially in rural areas, and perpetrators of violent acts tend to believe they will go unpunished.
- VAC make girls and boys feel unloved, fearful, neglected and insecure.

Violence against children is widespread although it is acknowledged as a problem in all regions. Ninety-five per cent of adult participants stated that VAC is a problem in their area. The study showed that children are potentially not safe anywhere. All children are seen as being vulnerable to violence but girls are considered as being at greater risk than boys. Street children, orphans, children with albinism and children with disabilities are also seen to be vulnerable to high levels of violence. In the home, children experience all forms of violence. In schools, children report they are regularly beaten, often humiliated and sometimes also victims of sexual advances from teachers. In the wider neighborhood children are primarily vulnerable to sexual violence. Problems and causes of VAC appear to be omnipresent with little regional or gender variation. Differences in attitudes and practices are a matter of degree rather than focus with some deviations from the trend being apparent in certain regions.

Physical punishment is common, accepted and deeply rooted in socio-cultural practices. Physical punishment emerged as the main form of physical violence, although hard labour and FGM/C[2] were also commonly reported as forms of physical violence against children. Beating or sticking[3] children, along with name-calling and shaming, are deeply engrained in adult-child interactions and socio-cultural norms of child-rearing. These practices are perpetuated through religion, popular sayings and the powerful influence of community expectations. Beating is widely seen by adults as essential to good upbringing and teaching children good morals. In contrast, children often see beating as unjustified or disproportionate to the wrong doing, causing resentment, fear and anxiety, and giving rise to feelings of being unloved and uncared for. Children felt that adults often rushed to physically punish them without understanding the cause of the

[2] FGM/C was mentioned as a form of physical violence as well as sexual violence.

[3] The term 'sticking' was widely used to refer to beating children with sticks.

misdemeanour. Adults widely condemned other forms of physical punishment such as burning, beating with a heavy object, and using hard labour. The boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable physical punishment appear to be ambiguous and are often crossed with different views about what constitutes reasonable physical punishment. Poverty was frequently mentioned by participants as one of the main causes of VAC placing a strain on families and leading to parental anger and frustration. This is exacerbated by family breakdown and alcoholism. Lack of a culture of expressing love for children was also identified by participants as being a factor in how parents treat children, with some arguing that it is not part of their tradition to be close to children.

Alternatives to physical punishment are known but not commonly used, pointing to the need for advocacy to build awareness about the negative impact of VAC on children. Many children and adults were able to identify **alternatives to physical punishment,** but parents are fearful of speaking out and going against the status quo. Some parents could not envisage parenting without beating and therefore argued that there were no alternatives. Although community opinion is a strong motivator, intervention from community members is considered inappropriate in family decisions and methods of disciplining a child. Education and awareness-raising about healthy child development, the impact of VAC, children's rights and alternative parenting practices were mentioned as key to addressing the prevailing culture of physical punishment. Evidence from this study suggests that this could happen effectively through promoting dialogue and education in communities.

Emotional and psychological abuse of children lead to feelings of neglect and insecurity. Manifestations of **emotional/psychological violence** in the form of name-calling and shaming were mentioned as a daily experience for many children. A key finding from this study is the emotional/psychological effects many children experience on a daily basis as a result of living in a state of insecurity, fear (of violence) and neglect. In addition, many children spoke of feeling unloved, unvalued and uncared for.

Child sexual abuse is considered unacceptable and is largely rooted in gender inequality. In contrast to physical and emotional violence, sexual violence is widely seen as unacceptable. Sexual violence mainly occurs in the form of rape, but also manifests in unwanted sexual touching, which happens in all contexts of children's lives. Sexual violence of boys and girls commonly occurs at home, school, public spaces (while going to school or running errands), during traditional dances, celebrations and initiation ceremonies as well as through transactional sex. Some argue that sexual violence results from declining traditional practices and public morality as well as from globalization and western influences on aspects such as the way some girls and women dress and easy access to pornography on the Internet. Yet many also argue that some traditional practices are bad or outdated practices such as child marriage which is seen by some as 'a ticket to sexually violate children.' Some participants reflected on an apparent discrepancy between the Law of Marriage Act (1971) and the Law of the Child Act (2009) in this respect. Evidence suggests that to a large extent sexual violence is driven by a sense of 'male entitlement' often justified by tradition, custom and belief in traditional healers, as well as fear of reporting and failure to bring perpetrators to justice. Evidence in this study therefore suggests that child sexual violence is to a large extent a product of gender inequalities.

Social violence[4] in the form of discrimination (girls, children with disabilities and children with albinism), denial of basic rights (including education), neglect, isolation, child marriage and exploitation emerged as a further category of violence. This includes 'hard labour' involving children undertaking tasks and levels of responsibility seen as excessive for children, such as carrying heavy loads. Evidence suggests that the prevailing socio-cultural norms of parenting practices and attitudes to

[4] Sometimes referred to as structural violence

children and childhood, have damaging effects on children. Children are quite clear about what they need for healthy development, but this is often not forthcoming and appears to fundamentally conflict with established norms of child-rearing and parenting practice. Culture and tradition are used to justify some harmful practices such as FGM/C, child marriage and beating children as disciplinary measures.

Although the importance of reporting VAC is widely accepted and children and adults are generally aware of the authorities to whom they should report, incidence of reporting remains low.

Parents or teachers, who are the first people towards whom children should turn, are also often the perpetrators of the crime. Therefore, children fear repercussions such as being beaten or disbelieved if they should speak about violence. Extended family and community or religious leaders are not seen as people children can depend upon for support; however, children are likely to turn to neighbors if they feel unable to talk to parents.

Accountability within the criminal justice system and enhanced capacities of service providers are needed. There is a high level of awareness of social welfare officers and the police Gender and Children's Desks, but these have limited capacity and outreach especially in rural areas where access to the police and justice system is more difficult. In addition, the child helpline, 116, is relatively unknown and poor experiences of this have been reported where it has been used. Adults see the police as people children can report to despite alleged corruption and inefficiency, but children are often afraid of the police. There is also a lack of trust in the police and justice system due to the lack of anonymity and protection with the result that victims and informants are often intimidated. Perpetrators are often let off and settlements sought out of court. This prioritizes the protection of perpetrators over justice for children and creates an environment which allows VAC to continue. At the same time, there was a strong sense from community members that perpetrators should be reported, brought to justice and for the community to cooperate in ensuring that justice is done.

There is a need to mobilize communities to build child-friendly, safe environments for children. Many people have a clear view about providing conditions for children to have a good childhood, but appear constrained from practicing these due to socio-cultural norms. This perpetuates a culture of fear and silence while maintaining the status quo that hinders social reflexivity and prevents people from questioning established norms. Children do not have a voice, even at home. Yet children know that violence is wrong and know what is needed for healthy child development. They find children's clubs (TUSEME) to be safe places to gain support and advocacy when VAC has occurred.

Intricate socio-cultural drivers influence the values and practices of adults concerning VAC whereby behaviours, socially sanctioned by 'community law', carry more influence than legislation or policy. An overarching societal framework of patriarchal domination defines a range of authoritative roles, including matriarchal roles, within communities. Although the recognition of child rights is central to preventing and responding to VAC, it is important to identify and work with such indigenous structures and systems that could contribute to the establishment of a community-based child protection system rather than externally imposed conceptions of rights.

The study uncovered factors that are central to the provision of a protective environment for children at national, local, family and individual levels. These include ensuring widespread education about the impact of violence against children and corresponding positive factors that ensure: healthy child development; an effective police and justice system; the development of a child protection network in all areas of children's lives, involving professionals working closely with local communities, in which reporting and discussing VAC is the norm; a proactive community stance; children's basic needs and rights are respected and met; absence of traditions and customs that violate children's rights; gender equality and non-discrimination – including education for all children; and children able to voice their views and experiences and be valued.

Recommendations for action:

- disseminate the learning from this study widely with all stakeholder groups at all levels;
- change the narrative of violence against children to a focus on protective environments for children;
- reassert the commitment of the government in addressing VAC, including developing a coherent strategy and action plan that ensures realization of children's basic needs and rights;
- develop a comprehensive education and awareness programme about VAC, children's rights and positive child-rearing, including educating teachers;
- develop a learning approach to programming focused on engaging community members in critical reflection on socio-cultural attitudes and practices so as to align norms and values with the rights of the child;
- build in monitoring and accountability to address corruption and ineffectiveness in the police and criminal justice system;
- strengthen the reporting system and set-up a child and youth court to deal specifically with cases of violence against children;
- encourage the repudiation of socio-cultural practices and activities that are harmful to children;
- work with communities to gradually develop new norms;
- develop a network of child protection services across the country to include local centres/clubs as safe refuges where child victims of violence can access advocacy, guidance and support;
- develop opportunities for children to speak out and express their views on violence and to be active partners in initiatives and developments in response to violence.


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CHAPTER 1

Introduction, aims and background

In 2009, UNICEF and the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention worked with the Government of Tanzania to conduct an extensive study of Violence Against Children (VAC) in mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. The study, published in 2011, revealed the extent to which children experience high levels of physical, sexual and emotional violence, and neglect.

In 2014, UNICEF Tanzania commissioned the University of Huddersfield, UK to conduct a follow-up study of the knowledge, attitudes and practices concerning violence against children in mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. This study was commissioned to address gaps from the previous National Violence Against Children Survey and to better understand the underlying socio-cultural norms, attitudes and practices that give rise to violence against children as well as the socio-cultural factors that provide a protective environment for children. To meet the requirements of the research brief, the University of Huddersfield worked in partnership with Mzumbe University, which was responsible for the field work. An extensive literature review was undertaken as part of this project and is available as a separate document (see Trotman Jemmott, 2014).

The research was conducted between October 2014 and September 2015.

1.1 Study aims

The overall aim of the study was to try and answer the following question:

"What are the underlying factors that contribute towards a protective environment for children?"

This aim was pursued through two overarching research questions:

1) In what ways do socio-cultural norms and practices give rise to different forms of VAC?
2) How might socio-cultural factors and processes help in providing a protective environment for children?

The answers to these questions and findings of the study would provide empirical evidence to inform programme decisions for child protection. These findings would be the baseline indicators for programmes as part of the National Violence Against Children strategy. In addition, the study was constructed with an emphasis on building local capacity in response to VAC.

1.2 Background

Recent studies[5] have highlighted the extent to which high levels of violence against children exist in mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. For instance, the UNICEF VAC study of 2009 stated:

> "Childhood sexual abuse is a major public health problem…affecting 1 in 3 females and 1 in 6 males at some time before their eighteenth birthday. Nearly 3 out of every 10 females and 1 out of every 7 males reported at least one experience of sexual violence prior to the age of 18…. Approximately three quarters of females and males reported experiencing physical violence prior to the age of 18…Almost 6 out of 10 girls and boys experienced childhood physical violence at the hands of relatives and 1 out of 2 at the hands of teachers."
>
> (UNICEF, CDC and MUHAS, 2011, p.27).

High levels of emotional violence (encompassing name-calling, being made to feel unwanted and threatened) were also recorded in which almost 80 per cent of Tanzanian girls and 65 per cent of boys experienced emotional violence with a relative as primary abuser. As mentioned earlier, the 2009 study showed the coexistence and intersecting nature of all forms of violence – sexual, physical and emotional violence –and their co-relationship with poorer mental and physical health, risky sexual behaviours and multiple sexual partnering.

[5] UNICEF, CDC and MUHAS, National Violence Against Children Survey (2011); UNICEF (2013).

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> Approximately 84 per cent of 13 to 24-year-old females who experienced sexual violence as a child also experienced physical violence in childhood. In addition, nearly 43 per cent of females who experienced childhood sexual violence also experienced emotional violence during childhood…13 to 24-year-old males who experienced childhood sexual violence were similarly affected by physical and emotional violence. For instance, about 83 per cent of males who reported experiencing childhood sexual violence also reported experiencing physical violence. As well, about one half of males who experienced childhood sexual violence also experienced emotional violence.
>
> (UNICEF, CDC and MUHAS, 2011, p. 39–40).

Most children (half of girls and two thirds of boys) do not report sexual abuse with approximately two thirds of girls citing family or community as reasons, specifically fear of abandonment or family separation. Few children seek the support of services and of those only 1 in 10 girls and 1 in 25 boys who experience sexual violence receive services. Based on these findings of the Tanzania VAC 2009 study, a Multi-Sectoral Response plan was initiated, under the leadership of the government, through a Multi Sector Task Force. An initial one-year plan was reviewed and a three-year National Plan of Action for the Prevention and Response to Violence against Children 2013–2016 was developed which incorporated prevention and response mechanisms.

Child protection system strengthening programmes were introduced in four districts (Hai, Kasulu, Magu and Temeke) with the objective of establishing an evidence base to inform the development of a national system to prevent and respond to violence against children.

Programming work included setting-up Gender and Children's Desks in police stations and a National Child Helpline(116). In addition, a Child Protection Management Information System was developed in 2011 to monitor cases of violence and abuse against children. Between July 2011 and July 2012, a total of 255 cases of violence against children (162 girls, 93 boys) were handled by the child protection teams in the four programme areas. Of the violence reported during that time, psychological violence accounted for 31 per cent, rape for 23 per cent and physical violence for 10 per cent of the cases. Most cases (66 per cent) were reported as occurring at home with the majority of perpetrators being male (71 per cent) and adult (92 per cent). Over half of the perpetrators were parents (57 per cent).[6]

1.3 Theoretical and conceptual framework

This study was guided by principles of participatory action inquiry (Reason and Bradbury, 2001), a system's approach to understanding the socio-ecological levels of influence that shape children's lives (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), children's rights, and current sociological theories of childhood (James and Prout, 1990) that recognize children as possessing agency and competence as social actors in their own right and as bearers of rights as fellow citizens. Of particular relevance to this study are the Articles from the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), asserting that all children (including children with disabilities) have the right to be healthy, live free from violence, abuse and exploitation, and express their views on matters that affect them.

1.4 About this report

This report encompasses the findings from mainland Tanzania as well as Zanzibar. A separate report, based only on findings from the two Zanzibar sites (Unguja and Pemba), was also produced.

This study presents a qualitative analysis of the underlying socio-cultural issues and dynamics that give rise to violence against children and views about how to create a protective environment for children. It was neither designed to provide a definitive scientific assessment of the status of violence in the study locations nor an evaluation of existing programming work. It is pertinent to remember that the absence of data from a particular region does not indicate the absence of that problem in the region, but merely that it did not emerge through the field work. Similarly, they are not unique to that region but are illustrative of problems that were directly referred in a particular discussion. Numerical data presented provides an indication of knowledge, attitudes and practices since the study was conducted as a participatory appraisal to support reflection and inquiry at a community level rather than as a scientifically significant survey.

[6] MCDGC UNICEF 2013 Baseline Study in Mbeya Rural, Bareli, Iringa Rural, Mufindi, Njombe Rural and Makete.

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CHAPTER 2
Methodology

2.1 Overview

The study involved a preliminary scoping phase including a literature review (see Trotman Jemmott 2014), initial focus groups and stakeholder workshops. The main study involved:

- Focus groups
- Community action inquiry
- Participatory research with children
- Community reference group
- National stakeholder dissemination workshop

The overall research process is represented in Figure 1.

2.2 Research questions

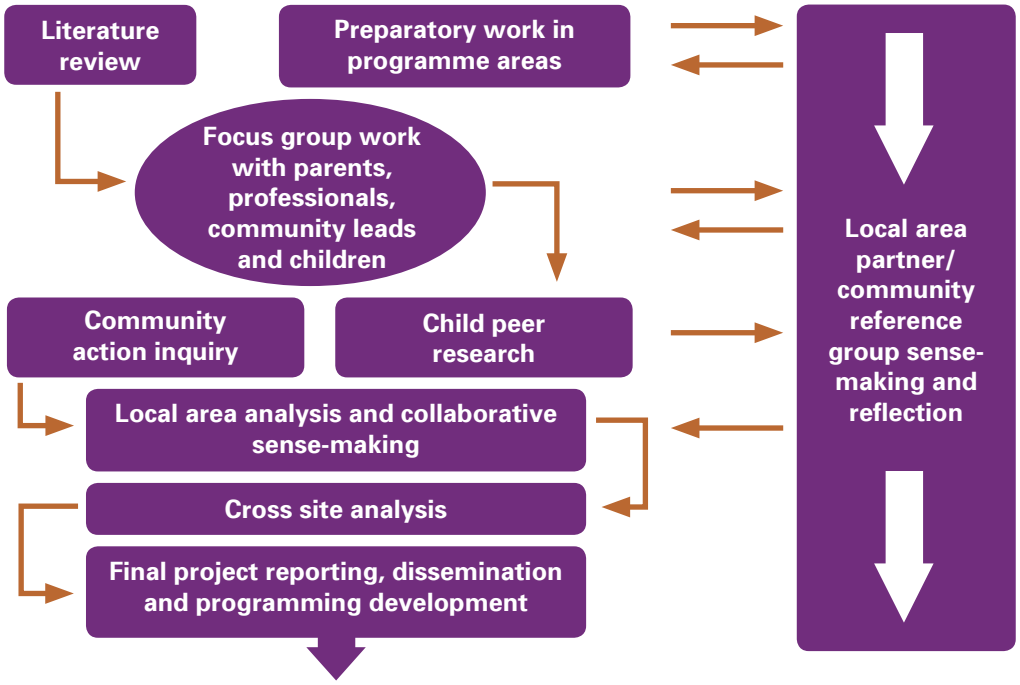
Following the preliminary scoping phase, the methodology was revised and the following research questions were agreed upon:

- In what ways do socio-cultural norms and practices give rise to different forms of VAC and how might these be challenged and changed?
- How does VAC vary for children according to age, gender, ability, and different social and cultural contexts?
- To what extent do gender roles and attitudes to children and childhood influence violence against children?
- To what extent is violence intertwined with norms of parenting and child-rearing? To what extent are caregivers aware of alternative positive parenting practices?
- What are the factors that affect whether and how people feel they are able to respond to incidents of VAC?
- What are the mechanisms for shifting knowledge, attitude and practices to prevent violence and provide a protective environment for children? What might be the role of children, parents, communities and the state in this process?

2.3 Study locations

The study was undertaken in the following 10 locations where programme work had already been established on child protection.

Figure 1: Summary of research approach



2.4 Methodological components

The field work was organized and undertaken by researchers recruited from Mzumbe University. One researcher was allocated to each of the 10 study locations. Researchers for Zanzibar were recruited from within Zanzibar.[7]

2.4.1 Focus groups

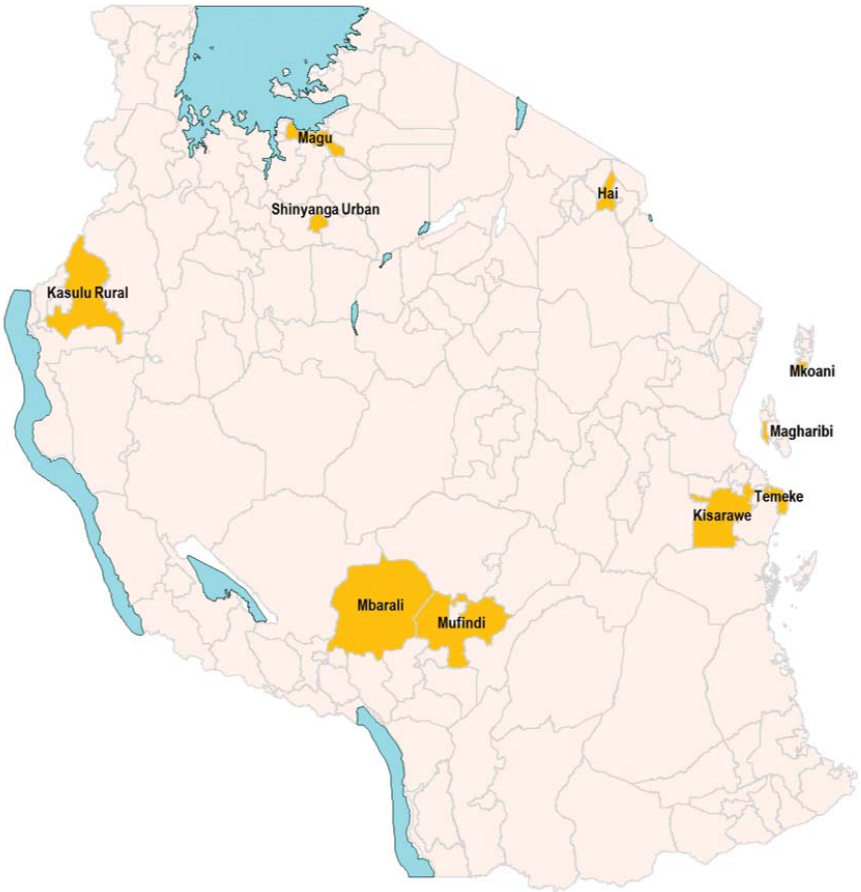
Six focus groups were held in each study location typically with 12–16 participants per group.[8] A total of 784 participants (508 adults and 276 children) were involved in the six focus groups across the 10 study locations as indicated in Figure 2. The schedules used for the focus groups can be found in Annex 1. Specific locations where focus group discussions were undertaken can be found in Annex 2. Issues and questions arising from analysis of the focus groups were used to guide the focus of the community research.

Group discussion in Unguja

2.4.2 Community action inquiry

The second phase of the study involved community research using a participatory action inquiry approach with six groups of adults and a separate participatory research process with children (see Section 2.4.3). Community members were involved in a participatory

Figure 2: Map of 10 study locations



[7] One of the Zanzibar researchers left after the research training and was replaced by a Mzumbe researcher who had already completed the training.

[8] The smallest number of participants was 7 and the largest was a mothers' group in Magu that had 23 participants.

appraisal of knowledge, attitudes and practices concerning VAC and supported to analyse, reflect on and discuss findings, critically review possibilities for responding to violence against children, and explore how to develop a protective environment for children. As a result, participants were not simply expressing views but also actively engaged in a community 'learning' process in order to understand and respond to the challenge of developing a protective environment for children.

In a break from traditional action research methodology, the questions to be explored were clearly stated and standardized across all groups. This was done in order to ensure that research outputs met the study objectives and that the process was manageable for community researchers. Six community action inquiry workshops were held in each location, typically in school premises or village halls. Each workshop involved on average 20 participants recruited to represent diversity, including mothers and fathers from different social, economic and cultural backgrounds, community leaders (including elders, religious leaders and other prominent community figures), and lay members of the community. A total of 1,077 participants (526 males and 526 females)[9] were involved in the community research across all study locations.

Community action research process

i. Introductory activity about participant experiences of VAC and being safe.

ii. Participatory appraisal - views and attitudes about VAC.

iii. Group reflection, analysis and discussion based on findings from participatory appraisal about the 'socio-cultural drivers' (or causes) of violence against children and existing protective factors.

iv. Collaborative exploration of what needs to happen to respond to VAC and develop a more protective environment for children.

v. Action planning to identify what needs to change and how, who needs to be involved, how to build on existing community resources, and how to identify indicators for assessing change.

vi. The focus for the participatory appraisal in the community action research workshops was provided by questions and issues arising from focus group discussions.

Participants engaged in participatory appraisal (Mbarali)

Table 1: Focus group participants

Type of participant	Total number of participants
Boys (13–18 years)[10]	138
Girls (13–18 years)	138
Fathers	120
Mothers	135
Professional care givers (e.g., teachers, guidance and counselling staff, child care workers)	123
Community leaders (including elders, religious leaders and other key community figures)	130

[9] The gender of the participant was not recorded for 25 participants.

[10] 13–17 years was the target age group, although a few 11- and 12-year-olds also participated.

2.4.3 Participatory research with children

Two participatory research meetings were held with two groups of children. These involved the use of visual methods, letters to adults and discussions.

Meeting 1

Discussion with children about their understanding of violence.

Community mapping in which children drew where violence happens and where they feel safe. Children then reflected on what their drawings showed and discussed reasons why VAC happens.

Drawings to capture experiences of VAC.

Letters to adults to provide an opportunity for children to express what they really want to say to adults who commit violence against children.

Meeting 2

Diary/timeline – Children recorded when they felt safe or unsafe during the previous week. Children discussed what causes them to feel vulnerable, what helps them to feel protected, and what changes they think are needed to provide a more protective environment for themselves.

Children's vision of a protective environment – Children then worked in pairs to construct a visual representation of their vision of what a protective environment might look like.

Community action inquiry workshop (Shinyanga)

Child participants were sampled to reflect diversity. This included: boys and girls of different ages, different socio-economic groups, different villages and tribes, children with disabilities, albino children, children living in different social contexts (including children working as domestic workers, orphans, and children living and working on the streets). A total of 327 children[11] aged 13–17 were involved in this phase of the research, recruited from children's homes, TUSEME clubs, junior councils, groups for children living and working on the street, schools and children's committees.

2.4.4 Local community reference group

A local community reference group (CRG) comprising local stakeholders was established in each study location during the preparatory work. This group included programme and service professionals, community leaders and lay community members (including children). The group worked in an advisory capacity to the research team and were also actively engaged in the research through reflection and sense-making at different stages. The assumption was that the CRGs would ensure a degree of community ownership of the research in addition to being catalysts for local action. Three meetings of the community reference group were conducted in each study location – at the beginning of the field work, after the focus groups, and

Children making community maps to show where they experience violence (Pemba)

[11] 13–17 years was the target age group, although a few 11- and 12-year-olds also participated. Further details on child participants are provided in Annex 2.

after the community research. Community reference groups typically involved between 8 and 16 participants including the following representatives: District Social Welfare Officers, District Community Development Officers, police officers on Gender and Children's Desks, District Education Officers, teachers and representatives of people with disabilities. Although children tended to be a minority in these groups, they were usually able to share their perspectives. In some cases, for example in Temeke, separate groups of three–five children were set up to invite their reflections in parallel with the main CRG.

2.4.5 National stakeholder workshops

In addition to reflecting on learning at a local level in community research groups and community reference groups, key findings from the research were used to activate learning in two stakeholder workshop events in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar in order to consider implications and recommendations that emerged.

Participants at the stakeholder dissemination learning event included representatives from government departments including the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender Elderly and Children;the Ministry of Home Affairs; the Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance; the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions; the Attorney General's Chamber; NGOs; researchers; and Social Welfare Officers.

National stakeholders reflecting on learnings from the study

2.5 Recording, analysis and management of data

Data was captured using tape recorders, written notes, flip sheets and post-it notes. Standardized procedures were followed for both phases of the research. Focus group data was analysed and an interim report produced for each area. Community research data was analysed first by participants, then by field researchers and then by the UK research team. All data captured was typed and stored on personal, password-protected computers.

2.6 Research training and project management

Project management for the study was undertaken by Professor Barry Percy-Smith from University of Huddersfield. He was supported by a research team of experienced academics including Professor Adele Jones and Dr Ena Trottman Jemmott, renowned experts in the field of violence against children and child protection. Field work in Tanzania was coordinated by Seraphina Bakta from Mzumbe University who worked closely with Professor Percy-Smith to ensure the efficient delivery of the project through support and supervision of all field work. Community researchers were overseen by the Mzumbe University researchers working in each locality.

All researchers were recruited based on their relevant skills and experience. Two stages of comprehensive training were also provided, the first being in March 2015 at Mzumbe University in Morogoro, Tanzania, for the 10 researchers recruited to undertake the focus group work in each region. The subjects/topics covered in training sessions can be found in Annex 5. Both community researchers, selected during the first phase of fieldwork, and Mzumbe researchers undertook the second research training session in June–July 2015 at Mzumbe University, Dar es Salaam.

The training sessions involved providing context, rationale and aims for the study,

clarifying research procedures including ethical considerations (see below), experiential learning in the techniques used, guidance in analysis and reporting, professional conduct and duty of care, safety and protection, recruitment and compensation of participants.

2.7 Ethics procedures

During the research training, trainees were oriented to the comprehensive protocol for safeguarding, and ethics to be adopted for the study, including procedures for securing informed consent, participant protection and researcher safety, confidentiality and anonymity. Details are available in Annexes 6, 7 and 8.

2.7.1 Harms and benefits

Identification of appropriate venues for undertaking research with children was given due consideration during the scoping phase of the research. Children were consulted on the choice of venue and were also asked if they perceived any risks to children attending focus groups and research workshops. Further advice was taken from local partners, particularly local social welfare offices, who facilitated access to children and helped identify suitable venues for the research. Many of the meetings with children were conducted in school premises or community halls with which they were familiar. Where necessary, child participants were escorted to the venue by teachers or guardians.

Paramount importance was given to safety. Researchers were cautioned to ensure the safety of participants, particularly children, and themselves.

At the beginning of each research session, participants were asked to alert the concerned researcher if anyone should be affected in any way by the subject matter being discussed. Researchers, in turn, were briefed on being alert and attentive to visible signs of distress in any participant. At the end of each research session, the researchers checked with participants in case they had been affected by any part of the research process. All participants were provided with the contact details of local social welfare officers who could help them if they later felt the need for support. A follow-up was undertaken with participants after the research, but there were no recorded incidences of people requiring such support.

In the preliminary scoping work boys and girls of different ages engaged quite freely in one focus group with the younger children as vocal as the older children. Whilst it can be assumed that having mixed groups of boys and girls and of different ages is a potential issue, the preliminary scoping work did not indicate this was the case. Indeed, given that age is not always a reliable proxy for ability or confidence, it is possible that an older child is quieter and a younger child more confident as was the case in the preliminary work. All the same, the age range was set as 13–17 years of age. In a small number of cases, as noted in the report, some children outside of this age range took part. The children's focus groups

Discussing responses to VAC in community action research workshops (Unguja)

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were split between male and female. However, this was as much for the purpose of exploring different perspectives as it was for safety issues. Similarly, in the children's participatory research workshops, we sampled participants to capture diversity including children from diverse backgrounds. The interactive participatory methods provided the opportunity for all children to communicate their views and experiences. Researchers were trained to ensure all voices have an opportunity to have a say in discussions. In some of the child participatory research sessions, children worked in smaller groups. It would not have been feasible to organize separate groups for children from all of the different background. There were no difficulties recorded from having children of different ages and from different backgrounds participating.

In some cases there were participants with literacy issues which were discussed in training. In the research, participants with literacy issues were provided with support from the researchers. There were no recorded unanticipated ethical issues reported by the researchers.

2.7.2 Informed consent and permissions

The study obtained ethical clearance at different levels. This initially involved clearance from the University of Huddersfield Research Ethics Committee. In turn, ethical clearance was given by COSTECH in Tanzania and the Zanzibar Research Committee for the Zanzibar Government.

Participants were informed about the study, including issues concerning confidentiality, right to withdraw at any time and details about how the study findings would be used. Participants were given an opportunity to ask questions and signed consent for participation duly secured (see Annexes 6 and 7). Consent forms for the children were signed by either parents or carers.

Analyzing community mapping of violence (Unguja)

2.7.3 Privacy and confidentiality

Research sessions with children were held in safe and secure spaces where they could share their views freely without interruption, disturbance or fear of consequences. Parents or teachers who escorted children to research sessions were not allowed to be in the room with the children. Only the children and researchers were allowed in these sessions.

2.7.4 Payment and compensation

Prior to engaging in the research, participants were informed that they would be compensated for travel expenses. A flat rate was calculated for all participants and payments were made after the research activities. No incentives were given although refreshments were provided for participants.


QATAR
AIRWAYS
FCBARCA
PROFESIONAL

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CHAPTER 3

FINDINGS: Knowledge and attitudes concerning VAC

Summary

- Violence is understood to refer to any act that violates children and children's rights whether directly harmful or not.
- People are aware and concerned about rising levels of violence, adults stating that VAC is a problem in their area.
- Despite this, lack of education and knowledge of positive parenting practices, combined with fear of going against social norms, sustains VAC in Tanzania.
- All children are potentially at risk of experiencing violence, making them feel unsafe and vulnerable, but girls are more at risk generally as a result of gender discrimination.
- Children with albinism, children with HIV, children with disabilities, children living on the streets and orphans are also high-risk groups.
- Children are vulnerable in all domains of their everyday life including their home, local neighbourhood and public spaces.
- Children are more likely to be vulnerable to physical punishment at home and school.
- In neighbourhood public spaces, children are more at risk of rape and other forms of sexual violence.

3.1 General views about violence against children

Although there is widespread awareness and acknowledgement across all regions that violence against children is a significant problem, community social norms perpetuate this behaviour. Ninety-five per cent of adult participants[12] stated that VAC is a problem in their area.

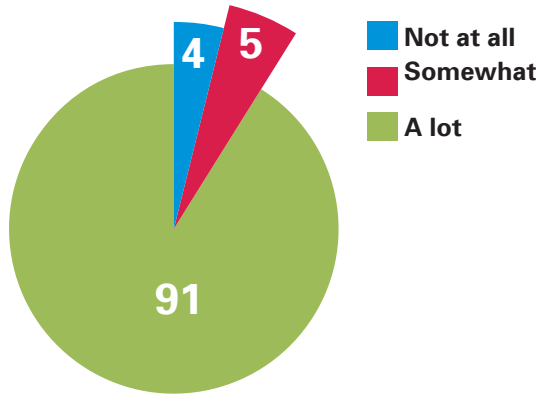
> "…VAC is the biggest challenge to our children, family, society and nation in general."
>
> (Male, Unguja)

For example, adult participants in Kasulu stated that refusing children the right to go to school was simply because the child was required to work, such as looking after cattle. In some parts of the country where traditional values still prevail to a large extent,[13] adult participants stated that members of the community tend to honour and respect longstanding traditions and customs such as child marriage and gender roles. Ninety-four per cent of participants stated that they are influenced by community/society a lot[14] even if this involves children being treated unjustly.

The influence of local culture and community on the way adults treat children is inextricably intertwined with views about childhood and children's position in society. For many, children are not seen as citizens with individual views and abilities, but as resources for the family to use and influence through adult guidance.

> "Our traditions require us to teach our children good morals and in order to do that, the use of sticks is inevitable."
>
> (Community leader, Pemba)

Figure 3: Perception of communities on treatment of children



[12] This data is based upon 9 of the 10 regions. Data for Hai was not available.
[13] For example, Magu, Kasulu and Shinyanga.
[14] 'A lot' refers to more than 7 on a continuum of 0-10 between 'not at all' and 'a lot'.

There is a prevailing view that children would not be able to grow up properly without adult guidance and beating. In this respect, underlying the way adults treat children is a seemingly unquestioned assumption that children are invariably in the wrong and adults are right. This is seen from the argument of a participant in Shinyanga who stated that children themselves are responsible for the violence they experience. The rationale adults provide for the way children are treated, for example through physical punishment, is not reflected in the experiences of children.

3.2 What counts as VAC?

Many participants found it difficult to explain what they understood as VAC. Some examples from those who were able to provide a definition are:

> "…any act done to children that causes harm and is not legally acceptable."
>
> (Adult, Shinyanga)

> "VAC means and includes all acts and/or omissions which contravene the rights of a child in the community."
>
> (Adult, Kisarawe)

> "VAC is any action done to children with an intention of harming a child."
>
> (Adult, Mbarali)

> "All acts which deny the child its personality, rights, status or destroy the child's health."
>
> (Adult, Pemba)

These definitions focus on children's rights rather than violence per se and were similar to children's own understandings which they readily articulated in terms of a denial of rights and basic needs.

Participants found it easier to identify different 'acts' they considered as violence than to define it. There are consistent patterns across regions of what is considered as VAC. Most commonly, VAC is understood to involve denial of children's basic needs (including education,[15] care, shelter, food); hard labour (including carrying heavy loads, agricultural work and cutting down trees); sexual abuse (including rape, sexual harassment and unwanted touching of girls); forced/child marriage; excessive child beating and burning; female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C); lack of freedom of expression; discrimination and insult. However, there are some regional variations: for example, child marriage was frequently identified as a form of VAC but in some contexts (such as the Sukuma tradition in Magu and Pemba), child marriage is seen as acceptable and part of socio-cultural traditions. Similarly, in Temeke, whilst rape was seen as a form of VAC, there appeared to be more tolerance towards unwanted sexual touching.

In addition to direct experience of violence, fear of its occurrence and unsafe environments are also forms of violence against children. In their letters to adults,[16] children described forms of violence that they had experienced or witnessed, including rape, discrimination, denial of rights and being badly treated. These are provided throughout the report. Many referred to feeling unsafe or affected by an environment in which children are vulnerable, as well as directly experiencing violence.

> "Dear Adults,
> I don't like to hear children being burnt with hot objects or fire for wrongs which can easily be handled in good ways. You are punishing your children in very cruel ways and the pain they suffer lives with them for the rest of their lives. I plead to you to stop such kinds of cruel behaviour and respect your children and treat them in better

[15] Girls are often not sent to school because it is expected that they will be married off (such as in the Kiha tradition).

[16] These were written to fictitious adults and were used only as a way for children to express their views and were not actually sent to anyone.

> ways. Your children may assist you in future if you raise them well. I am so sad when I hear stories of VAC. It is time for the Government to take serious steps in addressing these problems. ”
>
> (Girl, 16, Mufindi)

The responses from children suggested that even if they have not been victims of violence themselves, they live in constant fear that they may be victimized in the future. They are also concerned for other children. In their letters to adults, children asked to be treated like human beings[17] and provided with love, respect and education.

3.3 Which children are most vulnerable?

All children are vulnerable to violence, although vulnerabilities may be different for different types of violence. All children are at risk of physical punishment and abusive language. There is also evidence that both boys and girls are often at risk of sexual abuse, but girls are more vulnerable as a result of child marriage, initiation ceremonies, traditions and witchcraft. Girls also tended to report that they were more vulnerable to physical violence as a result of FGM/C. In Magu, participants described the tradition of jando where girls are subjected to FGM/C and get 'taught how to handle a man' (see also 5.2 and 5.3.5).

Child marriage and pregnancy cause girls to drop out of school. Children stated that as girls are more vulnerable to child marriage and pregnancy, they are consequently unable to attend school and continue with their education. This was a common theme across all areas, by all participants. Mothers in Mbarali stated that pubescent girls aged between 10 and 15 years old are most vulnerable to sexual abuse as they are sexually desirable to males. It was also suggested that girls are more vulnerable to sexual abuse owing to the types of clothes they wear. Boys in Shinyanga said that girls wear indecent clothing which makes them more desirable to men. There are widespread views that girls are weaker than boys and therefore less able to resist any sexual temptation, but are also more likely to be the objects of male desire.

Whilst the findings suggest that girls are more vulnerable to sexual abuse than boys, evidence emerged to indicate that boys are increasingly at risk of being raped. In Kisarawe, it was reported that adult females pay to have sex with young boys. There were also suggestions that boys were being sexually abused, typically at school or in the street, but also in some churches and madrassas. One boy from a primary school stated that a peer had been sexually abused by other male students. One boy from Mufindi described that being sexually abused can affect children psychologically:

> “ I don't like to be sexually abused because I feel like a gay and that affects me psychologically and mentally. I like to be well taken care of and protected from such bad acts. I feel bad when I hear a child sexually abused. I kindly ask that children be given all necessary basic needs. ”
>
> (Boy, 16, Mufindi)

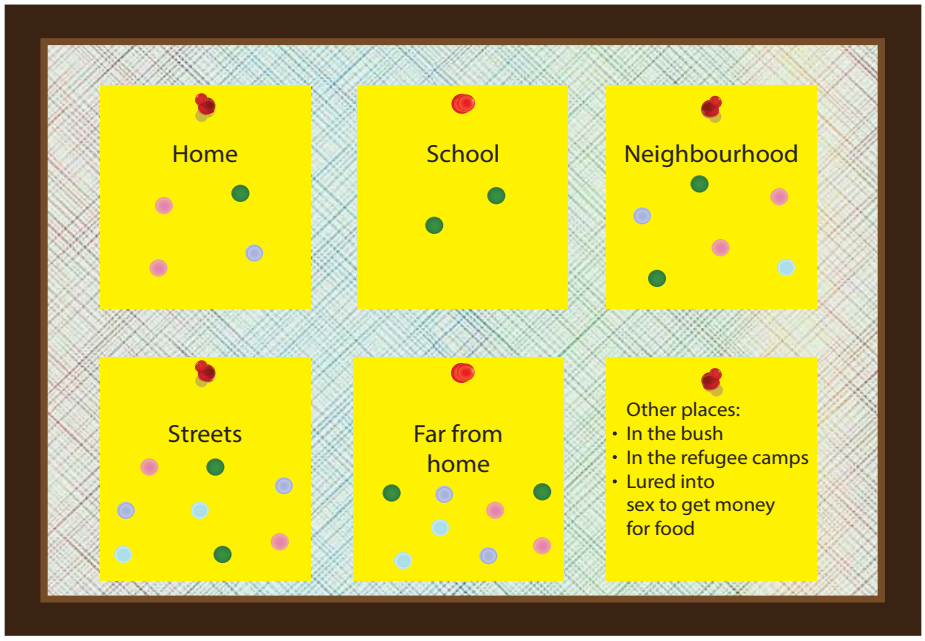
The study showed that amongst children, there are some groups that are more vulnerable to abuse and neglect than others. These are:

Children with disabilities – Participants[18] described how children with disabilities are often neglected or isolated in the home, being denied basic rights to play and attend school. The birth of a child with a disability can also result in the child being neglected by its parents, or even in the whole family being abandoned by the father.

[18] In Temeke, Kisarawe, Kasulu and Unguja.

[17] Based on participant's words.

Children's perspective of risky places where violence could occur

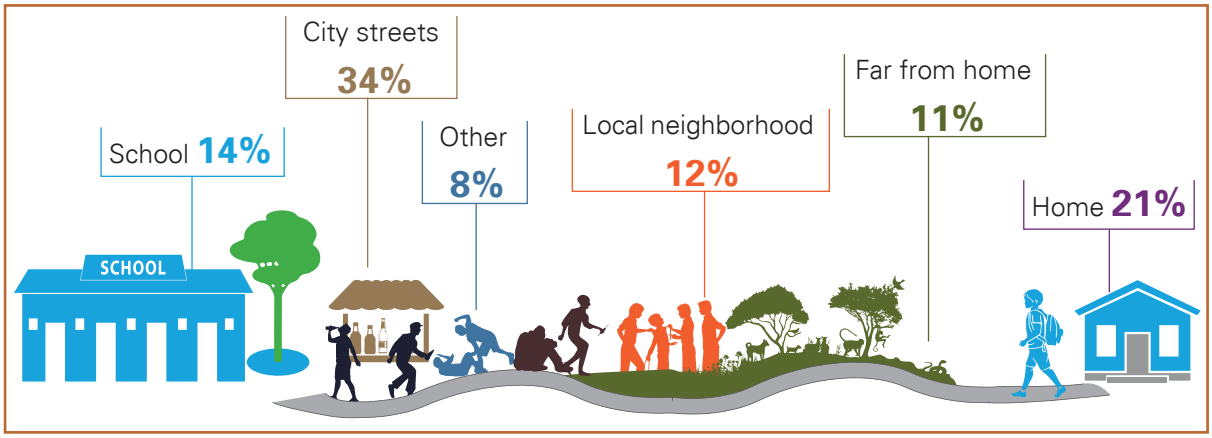


> They [children with disabilities] are neglected, by parents, especially fathers, who tend to abandon the whole family in case a child with disability is born in their family.
>
> (Father, Temeke)

In some regions (for example, Mbarali) instances were mentioned where children who are physically and mentally challenged are raped. One mother in Temeke recalled her experience when she stated:

> I think that children with disability are more at risk. I have my own daughter who is mentally retarded, she was impregnated and gave birth to a child. Sometimes I speak to her and tell her that I know the father of the child, then she will say in a low voice 'shhh, don't mention, he is going to kill you'. Seemingly, she was raped and threatened that if she mentioned him then he was going to kill her.

Figure 4: Domains where children are seen to be most at risk from VAC



Evidence suggested that children with disabilities are also killed at birth as they are seen as bringing bad luck or a curse on the family. Participants from Kasulu said that this is commonly known as mweshi-mkosi. Professionals in Kisarawe stated that children with disabilities are more at risk of violence as the community tends to ignore any acts of violence committed against them.

Children with albinism – Children with albinism are often categorized as being disabled but are specifically vulnerable to violence as a result of witchcraft beliefs that demand their sacrifice. Participants described how children with albinism are vulnerable to verbal and physical abuse. Often, their body parts are severed owing to superstitions that these bring wealth. Professional carers in Magu stated that this puts people with albinism face at risk of persecution even in the streets. This was echoed by participants in Kasulu who stated that albino children cannot play in the street as they fear being captured or even killed for their body parts. Thus, in Kasulu, there is a dedicated centre for children with albinism, where they are safe and protected.

Working children – Children who have been sent to work on farms (for example, in Mufindi) are often young and vulnerable to abuse. This is also the case with children who are living and/or working away from home. In Kasulu, it was reported that female children are frequently trafficked to other regions to work as house-girls. Some cases were reported whereby parents send children to the streets to sell things (such as buns) without providing the children with food. They are beaten if they come home without buns but with little money.

Children with HIV/AIDS – Children living with HIV/AIDS are neglected, stigmatized and discriminated against by the community. Participants in Temeke stated that children who are (or suspected as being) HIV-positive are left to sit alone at school. These children are subsequently less likely to attend school.

Orphans – Evidence suggested that orphans tend to be subjected to all forms of violence.

A 65-year-old male participant in Kasulu narrated how reminding children that their parents are deceased is one example of mistreating orphans, saying, "For example a guardian may tell a child – 'go to the cemetery to collect food from your dead mother'". Orphan children said they often do not feel loved by their guardians and are denied food, adequate shelter and education. This is confirmed in the following letters to adults. Orphaned children appeared to be discussed more by participants in Mufindi than in other areas.

> "I don't like the way you treat me especially when you deny me food because I am an orphan. I wish you could love me and take good care of me so that I can live happily. I feel so scared because every now and then you beat me heavily and give me hard work, such as carrying heavy loads."
>
> (Girl, 12, Mufindi)

Children living with step-parents – These children were also deemed vulnerable to physical and emotional abuse.

Children living or working on the streets – Children fending for themselves on the streets are vulnerable to all forms of violence. Boys in Kasulu described how children living or working on the street are often required to undertake hazardous labour (for low pay) and are vulnerable to being raped. Mothers from Temeke stated that children living or working on the streets are more at risk of sexual violence:

> "I think children living or working on the street are more at risk in the case of sexual violence. I know of children in [this area], they live in the street, they don't have homes as opposed to others who go home during the night, they're raped on a daily basis."

3.4 Where children are most at risk

Across all regions, children experience VAC in all areas of their lives. Both children and adults described that children are at risk of VAC within the home, at school, within the local neighbourhood, in the city streets and far from home.

Across 9 of the 10 regions,[19] adults perceive that children are more at risk in city streets and neighbourhood locations (46 per cent) and in the home (21 per cent) as compared to other locations.

Locations where VAC happens may also be settings where children feel safe. Hence children may feel safe at home (as they are cared for and loved) and at school (as they are educated and protected against violence) whilst also identifying these same places as locations where violence occurs.

Children experience physical, emotional and sexual abuse at home – Children routinely experience physical violence in the form of physical punishment as well as emotional abuse through name-calling and taunting. However sexual abuse is also prevalent at home involving fathers, step-parents, extended family relations and domestic workers. Many participants suggested that children lack basic needs at home, such as food and parental love and care.

Children are vulnerable to abuse from adults and older children in school – Children are beaten by teachers or may be raped by other students. Physical punishment by teachers (normally sticking) is common and often used when a child is perceived to have committed a wrong. Examples of such wrongs included a child failing to answer a question correctly or a child failing to arrive at school on time. A boy from Kisarawe stated that children are often beaten if they arrive at school after 7a.m. He mentioned that children often have to travel long distances to get to school (up to 10km), but are punished irrespective of this. Punishment in schools is often reported as being excessive and unregulated. There is also evidence of children being humiliated in front of the class for poor performance as well as bullying by other children. Frequent accounts were provided of teachers (especially young male teachers) attempting to seduce and seek love relations with girls (for example, in Magu, Shinyanga and Hai) with the penalty of being beaten for non-compliance. Findings from Temeke and Hai reveal that VAC also commonly involves older children sexually

Table 2: Adult perspectives of where VAC happens (regional breakdown percentage)

	Home	School	Local neighbourhood	City Streets	Far from home	Other
Magu	23	16	18[20]	24	19	0
Shinyanga	32	11	4	51	0	3
Temeke	22	16	14	23	14	11
Kisarawe	28	7	4	42	0	19
Kasulu	33	13	0	54	0	0
Mufindi	18	16	27	39	-	-
Mbarali	19	16	9	34	23	0
Hai	No data					
Unguja	3	10	7	33	30	18
Pemba	7	6	0	43	0	44[21]

[19] Data unavailable for Hai. Data based on number of mentions.

[20] In the market, entertainment clubs, bars and guest homes.

[21] At public gatherings and farms/plantations.

abusing other, often younger, children in lower grades or in primary schools. In Hai, boys suggested that this includes sexual abuse of boys as well as girls.

Children are at risk of sexual abuse in their local neighbourhoods and city streets – Children are vulnerable to violence, particularly sexual violence such as rape, unwanted sexual harassment, touching and being enticed into sexual acts through bribes from strangers, even when they are running errands for their parents. One child from Temeke stated that girls walking in the street are often touched on their breasts and buttocks without their consent. Participants described how sexual violence also happens in traditional ceremonies and night parties. For example, children from Kisarawe commented how unwanted touching is common at weekend night parties, such as vigodoro (see also Section 5.3.5).

Children are at risk of abuse when sent on errands far from home – Children are also vulnerable when sent to fetch water or firewood far from home. They are often sent during the night when it is dark and they may have to travel some distance from their home. Participants stated that children become vulnerable to sexual assault and rape as they walk to and from these locations which are often in remote rural areas. One father in Kisarawe reported how during the dry season, children often have to spend a night at the well waiting to draw water, increasing their vulnerability to violence. In Magu, there was reference to girls being raped when sent to the lake to get fish from the fishermen.

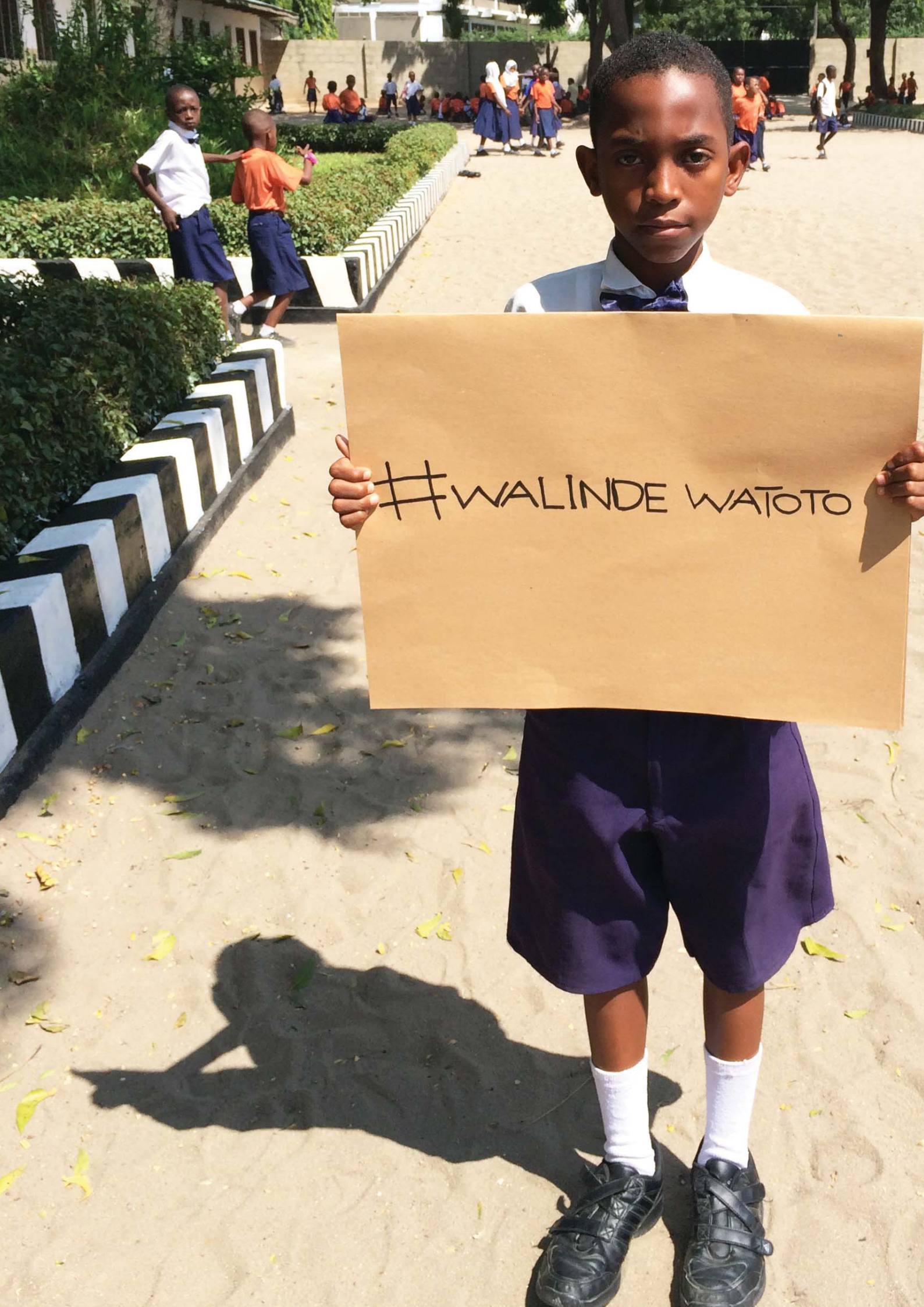
Children may experience violence on the journey to and from school – The long distance between home and school for many children was identified by participants (particularly in Kasulu and Hai) as providing the opportunity for VAC to be committed. For example, when walking to school children often have to go through or past bushes or forests that provide cover for perpetrators to hide and commit acts of violence.

One child from Magu reported the case of a girl who was raped while on her way to school because the route to school passed through bushes. This vulnerability of children en route to school was also confirmed by one boy from Kasulu who stated that:

> “VAC is caused by a number of reasons including the long distance from home to school. If a child arrives late, he is likely to be beaten or caned by teachers. If they set out very early around 5a.m., they are likely to be raped or harmed in any way. The same situation may cause girls to ask for a lift from a motorcyclist or car driver and, as a result,(they) may be sexually assaulted.”
>
> (Boy, Kasulu)

Children are also at risk when using various forms of transport (such as the bus, daladalas and bodabodas) –Daladala drivers may also waive the fare in exchange for sexual favours. One girl from Temeke recalled her experience of travelling to school in a bus:

> “…the bus was full and some people were seated while others were standing up. I was also standing up, a certain man was standing behind me, we were close to one another, everyone else was close to one another. I did not realize that he opened up his trousers and took his penis out. I did not realize because I was dressed up, but I noticed that my skirt had become so wet, that is when I noticed that there were many sperms. I got off the bus, but the driver left and I had nothing to do except cry. No-one helped. I told my mother she could do nothing as we did not have the number of the bus.”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CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS: Knowledge, attitudes and practices concerning physical violence

Summary

- Physical punishment, mainly beating, accounts for the majority of acts of physical violence. This occurs in the home and at school.
- Other forms of physical violence include FGM/C, child mutilation/sacrifice and hard labour.
- Beating is deeply embedded in socio-cultural practices and is seen by many as normal, with only half the people considering it harmful.
- There is an inter-generational disconnect regarding perceptions of physical violence.
- Beating is often seen by children as inappropriate, excessive and unwarranted, whereas parents and teachers see it as an essential tool for raising and disciplining children.
- Although children clearly identify that the use of physical violence makes them feel unsafe and unloved, there is little adult awareness of the psychological impact of physical violence.
- A lack of closeness between parents and children is also a factor, with 79 per cent of participants identifying a lack of love and care for children as a major cause of VAC.
- Parents seem to lack knowledge of positive parenting practices and alternatives to corporal punishment.
- Society is divided on whether to beat children or not, but it is clear that, if used, beating should be administered reasonably, according to guidance (in schools), and physical violence was mainly discussed in terms of physical punishment.

This chapter provides evidence about attitudes and practices concerned with physical punishment as well as discussing the findings about knowledge and use of alternatives to physical punishment. At the same time, children in particular talked about other forms of physical violence apart from physical punishment including hard labour, female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C) and child sacrifice.

4.1 Physical punishment

4.1.1 Trends in physical punishment

Beating children is socially accepted by adults and seen as a positive tool for child-rearing although most parents said they did not follow this norm. Physical punishment was the most commonly discussed form of physical violence and appears firmly rooted in socio-cultural norms. Views were widely expressed that beating children is normal, both at home and at school, and accepted as part of good child-rearing. Most adult respondents viewed beating children as essential to good upbringing and teaching children good behaviour.

> "According to our tribe (Wasukuma), to beat a child is a normal thing and, we believe, the only way to rectify a child."
>
> (Father, Magu)

> "We were all brought up by being beaten. If I was not beaten, I would not have been the way I am today. So, beating children is okay; just that it should not be excessive."
>
> (Mother, Magu)

> "Strokes are important and something which has been acceptable for a long time, as without them a child will not behave properly. Children cannot live without strokes."
>
> (Mother, Mufindi)

Across all regions, 70 per cent agreed that using three strokes to beat a child was acceptable, with lower levels of agreement with this practice in Kisarawe (3 per cent) and Magu (47 per cent).

Table 3: Beating children using three strokes is acceptable (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	-	-	47
Shinyanga	94	97	96
Temeke	78	82	80
Kisarawe	4	0	3
Kasulu	75	49	65
Mufindi	98	100	99
Mbarali	61	67	63
Hai	75	79	77
Unguja	70	79	76
Pemba	50	85	72
All	68%	72%	70%

However, despite people's reports of physical punishment as a normal, acceptable part of child-rearing, only a quarter of adults in this study admitted to physically punishing their children sometimes or frequently, with three quarters saying they rarely or never use physical punishment. An exception to this trend was Mufindi, where two thirds of respondents said they use physical punishment frequently or sometimes.

> "The African child cannot grow without sticks."
>
> (CRG,[22] Shinyanga)

These trends seem somewhat anomalous with people's qualitative assertions that physical punishment is important and a normal occurrence in bringing up children.

There is a divergence between people's stated attitudes and actual practice related to physical punishment for children although it is widely agreed that excessive punishment is a form of abuse and is unacceptable. Only 15 per cent of adults in the community research said they agree or strongly agree that physical punishment is the only way to discipline children (see Table 5), suggesting an awareness of alternative methods of discipline or they don't have to use it often in discipling children, and approximately half of all participants saying that using three strokes is harmful (see Table 6). Participants frequently agreed that physical punishment may be harmful to children and therefore counts as violence, but at the same time agreed that it is appropriate and acceptable to beat children to discipline them.

These results may be an indication that the socio-cultural views shaping social norms regarding physical punishment may not necessarily reflect the reality of parenting practices for the majority. However, given that children also talked about being regularly beaten, evidence suggests that the influence of socio-cultural factors with regard to physical punishment may be more complex. The findings suggest that this complexity is

Table 4: Reporting on frequency of physically punishing children (in per cent)

Area	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently
Magu	9	59	17	15
Shinyanga	5	88	3	3
Temeke	19	73	4	3
Kisarawe	22	74	4	0
Kasulu[23]	4	-	-	-
Mufindi	2	29	41	28
Mbarali	21	57	11	11
Hai	14	59	17	10
Unguja	22	58	15	5
Pemba	39	46	10	5
All	**16%**	**58%**	**15%**	**10%**

[22] Community Reference Group member.

[23] In Kasulu, 96 per cent of 108 people said they physically punished their children without specifying frequency..

characterized by ambivalences and ambiguities in people's attitudes and practices in relation to social norms.

Hence, whilst people readily talk about norms in terms of beating children, individually they may have different views which are not always allowed expression. At the same time, given the awareness about the potential harm of beating children, some participants appeared reluctant to admit routine beating of children. In spite of the trends above, there is a common view that if physical punishment is excessively severe[24] or not administered within guidelines then this amounts to violence and is therefore not acceptable.

> "Corporal punishment is very common, but if you beat up a child daily, that is violence."
>
> (Mother, Temeke)

Table 5: Physical punishment is the only way to discipline children (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	4	15	9
Shinyanga	10	0	5
Temeke	40	30	36
Kisarawe	5	3	4
Kasulu	10	0	5
Mufindi	10	14	12
Mbarali	2	5	4
Hai	6	14	10
Unguja	25	7	14
Pemba	12	17	14
All	**17%**	**12%**	**15%**

Table 6: Using three strokes is harmful (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	-	-	56
Shinyanga	29	15	22
Temeke	13	29	21
Kisarawe	82	84	83
Kasulu	No data		
Mufindi	71	50	61
Mbarali	83	88	85
Hai	14	11	12
Unguja	85	60	67
Pemba	43	36	40
All	**58%**	**50%**	**56%**

Table 7: Attitudes to beating a child with a heavy object

	Acceptable (in per cent)			Harmful (in per cent)		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Magu	0	0	0	-	-	91
Shinyanga	0	0	0	100	100	100
Temeke	11	14	15	26	59	43
Kisarawe	0	0	0	94	100	96
Kasulu	0	0	0	100	100	100
Mufindi	0	0	0	100	100	100
Mbarali	0	0	0	86	88	87
Hai	10	6	8	53	64	59
Unguja	4	3	3	75	79	77
Pemba	4	0	2	100	94	95
All	**1%**	**1%**	**1%**	**81%**	**86%**	**84%**

[24] Kukatha is used to refer to the act of beating without limits. In Hai, mchanyato is used to refer to sticking a child randomly all over their body.

Table 8: Attitudes to burning/scolding a child as a form of punishment

	Acceptable (in per cent)			Harmful (in per cent)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Magu	-	-	3	-	-	88
Shinyanga	0	0	0	100	100	100
Temeke	58	82	67	27	57	44
Kisarawe	0	0	0	87	92	89
Kasulu	0	0	0	100	100	100
Mufindi	0	0	0	100	100	100
Mbarali	0	0	0	91	82	87
Hai	8	0	3	75	76	76
Unguja	0	0	0	64	63	63
Pemba	5	0	2	94	100	98
All	**5%**	**4%**	**4%**	**84%**	**83%**	**84%**

Table 9: Attitudes to slapping or kicking a child as punishment

	Acceptable (in per cent)			Harmful (in per cent)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Magu	-	-	0	-	-	93
Shinyanga	0	0	0	100	94	97
Temeke	71	88	80	36	70	61
Kisarawe	2	0	1	96	97	97
Kasulu	73	77	75	No data		
Mufindi	69	86	77	100	90	95
Mbarali	0	0	0	100	100	100
Hai	6	0	3	53	68	62
Unguja	0	0	0	50	52	51
Pemba	10	15	13	94	100	97
All	**30%**	**31%**	**29%**	**83%**	**83%**	**84%**

Table 10: Attitudes to using hard labour as punishment

	Acceptable (in per cent)			Harmful (in per cent)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Magu	-	-	6	-	-	98
Shinyanga	3	0	2	96	96	96
Temeke	12	7	10	22	54	40
Kisarawe	0	0	0	88	95	91
Kasulu	0	0	0	100	100	100
Mufindi	45	51	48	64	64	64
Mbarali	0	0	0	100	100	100
Hai	0	0	0	57	80	71
Unguja	23	15	18	56	61	59
Pemba	10	5	7	100	100	100
All	**9%**	**10%**	**9%**	**77%**	**83%**	**82%**

Certain forms of punishment emerged as being clearly unacceptable. Whilst the dominant view appears to be that giving children strokes is acceptable as a form of punishment, beating a child in anger or using other forms of physical punishment is seen as unacceptable. Unacceptable physical punishment included burning, excessive number of strokes, using heavy objects, kicking, slapping, cutting, hitting children on sensitive parts,[25] tying children's hands and feet and hanging them from trees, making them sit in cold water, denying them food, or giving them hard labour. Tables 7–10 indicate the extent to which people view different forms of physical punishment as acceptable and harmful.

Hitting with a heavy object, burning, slapping/kicking and hard labour are all seen as highly unacceptable. Temeke, for the most part, emerges as being a significant variant from the overall trends where these approaches to physical punishment are seen as more acceptable and, at the same time, less harmful than in other regions. Slapping and kicking were seen as more acceptable in Kasulu, Mufindi and Temeke, although participants in Mufindi also said it was harmful. Mufindi, and to a lesser extent Unguja and Temeke, recorded higher proportions of people for whom hard labour is seen as acceptable.

Social sanction is a powerful influencer in parents' disciplinary methods. In discussions, many participants said they would not dare abuse their children in these ways, but instead said they used small sticks/sweeping materials which are culturally accepted for disciplining the child but without harming them. The evidence

Child's drawing of a child being beaten excessively

"Violence – being beaten excessively. The harm of this kind of violence: i) denies the child freedom and ii) will make the child hate the parent."

[25] This was reported in Kasulu, Mbarali and Kisarawe where kwa babu (pinching boy's genitalia) was also mentioned and in Shinyanga where mothers condemned the use of pepper on genitalia.

Table 11: Use of physical punishment – sticking

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently
Magu	6	59	17	18
Shinyanga	0	66	29	5
Temeke	31	60	7	2
Kisarawe	11	84	5	0
Kasulu	7	0	93	0
Mufindi	0	39	33	28
Mbarali	6	59	20	15
Hai	31	51	14	4
Unguja	35	53	11	0
Pemba	32	45	17	6
All	**15%**	**52%**	**25%**	**8%**

Table 12: Use of physical punishment – burning/scolding

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently
Magu	100	0	0	0
Shinyanga	No data			
Temeke	87	11	0	2
Kisarawe	80	17	3	0
Kasulu	100	0	0	0
Mufindi	100	0	0	0
Mbarali	99	1	0	0
Hai	75	12	0	12
Unguja	86	7	0	6
Pemba	100	0	0	0
All	**92%**	**5%**	**1%**	**2%**

Table 13: Use of physical punishment – slapping

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently
Magu	67	28	3	1
Shinyanga	31	50	3	16
Temeke	35	55	9	1
Kisarawe	100	0	0	0
Kasulu	51	0	49	0
Mufindi	0	47	34	19
Mbarali	37	57	2	4
Hai	42	31	17	10
Unguja	83	11	6	0
Pemba	97	3	0	0
All	**54%**	**28%**	**12%**	**5%**

Table 14: Use of physical punishment – hard labour

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently
Magu	74	15	0	11
Shinyanga	61	36	2	1
Temeke	73	27	0	0
Kisarawe	100	0	0	0
Kasulu	40	0	60	0
Mufindi	19	31	39	11
Mbarali	79	12	6	2
Hai	60	9	8	23
Unguja	86	9	4	1
Pemba	95	5	0	0
All	**69%**	**14%**	**12%**	**5%**

suggests that if a practice is socially acceptable then parents are less likely to consider it harmful to children, in spite of evidence running contrary to statements from children. It also appears that the perceived boundaries of acceptability are not so concrete, resulting in more harmful alternative punishments sometimes being sanctioned. One example was provided by children in Temeke of a child who was beaten with 16 strokes by the use of a special cane from the famous tree named Mkungalungo, with the thickness of the stick estimated to be 16 millimetres. Another story was related by a mother from Unguja:

Tables 11–14 indicate how frequently parents use different types of punishment. Sticking is used most frequently with a third of people using sticking on a regular basis (sometimes/frequently), while burning and scolding were least used as a punishment, with only 3 per cent of parents using this sometimes/frequently.

> “you know … sometimes our husbands use heavy things to punish a child. I do remember long time ago, I read in a magazine that a certain man killed his son by punishing him with a heavy thing on his head when he was crying for his mother while being beaten by his father. Therefore, it is not okay to punish not only a child but any person using these heavy instruments.”

Findings suggest that forms of punishment such as burning and cutting seem to be most used when children become resilient to beating and also as a response to stealing.

> “My neighbour’s child was found stealing meat from the pot and her mother punished her by burning her hands.”
>
> (Professional, Magu)

In beating children, there seems to be a thin line between what is commonly acceptable as part of ‘good’ child-rearing practice and what is regarded as ‘violence’. The predominant view seems to be that punishment should be meted out to correct the child rather than cause harm. But if a child sustains injury, then this amounts to violence and is unacceptable, although there seems to be little awareness of the psychological harm children experience as a result of physical punishment. The extent of injury sustained or number of strokes were commonly used to make the distinction between what is and is not acceptable. Two or three strokes are commonly seen as reasonable across different regions, but over five strokes is not. However, there is inconsistency in what is understood as the right number of strokes. For example, in Hai, community leaders said the number of strokes should not exceed four, but boys said they should not exceed three while fathers said

six. In Kisarawe, boys stated that receiving five strokes is normal at school, whereas in Mbarali, boys said that one stroke was enough and girls, on the whole, felt they should not be physically punished at all. In Mbarali, the fathers' focus group said they were against physical punishment because they were of the view that it was not administered properly. Yet, paradoxically, mothers in Mbarali stated that male parents tend to punish children unreasonably.

4.1.2 Injustices and unintended consequences

In spite of the rationale presented for using physical punishment as a means to 'correct the child', there is significant evidence to suggest that children are often punished without good reason or for minor incidents. Many children argued that physical punishment tends to be unwarranted, excessive and disproportionate.

For example, in Magu, it was reported that a child was beaten by the parents on asking them to fulfil the government's request for contribution towards the school laboratory.

> "I don't like to be punished for unjustifiable reasons and I don't like to be suspected of an act which I did not do."
>
> (Girl, 13, Kasulu)

> "I don't like being punished without any genuine reasons. Physical punishment leaves a lot of injuries and pain to me and sometimes I am punished even for a very minor mistake. If you continue beating me the way you do I am afraid one day I may end up becoming a disabled person. I pray to God that anger should not be the only way of directing me when I do wrong."
>
> (Boy, 15, Mufindi)

This also happens in schools, for example, because parents failed to pay school fees or because the pupil refused to succumb to the teacher's sexual advances. Evidence also suggests that physical punishment, along with shaming (see Section 6.3) can happen in a relatively casual and indiscriminate way in schools and can be issued often for minor reasons. Children from Temeke, for example, stated they are frequently beaten for being unable to answer a question in class, for giving a wrong answer, for being late to school, or if their school uniform is torn.

Children also observed that particularly in schools teachers do not adhere to the regulations when sticking and often administer beatings without justifiable reason. In addition, children do not feel they can speak out about corporal punishment for fear they might be further punished.

> "I am scared when physical punishment is applied to me and when I give out my opinion and it is disrespected.
>
> (Girl, 13, Shinyanga)

> "I told them that I am not supposed to receive more than four strokes. They said okay, you are right, you will get only four strokes. There were 10 of them, they started punishing me so I received 40 strokes as each of them gave me four strokes."
>
> (Boy, Temeke)

There is a sense, especially among children, that physical punishment should not be an automatic response. Children felt that only a serious wrong committed was grounds for receiving physical punishment. Even then, it should not be excessive and administered only after it is proven the child did something wrong or if the child repeated the offence. In some cases, it was reported that parents punish children if they come home late without giving the child an opportunity to explain why. For instance, a number of parents highlighted a problem with children being late on their return home from school because of issues with public transport where bus conductors/drivers do not allow children or students to board the

bus because they pay lower fares. According to children, parents are very quick to physically punish without establishing the situation and without considering whether punishing the child is reasonable in different situations. Although some parents had a tendency towards meting out physical punishment as an automatic reflex regardless of whether a child actually committed a certain offence, children, as well as many adults, argued that it was better to talk to the child first (see Section 4.4). In most cases, children's experience of physical punishment does not vindicate the rationale and intended effects adults provide for using it. Instead of disciplining children and moulding good behaviour, children said that it only builds up resentment against parents, reduces respect and makes them feel unloved, disrespected and uncared for.

> "I don't like the way you mistreat me, especially when you burn me with fire or hot objects. I get injured and feel a lot of pain. I wish you could also respect us children because we are the future of this nation. I feel so scared when you mistreat me. I wish you could love me and pray always that you change your behaviour and let me live happily."
>
> (Girl, Mufindi)

Physical punishment or the expectation of physical punishment leads to children feeling insecure and living in fear. This, ironically, is harmful to their development. A number of children talked about how physical punishment affects their education, and some reported that it makes them want to run away. For example, in Mufindi, girls mentioned a child whose hands were burnt for stealing cooked meat. The child ran away and has not been seen since. Moreover, a research conducted by the Ministry of Education in Zanzibar[26] on physical abuse in school found that caning was a major factor in children dropping out of school.

Children feel a sense of injustice and lack of respect for the way they are treated, as one girl, aged 10 years old, from Mufindi articulated in her letter to adults:

> "I don't like the way you beat me so much. I am a child just like any other child who is treated well. I like to be raised in a good way and in better living conditions. I feel unsafe whenever I fail to do certain work and you beat me up. I feel happy when I am not beaten. I think the best change that is needed is to afford children equal treatment just like any other human being."
>
> (Girl, Mufindi)

In children's pictorial representations of how they felt about violence, many showed children feeling sad or crying as a result of being beaten. The impact of physical violence, well documented in the 2011 VAC study, is echoed in this study with children making statements such as "physical punishment affects children and makes them regret they were born" (boy, 16 years old, Kasulu) and "being punished without justifiable reasons makes me feel so bad and valueless in the family" (girl, 13, Kasulu).

It is clear that children do not necessarily object to the use of physical punishment, but feel that there should be justifiable reasons for punishing them. As girls in Temeke reported, it should be used "only as a last resort". In addition, they would like to be given an opportunity to express themselves and argue for their right to be heard before being punished.

> "All forms of physical punishment are violence. In some cases, physical punishment should be used but only when all other ways have been exhausted."
>
> (Girls, Shinyanga)

[26] According to information provided by a researcher for Ungula, the Ministry of Education and Save the Children conducted a baseline survey in 2007 on child abuse including corporal punishment which found that it is a problem affecting children. The findings were not published.

Although many children said that physical punishment should be stopped,[27] a few children's responses (especially from boys) accepted that sticking was sometimes needed. One group of boys (Magu) stated that a teacher who does not use the cane is not respected, although beating a child is not the only way to gain respect from students. Such a response is therefore perhaps also a product of a culture of beating. Boys more readily accept 'sticking' on the basis that otherwise they would misbehave and have no respect for teachers. However, if physical punishment is used, it should be administered reasonably.

> "Physical punishment is OK; only that it should not be excessive to the extent of bringing harm to the child."
>
> (Boy, Pemba)

Whilst children accept to some degree the arguments for using physical punishment in theory, their experiences in reality indicate that it is frequently and inappropriately used, and does not have the desired effect that adults assume. Children widely advocate alternative approaches to discipline that revolve around talking and educating as more effective approaches to child-rearing (see Section 4.4).

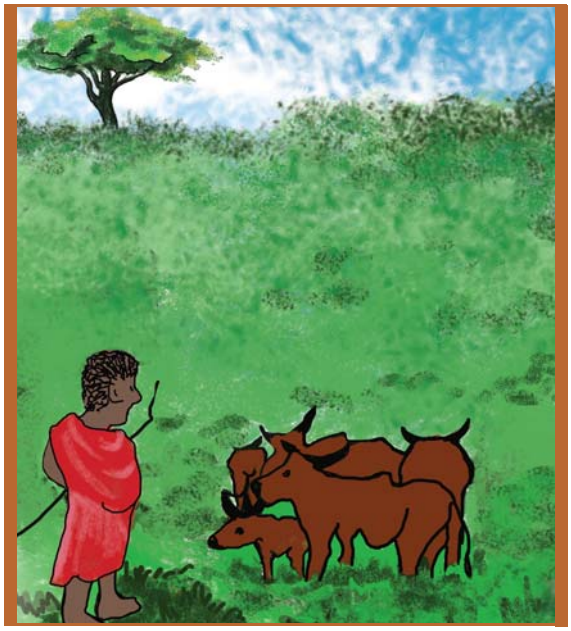
4.2 Other forms of physical violence

In addition to physical punishment, other forms of physical violence particularly mentioned by children included being given hard labour, child sacrifice (involving albinism), FGM/C and random violence fuelled by alcohol or poverty. What is most significant is not merely the physical reality of these different experiences of violence, but the fear and anxiety that children frequently experience in response to the possibility or expectation of violence.

4.2.1 Hard labour

Children regularly expressed their views about being made to do hard labour. In most cases, this is because they feel that in doing so, it deprives them of the opportunity to go to school. Hard labour may include collecting food or water, digging, carrying heavy loads, tending livestock or agricultural work on plantations (such as tobacco plantations in Kasulu).

Child being made to work and look after cattle, when the child should be at school



This child is given work to look after cattle while others are at school. This is not safe for the child and the government should take action against the person who hired the child. A child is supposed to get an education because education is key to life. Parents should help this child to get an education so that he doesn't get enticed by money.

To a large extent, giving children work responsibilities from a young age is a feature of cultural norms in order to help the family, and train children in the ways of life for when they become adults. But equally, children may be given hard labour as a punishment.

> "I don't like the way you give me hard work because I get hurt and tired and I always feel sick. I feel so unsafe in the way you treat me. I like to be given food and sent to school."
>
> (Boy, 12, Mufindi)

[27] Ten out of the twelve girls in the focus group in Kisarawe felt that the use of canes should be abolished at school. Boys in Mbarali were also widely against physical punishment.

Children frequently asserted their right to go to school and be educated rather than made to do hard labour. Paradoxically, it appears that one of the reasons for child labour is poverty, wherein children are made to work or go onto the streets to earn money and, if they are lucky, pay the school fees that their families otherwise cannot provide.

4.2.2 Female genital mutilation/ cutting (FGM/C)

FGM/C was discussed as a form of physical as well as sexual violence. Reports were received about children undergoing FGM/C without any kind of anaesthetic and with unsterilized equipment.[28] Children, as well as adults, expressed strong feelings about FGM/C because they said that it causes excessive bleeding during the process, sometimes leading to death, and can leave scars or cause disability. However, if children do not follow the custom, they are beaten. Children argue that FGM/C has resulted in some children running away from their home which further increases their vulnerability to violence.

Data from adults indicates that 97 per cent of community research participants find the practice of FGM/C unacceptable, with 84 per cent arguing

Table 15: Attitudes to FGM/C[29]

	Acceptable (per cent of people in agreement)			Harmful (per cent of people in agreement)		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Magu	-	-	2	-	-	91
Shinyanga	6	-	3	100	93	96
Temeke	8	30	21	26	63	45
Kisarawe	0	0	0	85	96	91
Kasulu	0	0	0	100	100	100
Mufindi	0	0	0	100	100	100
Mbarali	0	0	0	93	83	88
Hai	10	0	4	43	75	62
Unguja	0	6	3	63	68	66
Pemba	11	0	5	94	100	97
All	**6%**	**7%**	**3%**	**82%**	**84%**	**84%**

Table 16: FGM/C can be justified as part of our culture (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	20	28	23
Shinyanga	24	19	21
Temeke	34	40	38
Kisarawe	15	18	16
Kasulu	13	5	10
Mufindi	16	15	16
Mbarali	2	2	2
Hai	6	0	3
Unguja	31	21	24
Pemba	19	16	17
All	**18%**	**19%**	**18%**

Table 17: Witchcraft and superstition as drivers of VAC (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	56	54	55
Shinyanga	71	93	81
Temeke	60	58	59
Kisarawe	39	50	44
Kasulu	56	82	66
Mufindi	74	78	76
Mbarali	63	80	81
Hai	91	83	87
Unguja	53	60	57
Pemba	No data		
All	**63%**	**71%**	**67%**

[28] Similar rituals take place with boys being circumcised by an elder without anaesthetic, often involving using the same tool on more than one boy.

[29] Although FGM/C is allegedly not practiced in Zanzibar, the same questions were explored across all regions.

that it is also harmful. A majority (83 per cent) of respondents in the community research workshops stated that culture is an insufficient justification for FGM/C and that the practice should be banned.

In addition, only 18 per cent of participants agreed that FGM/C could be justified by culture. There are regional differences in the response to FGM/C, for example participants in Magu stated that FGM/C is not one of the traditional practices in the region and that it does not form part of Sukuma customs. Similarly, in Pemba, CRG members stated that FGM/C is not a traditional practice in Zanzibar.

Temeke recorded higher than average levels (38 per cent) of agreement with FGM/C. Women were more likely to agree with FGM/C as part of their culture than men in Temeke and Kisarawe. These figures suggest that, in spite of the harm FGM/C causes, women still seem to adhere to traditional cultural values in this respect.

4.2.3 Child sacrifice (albinism)

Mutilation and sacrifice of children with albinism as a result of adults seeking advice from traditional healers is well known. Children (both with albinism and those without) and adults expressed concern about such practices.

> "I don't like it when children's body parts are cut off. I feel frightened when children are affected by the poor beliefs of witch doctors."
>
> (Girl, 12, Mbarali)

Participants in Mbarali stated that witchcraft beliefs had resulted in the deaths of albino children during the farming season. It was believed that the blood of murdered albino children was mixed with seeds before sowing them in the hope of securing a better harvest. For children and many adults, these are examples of harmful traditions that should be stopped.

The evidence in Table 17 highlights that a large number of participants in Hai, Shinyanga, Mufindi and Mbarali were of the opinion that witchcraft and superstition were a major cause of VAC. However, accounts of, and concerns expressed about, witchcraft were more prominent in the southern highlands, particularly in Mbarali.

4.3 Socio-cultural drivers of physical violence

Justifications for use of physical punishment seem deeply embedded in social norms. Sayings such as '*samaki mkunje angali mbichi*' ('the fish is easier to bend when it is fresh from the water'), quoted in Hai and Unguja to justify sticking, consolidate the sanction towards physical violence against children. Some respondents[30] also justified the use of corporal punishment through religion by quoting the Bible (Proverbs 22:15, 13:24, 22:6 and 23:13)[31] and Islamic teachings as validating such practices, including situations where children do not want to learn religious teachings. According to Islam, a child should only be beaten after the age of seven years when he understands what is good and bad. A further argument for physical punishment is that it is relatively easier to be administered than other punishments which might require supervision.

Many adults made reference to the power of community influence in that they would be seen as bad parents if they did not beat their children. They also mentioned that they would be condemned by the society if they beat the child without a wrong being committed. Yet, according to children, unjustified beating is a frequent occurrence. Evidence found elsewhere in this research about the reluctance of the wider community to interfere does not seem to support this assumption.

Table 18: Frequency of beating (in per cent)

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Quite often	Frequently
Beaten themselves	13	41	26	16	3
Beating own children	16	58	15	9	2

[30] Mother, Shinyanga; Father, Kasulu; CRG, Kisarawe; Professional, Pemba.

[31] For example, Proverbs 22:6 states "Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it", and Proverbs 23:13 states: "Withhold not correction from the child: for if you beatest him with the rod, he shall not die."

Table 19: Regional variations in physical punishment (in per cent)

	How often were you beaten?			How often do you physically punish your children?		
	Never	Rarely/ Sometimes	Frequently	Never	Rarely/ Sometimes	Frequently
Magu	-	-	-	9	76	15
Shinyanga	2	62	35	5	91	3
Temeke	20	71	10	19	77	3
Kisarawe	4	68	33	22	78	0
Kasulu	No data[32]					
Mufindi	2	71	28	2	69	28
Mbarali	21	68	11	21	68	11
Hai	14	76	10	14	76	10
Unguja	28	62	10	22	74	5
Pemba	39	56	5	39	56	5

Many incidences of VAC appear to happen as a result of social norms that make different forms of VAC acceptable. Many adult participants argued that physical violence happens as a result of "ignorance" and an absence of alternative parenting approaches. In turn, evidence suggests that many people do not question these practices and are unaware of the impacts of violence against children. **Lack of reflection on how children are treated seems to be perpetuated by the fear of going against social norms and also, it was suggested, as a result of lack of education and knowledge of positive parenting practices.[33]**

> "Ignorance – people commit certain acts of violence without knowing it causes harm to children."
>
> (Community leader, Magu)

Lack of education about child protection at the household level and children's rights was frequently mentioned. Some[34] suggested that violence is part of socio-cultural values in which some parents (especially fathers) see children as property and therefore assume they can do whatever they want to a child, regardless of whether the child is harmed or not. FGM/C and initiation ceremonies for girls (mainly) and boys as acts of physical violence are seemingly also justified by traditions and customs, and often involve regular events such as vigodoro in Temeke. In addition, witchcraft perpetuates beliefs that sacrifice of children with albinism brings wealth (see 5.2.3 and 6.3.4).

Table 20: Poverty as a significant factor giving rise to VAC (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	87	87	87
Shinyanga	83	95	90
Temeke	78	78	78
Kisarawe	61	68	64
Kasulu	57	88	69
Mufindi	100	97	98
Mbarali	80	84	82
Hai	85	93	89
Unguja	65	65	65
Pemba	83	61	70
All	**77%**	**82%**	**79%**

Individual personal experiences are often a key determinant of patterns of behaviour. Analysis of adult experiences of being beaten when they were children reflects similar trends

[32] In Kasulu, the data was agglomerated with 91 per cent males and 98 per cent females revealing they had been beaten as a child. Also, 96 per cent of males and 98 per cent females said they had used physical punishment.

[33] Community Reference Group, Kisarawe.

[34] Adults, Unguja.

to current patterns of beating their own children. This suggests an ongoing process of cultural reproduction. Table 18 illustrates broadly similar patterns of behaviours concerning physical punishment across generations. However, evidence shows that there may be a shift towards decreasing occurrence of beating children between generations.

Poverty is a driver for VAC. Regarding physical violence more generally, poverty and child labour are seen as major drivers with 81 per cent of participants across all regions arguing poverty is a major factor in giving rise to VAC. In particular, stress caused by poverty was identified as giving rise to parents being more likely to beat their child in anger.

Children from poor families are more likely to be taken out of school to work and generate income for the household. This further reinforces the cycle of poverty and lack of education. Child labour often involves work beyond what many (including children themselves) see as reasonable for a child to do. Such tasks include working on farms (often at a considerable distance away from home which leaves children vulnerable to other forms of violence and exploitation), transporting heavy bags of charcoal, fetching water or wood, or grazing livestock (e.g., Maasai).

Table 21: Alcohol and drunkenness as a cause of VAC (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	91	70	80
Shinyanga	71	82	76
Temeke	88	89	88
Kisarawe	54	67	60
Kasulu	68	67	67
Mufindi	61	71	66
Mbarali	91	89	90
Hai	73	76	75
Unguja	89	96	94
Pemba	No data		
All	**75%**	**80%**	**77%**

> "I dislike being given a punishment which is not proportionate to me and the wrong committed, like digging a trench, washing clothes or being tasked like a donkey."
>
> (Child, Temeke)

Some recognized that child labour is essential to help parents, but as one woman in Kasulu noted: "Parents have to be assisted by their children, but a child should always be treated like a child". These factors are, in turn, influenced by problems of poor infrastructure such as availability of potable water and transport.

Table 22: Parents not being close/ loving to their children (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	95	81	88
Shinyanga	85	95	90
Temeke	93	93	93
Kisarawe	89	91	90
Kasulu	69	85	75
Mufindi	82	75	78
Mbarali	92	90	91
Hai	97	100	99
Unguja	86	95	92
Pemba	96	95	96
All	**87%**	**90%**	**88%**

Table 23: Family conflict/breakdown as a cause of VAC (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	67	61	64
Shinyanga	90	93	91
Temeke	85	90	88
Kisarawe	68	70	69
Kasulu	68	80	72
Mufindi	84	90	87
Mbarali	85	88	86
Hai	83	74	77
Unguja	90	98	96
Pemba	64	92	81
All	**78%**	**85%**	**82%**

Alcohol also significantly drives VAC. In a small number of cases, children identified violence as a direct result of alcohol consumption, although some of this related to children feeling afraid just as much as experiencing violence. In addition, a high proportion (88 per cent) of adults felt that alcohol consumption was a significant factor in causing VAC.

> "I dislike seeing you going to drink alcohol because when you go drinking you come back at midnight. I feel frightened when you come back home drunk. But I feel happy when you pay school fees and other contributions for me."
>
> (Boy, 14, Kasulu)

> "I see my dad drinking alcohol… when he comes home he becomes violent and insults us."
>
> (Girl, 12, Shinyanga)

Impaired parent-child relationships contribute to making children vulnerable. Despite widespread acceptance of corporal punishment, there was a strong sense amongst participants that a lack of a culture of love and care for children[35] was a major cause of VAC, with 79 per cent across all regions agreeing with this. According to participants, this is manifest in parents not being sufficiently close to their children to make them feel loved and secure and also in parents not exercising more control and awareness about where their children are and what they are doing. This lack of care was also perceived in parents not making sure that their children go to school or intentionally taking them out of school to work.

Some respondents stated that some parents seem to "lose the love for their child" and do not safeguard their child. In Pemba and Unguja, children stated that "a lot of parents are not concerned with their children's welfare and performance at school". However, parents in Unguja also stated that "lack of accountability of parents towards parenting their children is one of the factors that contributes to VAC." For professionals in Unguja, for example, this is manifest in young children spending time on the street at night where they are at risk of being harmed. The same professional group argued that "parents think that parenting children means only providing them with food and clothes, but this is not enough". The socio-cultural factor behind VAC highlighted here concerns the extent to which parents have an appreciation for children's emotional, psychological and developmental needs that affect their social reality.

Some physical violence against children is attributed to conflict and stress in families. There were 83 per cent of adults who agreed to this. One manifestation is when marriages become difficult or families experience poverty, parents experience heightened stress which can be projected onto children through VAC.

> "I feel anxious when parents are angry all the time because this makes everyone unhappy at home. Sometimes a child decides to leave home and go somewhere because parents are always angry and fighting, but then they may go to unsafe places where they are unprotected."
>
> (Child, Temeke)

Additionally, when families break up, children can be left vulnerable and without proper parental care, and they often end up being mistreated by relatives. Some respondents identified tensions in families as being caused by polygamist family situations where some parents and children are not provided for. Fathers with concubines can sometimes provide more support to concubines than to their legal wives and families, causing family conflicts and sometimes separation. When parents are in conflict, children are affected. Also, due to polygamy, children may be obliged to live with stepmothers who, many perceive,

[35] Lack of love and care was mentioned by focus group participants and was therefore explored further in the community action research.

often mistreat children as those are not theirs. A number of responses suggested that step-parents frequently do not care for children, yet biological parents may also abuse and fail to properly care for children.

4.4 Knowledge and attitudes about alternatives to physical punishment

Children were quite clear that, in most cases, physical punishment is not necessary, but instead alternative approaches should be used involving listening to and talking with children.

> "Physical punishment has to be replaced by other alternative punishments like warnings and apologies."
>
> (Boy, 16, Kasulu)

Some adults were also able to identify alternatives, many of which echoed children's views and most popularly focused on the importance of talking and being closer to children rather than resorting automatically to beating them.

> "We need to speak to our children about their situation and be able to listen to them. For instance, my child refused to go to school, but when I spoke to him he said the money I was giving was too little, then we agreed on how much I should give him and he started going to school."
>
> (Mother, Temeke)

Alternatives to physical punishment were widely discussed and included the following:

Summary of alternatives to physical punishment identified by parents

- Warning children not to commit such acts again
- Counselling and educating children
- Talking with the child to find out why the problem occurred
- Talking to the child in a polite and friendly manner to highlight where they went wrong and to teach them what is right and wrong
- Ensuring opportunities for children to have their say
- Educating children on how to behave and discussing the effects of misbehaviour
- Being more loving and caring towards children so they develop confidence and feel they can discuss things with parents
- Instilling the word of God and encouraging religious studies so that children learn the fear of God, obedience and respect
- Providing good role models
- Going back to traditional ways, for example, shkome where parents sit with children in the evening to tell stories and impart life-skills
- Denying children the right to play with other children for some time
- Giving jobs to children (such as cleaning or fetching water)
- Shaming the child before other children
- Restricting the gifting of presents to children

4.4.1 Listening, talking, educating, warning

Most frequently, people talked about the need to listen to and talk with the child in order to discover why the problem occurred and show them where they went wrong as an alternative to beating. For some children, this also meant providing an opportunity for them to account for what had happened so as to avoid unnecessary beating. This also involves the parents having a serious conversation with the child to show how unhappy they are that the child has committed a wrong and to educate him/her in "providing a proper understanding to the child on the nature and extent of the wrong committed to avoid its recurrence" (Adult, Kisarawe).

Both adults and children emphasized the importance of talking with the child in a polite and friendly way.

> The alternative is to sit with the child and talk with him for the purpose of educating him and instructing him how to behave and be a good person.
>
> (Father, Pemba)

In their letters to adults, children typically wrote:

> **Dear Adults,**
> I don't like being mistreated. I don't like being burnt by hot objects. But I like someone to talk to me in a way I can learn from my mistakes so that I don't repeat them again. I think we can get changes if the community is well educated about children rights.
>
> (Girl, Mufindi)

4.4.2 Preventative practices

Preventative practices mentioned included being closer to the child so that the child feels loved and secure, and can confidently talk with the parent if required. Two thirds of participants agreed that it was important that children should be praised when they do well. In Mufindi and Hai and, in particular, Kasulu and Mbarali, participants were much less likely to agree with praising children.

Preventative practices involve developing different types of positive relationships with children based on respecting and valuing children. Respect means listening to and valuing children's views and experiences, respecting their decisions and abilities and not assuming that adults always know best. Valuing children means showing love and care for them and, in turn, spending time with children and taking an interest in their lives.

Table 24: Children should be praised when they do well (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	96	100	98
Shinyanga	97	88	93
Temeke	93	81	87
Kisarawe	81	72	77
Kasulu	15	0	10
Mufindi	56	59	57
Mbarali	38	25	33
Hai	50	55	53
Unguja	81	76	78
Pemba	94	100	98
All	**67%**	**67%**	**67%**

4.4.3 Sanctions

Sanctions mentioned mainly involved giving children tasks such as gardening, digging a dumping pit, household cleaning, or fetching water or firewood. Yet, for children, these forms of hard labour are seen as equally exploitative and abusive. Some also suggested making the child do physical exercises such as push-ups. Sanctions included denying things the child enjoys, like presents or watching TV, preventing children from playing with friends, giving them more school work, isolating them or denying them food. One example was provided of tying children to restrict their movement. Shaming the child in front of other children was also mentioned as an alternative punishment and will be discussed in more detail in section 6.3.

> Giving them more school and home works so as to make them busy all the time including denying them from playing with other children in games they really like with the intention of changing their unacceptable behaviour.
>
> (Parent, Unguja)

> Locking him inside the room for at least for two hours, studying his school books and religious ones.
>
> (Parent, Unguja)

> It is better to discipline a child rather than separating him as he will not understand exactly what he has committed is wrong or not.
>
> (Parent, Unguja)

Whilst these alternatives are essentially non-violent alternatives to beating, some sanctions that were mentioned as alternatives appear equally harmful to children, such as hard labour which children often complained was too much for their age and ability. Furthermore, in the community research in Unguja, parents mentioned "only using three sticks" as an alternative. This suggests that 'alternative' was interpreted by some as 'another' (equally harmful) approach rather than a non-violent or non-harmful alternative disciplinary ethos. Indeed, in some cases, it appears that parents had little knowledge of alternatives.

4.4.4 Alternatives in practice

When asked how parents and teachers should respond if a child misbehaves or does wrong, people across all regions were most in agreement with hearing the child's view, talking with the child to understand why and finding a solution together. If a child is not performing well at school, there was a predominant view across all regions that children should be attending extra classes rather than being beaten.

These data suggest that despite the prominence of corporal punishment, many parents have an awareness of alternative approaches for disciplining children, even if they do not agree with them. These trends also corroborate the data in Section 5.1 which indicate that approximately three quarters of people do not believe beating is the only way to discipline children. This raises the question about why these alternatives are not used and talked about more widely, and why the normative discourse of beating prevails. It could be that, at an individual level, people do have knowledge about alternative approaches to disciplining children, but under the powerful influence of the community and the fear of being shunned if they go against socio-cultural norms, adoption of such practices is too big a step to take.

Table 25: Views about how to respond when a child misbehaves or does not do well in school (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Take the child out of school	1213	12%	
Beat the child	2221	20%	
Ask for extra classes	7883	88%	
Hear the child's view	8689	94%	
Take away things the child likes doing	5061	56%	
Give extra activities such as hard labour	1613	17%	
Talk with the child to understand why and together find a solution	9289	96%	

4.4.5 Absence of alternatives

Some participants were not able to identify any alternative approaches. Indeed, some parents believe that there are no alternatives to physical punishment for disciplining children and believe that they are good because their parents used physical punishment while they were children. Furthermore, some feel that the new generation is growing disrespectful because physical punishment has been reduced.

> "There is no alternative punishment as a substitute to physical punishment."
>
> (Mother, Kasulu)

> "How can I sit with a child of four years and start talking of their wrong? Actually they will not understand me so the only way to tell them that they have done wrong is through sticks."
>
> (Professional, Pemba)

> "You can talk to the child and counsel them to change but if they do not want to change then you have to use sticks. There is no alternative; a child must be beaten if they misbehave.
>
> (Mother, Magu)

> Beating a child is a way of disciplining them instead of punishing and harming…by beating a child, you are at least letting them know that they have committed a wrong which is not accepted in their family and community at large.
>
> (Parent, Unguja)

These quotes reflect a lack of knowledge about healthy child development and positive parenting approaches, but they equally reflect a lack of understanding about the abilities of young children to comprehend situations. The view that corporal punishment is inevitable was also echoed in the context of schools, as a member of the CRG in Shinyanga stated: "Corporal punishment is unavoidable in schools owing to the large number of children in the class." However, whilst there was disagreement in some groups about the use of physical punishment, there did tend to be an agreement on how physical punishment was administered, arguing that it must be aimed at warning and not inflicting harm. Accordingly, it should not involve caning, slapping, kicking, burning or hanging.

4.4.6 Initiatives supporting alternatives to corporal punishment

The findings of the study suggest that adults in Tanzania – both parents and teachers – would benefit from support in order to develop their parenting skills and employ alternative approaches for disciplining children. Examples of programmes that encourage this include a Special Unit for Alternative Discipline established by the Ministry of Education in Zanzibar to pilot the use of alternative forms of discipline and develop policies for abolishing physical punishment in schools in Zanzibar. Alternative forms of discipline include cleaning the school environment as well as the toilet, writing a letter to the concerned teacher or student apologizing for the

wrongdoing, being given an exercise of writing the wrong committed by a student (for example, 'being late for school is not permitted'), and being given extra homework. Another example is the parenting skills programme developed by the International Rescue Committee (IRC). Parents attending these programmes have been applying these skills and evaluation provides evidence of how successful they are. Relevant networks include the Pan African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN)[36] that promotes child rights and child protection in Africa.

[36] http://www.anppcan.org/

CHAPTER 5
FINDINGS: Sexual violence

Summary

- In Tanzanian society, sexual violence against boys and girls is widely seen as wrong and unacceptable.
- The consequences of sexual violence against children include physical and psychological injury, early pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, such as HIV, dropping out of school and early marriage.
- Despite the severe consequences of sexual violence, most cases go unreported and it is widely believed that perpetrators will not be held accountable.
- Children are vulnerable to sexual attacks at home, in neighbourhood spaces and even at school, with girls being more at risk than boys.
- An overriding sense of male entitlement and gender inequalities are reflected in practices, such as child marriage, that deny girls and women the rights to self-determination and protection.
- Some perceive the influence of globalization and non-traditional values, such as modern dress codes and access to internet pornography, as having a detrimental impact on society's attitudes towards sexual violence.
- Traditional socio-cultural values and practices, such as traditional dances, customs and initiation ceremonies, contribute to incidences of sexual violence.
- Poverty is another key factor which gives rise to sexual violence against children, making them vulnerable to exploitation (such as transactional sex).
- Lack of reporting and inefficient responses from the police and justice systems accentuate the problem of sexual violence.

5.1 Knowledge and attitudes about sexual violence against children

Both men and women see sexual violence as wrong, unacceptable and harmful to children: Although there is wide recognition that sexual violence is wrong, participants most commonly interpreted it as rape or forced sexual engagement by fathers, relations or strangers. Girls were predominantly seen as the victims although incidences of boys being victims were also shared. However, in Shinyanga and Magu, participants (especially males) were of the view that boys were not the victims of sexual violence because they are considered to be brave and respected as future leaders. Boys in Kasulu, Temeke and Kisarawe reported that women and sex workers used money to entice boys as young as 6 or 7 years into sexual relations. Other forms of sexual activity such as unwanted touching of girls or sexual requests were mentioned as occurring frequently, but these were seen by some as harassment rather than violence. Participants felt that sexual violence against children is increasing.

Table 26: Attitudes towards types of sexual violence

	% of participants considering sexual violence as unacceptable	% of participants considering sexual violence as harmful to child
Rape/forced sex with girls	95%	86%
Sexual abuse of boys	93%	89%

Temeke emerged as an anomaly to these trends with only 45 per cent of participants considering that rape is harmful (male 26 per cent; female 60 per cent) and 16 per cent saying that it is acceptable. Similarly, only 56 per cent in Temeke agreed that sodomy is harmful for children (male 25 per cent; female 76 per cent) and 78 per cent[37] (male 62 per cent; female 92 per cent) reported sodomy as being acceptable. Women were more likely than men to say rape is harmful in the three regions recording less than 100 per cent agreement that rape is harmful.

Sexual violence is recognized as having adverse physical and mental effects on children: Adults and children recognized that sexual violence harms children through pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV, and sometimes death for children. It can also lead to children dropping out of school. The following letters, written by children to adults, outline the consequences that children perceive rape to have on girls.

> "I would not like to be raped because it may result in pregnancy and HIV/AIDS… I feel unhappy and scared when I hear stories about rape of children. The requisite change is to end all acts of rape of children and improve education."
>
> (Girl, 11, Mufindi)

> "I dislike rape and oppression of children because these acts deprive a child of the basic rights and he/she will face problems like pregnancy."
>
> (Child, Kasulu)

> "I feel very sad when I hear a child has been raped. I want the Government to take measures against rapists and prevent these acts from occurring. This will reduce early pregnancies, death and infection of bad diseases. I wish we could live in a world that is free from acts of rape."
>
> (Boy, 16, Mufindi)

Sexual violence has many manifestations: In addition to rape and sodomy, unwanted sexual touching, especially of girls, was mentioned as being a common phenomenon mainly occurring in public spheres, outside of the home. Girls in Temeke, for example, talked of having been sexually harassed by being touched on their buttocks and breasts without their consent. This was echoed by children in Kisarawe who said that unwanted touches are taken for granted in vigodoro weekend night parties. This is known as kubashiana.

Child marriage, FGM/C and gender discrimination were also highlighted as different manifestations of sexual violence. All these acts are considered as factors that give rise to sexual violence and will be discussed in Section 5.3 (see also 4.2.2 for a fuller discussion on FGM/C).

5.2 Contexts of sexual violence

Children experience sexual violence even at home: Children are vulnerable to sexual violence in every sphere of their lives There is no space, including home and school, where children are seen to be safe. Sexual violence was commonly mentioned as being committed at home by relatives, especially fathers and guests. It was stated as common for fathers to have sex with their daughters as well as housemaids and, to a lesser extent, sexually abuse their sons. Situations where also reported where the younger sister of a married woman, living with the latter, would be raped by her brother-in-law.

Sexual violence is common in situations where children have to share rooms with siblings or extended family relations who may stay with them. Because of close living arrangements, children often witness their parents engaging in sexual activities. Thus, sex becomes a part of their life. In Kisarawe, sexual violence was also

[37] These data have been checked but given the extreme deviation from national trends this question could have been misunderstood.

identified as occurring in highly-populated areas (uswahilini) where there are houses with several tenants and where males and females share bedrooms with girls. This is especially a problem for girls who have to live away from home to attend school.

Economic hardship is a factor in children's vulnerability to sexual violence: In cases where mothers experience economic hardship, they sometimes sell their daughters for sex. Children may also be left unattended for long periods when parents work in distant places (in some cases as long as five or six months), leaving children without parental protection and vulnerable to exploitation from others. In such instances, children may not have enough to eat and may offer to engage in sexual activities just so they could earn for their food.

Sexual violence in the home is mostly unreported: Many incidents of sexual abuse at home happen secretly, and most cases go unreported as children and wives are fearful of reporting such incidents because of their economic dependence on the perpetrator (normally the father) and fear that reporting abuse will bring shame to the family.

> "One child was abused by her uncle but she did not tell her mother. She instead confided in her neighbour while insisting not to disclose the matter to her mother for fear of being beaten."
>
> (Mother, Shinyanga)

Apart from fear, another reason for non-reporting is because these matters are often settled within the family, although it is sorted out mostly among adults rather than involving the concerned child or considering their experience. Families are also dependent on fathers and hence are reluctant to report them when the children are violated for fear of being evicted from home and becoming destitute.

Neighbourhoods and public spaces are unsafe for children: All regions reported incidences of sexual violence against children in neighbourhoods and public places. Local public spaces are unsafe for children who were reported to be raped or sexually harassed even in open space or playgrounds. Children, in some regions, have to travel a considerable distance from their home to attend school or herd livestock and many reported incidents of girls being lured or dragged into bushes and raped (for example, Shinyanga). Children are also victims in their local neighbourhoods when they are sent on errands., for example to shops, night markets and bars to buy alcohol, fetch water or firewood, or when conducting petty business hawking goods. In these contexts, children (mainly girls) report being inappropriately touched, often by adults under the influence of alcohol. As one girl from Mufindi said:

> "In the evenings, I feel unsafe because I feel tired after coming from school, yet I am asked to go to fetch water, clean the whole house, sometimes sent to bars and local restaurants to buy alcohol where I encounter drunken people who touch all parts of my body."

Some cases were reported of children waiting overnight to collect water in the dry season, leaving them vulnerable to being raped. This was especially reported in rural areas and in the Lakes region where fishermen assaulted girls who were sent to collect water or buy fish. Video halls and bars were also reported as sites where children can be exposed to pornography and put at risk of sexual violence. In addition, traditional dances, held at traditional ceremonies (see Section 5.3.5) that take place at night, expose children to the possibility of being raped. Local public spaces are unsafe for children who were reported to be raped or sexually harassed even in open space or playgrounds.

Working children and those living on the street are particularly at risk: Poverty leads to children having to work or live on the streets. This heightens their vulnerability to exploitation. They sometimes exchange sexual favours for food or are sold (or sell themselves) for sex. In some cases, this involves people who use drugs, sweets, food or money, or make complimentary remarks about the child as a way of inciting them

to have sex. This happens mostly to children when their parents are away working and they are left to fend for themselves.

Children face enticement and kidnapping for sex: It was also reported that adults attempt to allure and bribe children into committing sexual acts in exchange for money or food. One mother from Magu commented:

> "In the streets, children are often tempted to indulge in harmful practices. They are allured with promises of money or good food."

Districts such as Temeke reported stories of children being robbed or kidnapped when out in public space. Daladala drivers were also reported to offer free bus rides sometimes in exchange for sexual favours. In Hai, motorcycles drivers known as *bodaboda* were also identified as perpetrators of sexual violence through offering girls a free ride in exchange for sex.

Sexual abuse also occurs in schools and places of worship: It was reported that teachers (especially young male teachers) may seek sexual relationships with girl pupils. If the pupil declines the offer, she is at risk of being punished. Teachers were also reported to have had sexual relations with boys, for example a madrassa teacher in Unguja was jailed for sexually abusing nearly 40 boys, despite this act going against Islamic teachings. In some cases, children may sexually abuse other children. Pupil-to-pupil sexual abuse was reported which involved boys sexually abusing girls as well as boys abusing other boys (for example, in Hai). This was linked to emotional and physical violence, which also included bullying, as one boy in Temeke stated:

> "School is not a safe place because most of the teachers tend to abuse and beat us and demand sexual relations with students. There are also sexual relationships among students, and some students in upper grades tend to sodomize or rape the younger ones."

Other local neighbourhood locations where children are vulnerable to sexual violence are places of worship. Participants from Temeke mentioned that "children attending sessions in a church or madrassa may be asked to stay behind to help out with cleaning, but then may be sexually abused."

5.3 Socio-cultural drivers of sexual violence against children

Whilst some responses suggested that the greater incidence of sexual violence experienced by girls is a result of them being weak in comparison to boys and adults, it is difficult to ignore the evidence that much sexual violence is committed by males and seemingly justified by culture and tradition. Common factors identified as giving rise to sexual violence are as follows.

5.3.1 Socio-cultural beliefs and practices

Sexual violence against children is associated with male entitlement and concepts of machismo. There is clear evidence that much sexual violence is committed by men and, to a large extent, perpetuated by socio-cultural beliefs associated with male entitlement. It was mentioned in some areas that sexual violence against children has always existed but previously was not seen as a wrongdoing.

Table 27: Fathers sleeping with daughters is justified so they have a good marriage (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	2	2	2
Shinyanga	19	12	15
Temeke	41	63	54
Kisarawe	4	0	2
Kasulu	7	15	10
Mufindi	0	0	0
Mbarali	0	0	0
Hai	No data		
Unguja	0	0	0
Pemba	6	2	4
All	**8%**	**9%**	**9%**

In Kasulu, it was mentioned that there is pride attached to men having sexual relations with children. If a boy rapes a girl, he will be regarded highly by his peers. In spite of these views, 87 per cent of people said that men having sex with young girls is unacceptable and harmful.[38] In six regions,[39] fewer than 4 per cent of participants agreed this was acceptable. Regional variations indicate higher levels of acceptability of this

Table 28: Girls are safe from HIV/can purify HIV (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	12	0	7
Shinyanga	52	67	60
Temeke	20	20	20
Kisarawe	0	8	4
Kasulu	30	24	28
Mufindi	0	0	0
Mbarali	0	2	1
Hai	28	22	25
Unguja	11	14	12
Pemba	23	30	26
All	**13%**	**16%**	**14%**

practice in Mbarali (47 per cent), Hai (46 per cent) and Temeke (23 per cent). In Temeke and Hai, only 37 per cent and 62 per cent respectively said that men sleeping with girls was harmful.

Fathers having sexual relations with their daughter or stepdaughters is common in some regions. This practice was reported as common in Temeke[40] while in Mufindi, these acts are perpetrated based on the belief that girls cannot have a successful marriage unless they have sex with their fathers. However, only 9 per cent over all agreed that fathers sleeping with their daughters could be justified because it is important for the girl to have a good marriage, suggesting that whilst this might be a feature of socio-cultural practices, it is not necessarily widespread.

Male entitlement is also extended to other adult relatives who are sometimes invited to, or allowed to, sleep with children which is seen as customary in some cultures. The socio-cultural practice by which women are prohibited from rejecting a proposal for sexual relations from a man, even if it is from a girl's father or blood relative is a contributory factor to VAC. However, across all regions, except Temeke and Mufindi, there were low levels of acceptability (less than 5 per cent) of this practice with over 90 per cent[41] saying that it is harmful. Mufindi and Temeke emerged as variations to the trend, with 39 per cent and 14 per cent respectively affirming that this practice was acceptable. In Temeke, 48 per cent agreed that it is harmful for adult relatives to sleep with children.

The power of the patriarchal society is therefore absolute and incontestable, denying children and women the right to resist adult sexual exploitation.

There are many myths attached to sexual relations with children. There is a belief that a child is a "healer of an adult's sexual affairs" (Kasulu) and can satisfy a man better than a woman – a belief known in Kasulu region as kwizazura.[42] There is a prevailing view across most regions that young girls are safe from HIV and that having sex with young girls will cleanse men of HIV. Boys from Mufindi stated that children are often told by adults that they cannot contract diseases if they have sex at a young age. This encourages children to become involved in sexual activities with adults. In one case, girls in Temeke reported that some men may have sex with girls as revenge for contracting HIV.

Overall, 86 per cent of participants disagreed with the belief that girls are safe from HIV and can purify a man of HIV. Some of those who disagreed said that such a belief is unjustifiable and unreasonable, and that offenders who hold this view think that they might be the first to have sex with the girl and therefore do not risk

[38] In Shinyanga, Kasulu, Mufindi, Mbarali and Pemba, 100 per cent of participants said that men having sex with young girls is harmful.

[39] Magu, Shinyanga, Kisarawe, Kasulu, Mufindi and Pemba.

[40] Reference to these regions indicates the source of the data but does not suggest this is a uniform view for that region or not important in other areas.

[41] In Shinyanga, Kasulu, Mufindi and Mbarali, 100 per cent of participants stated that adult relations sleeping with children was harmful.

[42] A practice that allows men in their 50s and 60s to marry a child aged 15–17 years.

getting infected. In terms of paying for sex, children are also seen to be cheaper as adult women will insist on hiring a room, but men can sexually exploit children in bushes and other neighbourhood contexts.

It is also believed that marrying a young girl will bring wealth to the man. Conversely, if a girl is not married early, it is seen as a misfortune for the family. Community leaders in Magu argued that the predominant perception of girls as only having value for marriage encourages sexual exploitation of girls. As one Zanzibar respondent stated:

> "The social attitude is that a woman is created just to please and fulfil male desire and nothing else."

Lack of accountability encourages perpetrators. In addition to the socio-cultural factors mentioned above, male sexual violence is perpetuated by the knowledge that perpetrators are unlikely to be held accountable for their actions despite rape being against the law and against many cultural and religious traditions. People from both Muslim and Christian faiths mentioned that any sexual activity outside of wedlock is considered as adultery and therefore violates the word of God. However, a participant from Shinyanga suggested that because people do not believe in God, they are less hindered in committing VAC. In Magu, there is a practice known as misango whereby a man is required to pay compensation to the parents of a girl whom he impregnates. The parents are obliged to accept, which means that, according to tradition, no other measures are needed. In this situation, the child has no rights, and their views and well-being are apparently not considered. Another socio-cultural practice in situations where young girls become pregnant is to expect the man and girl to marry, even though the girl has been raped.

The rights of women and children are compromised due to gender inequality that perpetuates the ideas of social acceptance for abusive practices. The above stated views are reinforced by, what is widely seen to be an inability for males to control their sexual urges (see Table 42), a belief that girls can satisfy men better than women, and an attraction for males to sleep with girls who have had no prior sexual relations. Some also noted divorce or separation as a further impetus for males to rape girls. These socio-cultural practices and beliefs paint a picture of entitlement and lack of accountability for males whilst the rights of women and children are suppressed. The evidence also suggests that many of these socio-cultural trends are not widely accepted, but because of gender inequalities and the perceived pre-eminence of traditions, many of these practices are perpetuated as 'popular' practices.

5.3.2 Child marriage

Child marriage is widely seen as sexual violence. The practice of girls being married at the age of 14 still exists, although it is more likely in some tribal contexts than others. For example, amongst the Sukuma and Maasai people, child marriage is accepted as part of tribal traditions, although this is only the case for the Sukuma who live in Shinyanga but not in the Lakes region. Respondents commonly mentioned child marriage as a form of sexual violence as it involves the sexual exploitation of girls who are obliged to engage in a relationship with a man not of their choosing. Many opponents of child marriage argue that forcing children to marry when they are young is a form of sexual violence because the decision is made by the

Table 29: Child marriage is acceptable (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	-	-	2
Shinyanga	0	0	0
Temeke	55	85	66
Kisarawe	0	0	0
Kasulu	0	0	0
Mufindi	41	41	41
Mbarali	0	0	0
Hai	0	0	0
Unguja	3	4	4
Pemba	15	0	9
All	**9%**	**11%**	**9%**

Child's drawing representing consequence of teenage pregnancy

father without the girl's consent and puts the girl in a situation where she has to submit to the sexual desires of her husband. Opponents argue that girls of 14 years of age are not physically or psychologically mature enough to take on the responsibilities of marriage and the sexual activity that goes with that. Moreover, child marriage frequently results in childhood pregnancies during which young girls can suffer complications or even die in childbirth. Some children also stated their dislike of early marriages for young girls because it hinders their future prospects.

> "Early pregnancies can result in death for the parent and baby because the body of a child and its organs are not ready to accommodate the pregnancy and its complications."
>
> (Fathers' group, Kisarawe)

> "I don't like forcing girls to be married when they are children, I don't like this because child marriages cause death to children during childbirth."
>
> (Parent, Kasulu)

There are contradictions within the laws relating to child marriage and also conflicting views within society. Reflections from some participants highlighted the discrepancy in the legal norms between the Law of Marriage Act (1971) and Law of the Child Act (2009) in regard to child marriage. Although the Tanzanian Law of the Child Act of 2009 defines a child as anyone under 18 years, it is silent on child marriage and was specifically created to domesticate international requirements. The Law of Marriage Act (1971) Article 13:

(1) states that no person shall marry who, being male, has not attained minimum age the

Table 30: Girls are vulnerable to sexual violence because of child marriage (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	80	84	80
Shinyanga	90	77	83
Temeke	61	62	62
Kisarawe	63	69	66
Kasulu	92	80	87
Mufindi	54	63	58
Mbarali	4	15	9
Hai	50	52	51
Unguja	45	41	43
Pemba	71	79	74
All	**56%**	**58%**	**57%**

apparent age of eighteen years or, being female, has not attained the apparent age of fifteen years.

(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (1), the court shall, in its discretion, have power, on application, to give leave for a marriage where the parties are, or either of them is, below the ages prescribed in subsection (1) if –

(a) each party has attained the age of fourteen years; and 10 No. 5 Law of Marriage 1971 No. 5 Law of Marriage 1971 11;

b) the court is satisfied that there are special circumstances which make the proposed marriage desirable.

(3) A person who has not attained the apparent age of eighteen years or fifteen years, as the case may be, and in respect of whom the leave of the court has not been obtained under subsection (2), shall be said to be below the minimum age for marriage.

However, there are conflicting views within and across regions. For example, in Pemba, fathers highlighted forced marriage of girls at an early age as a problem whilst also acknowledging the practice as being a social norm. Girls in Pemba, however, felt that in most cases girls are forced by their families and do not freely consent to

Table 31: Child marriage is harmful to children (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	-	-	93
Shinyanga	100	100	100
Temeke	22	58	40
Kisarawe	94	91	92
Kasulu	100	100	100
Mufindi	92	95	93
Mbarali	100	100	100
Hai	60	72	68
Unguja	36	39	38
Pemba	94	62	75
All	**80%**	**78%**	**80%**

such marriages. In Shinyanga, boys felt that the tradition of marrying 14-year-old girls to attract a good dowry before the girl becomes pregnant was outdated. Fathers in Pemba argued that this amounted to effectively accepting rape, and professional carers in Kasulu argued that the payment of dowry provides 'a ticket to sexually violate children'.

Dowry is a driver of child marriage. A dowry is sought for girls when they become 14 years of age. One Zanzibar participant noted how young girls are seen as 'perishable goods' that have to be married off as early as possible whilst they are in their prime in order to attract a good dowry. This is especially important for families living in poverty who may see the dowry as an important source of income.

Although child marriage is commonplace, 91 per cent of participants across all regions agreed that child marriage is unacceptable. One hundred per cent of participants in Shinyanga, Kisarawe, Kasulu, Mbarali and Hai said that child marriage was unacceptable. Temeke and Mufindi were significant exceptions, with 66 per cent and 41 per cent of respondents respectively saying child marriage is acceptable.

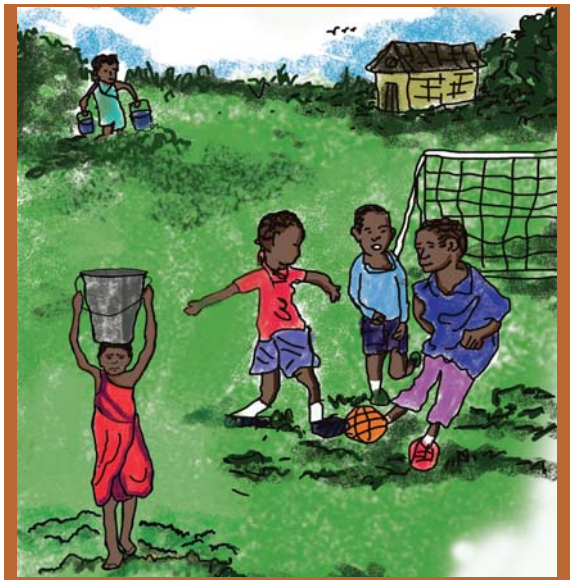
These trends are mirrored by 57 per cent of participants (56 per cent male; 58 per cent female) across all the regions who agreed that girls are vulnerable to sexual violence because of early marriage.

In addition, 80 per cent of participants across all regions agreed that child marriage is harmful to children, with Temeke again emerging as an exception with only 40 per cent agreeing that child marriage is harmful.

5.3.3 Gender inequality and discrimination[43]

Traditional gender inequalities perpetuate the cycle of sexual violence against children. It is apparent from the previous two sections that inequality between men and women is a major socio-cultural factor perpetuating sexual violence against children. Child marriage and sexual violence are seen as symptomatic of gender inequalities and discrimination in which, according to tradition, women occupy a subordinate status in society and do not feel able to speak out against sexual exploitation or exercise independent choice on such matters. Boys are favoured over girls in families. Girls are often not sent to school because there is little perceived value in investing in a girl child since they will be married into another family. Hence, many girls miss out on education that can provide them with the means to improve their own situation and also improve their ability to safeguard themselves through an awareness of their rights

Child's drawing representing gender discrimination



As stated earlier, men have unequal power over women to such an extent that girls and women are not allowed to reject a proposal for marriage or sexual relations from any male even if it is from a blood relative. This may be one of the socio-cultural factors influencing the sexual exploitation

Table 32: Rape is due to unequal power relations (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	No data		
Shinyanga	50	38	44
Temeke	64	53	58
Kisarawe	16	14	15
Kasulu	33	31	32
Mufindi	72	78	75
Mbarali	6	9	7
Hai	3	15	9
Unguja	31	40	36
Pemba	No data		
All	**38%**	**41%**	**39%**

Table 33: It is important for girls to grow up knowing they should obey men (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	51	36	44
Shinyanga	94	67	80
Temeke	44	31	38
Kisarawe	35	31	33
Kasulu	46	74	57
Mufindi	11	23	18
Mbarali	40	26	33
Hai	52	45	48
Unguja	81	63	70
Pemba	52	21	34
All	**47%**	**40%**	**43%**

of women by men either through rape or through traditional community events (see 5.3.5). In addition, in Temeke, it was reported that girls are taught in initiation ceremonies that when they are married they need to have at least two other men apart from their husbands. This further illustrates the use of traditions and culture to perpetuate

[43] See also Chapter 6.

Table 34: Fathers have a right to decide what happens to their children (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	25	23	24
Shinyanga	36	50	43
Temeke	53	25	41
Kisarawe	71	72	71
Kasulu	70	45	59
Mufindi	16	9	12
Mbarali	17	30	23
Hai	48	51	50
Unguja	58	49	53
Pemba	16	41	33
All	**42%**	**36%**	**39%**

the sexual gratification of men at the expense of rights and equality for women and girls. Only 39 per cent of participants (38 per cent male; 41 per cent female) across all regions agreed that rape of girls is due to unequal power relations between men and women.

Across all regions, 43 per cent of participants agreed that it is important for girls to grow up knowing they should obey men, with men more likely to agree (47 per cent) than women (40 per cent).

A similar proportion (39 per cent) agreed that fathers have a right to decide what happens to their children (see Table 34).

Owing to girls being identified as more vulnerable to violence, adults in the participatory appraisal reflected on the extent to which boys may be treated more favourably than girls. Only 14 per cent of participants agreed that it is more important to protect boys than girls.

Although socio-cultural practices hold sway, people expressed a need to protect girls and boys equally. Data illustrate that in spite of the prevalent gender inequalities – reflected in 39 per cent of respondents believing that rape is due to power inequalities between male and female, and 43 per cent believing that girls should grow up knowing they should obey men – a majority (86 per cent) felt that it is important to equally

Table 35: It is more important to protect boys than girls (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	29	21	26
Shinyanga	0	0	0
Temeke	23	23	23
Kisarawe	3	7	4
Kasulu	20	10	16
Mufindi	0	0	0
Mbarali	10	0	5
Hai	28	35	32
Unguja	14	6	9
Pemba	No data		
All	**15%**	**12%**	**14%**

protect both. This again highlights a contradiction between dominant socio-cultural discourses and the reality of people's views and practices.

5.3.4 Witchcraft and superstition

The influence of witchcraft was mentioned as a factor behind sexual violence across all regions. This manifests in fathers and businessmen being told by traditional healers to rape their daughter or other young virgin girls in order to become rich. There was also one instance of the same practice reported where business women had sex with their sons believing that it would increase their wealth. Another case from Shinyanga was mentioned in which an 8-year-old girl was sexually abused by her father in the belief that her mother, who had leg pains, would be healed if he slept with the daughter in the same bed that he used to sleep with his wife. In the event that parents fail to pay for the witch doctor's services, they keep the young girls for themselves. In Shinyanga, one participant also stated that because some religions are relatively new in Africa, people are more likely to believe in superstitions and traditional practices. Despite the widespread opposition to such practices, only 21 per cent of people across all regions agreed that the belief of sleeping with girls to bring wealth was a cause of sexual violence against children. This was more likely in Mufindi (54 per cent), Shinyanga (39 per cent) and Kasulu (35 per cent).

Table 36: Belief that sleeping with young girls makes you rich (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	11	14	14
Shinyanga	30	47	39
Temeke	18	29	23
Kisarawe	2	0	1
Kasulu	35	36	35
Mufindi	62	46	54
Mbarali	0	0	0
Hai	5	10	8
Unguja	8	2	4
Pemba	0	9	5
All	**21%**	**20%**	**21%**

Those who disagreed said that this is a poor belief because there is no connection between wealth and having sex with children. Participants from Pemba and Unguja disagreed that having sexual intercourse with girls brings wealth, although it was acknowledged that this practice does happen in some areas of Zanzibar.

5.3.5 Traditional customs and ceremonies

Cultural festivities provide opportunities for sexual abuse of children. Sexual violence against girls was commonly mentioned as occurring in traditional dances and ceremonies such as mkole (Zaramo tribe), mbina (Sukuma tradition) and vigodoro initiation ceremonies. These ceremonies are common weekend events in some areas such as Temeke and Kisarawe. During vigodoro ceremonies, which are held as night parties (mikesha ya ngoma), girls participate in traditional dances in which women customarily dress half-naked. They are sometimes involved in sexual activity or raped. Vigodoro[44] and mbina involve girls dancing half-naked and moving past men who touch their body parts. Younger children are also often involved. Furthermore, in Shinyanga during the night celebration of bukwilima, a harvest festival, boys stand along the street and girls, as they pass by, are forced to choose a boy to sleep with through a process known as chagulaga. If a girl refuses, she may be raped by all the boys. In Unguja, there is a tradition known as sikukuu yangu where gifts are given to children during Eid-ul-fitr. It has been noted that children are sometimes sexually abused as adults take advantage of children looking for gifts. These events often involve excessive use of alcohol which fuels violence.

Table 37: Traditional customs are essential for initiation ceremonies (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	0	0	0
Shinyanga	27	16	22
Temeke	25	36	31
Kisarawe	18	21	20
Kasulu	0	0	0
Mufindi	30	41	35
Mbarali	2	0	1
Hai	8	0	4
Unguja	21	8	15
Pemba	0	0	0
All	**16%**	**15%**	**15%**

Initiation ceremonies involve girls being kept naked, having pubic hair pulled out and being raped by elders to teach them how to satisfy their husband's sexual desires and how to handle a man while having sex. In Magu, this is known as jando and also often includes FGM/C. In Pemba, this also involves traditional dances like ngoma ya unyago. Some respondents were of the opinion that these customs are outdated and demeaning towards women.

> "This (unyago) is an outdated custom and ... devalues girls and encourages them to engage in sexual activities, and the reality is that most of them become pregnant before they reach 18 years of age."

Some adults from villages around Kisarawe stated that such cultural and traditional initiation ceremonies contribute to the sexualization and sexual abuse of children, and influence sexual behaviour among young girls. Some participants referred to these ceremonies and events as "bad traditions and beliefs", while others (such

[44] Vigodoro was discussed only by children and not adults.

as in Kasulu) reported that these practices have significantly decreased.

Although traditional dances are quite common, only 15 per cent agreed that traditional customs are essential for the initiation of girls, with similar responses between male and female. People in Mufindi, Temeke and Shinyanga were more likely to agree with traditional initiation ceremonies.

Samba is another custom in Shinyanga whereby, on reaching adolescence, a girl is taken to the witchdoctor who administers traditional medicines to make her more available to men for marriage. Following this, the girl must accept any marriage proposal. Failure to do so is seen as bringing shame to her family and bad luck to the girl.

5.3.6 Transactional sex

Transactional sex was not widely discussed or noted as a problem except in Temeke and Kisarawe. An example of transactional sex mentioned in villages such as Kzimzumbwi involves children. The village has brothels with names such as Toroka uje (dodge), Mjusi na gogo (a lizard and a tree) and Kanga moja (dressed in a single khanga).[45] Toroka uje means that a man is being enticed to leave his wife and join the prostitute who exposes herself in such a way that he cannot resist. Often these cases involve girls dressing in only one piece of khanga which exposes their bodies to men to entice them into paying for sexual services. Mjusi na gogo, however, involves young boys being enticed by adult women who would prefer to have sex with young boys for money. This activity is compared to a lizard on a tree log, hence the name.

5.3.7 Alcoholism

Drunkenness and alcoholism were frequently mentioned as reasons for VAC across all regions, but were also mentioned specifically in a few cases in regions such as Mufindi and Shinyanga[46] as a causal factor for sexual abuse.

> “When men are drunk they rape children who they meet on the streets. Some fathers have forced sexual intercourse with their daughter when they are drunk.”
>
> (Mother, Magu)

However, alcoholism appears to be less of a factor than the others mentioned above. Instead, it could be argued that drunkenness simply accentuates the deeper socio-cultural patterns of male violation of women and girls.

5.3.8 Globalization and decline of public morality

Western influences and decay of traditional values are considered responsible for a decline in public morality. For some, sexual violence is a result of globalization which has brought western[47] influences –values, socio-cultural practices, consumerism and fashion –that cause girls to dress in liberal ways. The internet is seen as responsible for this influx of non-indigenous values and also for creating easy access to pornography. More than two thirds (77 percent) agreed that these were responsible for a decline of traditional values and practices.

Western influences were also seen as drivers of VAC. Seventy-eight per cent of participants agreed or strongly agreed that ‘modern’ (non-

Table 38: Decline in public morality as a driver of VAC (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	69	65	67
Shinyanga	61	88	73
Temeke	88	96	93
Kisarawe	79	76	78
Kasulu	73	69	71
Mufindi	60	72	75
Mbarali	85	85	85
Hai	55	78	73
Unguja	73	89	83
Pemba	No data		
All	**73%**	**80%**	**77%**

[45] Khanga is a traditional Tanzanian style of dress, commonly used by women to cover themselves. However, it is normally worn on top of other clothes unless otherwise tailored in the form of a dress or trousers.

[46] These are only examples of where these issues were mentioned and does not suggest that they are absent in other areas.

[47] This wording was used in focus groups and was therefore explored further in the participatory appraisal in the community action inquiry as well.

traditional) values from outside the country led to VAC due to changing values and style of living, for example, in the ways girls and women dress, which challenge the status quo. These perspectives were seen to be more significant in rural areas.

Girls' dress was seen by nearly half the respondents as being responsible for rape. It was frequently stated that provocative clothing attracted rape. Some stated that it is responsible for the decline in moral and religious values, fueling sexual immorality and thereby contributing to rape. Overall, 44 per cent of participants agreed with the view that girls are raped because of the way they dress, with women more likely to share this view than men and with high levels of agreement in Magu and Pemba.

Table 39: Influence of western values as a driver of VAC (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	81	81	81
Shinyanga	58	81	68
Temeke	77	73	75
Kisarawe	69	73	71
Kasulu	65	85	73
Mufindi	70	76	73
Mbarali	95	94	95
Hai	100	96	98
Unguja	68	85	78
Pemba	74	91	83
All	**74%**	**83%**	**78%**

Some respondents, such as those in Unguja, said that girls deserved to be raped because of the way they dress, although others, from Temeke, remarked that this does not account for sexual abuse in other situations where dress is not a factor, for example, incidents involving younger children. However, some who disagreed also stated that girls' dress code is not a justifiable reason for sexual violence because many girls, such as younger girls, who do not dress provocatively may still be sexually exploited.

Sexual violation of girls is widely agreed to be wrong. Some opponents of this view also argued that men use 'improper dressing' as a reason to justify sexual violence against girls, directing

Table 40: Decline in traditional practices as a significant factor causing VAC (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	41	67	52
Shinyanga	82	96	88
Temeke	75	97	86
Kisarawe	83	85	84
Kasulu	73	84	77
Mufindi	No data		
Mbarali	85	77	82
Hai	100	98	99
Unguja	64	86	79
Pemba	67	70	69
All	**75%**	**85%**	**80%**

the blame onto girls who are raped rather than focusing on men who perpetrate these acts of sexual violence and do not take responsibility for their actions. Those who agreed stated that men are hyper-sensitive to sex and often fail to control themselves especially when girls wear sexually attractive clothes. Forty-eight per cent of respondents said that the problem of sexual

Table 41: Sexual violence is caused by the way girls dress (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	81	81	81
Shinyanga	10	38	26
Temeke	26	53	40
Kisarawe	50	37	44
Kasulu	41	38	39
Mufindi	41	32	37
Mbarali	40	42	41
Hai	41	45	43
Unguja	51	23	34
Pemba	37	78	60
All	**41%**	**47%**	**44%**

violation of young girls is more about men being unable to control their urges, with women more likely (51 per cent) to agree than men (47 per cent).

`Moreover, some critics of girls' dress code as a driver of sexual violence argue that the way people dress and men's inability to control their desires cannot be accepted as justifications for committing violence. In one of the focus groups in Unguja, some participants stated that it is not about dress codes but the result of someone being cursed. Either way, the result is a social practice that is widely seen as unacceptable.

Table 42: Men are unable to control their physical urges (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	67	76	71
Shinyanga	50	67	57
Temeke	58	68	63
Kisarawe	40	44	42
Kasulu	77	97	85
Mufindi	49	58	53
Mbarali	4	9	6
Hai	34	53	44
Unguja	39	38	39
Pemba	50	55	53
All	**47%**	**51%**	**48%**

Table 43: Access to pornography gives rise to sexual violence (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	25	29	27
Shinyanga	55	53	49
Temeke	29	51	40
Kisarawe	10	13	11
Kasulu	59	75	65
Mufindi	51	42	47
Mbarali	6	0	3
Hai	8	8	8
Unguja	27	34	31
Pemba	38	50	44
All	**31%**	**36%**	**33%**

The other way in which globalization is seen to influence sexual violence is through access to the internet. Thirty-three per cent of respondents said they believed that access to pornography was a significant factor in giving rise to sexual violence and the early sexualization of children. Easy availability of internet for younger children provides access to pornographic pictures and 'love movies'. This encourages early sexual activity as children seek to practice what they have seen amongst themselves and also arouses their interest in engaging sexually with older youth and adults, without the corresponding development of social and relationship skills.

5.3.9 Extreme poverty

Gifts and bribes are used to lure children into sexual acts. Poverty was mentioned as a cause of sexual violence, specifically as girls are forced into sexual acts for money or food. There are also increasing reports that boys are bribed into sexual acts. Children are easily lured into sexual acts by adults offering money, sweets or food when they do not receive basic things at home. This is also the case for children who want to attain more luxurious goods that their parents cannot afford to buy. Men offer gifts in exchange for exploitative acts of transactional sex. Some girls also stated they would rather have sex with an adult since they have more experience and also give money and gifts that the girls may not otherwise be able to own, such as cell phones. Whereas men can pay or provide gifts in exchange for sex, young boys often cannot afford these things and so resort to rape.

Case study: Poverty driving sexual abuse

One story in Kasulu concerned a man who met two children on the street at night and asked them their reason for being out at night. They said they were seeking sexual work because they were instructed by their mothers to get money for paraffin and bread. He gave them Tsh 3,000 and sent them home.

Table 44: Men offering food and gifts for sex (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	28	18	24
Shinyanga	47	44	46
Temeke	45	56	50
Kisarawe	6	0	3
Kasulu	63	63	63
Mufindi	23	42	33
Mbarali	6	25	15
Hai	29	16	22
Unguja	39	20	30
Pemba	18	7	13
All	**30%**	**29%**	**30%**

Children are, in effect, viewed as cheap sex workers[48] who require lower payment and do not demand the hire of a room but are amenable to having sex in the bushes, unlike adults. Thirty per cent agreed that men providing gifts in exchange for sex is a factor that gives rise to sexual violence.

Poverty reinforces child marriage. Some parents force girls into early marriages in order to get some money through the dowry.[49] This also reduces the burden of taking care of the children (see also Section 5.3.2). Many parents believe that since a daughter inevitably be married, she does not need to attend school but should instead work on the streets. Girls who engage in sex work or are married young are vulnerable to complications from early pregnancies which can be dangerous for both the girl and the baby. In addition, girls are vulnerable to contracting sexually transmitted infections such as HIV because of a common misconception that girls cannot be infected with HIV and can actually purify a man who has HIV.

Poverty may drive mothers to actively engage their daughters in sex work to earn money. Children who are left without parental care may also be enticed into sexual acts in return for food. This was described by a 13-year-old girl from Kasulu:

> “… some families, because of their low income, allow their girls to engage in sex work to bring income to the family. A parent or guardian tells a girl ‘you are a grown-up, go to the street like others, meet with men and bring home food.”

One boy from Pemba stated that children were vulnerable to VAC because of poverty and requested that poverty be reduced to help protect children:

> “I want to see poverty reduced because most forms of VAC, like…early marriages and rape, are due to poverty.”

Poverty is also a driver for parents seeking out-of-court financial settlements when children are raped.

Table 45: Belief that sex offenders being likely to get away with the offence is a cause of sexual violence (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	No data		
Shinyanga	52	61	56
Temeke	67	47	56
Kisarawe	34	35	34
Kasulu	54	87	66
Mufindi	70	85	78
Mbarali	15	13	14
Hai	34	39	36
Unguja	60	75	68
Pemba	No data		
All	**42%**	**55%**	**51%**

Poverty also makes shared sleeping arrangements at home more likely, making it easier for sexual abuse to occur. In Magu, those who disagreed stated that it is not normal in African traditions for people of different sexes to sleep in one room, observing that it has only become a norm because homes often have limited space.

[48] Participants stated that it costs just Tsh 1,000 to pay for sex with a girl, whereas it would cost Tsh 10,000 for an adult.
[49] Dowries are said to range from Tsh 200,000 to Tsh 800,000.

5.3.10 Ineffective responses to sexual violence

Lack of accountability encourages sexual violence. The Tanzanian justice system provides punitive measures for sexual offences under the 1998 Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act (SOSPA). The Act criminalizes various forms of gender-based violence, including rape, sexual assault and harassment, prostitution, FGM/C and sex trafficking and increased the penalty for rape from 30 years to life imprisonment. Proceedings are held in camera to give victims confidence when presenting evidence.

In spite of legal provisions, one of the biggest factors influencing sexual violence is the knowledge that perpetrators will not be held accountable. This is because of the fear and reluctance of community members to interfere and also because of the ineffectiveness of the criminal justice system in dealing with reported cases and bringing perpetrators to justice. Across all regions, 51 per cent agreed that one of the drivers of sexual violence is that sex offenders know they are likely to get away with the offence.

People are reluctant to report cases of sexual violence for fear of reprisals both from members of the community as well as from family members. Another reason could also be because the family may be economically dependent on the perpetrator (in most cases, the father). Children are often reluctant to report cases for fear of being beaten or disbelieved. Equally, there is a tradition of seeking an out-of-court settlement which allows the matter to be 'resolved' in ways that effectively allow the perpetrator to go unpunished. At the same time, inefficiency and corruption in the police and justice systems mean that cases do not progress to conviction. It appears relatively easy to bribe officials to sabotage cases or allow intimidation of witnesses so that they drop the case. As one participant in Unguja stated:

> "There is a great possibility for those who are committing sexual violence to be acquitted. This is the reality that children can be sexually violated, and perpetrators boast that they can abuse children knowing that no legal action will be taken against them."

Case study: Failure to prosecute

One case involved a witchdoctor who was about to rape his house-girl. When she rejected his sexual advances, he poured scalding hot water on her body and she suffered serious injuries. Almost one year has passed since the attack and no legal action has been taken against him as no hearing has been held. In the meantime, he has already raped two other children. He publicly boasts of his actions and remarks, "No legal action is going to be taken against me."

There is also sometimes a difficulty in meeting the standard of the law by ensuring evidence relating to rape cases because of the absence of equipment to collect DNA proof.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS: Emotional/ psychological violence

Summary

- Emotional and psychological violence is largely implicit in the parenting practices experienced by Tanzanian children.
- Name-calling, insults, humiliation and shaming are commonly used by adults to discipline children or gain compliance.
- Children grow up in an environment that often feels unsafe as a result of their treatment by parents and relatives, causing widespread insecurity.
- Evidence suggests that a negative view of childhood prevails in which children are seen as tabula rasa – empty vessels to be filled and treated as parents see fit – rather than being valued and respected as human beings in their own right.
- There is an inter-generational disconnect between children and adults, in that adults do not seem aware that their parenting practices are causing psychological harm, whereas children feel this acutely.
- Social norms exert a powerful influence over people's perceptions of what is harmful and what is acceptable or normal.
- Poverty, family tensions, anger and alcoholism are factors that fuel emotional violence.
- Changing socio-cultural views and attitudes towards children is fundamental to developing a protective environment for children.

Emotional and psychological violence emerged as a factor in a number of forms in this study. It was mainly discussed in terms of name-calling, insulting, humiliation, shaming, isolation, and segregation of children. Name-calling and insulting children are widely considered across regions as being common practice and normal, and therefore not considered as violence. Of equal significance, however, are the emotional and psychological impacts from other forms of violence such as physical punishment, sexual violence and the everyday neglect and interactions of some parents with their children which give rise to fear and insecurity in children, negatively impacting their well-being, education and development.

6.1 Fear and insecurity

Fear and insecurity are pervasive among children and linked to the context in which they live. A key finding concerning emotional and psychological violence that emerged from this study is the extent to which many children live in a state of insecurity and fear. In part, this is a result of children being aware of the wider dangers and risks of violence in society and therefore feeling unsafe in their everyday contexts of home, school and neighbour hood. For example, children expressed a sense of insecurity as a result of knowing that children are being raped and abused, and also about children with disability and children with albinism being discriminated against, isolated or having their body parts removed.

> "I don't like rape and difficult work. I like when they protect us, sending us to school and providing us with rights. I feel frightened when I see a baby thrown in the pit. I feel safe when I am protected. Something to change is to stop the use of alcohol or drunkenness."
>
> (Boy, 17, Mbarali)

> "I do not like when I am at school to do other activities rather than studying. I like it when you give me my rights such as food, clothes and education. I feel frightened to see albinos with body

parts chopped off. I feel safe when I am at school, at home and in church. Something to change is bad tradition such as FGM/C and child marriage."

(Boy, 14 Mbarali)

Parents and caregivers are significant to a child's emotional state. To a large extent, it appears that children feel scared and insecure as a result of the way their parents, carers or relatives treat them, including the threat of being beaten or not being provided with basic needs such as access to education or sufficient food.

"I don't like being mistreated because I feel bad. I like you to love me and take good care of me. I feel unsafe in the way you treat me as if I am not a human being. I pray that you change and love me always."

(Girl, 10, Mufindi)

"I don't like to be denied food. Other children are given good food but for me it is always different. I like to eat well just like other children. I feel unsafe when you deny me my basic needs. I wish one day you will change and provide me with all basic needs."

(Boy, 11, Mufindi)

"I don't like being denied my rights. I like to live in better living conditions like others. I don't feel safe in the way I am treated and humiliated. I wish I could be loved in the same way like other children."

(Girl, 15, Mufindi)

"I dislike being abused every time during lunch or supper or after because you make me scared of you and create fear."

(Boy, Kasulu)

Children feel safe when their parents are at home and play or interact with them, and when they are able to play with their fellow children. They feel secure and safe when they can see that adults, especially parents, are actively protecting children and acting in their best interests.

"I like when adults take the responsibility in protecting children and uniting the whole community to fight VAC. I like to see you making follow-ups so that violence does not happen on our community."

(Child, 17, Pemba)

Parenting practices can be detrimental to the psychological state of a child. What the comments from children illustrate is that, however well-intentioned many of the approaches to parenting may be, they often have detrimental psychological effects on children. Cutting across these comments from children are issues about being mistreated, denied food, shelter and basic rights, prevented from access to education, feeling unloved, uncared for, unvalued and lacking a voice. Not being loved and cared for has an immediate effect on children, but neglect through a failure to provide basic needs indirectly affects children emotionally and psychologically by sending the message that they are not valued and not worth being fed, sent to school or talked with.

"I don't like when you abuse me because I feel sadness. It shows that you do not care about me. Remember that I am a child. I feel happy and safe when you educate me. I want you to care for me."

(Boy, 15, Unguja)

> "I don't like being burnt by hot objects because that affects me psychologically. I like to be protected and given my basic rights. The only happiness a child can get is to live knowing that society loves him."
>
> (Boy, 16, Mufindi)

> "I don't like to be slapped, pinched and abused because it makes me unhappy. I like education, good clothes and caring because these are a good sign of being loved by the parents."
>
> (Girl, 15, Kasulu)

Listed below are some common factors that affect children's emotional and psychological status. These emerged from the letters that children wrote to adults.

Factors responsible for making children feel scared and unsafe:

- Being denied food
- Being beaten/burnt
- Being mistreated
- Being made to do hard labour
- Being denied opportunities to speak out and/or heard
- Being insulted or shouted at
- Angry parents
- Being removed from school/prevented from attending school
- Being deprived of protection and care
- Being raped or sexually abused
- Seeing other children being abused or discriminated
- Children being murdered or having body parts removed
- Being punished without reason

Equally, children are quite clear about what makes them feel safe and happy.

Factors responsible for making children feel safe and happy:

- Being loved, cared for and protected
- Being listened to
- Having parents who are close to them and have time for them
- Feeling valued
- Being involved in decision-making
- Receiving an education
- Having their basic needs met
- Being able to play freely with friends
- Being guided, counselled and corrected when wrong
- Having their rights respected
- Being treated equally and fairly and without discrimination

What is clear is that while violence against children causes immediate physical harm, it also creates psychosocial effects which give rise to an existential insecurity for children. In spite of the prevailing social norms about children and parenting practice, evidence suggests that current parenting methods are having damaging effects on children. Furthermore, although children are quite clear about what they need for healthy development, this is often not forthcoming and appears to fundamentally conflict with the established norms of child-rearing and parenting practice.

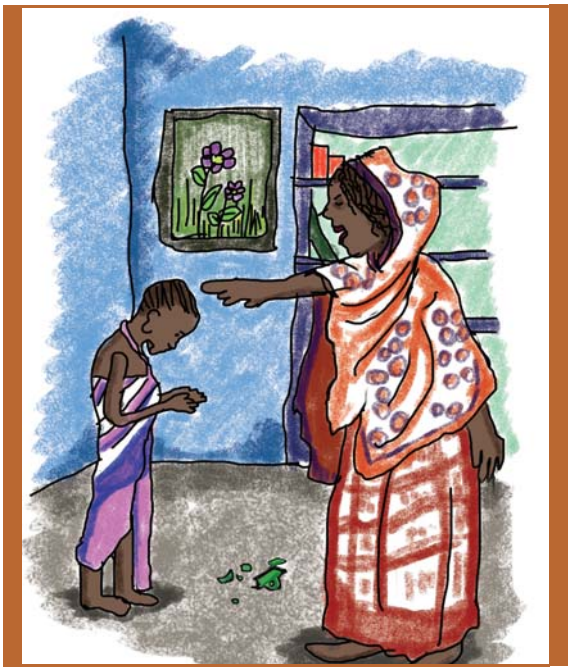
6.2 Name-calling and insulting children

Calling children names is socially acceptable and not seen as violence. Name-calling was discussed across all regions as something that is common and normal, and therefore largely unquestioned. The practice is not considered to be harmful or violent against children as it is not perceived as wrong. As one community leader in Kasulu stated, "mere words do not harm children".

Examples of insulting children include name-calling such as, "Come here you bitch/ass/

monkey/empty head" or chokoraa[50] and other disparaging remarks such as "you are a living corpse" or shida (problem), hasara (loss) or yukuta (something of low value). Children in Magu also mentioned how insults were combined with insensitive past incidents, being told, "you are stupid like your mother who died of HIV." In the western regions of Kasulu and Shinyanga, shouting and using insulting language was reported as a way of reprimanding children. Children are also often called names or verbally insulted in the course of social interaction, "often without any particular reason", and it was observed that adults do so "because that is the way they were brought up".[51]

Child's drawing of a mother insulting a child



"This mother is insulting her child for breaking a cup. The child was cleaning the cup and unfortunately the cup dropped from her hands. After the cup was broken the child started thinking of how her mother would react and when her mother discovered that the cup had broken she said, "You stupid dog, why have you broken my cup?" The child replied, "If I am a dog, who gave birth to me?" After that the mother chased the child away from home."

(Child, Magu)

Name-calling does not lead to discipline but rather creates hatred for the name-caller in the mind of the child. Both boys and girls tended to view name-calling as unfair and humiliating. In Mufindi, the girls' group provided a story where a child was called bad names by her mother. After tolerating the name-calling for so long, the child decided to show how unhappy she was by calling her mother the same bad names. Consequently, she was beaten severely by her mother.

Table 46: Attitude to name-calling being acceptable (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	7% (M+F)		7
Shinyanga	0	0	0
Temeke	9	10	10
Kisarawe	0	0	0
Kasulu	55	63	59
Munfindi	66	58	62
Mbarali	0	0	0
Hai	0	0	0
Unguja	18	18	18
Pemba	9	8	9
All	**25%**	**21%**	**32%**

Many children experience being called names by teachers as well as parents and guardians. In schools, it was reported that teachers taunt and call children names, for example, when a child does wrong or performs badly in class. This may that insulting children creates fear in a child with the result that the child may not talk to his/her parents when they have a real problem.

"**Lovely mother,**

I dislike when you call me bad names because I feel shame and feel bad, but I like when you call my name, and show me how much you care and love me. I feel happy when you show me that you love me. I would like for you, mother, to stop insulting me and calling me bad names that affect my life."

(Girl, 15, Unguja)

[50] A term used to refer to street children.

[51] Boy, Temeke.

Table 47: Views about name-calling being harmful (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	83% (M+F)		83
Shinyanga	94	93	94
Temeke	25	59	44
Kisarawe	97	94	95
Kasulu	No data		
Munfindi	63	50	57
Mbarali	100	100	100
Hai	50	60	55
Unguja	38	71	58
Pemba	100	92	93
All	**72%**	**79%**	**77%**

> **Dear Aunt,**
> I dislike it when you abuse me by insulting me about how bad I have been created physically. I am very much angry about this, because God is the only one who created human beings and everything in this world. Do remember that I am a human being and am not perfect like any other human being. I feel happy and safe when you give your time and listen when I am talking to you, also when you send me to hospital when I am not well. What I want you to change is to stop insulting me daily.
>
> (Girl, 15, Unguja)

Whereas in the focus groups, only a small number of adult groups said that name-calling and insulting children were unacceptable,[52] in the community appraisal, 68 per cent of participants across all regions felt that name-calling was unacceptable. There was a high level of agreement in Shinyanga, Kisarawe, Mbarali and Hai that name-calling is unacceptable, while Temeke and Pemba recorded only a low level of agreement. Name-calling was more widely accepted in Kasulu with 59 per cent of people in agreement and Mufindi with 62 per cent in agreement, and with little significant difference between male and female attitudes.

Although most agreed that name-calling is harmful to children, it remains a relatively common practice. These regional patterns are reflected in views about whether name-calling is considered harmful to children or not. Across all regions, 77 per cent agreed that name-calling is harmful with high levels of agreement in Shinyanga, Kisarawe, Mbarali and Pemba. However, participants in Temeke, Mufindi and Hai are less likely to agree that name-calling is harmful.

Yet, in spite of these views about name-calling being unacceptable[53] and harmful to children, 46 per cent of participants said they used name-calling and insulting children as disciplinary measures at some level of frequency. For those

Table 48: Frequency of using name-calling/insulting as a punishment (in per cent)

Area	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Quite Often/ Frequently
Magu	No data			
Shinyanga	60	40	0	0
Temeke	70	21	6	2
Kisarawe	94	6	0	0
Kasulu	34	0	66	0
Mufindi	0	27	59	4
Mbarali	69	30	0	1
Hai	63	17	1	19
Unguja	59	33	0	8
Pemba	No data			
All	**54%**	**21%**	**20%**	**5%**

[52] Mothers' and fathers' groups in Pemba, and mothers and community leaders in Magu.

[53] There may be irregularities with the data here. For example, it could be that in the community action research workshops, people directed less time to this question than to others.

agreeing with calling children names, it was not considered a problem, as one participant from Shinyanga stated: "words once spoken can just help the hearer but they are taken by the wind".

Higher frequencies of using name-calling as a form of punishment are evident in Kasulu, Mufindi and Hai, which is resonant with the patterns in attitudes to name-calling noted above. This data suggests that name-calling is more widely practiced in these regions.

6.3 Humiliating and shaming

Shaming appears to be viewed as distinct from name-calling and is relatively less used as a disciplinary tool. Although name-calling seems to be motivated by attempts to humiliate and shame children into compliance and good behaviour to prevent further misdemeanours, only 25 per cent of participants across regions said they used shaming as a punishment with consistent trends across regions apart from Mufindi where 91 per cent said they have used shaming at some time. There were similar responses on the whole for male and female participants.

On average, 40 per cent of participants across all regions agreed that shaming is an acceptable form of punishment. However, regional analysis identifies Kasulu and Mufindi, with 65 per cent and 82 per cent respectively, as being the only two regions where there were high levels of agreement about shaming being acceptable. In all other areas, there was clear articulation that shaming is unacceptable. In Shinyanga, Hai and Kisarawe, men were more likely than women to agree with shaming, although there was little gender difference in data from the other areas.

Table 49: Shaming is acceptable (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	No data		
Shinyanga	24	0	11
Temeke	12	11	12
Kisarawe	8	0	5
Kasulu	66	63	65
Munfindi	75	88	82
Mbarali	0	0	0
Hai	10	0	5
Unguja	39	25	31
Pemba	No data		
All	**35%**	**31%**	**40%**

Table 50: Frequency of using shaming as a punishment (in per cent)

Area	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Quite Often/ Frequently
Magu	100	0	0	0
Shinyanga	76	10	10	4
Temeke	64	25	1	10
Kisarawe	100	0	0	0
Kasulu	84	0	16	0
Munfindi	9	25	46	20
Mbarali	95	2	3	0
Hai	77	3	1	19
Unguja	84	14	0	2
Pemba	98	1	0	0
All	**75%**	**9%**	**10%**	**6%**

In addition, on average 79 per cent of participants across all regions felt that shaming caused harm to children. Women were significantly more likely than men to say shaming is harmful to children in Temeke and Hai.

Some examples that emerged about shaming and humiliation included instances of children who have wet their bed being dragged into the street to be publicly shamed and humiliated, particularly in front of their peers and the local community. Children with disabilities were noted as being particularly susceptible to stigmatization and emotional abuse, although they were more likely to be isolated from public view. One child in Pemba reflected that being humiliated and insulted degrades a child's dignity and gives rise to psychological torture that affects them in school. Children also feel emotional and psychological impacts including disrespect and the indignity of humiliation when they are beaten or called names for things they believe are not their fault.

Table 51: Shaming is harmful (percentage of people in agreement)

Area	Male	Female	Total
Magu	No data		
Shinyanga	100	100	100
Temeke	35	65	55
Kisarawe	84	82	83
Kasulu	No data		
Munfindi	88	100	94
Mbarali	100	100	100
Hai	36	92	65
Unguja	64	58	63
Pemba	No data		
All	**77%**	**80%**	**79%**

6.4 Isolation and segregation

Isolation or segregation of children are seen as forms of psychological and emotional abuse. This practice was especially common among children with disabilities or children who are HIV positive, as well as children living with step-parents. Children with disabilities may be restricted from rights to basic needs and kept in the house without access to play and education. Children stated that they dislike the isolation of children with disabilities because it discriminates against them and denies them their right to live as normal human beings. One boy from Kasulu said:

> "Disrespect and discrimination of children with disabilities causes them to feel lonely and feel that the earth is not a good place to live."
>
> (Boy, 16, Kasulu)

Child's drawing depicting discrimination against children with HIV/AIDS

Table 52: Frequency of using isolation as a punishment (in per cent)

Area	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Quite Often/ Frequently
Magu	96	3	0	1
Shinyanga	88	10	0	2
Temeke	80	15	4	1
Kisarawe	100	0	0	0
Kasulu	100	0	0	0
Munfindi	23	39	33	5
Mbarali	97	0	2	1
Hai	96	2	2	0
Unguja	95	5	0	0
Pemba	95	5	0	0
All	**83%**	**10%**	**6%**	**1%**

Some children mentioned being isolated as a punishment. This does not, however, emerge as a common practice, with 83 per cent of parents across all regions saying they never isolate children as a punishment and only 1 per cent identifying isolation as a frequently used practice. Only in Mufindi had data to suggest that isolation was used more regularly, with one third of respondents saying they sometimes isolated children.

Adults appear unaware of children's feelings. Underlying these neglectful patterns of mistreating children is an apparent lack of awareness amongst some parents about how children feel. For instance, one girl from Temeke said "parents make decisions about everything even though they do not like to do something". A boy from a children's home said:

> "I am frightened when adults do not care about my feelings. For instance, at the home they just give us food and shelter, but that is not our priority. We need to be unified with our parents or relatives."
>
> (Boy in care, Temeke)

6.5 Socio-cultural factors

Socio-culturally sanctioned parenting habits and ignorance of the impact of insulting children perpetuate some negative practices.

It appears that the practices discussed in this section such as name-calling and shaming are rooted in long established socio-cultural practices of parenting. For example, in the Sukuma tradition, verbally insulting children is known as wantuza and is seen as part of their culture.[54] Through the discussions on this issue, it appears that many people have never questioned whether practices such as name-calling might be harmful to children, with one professional in Magu suggesting that it is only educated people who see it as a bad practice. It could be argued, therefore, as some focus group participants suggested, that these practices continue because of ignorance and low levels of education with many people not being aware that these actions are detrimental to children. Indeed, in a number of cases in this research, there is evidence where attitudes of participants changed as a result of discussing and reflecting on these practices. For example, one woman stated:

> "This workshop has changed me a lot, simply because there were some behaviours and actions I used to do to children and I never recognized them as VAC, so it made me change and be inspired to change others."
>
> (Adult participant)

It is also interesting that children themselves do not appear to condone these practices.

[54] In the Lakes region.

This raises questions about the extent to which education really is a factor as opposed to some visceral sense of knowing what is right for the child. This is partially reflected in some of the views from adults in this section about certain practices being harmful and unacceptable. Instead, it may be that emotional and psychological abuse of children prevails amongst some parts of the population because of the power of social norms influencing parental practice.

Other factors also contribute to VAC. In addition to socio-cultural norms, poverty, family tensions, anger and drunkenness were frequently voiced as being reasons behind insulting children. However, the girls' group in Temeke observed that parents who are not in these situations also verbally abuse children. Similarly, there may be other parents experiencing poverty and family difficulties who do not verbally abuse their children. Other reasons identified by children and adults included parents not being close to their children and lacking love for them, as well as a general decrease in morals amongst adults. In one of the discussions in a community research group, one parent reflected:

> "It is uncommon in the African culture for parents to be close to their children. If it happens, then it is seen as a bad or unusual relationship. For instance, when a mother is close to a girl it is seen as the mother creating a friendship in order to hide an extra-marital relationship that she is having with other men."
>
> (Mother, Temeke)

Some children said that adults call children names because children are weak and unable to defend themselves. One boy in Kisarawe stated:

> "There is no one to speak for or protect children … so they (adults) do not see how it affects children. We are kids, what can we do?
>
> I don't like it when I am denied the right to freedom of expression. I like when I see children are provided with their rights. …I feel safe when I am provided with my rights. Especially when I am involved in decision-making."
>
> (Boy, 15, Mbarali)

Valuing children means valuing their views and experiences. The extent to which children have a say on matters that affect them, according to Article 12 of the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child, is therefore key to improved adult-child relations and, therefore, also key to the well-being and protection of children.

CHAPTER 7
Reflections and recommendations

7.1 Developing a protective environment for children

This study is a qualitative exploration of knowledge, attitudes and practices in relation to VAC. What has emerged is a clear picture of some of the underlying factors giving rise to VAC, as well as community views about whether and how to respond. In this final section of the report, we bring together the learning from across the study to establish factors that emerged as significant in order to reduce violence and provide a more protective environment for children. What is evident is that while socio-cultural factors play a key role in providing a protective environment for children, these need to be considered in conjunction with systemic and professional factors. The chapter will thus discuss whose responsibility it is to provide a protective environment for children, highlighting the need for a whole system approach to produce changes in knowledge, attitudes and practices.

7.2 Factors contributing to a protective environment for children

7.2.1 Socio-cultural factors and attitudes to childhood practices and child-rearing

A key focus for the future needs to be the extent to which VAC and the violation of children's rights are currently normalized, and the lack of community awareness regarding how socio-cultural practices cause VAC. Specific areas for concern that emerged in the study include:

- negative or harmful social customs, such as child marriage, tribal dances and ceremonies that promote child abuse;
- conflicts between socio-cultural and religious customs and best interest of the child;
- discrimination and isolation of children with disabilities, children with HIV, children with albinism, and orphans;
- beating as a normal way of upbringing;
- the patriarchal system upholding a sense of male entitlement and fuelling gender discrimination;
- social norms undermining community interference in raising children;
- relationship between the abuser (often people close to the child such as a teacher or parent) and child/victim affecting reporting and child protection;
- negligent parental practices;
- lack of closeness between parents and children;
- misconceptions about children's needs and child-rearing practices in relation to physical punishment;
- lack of education and awareness about child development; and
- attitudes towards children which violate children's rights, including not listening to children nor giving them a voice.

However, both children and adults expressed consistent views about factors that are key to providing a protective environment for children:

- education and awareness about VAC, children's rights and positive child-rearing;
- effective, uncorrupt and accountable police and criminal justice systems;
- a multi-agency network of child protection services across all areas of society;
- a culture of non-violence and child protection across society in which reporting VAC is the norm;
- parental love and care, and closeness with children;
- respect for children and commitment to children's rights;
- gender equality and non-discrimination, including education for all children;
- the realization of children's basic needs and rights;
- children able to voice their views and experiences;

- no child labour (education, not work);
- absence of physical punishment for children;
- collective community responsibility to, and care for, children;
- absence of traditions and customs that violate children's rights;and
- open dialogue in communities about VAC without fear of reprisals.

7.2.2 Education and awareness raising (social learning)

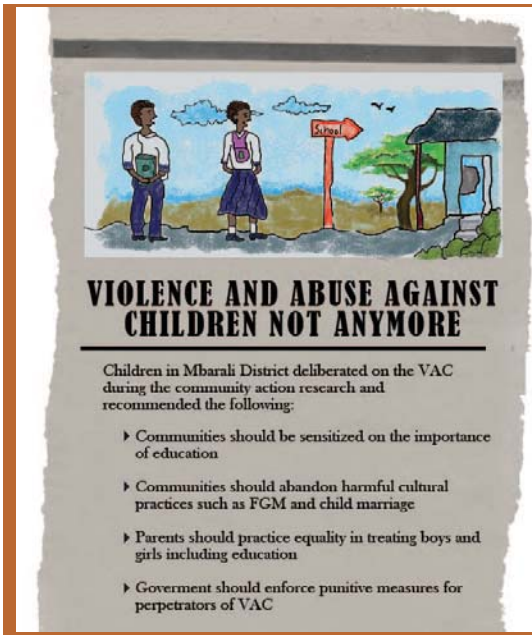
One of the strongest messages from this research is the need for education – for both adults and children – on the impact of VAC, child protection, children's rights and positive parenting.

> "Education is key in transforming people's attitude towards violence against children."
>
> (Father, Mufindi)

Education and awareness are the key drivers of change. Communities need to be educated and made aware about what constitutes VAC and the punishments for such acts. They also need to be sensitized to the importance of education for developing parenting skills and alternative approaches to discipline. Communities appear to have little understanding about children's rights and how to protect them, and little knowledge about VAC and the law, all of which perpetuate an indifference towards caring for children. This perspective is reflected in the 76 per cent of respondents who felt that ignorance and lack of education is significant in causing VAC. Within such a context of lack of understanding, traditions that violate children are perpetuated without being questioned.

> "In rural areas children are not sent to school. Instead they take care of cattle and are married as children, but these are not seen as VAC as it is something common in the community. If society is educated on the rights of children, particularly those living in rural areas, children will live with peace and harmony."
>
> (Girl, Kasulu)

A child's 'Newspaper front page' about the need for education in response to VAC



Education and advocacy on child rights are needed to empower communities to change beliefs and norms that are harmful to children. Many participants talked about the importance of education to challenge 'misguided' beliefs, such as child sacrifice, and customs that undermine the rights of children, such as FGM/C and child marriage. Changing existing beliefs that are harmful to children needs to involve education and advocacy on children's rights and child protection. Challenging views about customs and traditions needs to be viewed from the perspective of developing values based on respect for children and children's rights and not merely as a threat to or discarding of all traditions. This would empower communities to decide which socio-cultural practices are harmful to children and should be restricted.

Change, therefore, needs to involve a process whereby communities can reflect on, challenge and change their own values and practices. Conducted as participatory action research, community education can help empower communities, encourage collective responsibility and build capacity for change in addition to merely learning about VAC. For parents specifically, parenting groups were mentioned as a way of helping parents learn about alternative forms of parenting as well as providing education about children rights, including the effects of FGM/C and early marriage. For children, peer-to-peer work is highly regarded across the world and is one way by which children can educate and support each other in response to VAC. Furthermore, TUSEME clubs have been highlighted as playing an effective role in supporting children affected by VAC. It is important to ensure that children's councils and clubs are established in every school to provide a safe space for children to report and discuss VAC. Moreover, school syllabi should be revised to include information about children's rights and VAC.

While parents may not be setting out to intentionally abuse or violate their children, they are often unaware of the unintended negative consequences of their parenting techniques. Parenting education therefore needs to be approached sensitively through a strengths-based model which focuses on protective factors and building on existing assets in the community rather than a deficit model which addresses the prevention of damage and treatment of problems. **A strengths-based approach in working with families recognizes that all families have strengths that are unique depending on socio-cultural variables such as culture and background.** Working with families must be approached in a way that focuses on positive functioning within their existing situation and emphasizes the family's role as positive change agents. There is need for dialogue and reflection on current practices in the light of knowledge about children's rights and negative impacts on children rather than an imposition of alternative values.

In order for progress to be maintained, it is important that VAC does not lose focus. As such, VAC needs to be a standing item on the agenda at local meetings and should be regularly discussed in villages as well as in government departments. This will allow communities to see progress being made in fighting VAC.

7.2.3 Accountable and effective police and justice systems

One of the major issues underlining the provision of a protective environment for children is the perceived ineffectiveness of the judicial system in upholding their duties enforcing laws and bringing perpetrators of offences against children to justice.

> "The government needs to prioritize VAC and professionals working with/for children need to know that if they are not conducting their job in a dutiful way there will be punity."
>
> (Stakeholder, Zanzibar)

The research findings identified the following as areas for concern:

- lack of a specific government department to lead the response to VAC;
- Marriage Act not being aligned with the best interests of the child;
- lack of action in promoting positive parenting practices in schools and communities;
- lack of prohibition of any form of corporal punishment in the 2011 Children's Act in Zanzibar (which, therefore, contributes to people's perception that physical punishment is good for children);
- social and political stresses and corruption that prevent effective responses;
- insufficient resources (both human and financial);
- delays of cases by legal institutions, including concerns about corruption;

- the need for specific strategies in dealing with cases that involve children;
- lack of focused interventions; and
- lack of accountability in the implementation of policies.

Effective local legal systems–These are necessary in creating trust in the system which would encourage more people to come forward and report cases of abuse, as well as send a message that VAC is no longer tolerated. It is clear that there are some mechanisms already in place to combat VAC, namely Social Welfare Officers (SWOs), Child Protection Teams (CPTs) and community police, who all appear to play an important role in protecting children. Responses from participants in the research suggest that SWOs and CPTs, together with Gender and Children's Desks, are playing an important role. However, in spite of doing good work to help ensure VAC is dealt with appropriately, there is a need for a multi-agency approach involving SWOs, child protection officers, schools and the police working more effectively together to avoid duplication and make best use of resources.

Improving outreach of service providers–In some cases, it appears that there is insufficient capacity amongst SWOs, CPTs and community police to cover all areas. Given the evidence that geographical inaccessibility to child protection officials is a key factor affecting responses to VAC, attention needs to be focused on developing outreach capacity for child protection services. This also needs to include child protection teams working in schools and being close to children to address all the cases of sexual violence that are experienced in school. This should involve school inspectors and district education officers.

Developing a holistic and coordinated approach–A protective environment is essentially a whole system approach involving many different professional and community stakeholders who all work together in a joint endeavour. Alongside ensuring law enforcement, there is also a need to update legislation to address VAC, including bringing the Law of Marriage Act (1971) in line with the Law of the Child Act (2009) and introduce laws to prohibit traditions and customs that give rise to violence against children, such as FGM/C and mutilation of albino children.

7.2.4 Culture of non-violence and respect for children and child rights

Establishing an effective criminal justice and child protection systems is only likely to be effective if there is a positive attitude towards using them. **Developing a child-friendly culture** in which living without violence, humiliation and fear of being beaten is the norm rather than the exception, and **building a pervasive social philosophy in which acts and behaviours of adults are underpinned by respect for children and children's rights** are keys to developing a protective environment in which children can thrive.

Respect for children means respect for children as fellow human beings. A child-friendly and child-centred environment can only be created if children's rights are respected and honoured. By absorbing children's rights into socio-cultural values, decisions can be made regarding which existing practices contribute to a protective environment for children and which impact negatively. Moreover, children feel safe when they see adults taking responsibility in response to VAC, as such action is a reflection of a culture that values children. This involves breaking the silence and lack of opposition to VAC.

A measure of a culture of protection and respect for children is the inclination of community members to maintain such a protective environment, for example, by reporting VAC and holding perpetrators accountable through the justice system according to a moral standpoint that violence is not acceptable. The findings in this study suggest that whilst there are popular perceptions about prevailing attitudes and practices concerning violence against children, these are not always borne out by individual views about how children should be treated.

This suggests that the latent desire amongst many people for the enactment of a different set of values and practices concerning children is being prevented from contributing to a protective environment for children by powerful socio-cultural forces that maintain the status quo. Speaking out against VAC thus requires the police and justice system to be accountable and effective in its proceedings so that community members trust in the system to uphold the social values it represents.

7.2.5 Support communities to provide a protective environment

Community exerts a powerful influence in people's imaginations and is a powerful driver of individual actions. In addition, responding to violence is widely seen as everyone's responsibility. At the same time, there is a prevailing trend whereby the wider community is reluctant to get involved in the affairs of others and intervene in matters concerning VAC. A protective environment for children requires multiple socio-ecological layers to be effective and includes wider members of the community playing a role in looking out for children, valuing and respecting children and providing love, care and support.

> "To have a protective environment for children, every act that amounts to VAC has to be rebuked and reported and this is a duty of every member of society including the victims irrespective of the threats given by the perpetrators."
>
> (Child, Kasulu)

Development of a network for child protection would ensure effective use of resources and availability of services. Community development in response to VAC needs to be supported by a multi-agency network of child protection services. Community police, community leaders, SWOs, CPTs, CDOs, and Gender and Children's Desks have all been noted as playing an important role in developing a protective environment, but clearly their work is hampered by limited resources. Poor infrastructure and distance to services (including schools, health care, water, availability of safe areas for children to play) as well as limited accessibility to child protection services play a role in contributing to VAC. While there is a need to ensure that workers have resources for transport to villages, there is also a need to ensure sufficient capacity in terms of staff resources for all villages. Networks for child protection should involve effective multi-agency cooperation to prevent duplication of effort and also enable close coordination with communities. Child protection services need to be **available locally to meet the basic needs of children and families** to prevent children from becoming vulnerable. Providing a protective environment for children also needs to involve providing protection (anonymity and security) for children and community members who report VAC. There could be an enhanced role for community police in ensuring VAC cases are reported and followed-up, and that informants and witnesses are protected from intimidation and threats.

7.2.6 Strong commitment from national government

Development of a national community education programme – Given the all-pervasive nature of VAC, a primary objective in developing a protective environment for children is to embark on a national community education programme reaching out to all sectors of society. This should include education about the extent of VAC and the impact it has on children's development; child rights education; parenting skills development; guidance on child protection and childcare as a whole community responsibility; and education and awareness on traditions and customs that cause VAC, such as child marriage, FGM/C and vigodoro. A national education programme such as this needs to be part of a national strategy for promoting the rights and welfare of all children and with specific emphasis on vulnerable children, such as children who live or work on the streets and children with disabilities.

Regulation of socio-cultural practices that harm children – Measures taken at a national level to monitor and regulate harmful traditions and practices and where necessary ban them would help provide the framework nationally for local law enforcement. These may include festivals and night parties such as vigodoro, and the activities of traditional healers. But these also need to include laws on the licensing of entertainment venues such as bars and video halls to restrict child access, and measures for monitoring and enforcing the implementation of these laws. In addition, the government should provide education and, if necessary, legislation to address those who perpetuate and promote customs and practices that violate children. Monitoring and regulation are also needed at a national level of media coverage to prevent violence.

Provision of resources to counter VAC –Given the scale of the VAC problem, there is a need to massively increase resources to ensure that there is sufficient staffing and capacity to achieve national objectives. Resources need to be coordinated across agencies to support and extend existing child protection provision, and to establish child protection committees and legal aid in every village. This needs to also include increasing human resources to ensure the effective staffing and operation of Gender and Children's Desks, community policing, social welfare services and child protection teams. Resources are also needed to ensure that professionals are able to travel to remoter locations and provide capacity in the system.

Alignment of the national education policy to strengthen the response to VAC – There are significant problems with VAC in schools whilst, at the same time, schools are potentially an effective context for providing education on VAC and building the resilience of children. Consequently, there is a need for a national education policy focused on VAC that reviews school curriculum to include, as a mandatory requirement, teaching about VAC, why and how to report it, child rights, child protection, and the role of parents. This should include a commitment to uphold the right of all children to go to school. At the same time, a national education policy also needs to put in place strict requirements for education of teachers in children's rights, child protection and positive learning relationships with pupils, guidelines for professional practice, monitoring arrangements and strict sanctions for transgression of professional conduct.

Ensure economic development of the poorer sections of society – Finally, one of the factors that gives rise to VAC either directly or indirectly is poverty. The government should explore the link between economic well-being and VAC, and develop strategic economic policies that support local economic development and job creation to widen possibilities for poor families to attain income-earning opportunities which can all help to reduce the push factors behind VAC.

Conclusion

Changing societal and systemic responses to VAC is not something that can happen overnight. Tanzania and Zanzibar have embarked on a journey that will involve gradual change in knowledge, attitudes and practices. In order to make progress towards achieving this goal, what follows is a summary of recommendations that draw on learning from across the project:

Widely disseminate the learnings from this study with all stakeholder groups at all levels, including grassroots communities, with the message that reducing violence against children is everyone's responsibility. Attention could usefully be directed to the role of the media in this respect.

Change the narrative of violence against children to a focus on protective environments for children by working with communities to develop new norms.

Reassert the commitment of the government by developing a coherent strategy and action plan for addressing VAC and putting protective measures in place involving all stakeholders. This needs to include examining the wider context of childhood to ensure that the basic needs and

rights of all children are realized. Development of an impact assessment procedure for assessing policy impact on children is also required.

Develop a comprehensive education and awareness programme about VAC, children's rights and positive child-rearing to be implemented across the society, including professionals and politicians as well as adults and children in communities. This needs to be set within an espoused policy commitment to elevate the status of childhood in society and be backed by legislation.

Emphasize the education of teachers in initial and in-service training, and introduce monitoring in schools with enforcement of penalties for transgressors.

Explore further how **community action research** can be used as a **learning approach to programming** to engage all stakeholders, especially communities, as active partners in change.

Emphasize developmental work in communities which focuses on learning and behaviour change. This should involve a learning process incorporating provision of education and awareness as well as dialogue and interventions to support behaviour change and build capacity at the family and community levels. Attention needs to be directed to **ensuring safe spaces for dialogue** where people can engage without fear of reprisals, so that community members are able to critically reflect on socio-cultural attitudes and practices.

Bring the best interests of children into closer alignment with **socio-cultural norms through development of local contexts which acknowledge and own the imperative of responding to VAC**, thus creating a protective environment for children and a community context in which rights are understood and learning pursued to this end.

Address corruption and ineffectiveness, and build in monitoring and accountability into the police and criminal justice system **through concrete steps** to ensure perpetrators are brought to justice. This needs to include holding to account those who do not fulfil their professional responsibilities.

Strengthen the reporting system by improving access, providing anonymity and protection for informants and witnesses, and improving the speed and number of convictions to re-establish the faith of communities in the police and judicial system.

Consider the viability of setting up a **child and youth court** to deal specifically with cases of violence against children.

Enact and monitor the enforcement of **legislation to restrict socio-cultural practices and activities that are harmful to children.** These include some ceremonies and events, child labour, and children's access to video halls and bars.

Further develop a **network of child protection services** across the country to include local centres/clubs as a safe refuge for child victims of violence and where children can access advocacy, guidance and support.

Consider the **role of the media** as a partner as a source of public education in combatting VAC.

Develop opportunities for children to speak out and express their views on violence and to be active partners in initiatives and developments in response to violence. There is a desperate need for children's views and experiences to be heard and acknowledged as an essential part of child protection developments.

Table 53: Summary of key changes needed

Where/who	Key changes
Home	• Parents and caregivers being closer to children • Educate parents in children's rights and parenting skills • Families able to meet children's basic needs • Ensure all children go to school • Prohibit child marriage and FGM/C
School	• Implement measures to stop VAC being committed by teachers • Child protection officers in schools • Educate teachers about VAC, children's rights and positive relationships with children • Educate children in schools about VAC, children's rights and safe practices • Establish children's clubs and councils as a safe space for children • Develop links between homes and schools • Ensure all children are able to attend school • Provide food at school
Neighbourhood and community	• Harness the energy and conviction of dissonant voices to the mainstream • Provide community education on VAC and child protection • Encourage collective responsibility for children • Establish a network of child protection services • Encourage reporting of VAC • Ensure services are locally available to meet the basic needs of children and families • Implement legislation and controls on harmful practices
Local government	• Ensure effective operation of police and criminal justice systems • Ensure timely follow-up of all reported incidences of VAC • Address problems of corruption • Enforce the Law of the Child Act (2009) • Coordinate local strategic responses to VAC, including fostering joint-working including with communities • Monitor child protection in schools and the conduct of teachers
National government	• Develop and implement a national VAC education plan including guidelines on child protection • Provide resources to build capacity for child protection and legal aid in all villages • Ensure VAC cases are dealt with effectively and in a timely fashion • Enforce strict controls and zero tolerance of bribery and corruption • Harmonize laws with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child including revision of the Law of the Child, 2009 • Monitor and inspect systems to ensure that legislation and services are implemented • Revise national education plans to include child rights, VAC and parenting • Establish a special commission to oversee the development, implementation and monitoring of child protection systems

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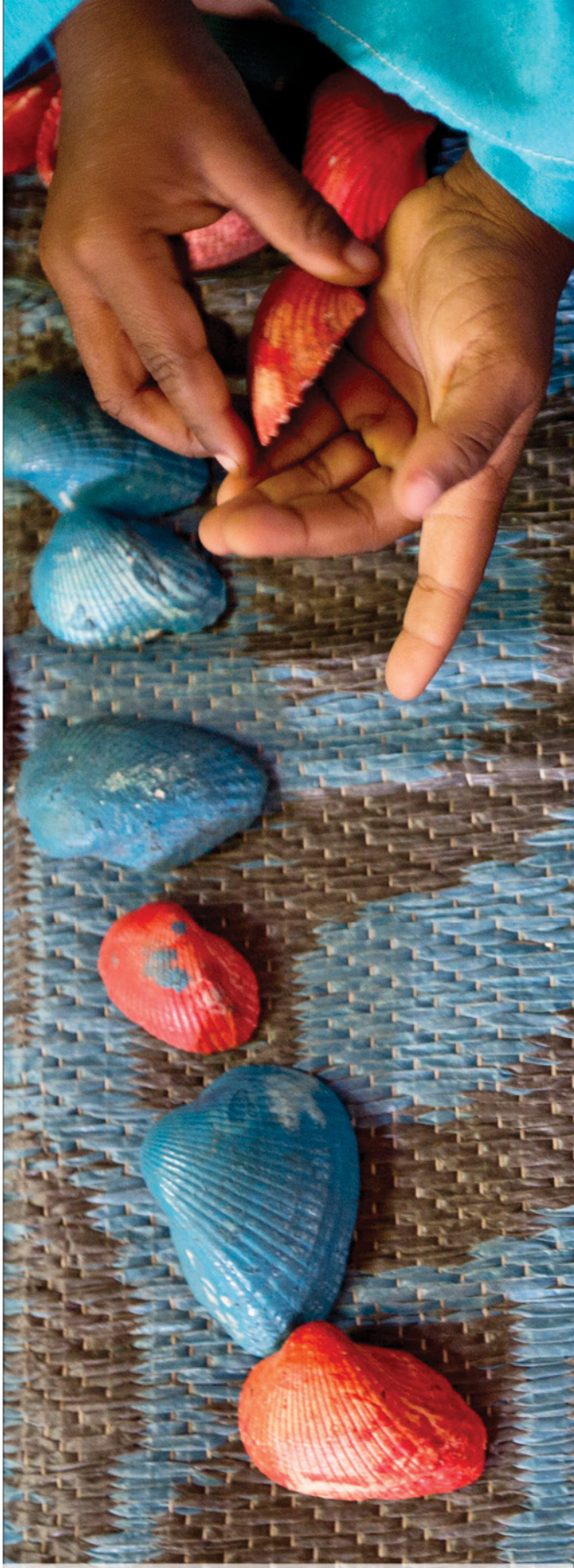

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