

---

# Understanding Children’s Experiences of Violence in Ethiopia: Evidence from Young Lives

---

Alula Pankhurst, Nathan Negussie and Emebet Mulugeta

Office of Research - Innocenti Working Paper

WP-2016-25 | November 2016

## INNOCENTI WORKING PAPERS

UNICEF Office of Research Working Papers are intended to disseminate initial research contributions within the programme of work, addressing social, economic and institutional aspects of the realization of the human rights of children.

The findings, interpretations and conclusions expressed in this paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the policies or views of UNICEF.

This paper has been peer reviewed both externally and within UNICEF.

The text has not been edited to official publications standards and UNICEF accepts no responsibility for errors.

Extracts from this publication may be freely reproduced with due acknowledgement. Requests to utilize larger portions or the full publication should be addressed to the Communication Unit at [florence@unicef.org](mailto:florence@unicef.org).

For readers wishing to cite this document we suggest the following form:

Pankhurst, A. N. Negussie and E. Mulugeta (2016). Understanding Children's Experiences of Violence in Ethiopia: Evidence from Young Lives, *Innocenti Working Paper 2016-25*, UNICEF Office of Research, Florence.

## THE UNICEF OFFICE OF RESEARCH – INNOCENTI

The Office of Research – Innocenti is UNICEF’s dedicated research centre. It undertakes research on emerging or current issues in order to inform the strategic directions, policies and programmes of UNICEF and its partners, shape global debates on child rights and development, and inform the global research and policy agenda for all children, and particularly for the most vulnerable.

Publications produced by the Office are contributions to a global debate on children and may not necessarily reflect UNICEF policies or approaches. The views expressed are those of the authors.

The Office of Research – Innocenti receives financial support from the Government of Italy, while funding for specific projects is also provided by other governments, international institutions and private sources, including UNICEF National Committees.

For further information and to download or order this and other publications, please visit the website at [www.unicef-irc.org](http://www.unicef-irc.org).

### **Correspondence should be addressed to:**

UNICEF Office of Research - Innocenti

Piazza SS. Annunziata, 12

50122 Florence, Italy

Tel: (+39) 055 20 330

Fax: (+39) 055 2033 220

[florence@unicef.org](mailto:florence@unicef.org)

[www.unicef-irc.org](http://www.unicef-irc.org)

[@UNICEFInnocenti](https://www.facebook.com/UNICEFInnocenti)

[facebook.com/UnicefOfficeofResearchInnocenti](https://www.facebook.com/UnicefOfficeofResearchInnocenti)

## OFFICE OF RESEARCH – INNOCENTI PARTNERSHIP WITH YOUNG LIVES

This paper is part of a series of working papers produced by UNICEF's Office of Research – Innocenti in collaboration with the University of Oxford's Young Lives research programme. Under its multi-country study on *The Drivers of Violence Affecting Children*, the Office of Research has undertaken research in Italy, Peru, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe which examines how structural, institutional, community and individual factors interact to affect violence in children's lives, with a particular focus on the risks and experiences of violence by gender and age.

Complementing UNICEF's multi-country study, a number of papers have been produced using the longitudinal quantitative and qualitative data produced by the Young Lives research initiative. Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, initiated in 2000, which has followed 12,000 children in Ethiopia, India (in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana), Peru and Viet Nam. This set of papers aims to understand various aspects of children's experiences of violence, and the impacts of violence on children's lives over time, across different settings.

Two papers use the quantitative data from the four Young Lives study sites to examine the issues of corporal punishment and bullying, their prevalence, impacts on children and the social support available to them. (Ogando Portela and Pells, *Corporal Punishment in Schools: Longitudinal Evidence from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam*; Pells, Ogando Portela and Espinoza Revello, *Experiences of Peer Bullying among Adolescents and Associated Effects on Young Adult Outcomes: Longitudinal Evidence from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam*, published respectively in 2015 and 2016 by the UNICEF Office of Research).

The remaining four papers draw primarily on the qualitative research undertaken in each country to obtain in-depth insights into children's experiences and perceptions of violence. As the surveys were not originally designed specifically to analyze violence, there are some limitations to the data, discussed in each paper. However, taken together, the papers illuminate the varied experiences of violence, primarily physical and emotional, that affect children in different country contexts, and in different settings – home, school and community. The findings show how experiences of violence condition children's life chances and key transitions (including schooling, friendships, emotional well-being etc.), and also shed light on children's own agency and their responses to violence across multiple contexts.

For other papers related to the Multi-Country Study on the Drivers of Violence Affecting Children, visit [www.unicef-irc.org/research/274/](http://www.unicef-irc.org/research/274/).

## UNDERSTANDING CHILDREN'S EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE IN ETHIOPIA: EVIDENCE FROM YOUNG LIVES

Alula Pankhurst,\* Nathan Negussie\*\* and Emebet Mulugeta\*\*\*

\* Young Lives, Country Director, Ethiopia

\*\* Young Lives, Research Assistant, Ethiopia

\*\*\* Associate Professor in the School of Psychology and Centre for Gender Studies, Addis Ababa University

**Abstract:** This research report explores children's accounts of everyday violence in Ethiopia, and the ways in which factors at individual, family, community, institutional and society levels affect children's experiences of violence. The report primarily draws on analysis of four rounds of longitudinal qualitative data gathered over seven years, complemented with analysis of cross-sectional survey data from Young Lives. After a brief description of the policy context and literature review, the paper describes the study then presents findings from the survey and qualitative research, exploring home, schools, communities, differences by age and gender, and children's responses to violence. Violence affecting children – mostly physical punishment and emotional abuse – is widespread, accepted, and normalized. Differing economic activities affect family dynamics and the likelihood of children experiencing violence, which is often linked to the challenges of poverty and the expectation that children will contribute to the household economy. The report adds to knowledge about the nature and experiences of violence affecting children in resource-poor settings, and concludes with some suggestions for policies, programming and practice.

**Key words:** Violence affecting children, corporal punishment, children's experiences, Ethiopia.

**Acknowledgements:** This report has benefited from additional survey analysis provided by Bridget Azubuiké, and the summary drafted by Hayley Jones. We wish to thank Nardos Chuta, Virginia Morrow, Kirrily Pells, Yisak Tafere, and Ina Zharkevich for their very useful suggestions, M. Catherine Maternowska and Alina Potts of the UNICEF Office of Research – Innocenti and Debra Pepler Visiting Fellow at Innocenti for their support and insightful contributions. We also wish to thank three anonymous peer reviewers for the helpful comments received on earlier versions.

Young Lives is core-funded by UK aid from the Department for International Development (DFID). The views expressed are those of the author(s). They are not necessarily those of, or endorsed by, Young Lives, the University of Oxford, DFID or other funders.

## ACRONYMS

<b>ACPF</b>	African Child Policy Forum
<b>CDC</b>	Center for Disease Control
<b>FDRE</b>	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
<b>FGD</b>	Focus Group Discussion
<b>FGM/C</b>	Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
<b>GOs</b>	Governmental Organizations
<b>HTPs</b>	Harmful Traditional Practices
<b>IDREC</b>	Interdivisional Research Ethics Committee
<b>MoE</b>	Ministry of Education
<b>MOU</b>	Memorandum of Understanding
<b>MOWCA</b>	Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs
<b>NGOs</b>	Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>OAU</b>	Organization for African Unity
<b>OSSREA</b>	Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa
<b>SAQ</b>	Self-Administered Questionnaire
<b>SRSR</b>	Special Representative of the Secretary General
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNCRC</b>	United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child
<b>UNFPA</b>	United Nations Population Fund
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
<b>VAC</b>	Violence Affecting Children
<b>VAW</b>	Violence Against Women
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organization

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary .....	9
Introduction .....	14
1. Background and policy context .....	16
1.1 Legal and policy frameworks .....	16
1.2 Literature review .....	16
1.3 Conceptual framework.....	17
2. Young Lives – A longitudinal study on childhood poverty .....	19
2.1 Qualitative research methods.....	20
2.2 Ethics.....	21
2.3 Limitations.....	21
3. Findings – Prevalence: survey data and qualitative research .....	23
4. Violence at home.....	26
4.1 The domestic economy: gender and obedience.....	26
4.2 Withholding food as punishment .....	28
4.3 Reprimanding, insulting and cursing – quality of relationships .....	29
4.4 Household structure and violence against children.....	29
5. Violence in schools – corporal punishment.....	33
5.1 Disrupting the class .....	34
5.2 Failing to satisfy teachers.....	34
5.3 Means of discipline .....	35
5.4 Violence among children at school.....	36
5.5 Discrimination .....	36
6. Violence affecting children in communities.....	38
6.1 Physical violence among children .....	38
6.2 Insults and family honour .....	38
6.3 Insults and abuse by employers.....	39
7. How children respond to and feel about violence .....	40
7.1 Violence at home – children’s feelings and responses .....	40
7.2 Violence at school – children’s feelings and responses .....	41
7.3 Violence in communities – children’s feelings and responses .....	43
8. Gender and age differences.....	45
9. Discussion and implications for socio-ecological approaches to understanding violence affecting children .....	43

10. Policy and practice implications ..... 48

References ..... 49

Appendix A: Laws and policies in Ethiopia relating to child protection ..... 53

Appendix B: Case study children by age at interview, cohort, sex, location,  
region, ethnicity and religion..... 55

Appendix C: Key findings and recommendations..... 57



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report has been commissioned as part of the UNICEF Multi-Country Study on the Drivers of Violence Affecting Children in Peru, Viet Nam, Zimbabwe and Italy. The study analyses how individual, family, community, institutional and societal level factors interact and contribute to violence in children's homes and communities, with the aim of developing better national strategies for the prevention of violence against children (UNICEF, 2016). This report draws on results from Young Lives, a longitudinal study of 12,000 children in four countries: Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam. Drawing primarily on Young Lives qualitative data, complemented with some survey analysis, the report provides an account of children's everyday experiences of violence at home, at school, and in their communities.

Violence affecting children in many forms is widespread in Ethiopia, and indeed in sub-Saharan Africa more generally. Physical, emotional and sexual violence in the home and community are commonplace; however, the underlying factors contributing to the incidence of violence against children in different settings are not well understood. Based on the evidence from Young Lives' research in Ethiopia, we find that corporal punishment is the most prevalent form of violence both at school and at home, whereas in communities, emotional violence in the form of insults and harassment is more common. Children's experiences of violence also vary along the lines of age and gender, and in different ways at various points of the life course. Many forms of violence are normalised and widely accepted by caregivers, teachers, children and communities. Using a socio-ecological framework, this report argues that violence against children is not merely a matter of personal behaviour, but rather is influenced by contextual factors such as the quality of family relationships, family composition/structure, families' social connections in their communities, community social norms, and the quality of formal institutions – such as schools, social services, the police and judiciary – and their commitment to child protection.

### Key Findings:

#### ■ Children's experiences of violence

- **Violence against children in Ethiopia is widespread**
  - A 2005 study by Save the Children and the African Child Policy Forum (ACPF) on corporal punishment found that among 1,873 children aged 4 to 18 years old, nearly three-quarters report being hit with a stick or an open hand, two-thirds reported being whipped, and nearly a third reported being punched. Children universally report experiencing some kind of emotional violence, typically in the form of insults, shouting and threats (Save the Children & ACPF, 2005).
  - Young Lives qualitative data in Ethiopia show that 90 per cent of children and young people interviewed (n=60, age range 7-20 years) have experienced some kind of violence, while survey data show that by age 8, over one-third (38 per cent) of children have experienced corporal punishment in school.
- **Children report physical violence most commonly, and non-physical and emotional violence (e.g., insults, harassment) less commonly**
  - Other forms of punishment include withholding food either through neglect or as a form of punishment.
  - Emotional violence experienced by children includes verbal admonishment, insults and curses both as a substitute as well as in addition to physical punishment.
- **Violence is most common in school, followed by the home, and then the community** (including children engaged in outside work), although children and adolescents may experience violence in multiple

settings. Physical violence is most commonly reported to be used mainly as a form of punishment by family members, followed by teachers.

- At school, corporal punishment is common, despite being illegal in Ethiopia. Young Lives survey data finds that among children aged 8, three-quarters report having experienced or witnessed corporal punishment at school in the previous week. When compared to other Young Lives study sites (India, Peru and Viet Nam), the prevalence of corporal punishment in schools is second highest in Ethiopia. Children also report being insulted and intimidated by both teachers and other students. In some cases, this was sufficient to stop children attending school altogether, though there did not appear to be a direct correlation.
- In the home, children most commonly reported corporal punishment and verbal admonishment.
- In the community and while engaged in work activities, insults and harassment are most commonly reported, although these sometimes lead to incidents of physical violence. Physical violence in communities mainly involves physical altercations between children, although children and young people also experience emotional violence at work.

- **Children's experiences of violence vary along the lines of gender and age**

- Middle childhood appears to be the period in which children are most vulnerable to violence at home as well as at school. Both caregivers and teachers generally believe very young children should not be punished (at least, not with the use of physical violence). Older children (from age 14) seem less likely to experience physical violence at school, which may be explained at least partly by their internalization of norms of classroom behaviour by this age, and/or by teachers' fears of physical retaliation by students.
- Self-reporting of violence in the survey was low, and boys are more likely to have experienced physical violence, particularly corporal punishment, both at school and at home. Boys are twice as likely to report experiencing physical violence within the home compared to girls. In qualitative research, there were no gender differences in levels of reporting.
- Girls, on the other hand, report being subjected to insults and harassment by boys within the community.

- **The drivers of violence against children**

- **At the family level, violence experienced by children is often shaped by the challenges of poverty and the expectation that children will contribute to the household economy.**

- Differing economic activities affect family dynamics and the likelihood of children experiencing violence. **Corporal punishment may be used when children fail to fulfill their roles and responsibilities related to domestic or agricultural tasks.** Girls in particular (although not exclusively) carry a heavy burden of domestic work, and are often expected to prioritize domestic work over school. Balancing household and school responsibilities can lead to a cycle of violence for girls at home and at school, and they are punished for under-performance in both locations. Boys, on the other hand, are often responsible for herding livestock, and experience violence when the livestock damage crops or are lost.
- Family structure and circumstances, often shaped by poverty, also play a role in children's experiences of violence. **Parental death, divorce, or the absence of a/both parents may exacerbate violence against children**, whether for the turmoil it precipitates within the household and/or for the

protection from violence offered by a family member who is no longer present. Orphans may be particularly susceptible to exploitation from their caregivers through excessive work and repeated punishments and yet often have particularly weak social support systems both within and outside the family in dealing with the violence they may face.

- **At the institutional level (within schools), the culture of violence as a disciplinary mechanism is reinforced by teachers at school.**
  - **A pedagogical style that emphasizes individual as opposed to group work, and overcrowded classrooms contribute to the use of violence in schools as a disciplinary method.** Failure to provide the correct response, incomplete homework, and arriving late or missing classes can incite corporal punishment.
- **At the community level (and also within schools), discrimination related to poverty and ethnicity, as well as the notion of family honour and shame, shape children's experiences of violence.**
  - Prejudice relating to poverty and in some cases ethnic discrimination, sometimes against those with darker skin, persists in some parts of the country.
  - The notion of family honour and shame permeates many common insults and often precipitates violence among and against children.
- **At the community level, violence at the workplace often relates to the fact that young people lack negotiating power.**
  - Employers may insult young workers and possibly deduct from their earnings, denying them what they are due.
- **At all levels, social norms (relating to socialization of children, teaching practices in schools, gendered roles and responsibilities) condone the use of violence as an acceptable means of inculcating appropriate behaviour and instilling a culture of hard work and discipline in children.** This is the case both at school and at home, and this view is expressed by caregivers, teachers, and children alike.

#### ■ **Children's resources against violence**

Children have limited resources to draw on in confronting violence at home, school, and in the community. Children accepted punishment if they thought it was justified but not if they felt it was unjust. In the case of the latter, they often develop a sense of fear towards those perpetrating the violence and may actively avoid that person. Even where children accept the use of violence, it is clear that they find other kinds of care practices more supportive and that they value fair, consistent and predictable responses to their actions and/or transgressions, particularly advice over insults. Overall, however, there seemed to be little action that children can take to deal with violence perpetrated against them by teachers, family members, or others in the community. Children often depend on parents/caregivers, other adults, or older siblings to protect them against violence; however, in many cases, these are also the people who perpetrate violence against them. This highlights the need to alter norms related to the use of violence and to provide children with greater support systems both at school and within the community that they can draw on when they experience violence.

#### ● **Policy Implications/Recommendations**

Children's experiences of violence are shaped by a variety of factors at family, institutional, community and societal levels. Addressing violence against children therefore requires a multi-level approach that tackles not only the violence perpetrated against children, but also the underlying forces driving that violence. The report's findings suggest some policy implications and recommendations.

**While existing legislation and policies prohibit violence against children in some instances, there is no overarching framework into which these laws and policies fit, and implementation and application of these laws and policies has been ineffective, while inter-sectoral coordination has been weak.** Legislation prohibits the use of corporal punishment in schools, yet the practice remains widespread. Establishing comprehensive legislation that addresses violence against children not only at school but also in other areas is an important step to addressing violence against children. Greater coordination between relevant government ministries with lead roles given to the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs and the Ministry of Justice, in coordination with the police and courts, NGOs and civil society organizations is crucial, and the proposed Strategic Plan for an Integrated and Multisectoral Response to Violence against Women and Children and Child Justice should be ratified and implemented. The draft Child Policy should be finalized, approved and implemented.

Legislative change can be made more effective when paired with an understanding of the existing social norms relating to a harmful behaviour, such as corporal punishment, so that legislation is timed to support nascent changes already underway at the community level. There is also a key role in awareness raising and promoting social norms change through media, especially radio, involving community customary and religious leaders and role models, and networks such as the *National Alliance to End Child Marriage and FGM*, the *Child Protection Civil Society Organisations Advisory Group*, the *Child Protection and Gender-Based Violence sub-cluster*, and the *Child Research and Practice Forum*.

Updating policies that have lapsed, such as the *National Action Plan on Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children*, and improving the implementation of existing policies such as the *National Strategy and Action Plan on Violence against Women and Children*, is also needed. This could be achieved through the establishment of mechanisms for reporting violence, both in schools and communities, along with creating guidelines on the procedures for such reporting and ensuring that confidential, age-appropriate services are available for children who report to this mechanism. At school, this could involve both the administration and parent-teacher associations and school clubs with greater promotion of positive discipline and codes of conduct. Within the community, this could involve women's and children's affairs representatives, health extension workers, social workers, community and religious leaders and NGOs working on child protection issues, and the promotion of positive parenting. The rights of young people who work in the informal sector could be better protected through legislation, and its implementation by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, aimed at ensuring the dignity of young workers and their access to decent work. While establishing a comprehensive legal framework for addressing violence against children and strengthening its implementation is critical, there are several other underlying factors contributing to children's experiences of violence that must be addressed in tandem.

Poverty is a key driver of violence against children and thus additional protection and support to poor households would help alleviate some of the pressures that contribute to violence against children. Children are often punished for failing to fulfill their responsibilities as regards contributing to the household. Families living in poverty are often dependent on children's labour (and earnings) in order to survive, and where children do not meet expectations around their contributions to the maintenance of the household, they can be subjected to violent punishments. While this may in part reflect social norms related to the acceptability of the use of violence as a disciplinary method, it also reflects the severe economic hardship faced by many families. Improved social protection measures that support families living in poverty would help alleviate both the financial and emotional stress of economic hardship, which would in turn reduce the likelihood of children experiencing violence for their failure to fulfill either household or school-related responsibilities. Social protection measures should be integrated into the

implementation of the National Social Protection Policy plans and the training and deployment of social workers. Such social protection measures could be linked to child protection efforts to ensure coordination and effectiveness in efforts to address both the violence perpetrated against children as well as the underlying driving causes. In addition, efforts to develop a better understanding of the impacts of poverty on children and their families among teachers, and particularly the challenges children living in poverty face in balancing household and school-related responsibilities, could also help address violence against children in schools.

**Social norms that condone the use of violence as a disciplinary mechanism to instruct children in “appropriate” behaviour and to instill the values of hard work must be challenged.** Violence against children is often linked to children not fulfilling their responsibilities, whether at home, at school or in the community (for example, when engaged in work). Parents, teachers, and children often explain the use of violence, particularly corporal punishment, as a method to teach children discipline and hard work. As a result, the use of physical violence, and corporal punishment specifically, is widespread and generally condoned.

In order to challenge such practices, the social and/or gender norms that support them must first be identified. Broad awareness-raising campaigns that focus on the negative impacts of violence on children are most effective when informed by an understanding of the types of beliefs and norms that support violent behaviours and who the key ‘decision-makers’ are in enforcing these norms. This allows for appropriate targeting both in terms of messaging and audience, and greater likelihood that such efforts will be able to successfully challenge dominant gender norms and encourage the use of alternative ways of disciplining children. In challenging gender norms, new initiatives could be linked with existing efforts to address Harmful Traditional Practices, notably FGM/C and child marriage, through the implementation of the National Strategy and Action Plan on HTPs against Women and Children. The involvement of customary and religious leaders has been shown to be crucial in bringing about change.

In addition to public campaigns, a range of other violence prevention tools and techniques is available. For example, schools can provide effective settings in which to challenge social norms around violence; however, they should first be environments that are largely free from violence. This could be achieved by prioritizing teacher training using a pedagogical approach based on child-centred learning, as well as training in the use of positive disciplinary methods; and by incentivizing teachers’ application of these techniques, for example through public recognition (i.e. awards programmes) and/or performance-related payment schemes and through school clubs and parent-teacher associations. Linking positive behaviours between the school and home through the engagement of parents/caregivers is critical.

## INTRODUCTION

In 1989, Article 19 of the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) laid the foundations for the protection of children from “all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child”. The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child General Comment 13 on violence against children (2011) noted that “in common parlance the term violence is often understood to mean only physical harm and/or intentional harm. However, . . . the choice of the term violence . . . must not be interpreted in any way to minimize the impact of, and need to address, non-physical and/or non-intentional forms of harm”.

Most research on violence in Ethiopia draws on Article 19 of the UNCRC and the definitions used by WHO in the World Report on Violence and Health (2002):

*the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against a child, by an individual or group, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity.<sup>1</sup>*

Violence thus includes physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, and neglect (WHO 2002).<sup>2</sup>

Violence Affecting Children (VAC) is a serious and growing concern worldwide, as noted in a 2006 global study by the United Nations Secretary General (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2006). Among other things, the study recommended that governments should “develop and implement systematic national data collection and research” (UN 2006:27). In 2013, the UN Special Representative of the Secretary General on Violence Affecting Children produced a report showing that despite important achievements, progress was too slow, uneven and fragmented. Among its recommendations, the report called for governments to “recognize the crucial importance of collecting appropriately disaggregated data on violence against children, and match this recognition with adequate support” (OSR 2013: xix) Furthermore, the report argued that “as the international community considers the future global development agenda beyond 2015, violence against children, including the most vulnerable and marginalized girls and boys, must be made a priority and recognized as a cross-cutting concern” (OSR 2013: xix).

This report has been commissioned as part of the UNICEF Multi-Country Study on the Drivers of Violence affecting Children in Italy, Peru, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe. The Multi-Country Study analyses how individual, family, community, institutional and societal level factors interact and

---

<sup>1</sup> As cited in United Nations Secretary General (2006) *Report of the independent expert for the United Nations study on violence against children*. New York: United Nations.

<sup>2</sup> Aligning with global definitions to the extent possible, in this paper violence and abuse are considered acts of commission – that is, words or actions that cause harm, potential harm or threat of harm. Acts of commission are deliberate and intentional (although harm might not be) and these include physical, emotional and sexual abuse. Acts of omission differ from acts of commission. Rather, they refer to the failure to provide for a child's basic physical, emotional, or educational needs or to protect a child from harm or potential harm, and are frequently referred to as different forms of neglect (WHO 2009 and CDC <http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/childmaltreatment/definitions.html>)

contribute to violence in children's homes and communities, and aims to develop better national strategies for the prevention of violence against children (UNICEF, 2016). It is anticipated that the findings of this research can be used to raise awareness about the reality of children's experiences of violence, 'to counter myths, and to add weight to arguments' (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2012: 19) that might be used in campaigns to improve practice, especially where legislation may have been passed but is clearly not effective (see also Morrow & Singh 2014). The research findings will be used in dialogue with the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs, donor partners, notably UNICEF, and other stakeholders to begin discussions about how violence affects children, with the goal of working towards strategies and guidelines to prevent and minimize the problem.

This report principally draws on results from Young Lives, a longitudinal study of 12,000 children in four developing countries: Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam, and analyses Young Lives survey and qualitative data for children's everyday experiences of violence. We find that forms of violence are normalised, and widely accepted by everyone, including children, with variations along the lines of age and gender. The report focuses on physical and emotional violence in three settings: home, schools and communities. Reports of sexual violence were very limited, in part because the qualitative inquiry was not specifically exploring this type of violence, and consequently this topic not explored here. However, gendered dimensions enter into all forms of violence and in Ethiopia the harassment of girls by boys is a significant and worrisome issue among the Young Lives cohorts, discussed in subsequent sections. Harmful traditional practices, including female genital mutilation and child marriage (considered as 'customary' forms of sexual violence, see WHO, 2002 p. 156) in Ethiopia have been considered elsewhere (Boyden, Pankhurst and Tafere, 2013; Pankhurst, 2014). Young Lives qualitative research suggests that corporal punishment is the most prevalent form of violence both at school and at home, whereas in communities, apart from fighting amongst boys, emotional violence in the form of insults, and harassment of girls by boys are more common, potentially signaling the consolidation of inequitable gender norms at an early age.

The report begins by describing the policy context in Ethiopia, and briefly reviews the existing research on violence against children and youth in the country, drawing on an ongoing mapping exercise (Mulugeta, 2016), and outlines the conceptual framework used (UNICEF, 2016). Following a description of Young Lives, including methods, approach to analysis, ethics procedures and potential limitations, an overview of prevalence data in terms of gender, age, region, site, and type and place of reported cases of violence is provided. The sections that follow present analysis of qualitative data on violence against children at home, in schools, and in communities, acknowledging gender and age differences, and how the effects of particular types of violence can change over the life-course of children. Children's responses to violence in various settings are then explored. Finally, we draw out some conclusions in relation to the themes explored, and make some suggestions for policy and practice.

## 1. BACKGROUND AND POLICY CONTEXT

Within sub-Saharan Africa, and in Ethiopia, Violence Affecting Children (VAC) is a major concern. In 2014, the Africa Child Policy Forum produced the *African Report of Violence Against Children* based on research in Ethiopia and seven other African countries. This report provides a useful, if troubling, overview, highlighting the fact that physical, sexual and emotional violence in the home and community is commonplace. However, underlying factors contributing to the incidence of VAC in different settings remain under-researched and are not well understood. These include children's accounts of their experiences, children's agency, risks and protective factors during childhood and adolescence, variations by gender, inter-generational dimensions of violence, and the influence of social and structural factors on violence.

### 1.1 LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORKS

Ethiopia has signed, ratified and adopted various international and regional legal instruments. Art 9(4) of the Federal Constitution (1995) makes all international treaties ratified by Ethiopia part of the law of the country. Relevant international, regional and national instruments and policies on violence against children ratified by Ethiopia are set out in Appendix A, adapted from Mulugeta (2016). While there exists a range of policies that have potential to address violence affecting children and young people in Ethiopia, an integrated and effective legal instrument addressing all dimensions of VAC is lacking. There is no overarching framework into which these laws and policies fit, and overall, the laws against child violence are rarely applied. The Revised Criminal Code (2004) criminalizes various forms of violence perpetrated against children. For example, Article 576.1 states that if an individual responsible for the custody or charge of a minor ill-treats, neglects, over tasks or beats him or her for any reason or in any manner, he/she will be punishable with simple imprisonment not exceeding three months. However, if the crime causes grave injury to the health, well-being, education or physical or psychological development of the minor, Article 567.2, stipulates that the punishment shall be, in addition to the deprivation of family rights of the criminal, simple imprisonment for not less than one year. At the institutional level, within schools, the Ministry of Education issued guidelines which include the mention that corporal punishment in schools is prohibited and punishments of offending teachers can be decided by communities. However, these were part of general guidelines on school administration, leadership and finance dating back to 2002, and evidence from the literature review below, and our findings, suggests that the practice is still highly prevalent and widely condoned.

### 1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Most studies in Ethiopia fall into two major categories – violence against children (VAC) and violence against women (VAW), sometimes referred to as gender-based violence (GBV) (see Mulugeta, 2016, for a comprehensive review). While divided in terminology, there is considerable overlap between these two categories. For example, many studies have been conducted in secondary or tertiary educational institutions and these tend to focus on the most common form of violence – sexual violence. Other studies reporting high levels of violence have focused on physical and psychological violence (the latter referred to hereafter as 'emotional' violence). A mixed methods study on corporal punishment conducted in five regions (Addis Ababa, Oromia, Amhara, Tigray and Southern Nations



Nationalities and Peoples Region or SNNP) among 1,873 children aged 4-18 years found almost three-quarters of children reported being hit with a stick (74 per cent), hit on the head (73 per cent), or being slapped (70 per cent). Almost two-thirds were whipped with a belt (63 per cent), over half were forced to kneel (53 per cent), and almost a third (29 per cent) were punched. All children said they experienced some form of emotional violence in the form of reprimands, most commonly in the form of insults, shouting and threats (Save the Children & ACPF, 2005).

In the same study, children suggested that because of the ban on **corporal punishment** in schools, teachers were resorting to emotional violence. Emotional violence is encountered more by older children (aged 16-18) compared to younger (4- to 9-year-olds and 10- to 15-year-olds) (Save the Children & ACPF, 2005). However, this research was conducted over ten years ago. More recently, a study by Ayode (2012) in Addis Ababa, with 338 household heads, 24 children, 32 community members (FGD), 8 police officers (FGD), 10 key informants (NGOs, GOs and Individuals) also showed continued use of corporal punishment and psychological violence. The findings indicate that close to one quarter of respondents indicated that corporal punishment is a disciplinary measure often administered by parents. Most frequently perpetrators of physical violence were parents (49 per cent); guardians (25 per cent), and teachers (21 per cent). In addition, emotional violence such as scolding, threatening or intimidating (18 per cent) as well as depriving children of some basic necessities were disciplinary measures used by parents when children misbehave (Ayode, 2012; see also Ogando Portela and Pells, 2015). Overall, physical or corporal punishment is seen as an acceptable way of disciplining children at home and at school, and this is likely to be an important reason for its continued practice:

*Ethiopian culture considers children as the property of parents, thus implying that parents have rights to discipline children according to their beliefs... This, along with the low status given to children combined with the lack of awareness of the harmfulness of physical and psychological violence, and unavailability of information on alternative ways of disciplining children, contributes to high levels of violence (Mulugeta, 2016, p11; see also Poluha, 2004).*

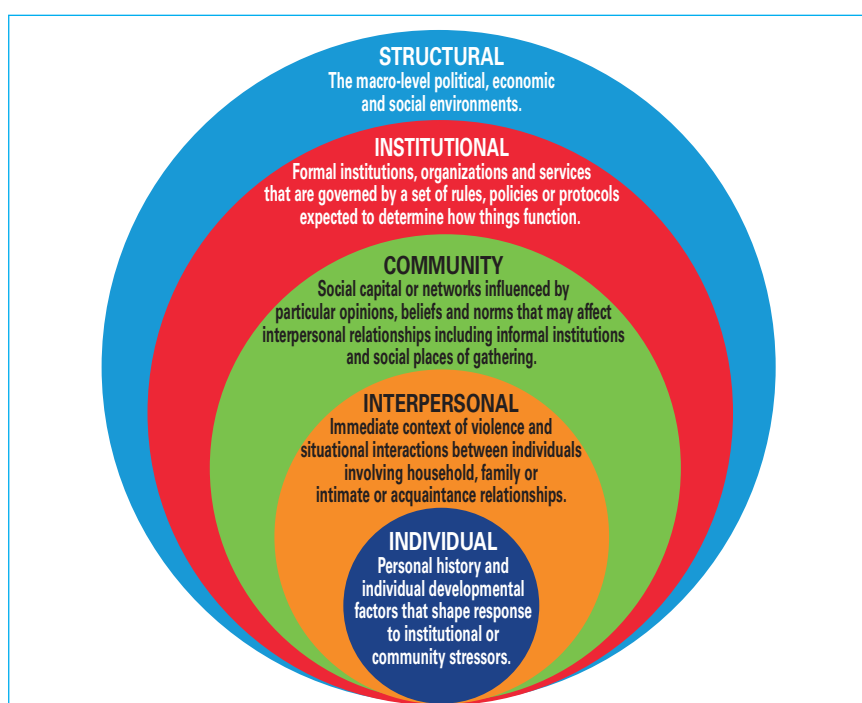
### 1.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This report applies the socio-ecological model derived from Bronfenbrenner's work which has gained widespread acceptance in the field of child protection (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This model situates the individual child as 'nested' at the heart of a series of concentric circles that are nested within communities, then within societies (see Figure 1). The model considers how violence is 'driven' by forces at five intersecting and overlapping levels. At the *structural level*, the economic and political situation of the country, the commitment of policymakers to child protection, are likely to affect general levels of violence within a country, and likely responses to violence affecting children. At the *institutional level*, we discussed the quality of schooling, and use of corporal punishment by teachers and school security guards. For the *interpersonal level*, we consider violence between children and between children and adults within households and in communities. And, finally, at the *individual level* we analyze case material from 42 children, in order to

understand their experiences of everyday violence, how violence affects their well-being, and their responses to violence.

Applying the framework, this report views violence against children not merely as a matter of personal behaviour, but as a socio-ecological phenomenon influenced by contextual factors such as the quality of relationships within families, the family's social connections to others in the community, the family's level of financial security and/or education, and community social norms including beliefs regarding the discipline and supervision of children, expressions of warmth and other behaviour. The quality of formal institutions such as schools, social services, the police, and judiciary and the economic and political situation of the country and the commitment of its policymakers to child protection also affect general levels of violence within a country, and likely responses to violence affecting children.

**Figure 1 – The Socio-Ecological Framework**

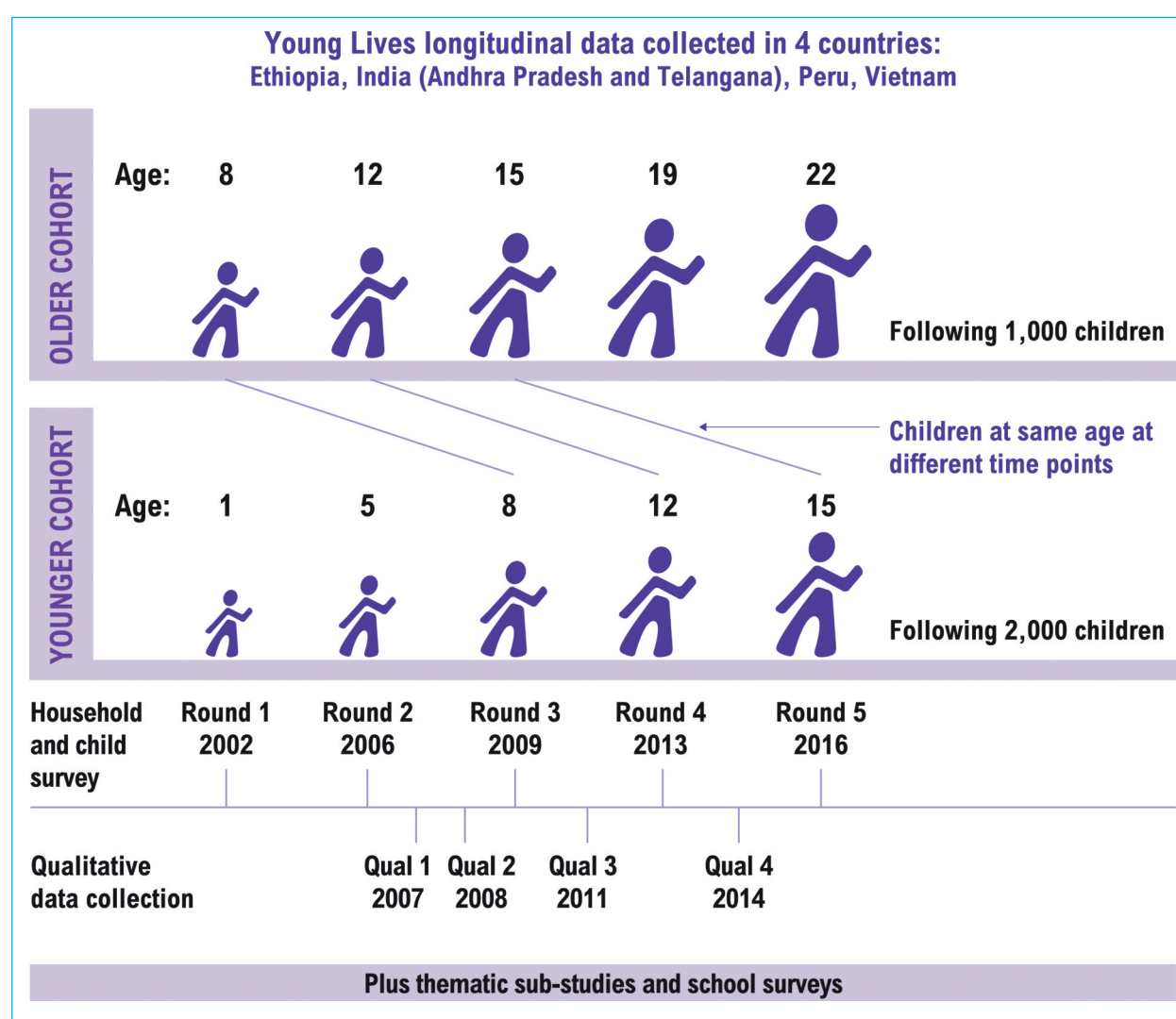


Source: Maternowska and Fry, 2015

## 2. YOUNG LIVES – A LONGITUDINAL STUDY ON CHILDHOOD POVERTY

Young Lives is an international longitudinal study of childhood poverty carried out in four countries: Ethiopia, India (Andhra Pradesh) Peru and Viet Nam, following 12,000 children since 2002. The study has been tracking 1,000 children born in 1994/5 (referred to as the Older Cohort) and 2,000 children born in 2000/1 (referred to as the Younger Cohort) in each country. To date, four survey rounds have been conducted with children and their families as well as other members of their communities: in 2002, 2006, 2009 and 2013. The 3000 children comprise equal numbers of boys and girls. Young Lives study sites were selected to reflect a range of conditions of poverty (see Figure 2) and in Ethiopia the children live in 20 communities in five regions: Addis Ababa, Amhara, Oromia, SNNP and Tigray.

**Figure 2 – Young Lives study design**



In addition to the surveys, four rounds of qualitative data have been gathered in 2007, 2008, 2011, and 2014, with a smaller sub-sample ( $n=60$ ) of children and their caregivers.<sup>3</sup> These children were purposely selected to reflect heterogeneity (in terms of living areas, gender, religion, family structure, parental economic status, and other markers) from participants in the wider survey in five sites (one from each region). Of these, two are urban sites, one in Addis Ababa, and the other in the centre of Hawassa, the capital of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNP). The three other sites are in Amhara, Oromia and Tigray regions, three of the more developed and important regions in the country. The qualitative sub-sample comprises 12 children in each site, six of whom were in the younger cohort and six in the older cohort. To protect anonymity, the names of the field sites are pseudonyms (names of children given below are also pseudonyms). In the urban areas, the two sites of Bertukan, in Addis Ababa, and Leku, in SNNP, are poor crowded areas with inhabitants making ends meet often through work in the informal sector associated with local markets and services. In the rural areas, household livelihoods relied primarily on agriculture and all three sites are within relative proximity of towns offering some opportunities for urban-rural linkages, and are areas where informal businesses employ children, in irrigated vegetable production, processing of agricultural produce or stone-crushing industries. Out of the 54 children, 42 express their views in this report. (See Appendix B for details of the children represented).

## 2.1 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS

Young Lives qualitative research was framed around a broad set of topics, including children's well-being, their experiences of transitions (for example, moving school), and their time-use and daily experiences. Research teams were also encouraged to follow what children wanted to or were willing to talk about. Several qualitative research methods were used (all described in Crivello et al., 2013; see [www.younglives.org.uk](http://www.younglives.org.uk) for Toolkits) including one-to-one interviews, group discussions and creative activities (such as drawings of a child 'doing well' or 'doing badly'), and body mapping.

The details of the methods used in each round and numbers of children involved were as follows:

**Table 3 – Methods used in each round of qualitative research and numbers of children involved**

Activities/Respondents	Qual 1-2007	Qual 2-2008	Qual 3-2011	Qual 4-2014
Interviews with children*	60	60	60	60
Caregivers interviews	60	60	60	61
FGD/group activities with children	20	15	10	5
FGD with community representatives (caregivers and other officials)	5	10	–	5
Key informant interviews	10	30	35	5
Young mothers				10
Young fathers				10

\* Note: there are six Older Cohort Children and six Younger Cohort Children per site

<sup>3</sup> Thus the ages of children and young people reported in this paper range from 7 years old to 20. Accounts from caregivers are included where findings supplement and enrich the topics of inquiry.

Various types of violence were mentioned on numerous occasions, by all age groups, including during group discussions about what constitutes a child 'doing well', during children's descriptions of school and as children expressed their likes and dislikes in multiple settings in which they live. For this report, we drew upon WHO definitions and included a range of key words relating to violence, such as beating, bullying, hitting, harassment, and insults in order to search through the database of transcripts of qualitative interviews from both cohorts in all five sites and all four rounds. We also relied on useful information and suggestions of cases to follow up from researchers and fieldworkers who gathered the data, and others who have worked with the data and/or who have carried out work on violence. This included violence perpetrated by adults on children, and violence among children.

## 2.2 ETHICS

Asking children about their experiences of violence is very sensitive, and raises numerous ethical concerns. There is a need to balance whether the benefits of the research outweigh the risks, and whether services are in place for children who disclose abuse. Arguably 'it is unnecessary to collect data about such experiences in order to promote what is a fundamental human right' (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children 2012: 19). Young Lives receives ethics approval for the research protocols used from the Interdivisional Research Ethics Committee (IDREC) at the University of Oxford, and follows Save the Children's Child Protection Guidelines, 2003. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for fieldworkers was developed in collaboration with research teams, setting out basic guidance about research procedures and respectful communication with research participants (see [www.younglives.org.uk](http://www.younglives.org.uk)). All fieldworkers undergo training in research ethics, and fieldwork manuals contain detailed ethics guidance. All interviews were carried out on a one-to-one basis between the interviewer and the child to avoid concerns about being overheard. Interviews were conducted in homes, fields, in community premises, and occasionally in schools – generally in areas that provided privacy, as far as possible. Fieldworkers were trained to ask questions in a sensitive manner, and to stop interviews if the respondent was distressed and offer them comfort. The Young Lives qualitative research team has been consistent over time, and mostly the same fieldworkers have been engaged over the various rounds of data collection. Thus a good rapport between fieldworkers, children and families has developed over the four rounds of qualitative fieldwork.

## 2.3 LIMITATIONS

It is important to acknowledge some limitations. First, Young Lives surveys are not dedicated child-protection prevalence surveys, but rather designed to understand a range of aspects of children's lives as they move through childhood and adolescence. As already noted, most of the questions relate to children's general well-being, experiences of poverty, and progress over time. Survey data collected may not be entirely complete – there are risks of under-reporting, particularly from the survey, because of practical difficulties with managing the self-administered questionnaire (SAQ) and largely due to very low levels of literacy among 15-year-olds in Ethiopia. As a result, the SAQ was not 'self'-administered, but administered by fieldworkers. Second, Young Lives uses a pro-poor sample, so the sample is not random. Thus, while broadly representative of children throughout Ethiopia, the data cannot shed light on violence experienced by affluent children and youth. Third, qualitative research was not designed to capture experiences of violence, but the

theme of violence emerged frequently, which in itself helped researchers realize and understand the importance of violence in children's lives, from their point of view. Because our analysis here focuses on violence affecting children, there is a risk over-emphasizing episodes of violence in what may be relatively non-violent settings. It is important to note that here is also considerable evidence of positive relationships between caregivers and children, and also the role of 'blessings' (or praise) as well as punishment (Pankhurst, Crivello and Tiemelissan 2015).

Since Young Lives did not set out to investigate violence, but rather to understand the broad context of children's lives as they grow up in contexts of poverty, it is also likely that reports of physical violence were more likely to have come up in the interviews than other forms of violence, which are children may have been reluctant to discuss, as the topics can be embarrassing/shameful and taboo. Emotional violence may not be reported as frequently and may well be more common than reported here, and warrants further focused research (see also Mulugeta, 2016). In particular, the very sensitive topic of sexual violence may have remained hidden, although we did come across one instance of attempted rape, and one of attempted forced marriage (not discussed here). Harassment of girls by boys was more frequently described, which is indicative of the risks and threats that girls face.

Below both quantitative and qualitative data are presented. Analysis of the quantitative survey data provides prevalence estimates, while the qualitative research provides insight into children's and young people's experiences and fears about violence and how these change over time (see Morrow & Crivello 2015).

### 3. FINDINGS - PREVALENCE: SURVEY DATA AND QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

In 2009, the Young Lives child survey asked a direct question of 15-year-olds about being beaten/physically hurt by family members, teachers, friends and strangers in a self-administered questionnaire (SAQ).

**Table 4 – Violence experienced at age 15 by type of relation and gender**

<i>Have you ever been beaten up or physically hurt by:</i>	Male		Female		Total n = 973	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Someone from your family	74	14.9	36	7.6	110	11.3
A teacher	61	12.3	14	2.9	75	7.7
Friend	39	7.8	9	1.9	48	4.9
A stranger	29	5.8	2	0.4	31	3.2
Boyfriend / girlfriend	4	0.8	4	0.8	8	0.8

Table 4 above shows that the proportions of children who said they had ever experienced physical hurt from a family member were highest, followed by those who had ever experienced physical hurt by teachers. The proportion of boys having experienced violence was considerably higher for most categories and almost double for violence within the family; the exception is violence by a boyfriend/girlfriend where there were equal, although very small (as might be expected at age 15), numbers of children reporting.

Within the qualitative research, a total of 148 references to some sort of “violence” were reported. Table 5 below shows that the majority (111 reports) arose during interviews with 54 of the 60 children in the qualitative sub-sample. Within each cohort (approximately) half of those reporting were boys and the other half girls. Several children who were exposed early to violence continued to report forms of violence committed against them over the subsequent rounds of data collection.

**Table 5 – Children reporting violence by gender and cohort**

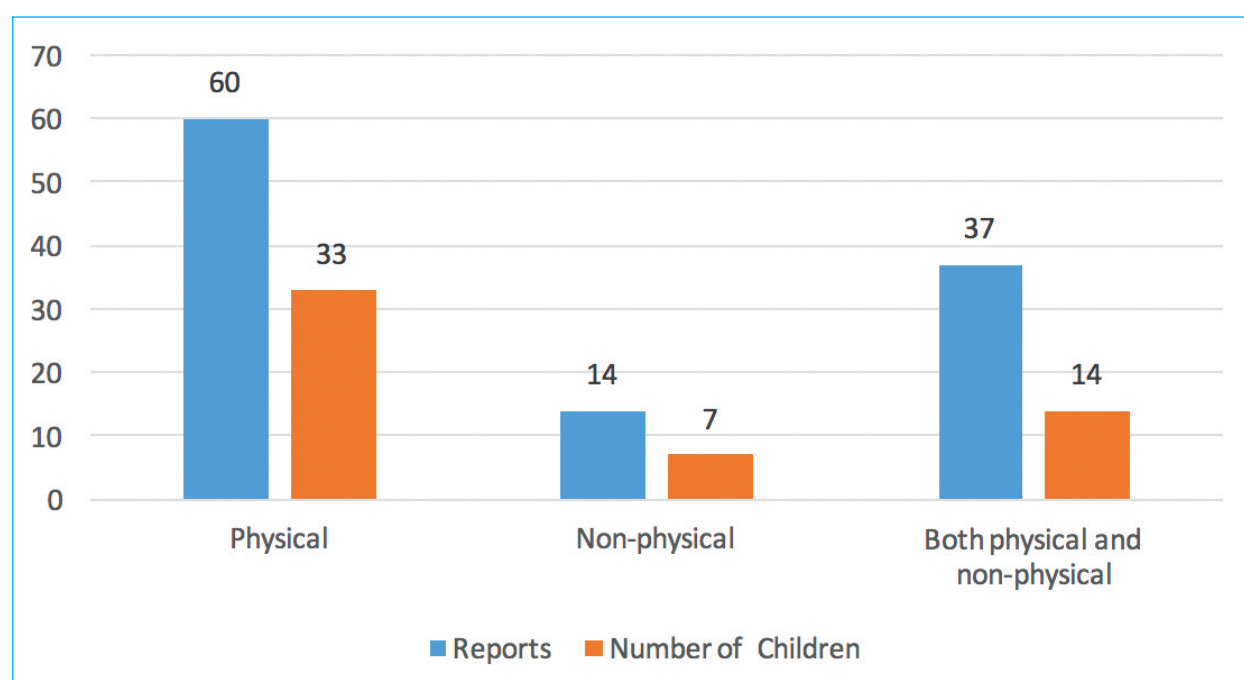
	Reports			Number of children		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Older Cohort	24	24	48	12	11	23
Younger Cohort	29	34	63	15	16	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>54</b>

As noted above, the qualitative data was gathered from 60 children, 12 in each of 5 sites. Out of these 54 (90%) reported some incidence of violence. The data above suggest slightly higher reporting of a range of forms of ‘violence’ by children in the younger cohort, both in terms of the number of reports and the number of children, and somewhat more reporting by girls than boys among this cohort. This contrasts with the quantitative data suggesting boys’ greater experience of physical violence.

Types of violence analysed were classified into physical, non-physical, or a combination (see Figure 3, page 24). Physical violence was mainly reported in the form of corporal punishment

by adults and fighting among children, and non-physical or emotional violence was mainly reported in the form of insults, intimidation and non-physical bullying. More common were cases in several sites of boys harassing girls with sexual overtones, which have been included in this category. A few children mentioned experiencing both physical and non-physical violence; there was also overlap between the physical and non-physical categories as insults often led to fighting.

**Figure 3 – Type of violence by reports and number of children**



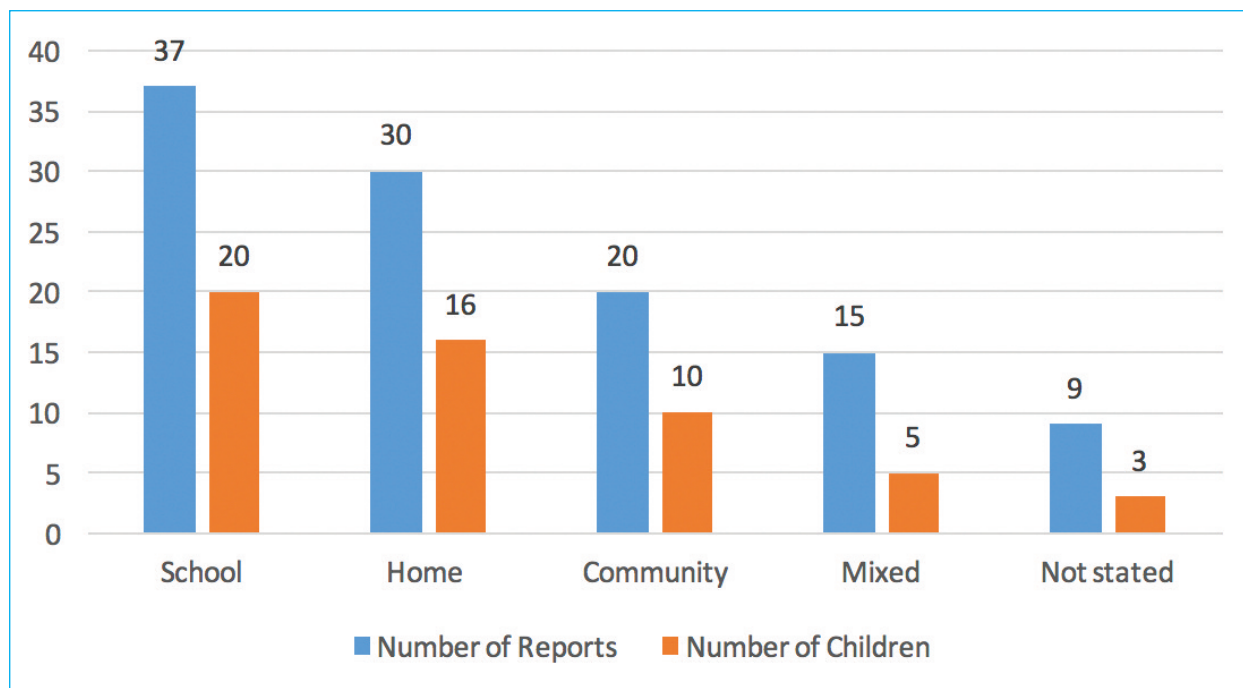
The data suggest that the bulk of reports of 'violence' are related to physical violence, with non-physical or emotional violence (often in the form of 'insults') less commonly reported. There were also a large number of reports of both physical and non-physical violence.

Figure 4 (page 25) analyses where violence occurred. The data suggest that violence is reported more often in relation to the school context, followed by the home setting, and that violence in the community was the least commonly reported. This contrasts with the findings of the recent survey by the African Child Policy Forum which suggests that children experience more violence in the community (52 per cent), than in the home (49 per cent) and at school (30 per cent) (ACPF, 2014). Most of the questions in the Young Lives survey focused on children at school and at home, and we did not ask specifically about community. In the ACPF survey, it is possible that children were less willing to talk about violence in the home and school, and the experiences in the community may have been easier to mention. Some Young Lives participants indicated having experienced violence in more than one setting. Additionally, movement between or within particular settings was noted. For example, fights were near the home or within neighbourhoods, and harassment of girls by boys in the community was often on the way to or from school.

In the next section, we explore children's experiences of physical and emotional violence in the various settings where it occurs – at home, in schools, and in communities.



**Figure 4 – Place of violence by reports by children in the qualitative sample**



## 4. VIOLENCE AT HOME

In the home environment, children most commonly reported corporal punishment and verbal admonishment. Here we explore a myriad of factors that appear to contribute to children's experiences of violence with the family and at home. Several factors within the household (or related to the household in Ethiopia) exacerbate violence. Family stress associated with the challenges of poverty inevitably affects intra-family relationships – relationships between children and their caregivers, as well as between siblings.

### 4.1 THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY: GENDER AND OBEDIENCE

A variety of events can contribute to family stress, but often these are related to living in poverty and linked to expectations that children will contribute to the household economy. Many children in the Young Lives sample (at least one in five) have lost one or both 'parents' and often live with grandparents or other relatives. 'Family' is quite loosely defined (as is 'parent') and does not match the nuclear norm envisaged in western child protection frameworks. Family members, including children, expect to contribute to the household economy – children and young people have a strong sense of social responsibility and often indebtedness to their parents. This is how children gain a sense of belonging, through tasks and activities (Pankhurst, Crivello and Tiumelissan, 2015). Work, inside or outside the home, is common and gender norms dictate who does what type of work boys or girls undertake. Geographical location obviously shapes families' productive activities, and in rural areas, farming and livestock herding are the main economic activities, while in urban settings, informal trade and wage labour predominate. Differing economic activities affect family dynamics and likelihood of punishment of children when they fail to undertake their roles and responsibilities – and corporal punishment may be used when domestic or agricultural tasks are not completed. Productive activities related to herding livestock lead to trouble if livestock get out of control. This is gendered, because boys undertake herding, not girls (unless there are no boys in the family) (Abebe, 2011, Boyden 2009, Pankhurst, Crivello and Tiumelissan, 2015). According to both girls and boys, a task refused or performed below standards can easily result in beatings.

Girls described how they were punished for not doing housework. For example, Tsega, a 13-year-old girl from rural Oromia, said her grandmother pinched her because she played with her friend instead of working in the home. Debasit, a 14-year-old girl from rural Tigray said she was beaten for breaking "any material in the house". Beletch, another 14-year-old girl from rural Oromia, said her mother beat her when she came back home late after being sent out on errands. She added: "If she [her mother] sends me somewhere and I stay watching games or fighting children, she scolds or beat me."

These gendered roles are so strong that girls may be expected to prioritize domestic work over school, but they sometimes resist and may be punished. Yenealem, aged 14, from the same site, said "My mother asked me to be absent from class and go with her to the mill. I said 'no' and she punished me." Emnet, an 11-year-old girl from Hawassa, also said that she was beaten by her parents for refusing to miss class and help in domestic work. It is noteworthy that while girls may be overburdened by trying to combine work and school, it is often boys who stop attending school

altogether (Tafero and Pankhurst, 2015). This is possibly linked to the wage-earning capacity of young men and their likelihood of migrating away for work.

Boys, on the other hand, were more often delegated to 'outdoor' tasks for the benefit of the household. For example, boys were expected to herd livestock and some recalled being beaten when animals they were guarding strayed into neighbours' fields or got lost. Kebegna, a seven-year-old boy from rural Oromia said, *"My father tried to hit me when the oxen tried to escape into someone's yard. That made me sad."* Desta, an 11-year-old boy from rural Tigray had a similar experience of being beaten by his father when he lost the animals. He said: *"...one time they had beaten me because I refused to go for herding and also when I lost animals in the bush"* Maregey, an 11-year-old boy from Tigray indicated that his brothers and mother beat him whenever he *"refused to do a task"*. Fear of being beaten was sometimes stated as a reason for obeying, as mentioned by Desta, an 11-year-old boy from the same site.

At the same time, children reported that caregivers also punish children for playing rather than studying.

When children were asked why they did not obey, some explained that they did not complete the task they were assigned or did not do it properly or refused outright when they found the work physically too demanding, or too frightening. Tufa, a 14-year-old boy from Oromia said, *"They [parents] asked me to take a heavy load of corn to somewhere one day and I refused saying that it was heavy. She [mother] has beaten me for that."* Mulualem, an eight-year-old girl from the Oromia site who said she was beaten after she refused to look after the farm, explained that this was because she was afraid of "thieves." She added, *"She [her mother] usually sends me out to fetch things during the evenings. I am usually afraid of the dark."*

Other children disobeyed when they prioritized school or play over working in their homes. Kibra, an 11-year-old girl from rural Tigray, said she was beaten for avoiding work and playing instead:

***Have you been beaten recently?***

*Yes, I was.*

***When was that?***

*I was beaten last Saturday.*

***Why was that?***

*She asked me to prepare coffee but I said 'no'.*

***Ok. Why did you say 'no'?***

*Because I wanted to play.*

Birikutawit, a 14-year-old girl from the SNNP site in Hawassa, said her grandmother hit her when she refused to follow orders:

***Why and when does she hit you?***

*She hits me when I refuse to [be ordered by her.]*

***Why do you refuse?***

*She orders me to bring something from a distant place and I refuse to go alone.*

*Hence, she beat me.*

"Playing" at times and in places that are not allowed was a reason given by several children, especially if it clashed with school. Habib, an 11-year-old boy from Addis Ababa, said "...during exam time, if I said I don't want to study I would be beaten." Habtamu, a 14-year-old boy from rural Amhara, said "I have a football playing programme on Saturday; when I go there, my father beats me." Similarly Miki, another 14-year-old boy from Addis Ababa, said his family were concerned about his learning and stopped him playing. He explained as follows: "They may beat me when I play [in the] pool house, they even do unnecessary things to me and hurt me"

Caregivers reported that they used beating to instill the culture of hard work in their children. They confessed to beating their children when they disobeyed or came back late from school. One caregiver from Oromia said: "If he [the child] refuses to take orders, then he might be beaten, insulted or advised [told off/reprimanded]."

Children expressed views that caregivers beat them to discipline them and to inculcate appropriate behaviour and seriousness in devoting time to studying. Two caregivers in Addis Ababa emphasized the value of education, and how they had high aspirations for their children, and wanted them to do well; they believed that punishment was necessary for instilling discipline. As one of them said:

*It is obvious that he [the child] will not achieve his goals unless he learns. So, he has to learn and study. He has to learn about academic and technical skills, for everything is possible through education. I am often happy when I hear them wishing for great things and I always quarrel with them, I even beat them when they dream about nonsense things – I get angry at this.*

While interviewers did not ask for details such as how or with what children were beaten at home, it appears that caregivers usually used their bare hands to hit children. Tsega from Hawassa and Kibra from rural Tigray expressly said their caregivers "never use sticks" to beat them. Bruktatwit and Tsega from Hawassa said they were "pinched" by their respective grandmothers. However, Tigabu also from Hawassa said he was "whipped by a socket wire" (an electric wire) and Beletch from rural Oromia reported her brothers used "a stick" to beat her.

## 4.2 WITHHOLDING FOOD AS PUNISHMENT

Other forms of punishment, perhaps due to family stress and poverty, were directly related to food. There was evidence that some caregivers withheld food, either due to poverty, through neglect or as a form of punishment. Maregey, an 11-year-old boy from Tigray stated that he would not be given food when he refused to obey his parents. Kassaye, a 17-year-old boy from the Amhara site, said his parents used food deprivation as a means of ensuring compliance to work for them rather than go to school, and as a form of punishment.

***Do you refuse to obey your parents if you don't want to work?***

*No, I don't, because if I don't work, I will not get anything to eat. I eat only if I work.*

***For example, if they give you some work to do by missing your class, do you say 'ok'?***

*Yes, I say ok. It is because if I refuse and go to school, they will not give me food when I come back. But getting absent for one day is not bad and I get breakfast.*

In one case, a caregiver in Tigray said she beat her child when he got hungry and cried: *"He asks me to give him breakfast and I tell him we don't have any, he cries and I beat him"*. Poverty and food insecurity are clearly linked to violence in such instances. The withholding of food from children is a strong reminder that violence affecting children that may happen in the household is in fact a much larger structural concern.

#### 4.3 REPRIMANDING, INSULTING AND CURSING – QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIPS

Caregivers seemed to use verbal admonishing, insults or curses – all potential forms of emotional violence – both as a substitute to beating as well as an additional punishment. In Ethiopia, the concept of *yiluñña* – shame - 'based on what others think and say about one and one's family' (Poluha 2004: 147, see also Mains 2007) – is linked very closely to the experience of being insulted or cursed, and the term 'insult' was frequently used by children, and was sometimes related to being beaten.

Children take 'blessings' (praise) and curses from their caregivers seriously. Getu said he would obey his parents even when the task is too arduous because, he said, *"If I work for them, they bless me and if I say no, they will curse me, saying 'menati' (destitute). I feel happy when I work."* Asked how she would react if her parents kept her from school to work, Muluaem, an 11-year-old girl from the Oromia site, said *"I will cry. I don't like to miss my classes"*. When the fieldworker asked her what her parents' response would be she answered, *"I will be insulted"*. Emnet, another 11-year-old girl from Hawassa, also said she would *"be yelled at"* when she disobeyed her caregivers. Sometimes beating and insults may be alternatives, or parents may resort to both. Defar, a 14-year-old boy from the Amhara site, said *"When my parents order me [to do] some difficult work, I refuse. Then, either they beat or insult me."*

Some children reported being insulted by older siblings – indicating that the quality of sibling relationships is also important. Further, it is possible that older siblings are responsible for disciplining younger children, and this could be a way that siblings reinforce hierarchies in families that caretakers determine. Louam, an eight-year-old girl from the Amhara site, said she was insulted and beaten by her sisters when having quarrels. Likewise Beritu, a 17-year-old girl, said her brothers insulted her when she came late from fetching water. Asked about her reactions she said, *"I would beat the younger one and also cry."*

#### 4.4 HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN

As discussed, children experience, and expect, physical and emotional punishment for either refusing to obey their parents' orders to work, or not carrying out such tasks as expected. And these experiences vary by age and gender. Family structure – such as parental death, marital status or the absence of a parent – also appears to play a role. Some children started to experience neglect following the separation, divorce or death of their parents. Further, when parents separated, children may have expressed a desire to remain with the parent who is not abusive. Tsehaytu, an 11-year-old girl from rural Tigray, lived with her mother after the divorce of her parents. And yet, even within this seemingly safer choice, she said her father beat her for choosing to live with her mother.

**So, why do you want to live there; for example, why not with your father?**

*He beats me.*

**Who?**

*My father; when I go there to play, he beats me.*

**Did you go there to play?**

*Yes, I was there playing and he did beat me when I said 'I want to go to my mother.'*

**What if he doesn't beat you? Would you live with him?**

*No, I wanted to stay with my mother.*

**Why do you want to stay with her?**

*Because I miss her.*

**Don't you miss your father?**

*No, I don't.*

**Why?**

*Because he beats me.*

Tsega, a 13-year-old girl from Hawassa recalled how her father protected her, and her mother never beat her while he was alive, but his death seems to have increased her risk of violence.

**Did she use to beat you when you were a baby or did she start to beat you after you grew up?**

*She started now. She never laid a finger on me when I was a baby.*

**Is it because you grew up now?**

*No, it's because my father is not around. When he was alive she never touched me.*

These cases suggest that family circumstances, and especially conflict between parents and contexts of disputes, separation and divorce may exacerbate problems for children. Caregivers also play the role of arbiters between children and may punish children in relation to quarrels with siblings, although in some cases children suggested that parents may discriminate between children. Kebegna, a seven-year-old boy from Oromia, said *"When I quarrel with my sister, he [the father] beats me and he sides with her."*

Older siblings may also take on the role of disciplining younger siblings. When she was interviewed at the age of 14, Yenealem, a girl from the Amhara site, said of her brother *"When I insult him, he beats me."* In an interview exchange Beletch, a 17-year-old girl from Oromia, said her older brother's beating had reached a point where she no longer wanted to live in the house with him:<sup>4</sup>

**Why did you want to move?**

*[My brothers] beat me. It was for fear of that.*

**Didn't they [get] angry with them when the children would beat you?**

*My uncle who lives with us would [get] angry with them and sometimes he even beat them. But they insult him, saying "you old bitch."*

<sup>4</sup> Extreme physical violence, as reported here, was noted on only a few occasions. However, Mulugeta (2016) suggests, in a recent mapping exercise, that in some places in Ethiopia children are perceived as being chattels and not humans deserving of respect.

***Is it because they beat you?***

*Because they beat me and I am busy. I prepare coffee, fetch water and do other activities.*

***With what does he beat you?***

*With stick on my face. They beat me just like somebody beats his donkey when the donkey refused to move carrying a heavy bundle.*

Poor quality sibling relationships may also increase the likelihood of violence. Girls may experience reprimands from older brothers, and this behaviour only serves to reinforce hierarchal power structures within families and by gender, as the following case demonstrates. Biritu, a 17-year-old girl from the Oromia site, said she was insulted by her brothers when she came back home late from fetching water:

***Now, you can tell me if anything you forget.***

*Yes, there is. There were some children who insult me.*

***Are they children of the village?***

*No. They are my brothers. They are angry at me when I am late to come from the river.*

***What would you feel at that time?***

*I would beat the younger one.*

***With what?***

*With my hands.*

***What did you feel at that time?***

*I also would cry.*

Beletch, a 17-year-old from rural Oromia, provides an illustrative case of how multiple factors can intersect to influence a young person's well-being at the level of the family and in the household.

*Last year after my sister had married, I was given the responsibility of managing the household. The responsibility of fetching water, collecting fire wood, cooking food, washing clothes of my parents, washing of the legs of my uncle, and every household chore has been put on my shoulder. I have little time to study. I always worry and [am] angry for not having time for study; as a result I am hating learning and my education result is decline from time to time; even in the class, I am thinking of the household chores that I am going to perform after schooling. I am working like a donkey. I am also forced to sell commodities in the shop of my brother; they even do not buy me a cloth. I buy it by doing daily work. In addition to daily work, sometimes, I sell onions at market – I buy the onion with low price from the irrigation and sell at a market with fair price.*

Beletch's narrative described elements that are common to some children - a heavy domestic burden; her inability to study properly for school and her resulting poor performance; and the poor quality of relationships with her brothers, in part due to her status as an orphan. Beletch's social support both within and outside of the family seemed precariously thin.

**What is the wish of your family for you?**

*Nothing, they want me to help them; they do not like me to continue my education; they do not think about my well-being and education.*

Instead, she is expected to support them, with few returns on her labour. She described herself as 'oppressed' compared to other girls, and her family members seem to be dependent on her:

*I am even responsible to support my family by doing daily work. I gave the money that I obtained from daily work to my aunt; she asked me to borrow her money for buying coffee or other thing but she does not return what she borrowed.*

**What do you hope for and think will actually happen to your life in the future?**

*To complete my education and have good job; to be strong in my education like my friends but the challenge is that I will not get enough time for studying as I am overburdened by the work. Given my current situation I may not achieve my goals because for example, I have little time to spend with my friends even during the holidays when the children, my friends of the community move freely in the villages. I was forced to work the whole day.*

Beletch explained tearfully how unhappy she was with her life. Her earnings were handed over directly to her aunt, leaving her with no sense of control:

**Who prevents you from playing with your friends?**

*My brothers. [crying]*

**So, could you tell me the time when you have become happy?**

*Nothing, there is no time when I have become happy in my life except when I joined school; but after that everything has been sad and bad for me. Even at a time when I get some free time, I am not allowed to play and to discuss with my friends on issues, concerns my friends [have] at this age. As a whole I am highly dissatisfied with my current life; since I am not happy with my life, I have been [having] severe headaches. I feel that I am highly oppressed at home as compared to other girls in the community.*

*[Crying]*



## 5. VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS – CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Overall, most of the children wanted to attend school but as in the home, conditions at school are often problematic. Corporal punishment is illegal in Ethiopian schools (MoE 2002), but it remains prevalent, with 30 per cent of children aged 11-17 reporting they experience corporal punishment (ACPF, 2014: 22). When compared to other Young Lives study sites (in India, Peru and Viet Nam) the prevalence of corporal punishment was second highest in Ethiopia. Among children aged 8 years, both witnessing and experiencing violence is common: three-quarters had witnessed a teacher administering corporal punishment in the last week and 4 in 10 children enrolled in school had experienced corporal punishment (Ogando Portela and Pells, 2015).

**Table 5 – Percentage of eight-year-olds (2009) reporting corporal punishment at school, by child and household characteristics (and disaggregated by gender)**

Child and Household Characteristics		Total	Male	Female	Significance of difference
	Reported punishment	37.6	44.2	30.9	***
<b>Region</b>	Addis Ababa	44.2	56.1	30.7	***
	Amhara region	29.1	32.6	25.5	NS
	Oromia region	47.7	50.0	45.5	NS
	SNNP region	32.1	42.0	21.7	***
	Tigray region	37.7	43.3	30.8	**
<b>Caregiver's education</b>	No education	37.3	43.8	30.3	***
	Lower primary	37.3	42.3	32.9	NS
	Upper primary	37.5	45.4	29.0	**
	Above grade 8	40.9	47.6	30.9	NS
<b>Wealth terciles<sup>5</sup></b>	Top	39.0	46.3	31.1	***
	Bottom	33.8	39.5	27.5	**
<b>Location</b>	Urban	40.9	48.6	33.1	***
	Rural	35.3	40.9	29.1	***
<b>Type of school</b>	Private school	32.3	49.1	11.6	***
	Public school	40.0	45.1	34.7	***
<b>Number of observations</b>		<b>1,283</b>	<b>661</b>	<b>622</b>	

Note: Two-group T-tests were used to compare differences in the means of each category by gender. Asterisks indicate \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , NS = not significant

Gender appears to be a risk factor, and boys were more likely to have experienced corporal punishment than girls. Table 5 also shows that boys were more likely to report corporal punishment than girls in both rural and urban areas, in private as well as public schools, and especially in Addis Ababa, SNNP and Tigray regions. The greater reporting by boys was particularly significant for

<sup>5</sup> The wealth index is a composite measure based on housing quality, consumer durables and basic services.

those whose caregivers had no education, although in terms of wealth the higher proportions of boys reporting corporal punishment were found to be significant in both the top and the bottom terciles.

Qualitative data shed much more light on children's experiences of corporal punishment. In the next section, we explore the reasons why children are punished.

## 5.1 DISRUPTING THE CLASS

The culture of discipline used by caregivers at home seems to be reinforced by teachers.

In schools, the reasons for disciplining children is linked to a pedagogical style that emphasizes that children should work on their own quietly rather than in groups, which may also be related to teachers working in very overcrowded classrooms. As Kudus, an eight-year-old boy from Hawassa, said, *"When we disrupt the class, teachers beat students . . ."* When Hawa, an 11-year-old in the Addis Ababa site was asked what advice she would offer a new student she said, *"Don't disrupt and keep silent."*

Students sometimes felt they were beaten unfairly when their classmates were responsible for causing disruption. At the age of 14, Maregey, a boy from rural Tigray, recalled how he was beaten with a stick on his legs after being wrongly accused of stealing a pen. *"A student accused me of taking her pen while the pen was mine. When she cried, the teacher beat me. Although I claimed that the pen was mine, he did beat me."* Emnet, a 14-year-old girl from Hawassa said, *"I did not disrupt the class, but my classmate whom I sat with disrupted the class and I was punished. The teacher beat me mistakenly."* Likewise, Teje an 11-year-old from the same site said, *"Those who disrupt the classroom are three and one of them is sitting next to me. I tell them not to disrupt but they do not listen to me. I was beaten once but I did not disrupt."*

Children also described a classroom culture that emphasises that students work independently refraining from assisting each other. As Samrawit, another 11-year-old girl from the Oromia site suggested: *"Teachers do not allow us to [advise] others; the teacher beats me. If the teacher does not beat me, I will advise her on many things... I will tell her how to learn the alphabets"*

## 5.2 FAILING TO SATISFY TEACHERS

Failure to provide correct responses was another reason that could incite beatings, this mentioned by Negasa, an eight-year-old boy in rural Oromia. Likewise, Teje, a girl from Hawassa who recalled at the age of 8: *"One day, the teacher asked me to tell her my name, or talk in English, in the classroom. But I forgot how to say it. I was beaten"*. Incomplete homework was another reason as mentioned by Selamawit, an 11-year-old girl from Addis Ababa: *"Teacher punished me. It also happened another day because I did not do my homework. I forgot, then she told me to do it [and] check it with her."* Samrawit, a seven-year-old girl from the Oromia site, recalled her time at kindergarten, when teachers even beat the children if they did not obey instructions such as going to sleep: *"They [teachers] told us to sleep. If we cannot close our eyes they punish us severely every day using sticks. I have to sleep when they beat me."*

Arriving late or missing classes were other reasons for children being beaten. Desta, an 11-year-old boy from the Tigray site said: *"I was punished and ordered to kneel down because I was late to the class."*

(Kneeling is a common form of corporal punishment in Ethiopia). Likewise Selamawit, an 11-year-old girl from Addis Ababa who was beaten by her teacher explained that she was late as she was waiting for her younger sister. Addisu, from the same site, at the age of seven talked about "one big woman" in their school, who was waiting to beat children who arrived late. He added: "She waits us holding a stick to whip us when we are late." Mostly, it was teachers who used corporal punishment, but some children mentioned guards and head teachers. For example, Luel, a 14-year-old boy from Hawassa, said,

*"The guard protects the compound and when he sees children jumping over the fence, he takes them to the office of the principal. The principal is so cruel that he punishes such students. He beats them with a stick and rubber [hosepipe]. He also forces such students to bring their parents. He is so harsh that sometimes he decides [to expel] the students when they commit serious mistakes."*

Similarly, in the Tigray site, Mihretu, an 11-year-old boy, mentioned that the headmaster expected children to work in the school fields and would beat them if they refused his orders. He said, "the headmaster is bad, because if he orders us and we refuse, he beats or even fires you from school. He orders us to water the vegetables in the school compound."

Over time, children's awareness of what precipitated violence became more acute. Alcohol appears to contribute to the violent episodes, so much so that one boy indicated that he gave up his wish to be a teacher after witnessing a drunk teacher beating students:

***How do you come to change your aspiration from been a teacher to being a doctor?***

*It is because I see some teachers come to school after they get drunk and beat students to harm them badly.*

***Are they teachers?***

*Yes they are. There are teachers that are taken to prison because they harm students when they punish them physically. Indeed, there are children that disrupt the teachers and [are] beaten.*

### 5.3 MEANS OF DISCIPLINE

In most instances, teachers used sticks to beat their students, although there were mentions of using a 'rubber' [hosepipe] and pinching or squeezing students' ears in the Hawassa site. Teachers were said to beat students on their hands, legs and body, sometimes making them kneel beforehand. Kudus, also from Hawassa, said teachers "use sticks to beat students who disrupt." Addisu from the Addis Ababa site said his teacher used a "strong stick to whip" students. Maregey, a boy interviewed when he was both 11 and 14 years-old, from the Tigray site, told the fieldworker he was beaten on his leg:

***What did he use to beat you with?***

*A stick.*

***Where did he beat you?***

*On my leg.*

**Do teachers beat students?**

Yes.

**Was that only for you or for all other children?**

*It was for all; also those who miss classes were beaten.*

Leul, from Hawassa, described how a teacher beat students with his hand and sticks on their backs, and pinched their ears for not having done homework. Teachers' actions can be deeply damaging, as seen with this case study of a young girl, diagnosed as epileptic.

*I dislike the English teacher. He beats students. He also tears the exercise [books] of the students when the students come to school without doing homework. Students fear him as if he is a murderer. One female student suffers from epilepsy. She is a clever student but she fears this teacher. When he starts to beat students, she falls down as her epilepsy illness starts. He suggests that she will wake up from her faint if someone beats/hits her. He beats students with hand, stick, etc. He pinches the ears of the students. He beats students on their backs with sticks.*

In two cases, children linked stopping school with beatings by teachers. Miruts, explained in his interview at the age of 14, that he had stopped school aged 11, *"I left because [the teacher] was beating us."* He said he was beaten for being late. Maragey, from the Tigray site, also said he had left school because he was beaten on his leg by his teacher for absenteeism. He had told his mother this was the reason, but she did not complain about it to the school.

**5.4 VIOLENCE BETWEEN CHILDREN AT SCHOOL**

Children tended to report cases of verbal abuse more often than physical abuse, although sometimes fighting and insults go together, as was noted by Selamawit an 11-year-old girl from Addis Ababa: *"I fight with lots of students. Whenever they hit me and I hit them back and when they insult me, I do the same."* Negasa, a 14-year-old boy from Oromia, talked about a student who always insulted him *"with bad insults"*. He added: *"I don't like his insults...I feel sad when children insult me."* Habib, an 11-year-old from Addis Ababa, said insults became more painful to him as he grew up to understand their meanings. *"Many students use taboo words to insult which I don't like... When I grew and started realizing things, bad insults make me sad."*

There were also a few instances of children who reported being intimidated and harassed by other students. Leul, a 14-year-old boy from Hawassa, said *"One of the students in my class tries to force me to give him a pen. I refuse to give him, he warns me saying that he would beat me outside school."*

**5.5 DISCRIMINATION**

A case of a girl from Hawassa suggests that insults relating to her ethnicity and family's poverty involved discrimination by students and teachers, which also led to physical punishment. Biruktawit, a 14-year-old girl, was a top student, but said she did not think she would do well in school, because her teacher favoured a girl from his own ethnic group:

***Do you think your progress will continue? What is your expectation about your class rank?***

*I do not think I will be ranked first. It is because a teacher favours a girl [who is expected to rank first] because she is from his ethnic group. Both of them are from another ethnic group. Our school director warned our homeroom teacher not to do so.*

On one occasion Birkutawit got into a fight and was insulted by another student denigrating her ethnicity and the teacher took no action.

*One day I fought with a guy at school who took and tore my exercise book but this lady [girl] insulted me with the intention of making my ethnic group inferior. However, the homeroom teacher did not punish. Then the school director came to resolve the issue and warned him [homeroom teacher] not to favour the girl, just because she is from his ethnic group. Knowing this case, my family have planned to change my school to [another school] as of the coming year.*

Birkutawit linked being insulted to being poor, though her family situation had improved:

***Ok, you told me before that there was a time when you spent without food. Did you have something you regretted from then?***

*No.*

***Why you did not regret?***

*Previously, students insulted me saying 'the daughter of a poor [person]' when I quarreled with them. However, now they do not insult me that way.*

***Now they do not insult you but they did insult you before. It is surprising! Now things are changing. Is it?***

*Yes.*

***Now how do you express yourself?***

*I express myself happily. I am not as I was before. We are not very rich but our life has improved.*

This case reveals the complex interactions between poverty and ethnicity in a multi-ethnic setting, forms of social difference that intersect and are difficult to disentangle, where the ethnic backgrounds of students, teachers and headmasters can result in discrimination by those with more power against those with less (see also Pells, Ogando Portela & Espinoza Revollo, 2016).

In summary, children reported numerous examples of corporal punishment at school from adults, as well as some violence between children, some cases involving peer violence and others bullying.

## 6. VIOLENCE AFFECTING CHILDREN IN COMMUNITIES

Most of the qualitative evidence about violence affecting children occurs at school or at home, as we have seen in Table 4 (page 25), with much less reporting about violence in neighbourhoods and other community settings.

### 6.1 PHYSICAL VIOLENCE BETWEEN CHILDREN

Physical violence mentioned by children in their neighbourhoods and communities mainly involved fights between children. Non-physical (or emotional) violence, in the form of insults between children, sometimes led to fights. In the Oromia site there is even a tradition of competitive fighting during the Meskel festival in September between children from different villages who form collective singing groups, which lead to fighting, as Gemechu, a 17-year-old boy recalled: *"The fighting can be serious and sometimes some children may die."*

Based on physical size alone, it is not surprising that there are gender and age differences in relation to fighting. How children are socialized according to gender may also play a role. Boys appear more likely to describe physical fights, and if the fight is between a younger boy and an older one, the former may give in or accept being beaten. Desta, an 11-year-old boy from the Tigray site, mentioned that older boys sometimes beat the younger ones on the way home but they cannot win in a fight against them since they are older. He added: *"I keep quiet even if they beat me."* That said, boys often expressed satisfaction or pride at being able to defeat other boys. And the importance of this appears to be enhanced as boys grow up. Mihretu, a 14-year-old boy in the Tigray site, was asked to describe what made him happy at the age of four. He replied: *"I defeated a boy for the first time and became very happy. He used to beat me, but ever since he cannot."* Asked about his feelings at age five he expressed unhappiness at losing a fight: *"I was sad because a boy defeated me when we fought. When his dog ate my lunch, I beat it and then I fought with [the] boy. Then I lost the fight and was very sad."*

Girls, on the other hand, seldom resorted to physical fights with other girls, although in the Amhara site, Abeba, aged 14, mentioned that fights sometimes break out between girls over duties and resources, such as when turn-taking while queueing for water. Overall, girls expressed a dislike for fighting. Mulualem, an eight-year-old girl in Oromia, got into a fight with a boy who pushed her and made her fall. She commented: *"I hate the feeling that comes after I beat children. I feel pity immediately. I also don't like the feeling that comes when I am beaten."*

### 6.2 INSULTS AND FAMILY HONOUR

Kebegna, an 11-year-old boy from rural Oromia, reported being insulted by being called *diqala*, a term of abuse similar to 'bastard' for an illegitimate child. In the same site, Gemechu, a 17-year-old boy, mentioned that he faced *"serious insults"* from another boy saying *"Let your mother eat soil"*. This is a euphemism for dying and being buried and culturally a very serious insult. In Hawassa, Ayenew, a 14-year-old boy, said he had been in a fight when some boys insulted his mother. Ayenew was insulted by two boys a year earlier, when he went to fetch water for bathing and got

into a fight with them. One fell and injured his head. Then the boy's mother came and beat him. Insults often lead to physical fighting, and cycles of violence are perpetuated.

Asked what he disliked in school, Habib, an eight-year-old boy in the Addis Ababa site said: *"Many students use taboo words to insult [me], which I don't like."* He further explained: *"As a child I like playing unless I become sad. When I grew and started realising things, bad insults make me sad. It makes people quarrel."*

Insults may have overtones of ethnic discrimination. Louam, an 11-year-old girl in the Amhara site, said she was insulted and called 'black'. In parts of Amhara where there were formerly slaves from the south with darker skins, cultural prejudices persist (Bevan and Pankhurst, 2008). The question of insults is very complex and merits much fuller research.

### **6.3 INSULTS AND ABUSE BY EMPLOYERS**

Although children work for employment in their teens and earlier (Pankhurst, Crivello and Tiemelissan 2015), many of the older cohort at the time of the last round of qualitative research in 2014, aged 19-20, were in full-time employment. Violence also took place at the workplace. Two examples, one from Addis Ababa and the other the rural site in Oromia, show how children may suffer insults from adults for whom they work. In the first case, Bereket, a 20-year-old youth who earns an income from washing cars, mentioned that he and his friends often do not negotiate a price with customers beforehand, and when they ask for what they are due, some customers may insult them and leave. Although the boys cannot do anything about it they do exercise a form of control: they may retaliate by refusing a smaller payment and refusing to serve returning clients. In rural areas, employers may also insult children who work. Tufa, a young man aged 20, who works for an irrigation farm in the Oromia site said that if he makes mistakes and fails to satisfy at work, his employer may insult him and even deduct from his salary (see also Pankhurst, Crivello & Tiemelissan, 2015 for examples of emotional harm at work).

## 7. HOW CHILDREN RESPOND TO AND FEEL ABOUT VIOLENCE

This next section describes children's diverse responses to violence, as well as the protective strategies they have adopted to avoid violence at home, at school, and in their communities, and their feelings about violence.

### 7.1 VIOLENCE AT HOME – CHILDREN'S FEELINGS AND RESPONSES

Children respond to violence at home in different ways, ranging from accepting the punishment as a justified act, to fearing, avoiding or hating the person beating or insulting them. Some (especially younger) children simply cried or sought solace from another relative, while others expressed a sense of resignation. Children who felt the punishment was not justified often resented it. However, children often appreciated the love and care of adults, even if they dislike being punished. Some children expressed a sense that the punishment and beating from their parents was 'for their own good'. Habib, an 11-year-old boy from Addis Ababa, said *"I feel that it [beating] is good for me."*

There were a few cases of children feeling guilty and sad as they felt they had done something wrong. Tufa, a 14-year-old boy in Hawassa, said *"I did not feel sorry for being beaten because I knew it was my fault."* Tufa was talking about being beaten by his father after the cattle he was supposed to look after were caught grazing after straying into a restricted pasture. Yerusalem, a 14-year-old girl from Addis Ababa, said she felt sad after being beaten by her father and the maid for not following advice. *"My father advised me to refrain from bad things but I did not accept his advice. Once he beat me and I felt sad. The other sad time was when one of our maids punished me several times."* Children's feelings are reinforced perhaps by general attitudes in the region, where patterns of responses from parents or other caregivers reaffirm that the intention of physical punishment is predominantly to discipline and correct behaviour deemed unacceptable (ACPF 2014: 19).

Several children, however, developed a sense of fear towards their caregivers who had beaten or/and insulted them. Kebegna, a seven-year-old boy from the Oromia rural site, said, *"I fear my father because he beats me every time. When I quarrel with my sister, he sides with her."* Ayenew, a 14-year-old boy from Hawassa, feared his uncle whom he said beat him when he *"disrupted the house."* Several children used avoidance as a strategy to evade being beaten. Ayenew explained how he worried that his grandmother might report him to his uncle and he preferred to avoid him, lest he beat him: *"When I disturb her, my grandmother warns me that she would tell him so he would beat me. I fear him. I don't dare to be close with him."* Likewise, Yenealem, a 20-year-old from the Amhara rural site, reported that she avoided and feared her father because he beat her and only confided in her mother, and said she preferred 'advice' from her mother, who was not frightening:

*I do not tell to my father. I fear my father. If something goes wrong, he may insult me. I tell only to my mother whatever I encounter. I do not fear my mother. She does not insult me. She uses advice rather than insults.*

Some children expressed a sense of resignation, as they felt that they could not escape. Maregey, an 11-year-old boy from rural Tigray, said he would *"accept it [the beating] and keep quiet"* because



he “can’t escape anywhere.” But Beletch, a 17-year-old girl, said she wanted to leave the house after being repeatedly beaten by her brothers. When asked why she wanted to flee to “town” she said:

*It is because my brothers beat me seriously and again I am overloaded with work and these affect my education; but I am here because my aunt has nobody to help her; if I am not here with her, she will die.*

Younger children often responded by crying. Asked how he responded when his father beat him, Desta, a boy aged 11 from Zeytuni, said “I cry and beg him to stop beating me.” Mulu, a 14-year-old girl from Amhara said she would cry and soon after forgot about the beating. If the beating was by a sibling a child may go to a parent. Louam, an eight-year-old girl from rural Amhara, said she would report to her father when her sisters “insult and beat” her. She added: “I tell that to my father. I do not get into conflict with them.” Some children may have a relative they can go to who will comfort them. When beaten by his uncle, Tigabu, an 11-year-old boy from Hawassa, said “I tell it to my grandmother and [she] consoles me.”

In some cases, children develop a sense of hatred towards the person who beat them. For instance, Hanan, an 11-year-old girl from Addis Ababa, said she “hates” her grandfather because he beat her and her mother. However, others have mixed feeling towards parents, appreciating their care while resenting the punishments. For instance, talking about his feelings for his mother, Frezer, an eight-year-old boy from the site in Amhara said, “I like her sometimes and dislike her in another time. I like her when she bakes bread for me and do other things. I dislike her when she beats me.”

In summary, children had a range of responses to violence, mostly grudging acceptance of it. No obvious patterns emerged, yet there are clear indications of what kind of care practices children find most supportive such as advising (instead of insulting) and fair, consistent and predictable responses to their actions and/or transgressions.

## 7.2 VIOLENCE AT SCHOOL – CHILDREN’S FEELINGS AND RESPONSES

Children held mixed views about whether physical punishments by teachers were justified. Several children, especially boys, expressed the view that beating was for their own good and improvement – reflecting the cultural norm. For example, Desta, an eight-year-old boy in the Tigray site, noted that his teacher “punishes them and make them kneel down and beats them so they can understand.” Mesih, a 14-year-old boy in the same site, also saw corporal punishment as justified.

### **Do you think beating you is right for you or not?**

*It’s right, because she is doing that for me. It’s also for my own good when she gives me advice.*

### **Does anybody beat you at school?**

*Students got beaten up if they misbehave.*

### **Who beats students?**

*The director.*

### **Is beating students alright?**

*Yes if they misbehave.*

One boy suggested that a good teacher was one who used corporal punishment – Kassaye, a 13-year-old boy, from Amhara, said in response to a question about whether there were teachers who beat the children:

*Yes, but they are the good teachers who teach us most.*

**Do you think it is the one with knowledge, who should beat students?**

*Yes, the teachers with good knowledge told us to read and do our home works and beat us when we fail to do so.*

**Then which teachers are good to you?**

*It is the good teachers.*

**Are you saying that when they beat you, you like the good teachers?**

*Yes.*

Similarly, Berhane, an eight-year-old boy in Addis Ababa, said he liked his teacher who beat students when they disrupted the class. *"She [the teacher] does not beat me when I keep silent. But when I disrupt, she beats me. So I like her. She does not beat those who do not disturb but those who disrupt in class."*

On the other hand, some children considered beating unacceptable. Asked what she recalled from school, Samrawit, an 11-year-old girl in Addis Ababa said *"I don't like it when I am punished in class."* She also expressed the view that students were too frightened to report teachers who beat them, for fear of reprisals.

**Tell me what do you remember about school?**

*The teachers seriously beat us and we are suffering from the beating.*

**Who does beat you?**

*The teachers.*

**Have [you] told to somebody about the punishment at school?**

*No, I have never told to any one because the teachers told us that any student who told to the parents [about the beating] will be beaten again. They frightened us.*

**Do you like your teachers?**

*I do not like them.*

While punishment for an acknowledged misdeed tended to be accepted by children, several expressed a clear sense of justice and strongly objected to being punished for no reason or for a wrong they had not committed. Addisu, a seven-year-old boy from Addis Ababa, said *"Sometimes they beat you without any sin committed. I hate it... I hate to get whipped."* He added that in contrast he liked his kindergarten teachers, since, *"They don't beat us so much. I have never cried there."*

Through their narratives, children expressed a strong sense of justice and objection to such punishment when they perceive it to be unjust. When it is a teacher who committed the violence, students said they knew they could report it, but they usually didn't, fearing reprisals. As noted above, when asked if she had told anyone about being punished in the school, Samrawit, at the age of 11, said, *"No, I have never told to any one because the teachers told us that any student who told*

*to the parents [about the beating] will be beaten again. They frightened us."*

However, another explanation is that teachers, especially the female teachers, may no longer dare to risk beating them, as students may even intimidate and attack the teacher, as mentioned by Sefinesh, a 17-year-old girl from rural Amhara:

*The teenagers beat the female teachers. So they add marks to their results in order not to be beaten by them [again]. Meanwhile, when we, the youngest students, ask the teacher as to why they do not add marks to us like the older one, they hit us.*

If it is another student of the same age and physical strength who is violent, several children said they "hit or insult back". On the other hand, Samrawit from Addis Ababa said she reported to her parents who told the school principal when "awful kids" beat her:

***Isn't there someone that can punish them?***

*We have different teachers and they don't say anything to them and even when they do they will hit me when the teachers are not around.*

***Why don't you tell your parents about them?***

*I did and our principal punished them.*

Mostly, though, there seemed to be little action that children could take against teachers hitting them; they disliked corporal punishment and experienced it as unpleasant and frightening, though some boys saw it as 'for their own good' and respected their teachers for it. In one case, violence from teachers was met with violence from older students. Teachers maintained power over younger students through their use of discipline.

### **7.3 VIOLENCE IN COMMUNITIES – CHILDREN'S FEELINGS AND RESPONSES**

Children often depend on parents, other adults, or older siblings to protect them against violence against children. Parents may intervene – for instance, Abeba, a 14-year-old girl from rural Amhara, mentioned that her father once punished a neighbour's child who had thrown a stone at his daughter and made her bleed, but the girl took cover and so the father told the mother who then punished the girl. Older brothers may stick up for and defend their younger siblings, as in the case of Maregey, an 11-year-old boy from rural Tigray, who said he liked his brothers as they stood up for him if any boys tried to beat him. Miki, a 14-year-old boy from Addis Ababa, described how "malicious people" had pushed him when he was urinating into a ditch. Asked if anyone protected him, he said his cousin would threaten them, to prevent them from hitting him.

In the following case Addisu, an 11-year-old boy who grew up in Addis Ababa in a risky environment where his grandmother ran a bar, recalls how his mother sought to protect him from drunken men. He mentioned that the men would try to send him away but that his mother would ask him to wait for her to avoid drunks beating him. He recalled: "Sometimes [they] say "get out" and my mother worries about it. While she drinks a coffee I stand to go then my mother says 'wait we will go together, drunk people may beat you'". The context of the bar was clearly one that left a frightening impression. When asked by the fieldworker if there was anything that made him cry he said,

*"It was when I was with my grandmother, somebody grabbed my hand and when I say 'let me alone' but he didn't, that makes me cry."* Older girls travelling to school may seek the protection of brothers or travel in groups to avoid risks of harassment from boys on the way to and from school.

While family members may use violence against children, from the qualitative accounts analysed here they also seem to be the first source of protection for children when encountering violence in their communities.

## 8. GENDER AND AGE DIFFERENCES

In this section, we briefly consider how children's experiences of violence change with development through childhood and adolescence, and by gender.

Age appears to play a role in children's experiences of violence **at home**. Overall, children's experiences indicate that when they are young, caregivers seem to believe that children should not be punished (see also Poluha, 2004). Children in middle childhood appear most vulnerable to beatings. Getu, an 11-year-old boy from rural Amhara, said he was not punished when he was *"a small child"*. But now, he said he *"might be beaten and insulted"* if he refused to obey his caregivers. Kassaye, a 17-year-old boy from the same site, said *"It has been long since I was beaten. Now, they just insult me."* For older children, most abuse appears to be emotional.

**In schools**, we found that younger children in pre-school (4-6 years) and older children in their mid-teens (14-17) seemed less likely to experience physical violence. As children enter their mid-teens, teachers no longer seemed to discipline them with corporal punishment. While this may be partly due to children having internalized the norms of expected classroom behaviour, another explanation may be that teachers fear that older children (in their mid to late teens) may attack them. For example, Sefinesh, a 17-year-old girl, mentioned older teenagers beating female teachers and intimidating them to obtain better grades, whereas the teachers hit the younger students when they complained about grades.

Children also changed their views about violence over time. For example, in Hawassa, when Kudus was eight years old, he said he liked teachers who beat children, because they had protected him when other children were hitting him:

***Why did you say that your teachers are good?***

*They beat the [other] students when they beat me.*

However, by the time he was 14, when asked which teacher he liked best, Kudus replied the physics teacher. When the fieldworker asked why, he answered *"because he doesn't beat students much."* This may suggest that as children grow older they become less tolerant of beating.

In relation to the **community context**, we found cases of older girls being harassed by boys on the way to school both in rural areas and urban contexts in all the sites. One girl in an urban site suggested that this was one reason she dropped out of school. Although we have limited evidence on this subject, in part since it is a sensitive topic to investigate, there are a few examples of the risks of sexual violence and forced marriage that adolescent girls face (Boyden et al 2013, Population Council and UNFPA 2010). In terms of peer violence, gender differences in socialization seem to result in boys being more prone to fighting, and express satisfaction at beating opponents, whereas some girls mentioned a strong dislike of getting into conflicts.

## 9. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE AFFECTING CHILDREN

Overall, our findings suggest that certain forms of violence are commonplace experiences for children in Young Lives sites in Ethiopia. Violence **in the home** is in some cases clearly linked to wider **structural factors** linked to poverty and inequality. The context of poverty, rather than operating as a remote factor, has a direct bearing on violence affecting children, often exacerbating risks of violence. Children in very poor households, and those that had been affected by death or divorce seemed to be at risk of overwork, and consequently punishment, for failing to complete tasks satisfactorily, as in the case of an orphan who was subject to excessive work and repeated punishments. While we came across examples of caregivers beating children for not working properly and preventing them from going to school notably in rural areas, there were others who beat children for not studying properly or for spending time playing instead of studying, especially in the urban sites.

According to analysis of survey data, at age 8 about 38 per cent of children have experienced corporal punishment in schools, with higher proportions of boys and in urban areas. By age 15 the proportions having experienced beating or physical hurt were seemingly much lower, though reporting by boys was still much higher than by girls. In contrast, the qualitative data suggest that the bulk of children, about 90 per cent, had experienced some form of violence at some stage of childhood. Moreover, there was slightly more reporting by girls than boys especially among younger children and as much reporting in rural areas as in urban areas. Our qualitative research found more reporting of violence in the school context, **institutional level** in the socio-ecological model, followed by the **home** setting, representing the **interpersonal level**.

In **schools**, corporal punishment was quite common, and children had internalized this as a legitimate part of the socialization process. However, children expressed a strong sense of resentment at what they perceived to be unfair, unjust or excessive corporal punishment. Violence at the **community level** was the least commonly reported, in contrast to findings of the ACPF study but, as noted, this was not the focus of our research.

**Gender** operates in children's lives several ways, changing over time and often intersecting with issues of poverty. Girls are expected to do the bulk of domestic work in the home including cleaning, cooking, child care and fetching water and wood, going to mills and markets as well as some work in the fields, and/or daily labour. This in turn, creates a cycle of gender discrimination that puts a strain on their ability to study and limits their time for recreation. However, while girls were often expected to undertake a heavy burden of domestic work, there were also cases of boys from poor households who also faced very heavy workloads leading to the termination of their studies. The cycle of working while also trying to attend school (and repeatedly failing), was a common theme. The under-performance that results is not only demeaning (for older children who have to repeat lower grades) but also leads to physical beatings for not upholding the ideal student status. The way that labour demands may curtail children's chances to succeed in education are profound – and here again, we see where poverty and violence intersect. Age and gender are significant meta-factors, the

implications of which differ in various socio-economic contexts. By utilising the socio-ecological framework the study acknowledges that opportunities and risk factors are dependent not only on context but also on children's capacities as they move through childhood.

## 10 POLICY AND PRACTICE IMPLICATIONS

In Ethiopia, violence affecting children is underpinned by a complex intersection of factors at multiple levels of the socio-ecological framework, from structural inequalities related to poverty, to powerful social norms related to gender, and power dynamics between adults and children within households, schools and wider communities. Thus, a multi-level approach involving a range of stakeholders is needed to address violence affecting children (see Appendix C).

### ***Greater societal awareness is needed of the consequences of violence affecting children throughout childhood***

Inclusive programmes need to be developed to raise awareness of the consequences of violence for children at differing ages, in day-care, pre-schools, schools, school clubs etc. Social norms relating to corporal punishment and use of insults by caregivers/older siblings as well as teachers, childcare workers, and school security guards need to be challenged. The current focus on Gender Based Violence in relation to HTPs could be expanded to include violence affecting boys at home and at school. Innovative approaches to addressing social norms could be developed for Ethiopia by drawing on experiences from elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>

### ***Policies and programmes should be sensitive to poverty and structural factors that often underpin violence towards children***

Greater attention needs to be given to the protection of vulnerable and very poor households through better programmes to support families affected by economic shocks, for example by linking social protection to child protection and emphasizing these issues in the training and deployment of social workers. There also needs to be better understanding among teachers about the relationship between poverty and violence, and the everyday realities of children's lives. An awareness of how these factors may influence children's ability to attend (or miss) school is critical, especially in relation to children's roles and responsibilities and sense of duty towards caregivers. Ill-treatment of young people at work is another important area; protective measures could be introduced to enhance respect for the dignity of young workers, by developing guidelines about rights in the workplace.

### ***Understanding and addressing gender norms is critical***

Developing an awareness of dominant forms of masculinity that encourage boys to harass girls, especially in regions where the problem seems more acute will be important future work. Some forms of emotional violence including insults and shaming are not well understood, and more research is needed.

### ***National legislation should be made more comprehensive and linked to regional efforts***

Existing legislation and awareness could be strengthened, for example by creating a forum for sharing experiences, promoting greater inter-sectoral coordination, setting common goals among policy makers, practitioners and researchers, across the continent, and beyond, by linking with ACPF, OSSREA, and the African Union.

<sup>6</sup> See Jha, et al (2016), on addressing social norms relating to child marriage in India, and Biccheri (2015) for social norms in Swaziland and Zimbabwe.



## REFERENCES

- Abdulwassie, A. (2007). Conceptualisations of children and childhood: the case of Kolffe and Semen Mazagaja, Addis Ababa. In E. Poluha (ed) *The worlds of girls and boys in rural and urban Ethiopia*. Pp39-66. Forum for Social Studies and Save the Children, Addis Ababa.
- Abebe, T. (2011). Gendered work and schooling in rural Ethiopia: Exploring working children's perspectives. In S. Evers, C. Notermans, E. van Ommering (Eds.), *Not just a victim: The child as catalyst and witness of contemporary Africa*. Netherlands: Brill.
- (ACPF) African Child Policy Forum (2014). *The African Report on Violence against Children*, Addis Ababa: African Child Policy Forum.
- Ayode, D. (2012). 'Rapid assessment on child protection in Addis Ababa, Addis Ketema Sub-city, Woreda 08'. Forum on Sustainable Child Empowerment (FSCE).
- Bevan, P. and A. Pankhurst (2008). 'A sociological perspective on the cause of economic poverty and inequality in Ethiopia', unpublished paper, WIDE Ethiopia.
- Bicchieri, C. (2015). *Why People Do What They Do?: A Social Norms Manual for Zimbabwe and Swaziland*. Penn Social Norms Training and Consulting Group, for *The Multi Country Study on the Drivers of Violence Affecting Children*, UNICEF Office of Research – Innocenti, Florence.
- Boyden, J. (2009). 'Risk and capability in the context of adversity: Children's contributions to household livelihoods in Ethiopia', *Children, Youth and Environments* 19(2): 111-137.
- Boyden, J., A. Pankhurst and Y. Tafere (2013). 'Harmful Traditional Practices and Child Protection: Contested Understandings and Practices of Female Child Marriage and Circumcision in Ethiopia'. *Young Lives Working Paper* 93. Oxford: Young Lives.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Covell, K. and J. Becker (2011). Five Years on: A Global Update on Violence against Children, Report for the *NGO Advisory Council for follow-up to the UN Secretary-General's Study on Violence against Children*, New York: United Nations.
- Crivello, G., V. Morrow and E. Wilson (2013). *Young Lives Longitudinal Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers*, Technical Note 26, Oxford: Young Lives.
- CP MERG (2012). *Ethical Principles, Dilemmas and Risks in Collecting Data on Violence Against Children. A Review of the Available Literature*, New York: Child Protection Monitoring and Evaluation Reference Group, UNICEF.
- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) (2000). The Revised Family Code. *Federal Negarit Gazette Extraordinary Issue* No. 1/2000, Proclamation No. 213/2000, Addis Ababa.
- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) (2004). The Criminal Code of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. *Proclamation* No.414/2004. Addis Ababa.

- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (1995). 'Proclamation of the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia', *Federal Negarit Gazeta*, 1st year No. 1, 21 August 1995, Addis Ababa: Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.
- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) (2011). 'National Child Policy, Final Draft'. Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) (2013). National Strategy and Action Plan on Harmful Traditional Practices (HTPs) against Women and Children in Ethiopia. Addis Ababa: Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs.
- Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children (2012). *Ending Legalised Violence Against Children. Global Report 2012*, London: APPROACH Ltd  
[www.endcorporalpunishment.org/pages/pdfs/reports/GlobalReport2012.pdf](http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org/pages/pdfs/reports/GlobalReport2012.pdf)
- Haile, R., N. Kebeta and G. Kassie (2013). Prevalence of sexual abuse of male high school students in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. *International Health and Human Rights*.13(24).
- Jha, Jyostna, with Puja Minni, Shanmuga Priya T. and Debanita Chatterjee (2016). *Reducing Child Marriage in India : A model to scale up results*, Centre for Budget and Policy Studies and United Nations Children's Fund, New Delhi.
- Mains, D. (2007). Neoliberal times: progress, boredom and shame among young men in Urban Ethiopia. *American Ethnologist*, 34, 4, 659-673.
- Maternowska, M. C. and D. Fry (2015). Understanding the Drivers of Violence: A step-by-step guide to conducting preliminary research around what drives violence. Available at:  
<https://www.unicef-irc.org/research/pdf/432-Understanding-the-Drivers-of-Violence-Guidelines.pdf>
- Ministry of Education (2002). *Guidelines for Educational Leadership, Organization, Community Participation and Finance* [in Amharic]. MoE, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Ministry of Education (2013). 'Strategy for Gender Equity in Education and Training Sector' (Draft). Addis Ababa.
- Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA) (2005). Ethiopian women's development and change package. Addis Ababa.
- Morrow, V. and G. Crivello (2015). What is the value of qualitative longitudinal research with children and families for international development? *International Journal of Social Research Methodology: Theory and Practice* 18, 3: 267-280.
- Morrow, V. and R. Singh (2014). 'Corporal punishment in schools in Andhra Pradesh, India: children's and parents' views'. *Working Paper 123*, Young Lives, Oxford.
- Mulugeta, E. (2016). *Draft Mapping Report for Young Lives Policy Program in Ethiopia on Violence Affecting Children and Youth*.
- Myers, W. and M. Bourdillon (2012). 'Concluding Reflections: How Might We Really Protect Children?' *Development in Practice* 22.4: 613-20

- Organization for African Unity (1999). African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. OUA, Addis Ababa. Retrieved from [www.pulp.up.ac.za/pdf/2009\\_11/2009\\_11.pdf](http://www.pulp.up.ac.za/pdf/2009_11/2009_11.pdf), January 15, 2016.
- (OSR) Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) on Violence against Children (2012). *Tackling Violence in Schools: A global perspective. Bridging the gap between standards and practice*. New York: United Nations.
- Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) on Violence against Children (2013). *Towards a World Free of Violence: Global Survey on Violence against Children*. New York: United Nations.
- Ogando Portela, M.J. and K. Pells (2015). Corporal Punishment in Schools: Longitudinal Evidence from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam, *Innocenti Discussion Paper* No. 2015-02, Florence: UNICEF Office of Research.
- Pankhurst, A., G. Crivello and A. Tiumelissan (2015). 'Work in Children's Lives in Ethiopia: Examples from Young Lives Communities' in A. Pankhurst, M. Bourdillon and G. Crivello (eds) *Children's Work and Labour in East Africa: Social Context and Implications for Policy*, Addis Ababa: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa
- Pankhurst, A. (2014). Child marriage and female circumcision (FGM/C): evidence from Ethiopia. *Young Lives Policy Brief*, 21. Oxford: Young Lives.
- Pells, K., M. Ogando Portela and P. Espinoza Revollo (2016). 'Experiences of Peer Bullying among Adolescents and Associated Effects on Adult Outcomes: Longitudinal Evidence from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam'. *Innocenti Discussion Paper* 2016\_03, Florence: UNICEF Office of Research.
- Poluha, E. (2004). *The power of continuity. Ethiopia through the eyes of its children*. Stockholm: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Population Council and UNFPA (2010). Ethiopia Gender Survey: A Study In Seven Regions [http://www.popcouncil.org/uploads/pdfs/2010PGY\\_EthiopiaGenderSurvey.pdf](http://www.popcouncil.org/uploads/pdfs/2010PGY_EthiopiaGenderSurvey.pdf)
- Save the Children and African Child Policy Forum. (2005). *Ending physical and humiliating punishment against children in Ethiopia*. Save the Children Sweden, Addis Ababa.
- Save the Children (2003). *Child Protection Policy*, London, UK: International Save the Children Alliance <http://resourcecentre.savethechildren.se/library/save-children-child-protection-policy>
- Tafere, Y. and A. Pankhurst (2015). 'Can Children in Ethiopian Communities Combine Schooling with Work? *Young Lives Working Paper* No. 141. Oxford: Young Lives.
- Tamene, A. (2007). Growing up in town and countryside in Amhara society. In E. Poluha (ed) *The worlds of girls and boys in rural and urban Ethiopia*. Pp39-66. Forum for Social Studies and Save the Children, Addis Ababa.
- UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (2006). *General Comment 13 on Violence against Children*, Geneva: United Nations.
- United Nations General Assembly (1989). *Convention on the Rights of the Child. General Assembly resolution 44/25* of 20 November 1989.

UNICEF (2014). *Hidden in Plain Sight: A statistical analysis of violence against children*, New York: UNICEF.

United Nations Secretary General (2006). *Report of the independent expert for the United Nations study on violence against children*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence against Children (2013). *Toward a World Free from Violence: Global Survey on Violence Against Children*. Geneva.

World Health Organization (2002). *World Report on Violence and Health*. Geneva: WHO.

## APPENDIX A – LAWS AND POLICIES IN ETHIOPIA RELATING TO CHILD PROTECTION

Laws and policies	Details
<b>International:</b> <b>UN Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989, ratified by Government of Ethiopia in 1991</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Article 19.1 : “States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child”</li> <li>■ Article 19.2 : establishing social programmes for the provision of adequate support for the child and those who care for the child to prevent child abuse and the identification of other support systems for those who have become victims.</li> <li>■ Article 28(2) stipulates that school discipline needs to be consistent with the child’s human dignity and other provisions contained in the CRC; the article also provides that school discipline to be carried out in a manner that considers the child’s human dignity and consistent with the provisions contained in the CRC (UN, 1989).</li> <li>■ Art. 37(a) provides that no child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.</li> </ul>
<b>Regional:</b> <b>African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (OAU, 1999)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Article 16.1: stipulates that “States Parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of torture, inhuman or degrading treatment and especially physical or mental injury or abuse, neglect or maltreatment including sexual abuse while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child”. On sexual violence, Article 27.1. provides that, “States Parties shall undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse and shall in particular take measures to prevent inducement, coercion or encouragement of a child to engage in any sexual activity”.</li> </ul>
<b>National: Constitution of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Article 36.1 stipulates that children are to be free from corporal punishment or cruel and inhumane treatment in schools and other institutions responsible for the care of children.</li> </ul>
<b>Revised Family Code (2000)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Contains provisions that address marriages ‘concluded by force’.</li> <li>■ Article 6, marriage shall take place only when both spouses have given their free and full consent.</li> <li>■ Article 7, no woman and man are allowed to marry before the age of 18.</li> <li>■ Article 14, marriage concluded as a result of violence will not be valid</li> <li>■ Article 35, if a marriage was concluded by violence, the spouse can apply to the court for dissolution.</li> </ul>
<b>Revised Criminal Code (2004)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Criminalisation of various forms of violence perpetrated against children and women.</li> <li>■ On maltreatment of children, Article 576.1 states that if an individual responsible for the custody or charge of a minor ill-treats, neglects, over tasks or beats him or her for any reason or in any manner, he/she will be punishable with simple imprisonment not exceeding three months. But if the crime causes grave injury to the health, well-being, education or physical or psychological development of the minor,</li> <li>■ Article 567.2, stipulates that the punishment shall be, in addition to the deprivation of family rights of the criminal, simple imprisonment for not less than one year.</li> <li>■ On abduction, Article 587 of the code explains that whoever abducts a child/woman by violence, or obtains her consent by threat, intimidation or deceit will be punished. If the abduction is accompanied by rape the punishment will be severe, and the conclusion of marriage with the abductor will not do away with criminal liability and does not prohibit the victim from seeking compensation under civil law.</li> </ul>

Laws and policies	Details
↳ <b>Revised Criminal Code (2004)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Article 620 recognises and criminalizes rape out of wedlock, but marital rape is not given consideration.</li> <li>■ According to Article 620.2, if the rape is committed on a young woman between the age of 13 and 18, or in any establishment where the victim receives services or protection, or on a woman/child who is incapable of understanding the consequences, or if the rape is committed by a number of men acting in concert, the punishment will be rigorous imprisonment ranging from 5 to 20 years.</li> <li>■ As per article 620.3, if the rape has caused serious physical injury or death, the punishment will be life imprisonment. These provisions also apply to a person who commits such crimes to a marriage partner or to a person cohabiting in an irregular union (FDRE, 2004).</li> </ul>
<b>Draft National Child Policy (FDRE, 2011)</b>	<p>Specific objectives include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ preventing and eliminating social, economic and harmful traditional practices and other abuses which are obstacles to the proper upbringing of children'</li> <li>■ under 'civil rights and freedoms of children', protecting children from any form of sexual, physical, psychological, and labour abuses</li> <li>■ highlighting the 'roles and responsibilities of families and other relevant organizations in protecting children from any physical and psychological abuse, and in the incidence of abuse cooperating and providing the necessary rehabilitation'.</li> </ul>
<b>Ministry of Education (MoE) School Administration Regulations (2002)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ States that 'corporal punishment is not among permitted disciplinary measures'. It further elaborates on the role of communities in overseeing the designing of strategies to create a programme that integrates the principles of equality, justice and democratic culture in order to raise responsible citizens through their representation in Education and Training Executive Boards established at various levels (MoE, 2002).</li> </ul>
<b>Ministry of Education (MoE) - Strategy for Gender Equality in the Education and Training Sector</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Sexual harassment and violence are recognized as serious problems that students, especially girls, encounter. Measures to be taken include:</li> <li>■ preparing a sexual harassment policy that will be adopted and implemented by higher educational institutions;</li> <li>■ development of anti-harassment code of conduct for Colleges of Teacher Education and Technical Vocational Education and Training institutions, and training law enforcement agencies on sexual harassment and substance abuse (MoE, 2013).</li> <li>■ In collaboration with UNICEF, the MoE has developed anti-harassment codes of conduct for educational institutions, to be adopted by various educational institutions, taking local context into consideration.</li> <li>■ Anti-harassment codes of conduct for Technical Vocational Education and Training institutions have also been prepared (MoE, 2013).</li> </ul>
<b>(Former) Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA)</b>	<p>Ethiopian Women Development and Change Package includes elimination of Harmful Traditional Practices (HTPs) as one of the programmes in empowering women (MoWA, 2005). (HTPs include abduction and other forms of violence against women such as physical violence; its implementation would address issues of violence affecting female children and young women.)</p>

## APPENDIX B – CASE STUDY CHILDREN BY AGE AT INTERVIEW, COHORT, SEX, LOCATION, REGION, ETHNICITY AND RELIGION

No.	Name *	Age **	Cohort	Sex	Place	Region	Ethnicity	Religion
1	Abeba	14	Younger	Female	Rural	Amhara	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)
2	Addisu	7, 11	Younger	Male	Urban	Addis Ababa	Kambata	Christian (Orthodox)
3	Ayewew	14	Younger	Male	Urban	SNNP	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)
4	Beletch	14, 17	Older	Female	Rural	Oromia	Oromo	Christian (Orthodox)
5	Bereket	20	Older	Female	Urban	Oromia	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)
6	Biritu	17	Older	Female	Rural	Oromia	Oromo	Muslim
7	Birkutawit	14	Younger	Female	Rural	Addis Ababa	Oromo	Christian (Orthodox)
8	Debasit	14	Younger	Female	Rural	Tigay	Tigraway	Christian (Orthodox)
9	Defar	14	Older	Male	Rural	Amhara	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)
10	Desta	11	Younger	Male	Rural	Tigay	Tigraway	Christian (Orthodox)
11	Emnet	11, 14	Younger	Female	Urban	SNNP	Sidama	Christian (Protestant)
12	Frezer	8	Younger	Male	Rural	Amhara	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)
13	Gemechu	17	Older	Male	Rural	Oromia	Oromo	Christian (Orthodox)
14	Getu	11	Younger	Male	Rural	Amhara	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)
15	Habib	11	Younger	Male	Urban	Addis Ababa	Amhara	Muslim
16	Habtamu	14	Older	Male	Rural	Amhara	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)
17	Hanan	11	Younger	Female	Urban	Addis Ababa	Other	Muslim
18	Hawa	11	Younger	Female	Urban	Addis Ababa	Other	Muslim
19	Kassaye	17	Younger	Male	Rural	Amhara	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)
20	Kebegna	7, 11	Younger	Male	Rural	Oromia	Oromo	Christian (Orthodox)
21	Kibra	11	Younger	Female	Rural	Tigray	Tigraway	Christian (Orthodox)
22	Kudus	8	Younger	Male	Urban	SNNP	Mixed	Christian (Orthodox)
23	Louam	11	Younger	Female	Rural	Amhara	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)
24	Luel	14	Younger	Male	Urban	SNNP	Mixed	Christian (Protestant)
25	Maregey	11, 14	Younger	Male	Rural	Tigray	Tigraway	Christian (Orthodox)
26	Mesih	14	Older	Male	Rural	Tigray	Tigraway	Christian (Orthodox)
27	Mihretu	11, 14	Older	Male	Rural	Tigray	Tigraway	Christian (Orthodox)
28	Miki		Older	Male	Urban	Addis Ababa	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)
29	Miruts	14	Younger	Male	Rural	Tigray	Tigraway	Christian (Orthodox)
30	Mulu	14	Older	Female	Rural	Amhara	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)
31	Mulualem	8, 11	Younger	Female	Rural	Oromia	Other	Christian (Orthodox)
32	Negasa	8	Younger	Male	Rural	Oromia	Other	Christian (Orthodox)

No.	Name *	Age **	Cohort	Sex	Place	Region	Ethnicity	Religion
33	Samrawit	7, 11	Younger	Female	Urban	Addis Ababa	Oromo	Christian (Orthodox)
34	Sefinesh	17	Older	Male	Rural	Amhara	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)
35	Selamawit	11	Younger	Female	Urban	Addis Ababa	Amhara	Christian (Protestant)
36	Teje	11	Younger	Female	Urban	SNNP	Mixed	Christian (Orthodox)
37	Tigabu	11	Younger	Male	Urban	SNNP	Oromo	Christian (Orthodox)
38	Tsega	13	Older	Female	Urban	SNNP	Gurage	Christian (Orthodox)
39	Tsehaytu	11	Younger	Female	Rural	Tigray	Tigraway	Christian (Orthodox)
40	Tufa	14,20	Older	Male	Rural	Oromia	Oromo	Christian (Orthodox)
41	Yenealem	14,17, 20	Older	Female	Rural	Amhara	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)
42	Yerusalem	14	Younger	Female	Urban	Addis Ababa	Amhara	Christian (Orthodox)

\*To protect the anonymity of the children interviewed for the qualitative work, all names are pseudonyms.

\*\*For those involving more than one study round, the ages at the different rounds are specified.



## APPENDIX C – KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Findings	Recommendations	By who? Which stakeholders need to be involved?	Sub-national levels	By when? Already started or underway?
<b>Home:</b> Often children are punished because they fail to undertake household work, related to poverty	Protection of vulnerable/very poor households and better programmes to support families affected by poverty/economic shocks for example, linking social protection to child protection or finding programmes that do and measuring them accurately for impact?	Particular emphasis on MoLSA  <b>Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs</b> through Action plans for the Social Protection Policy and to include in the training of Social Workers.  Ethiopian Society of Sociologists Social Workers and Anthropologists	<b>MoLSA</b> through Regional and Woreda Office and in the training and deployment of social workers.	<b>MoLSA</b> for consideration in training and deployment of social workers.  The Ethiopian Society of Sociologists Social Workers and Anthropologists for consideration in their training of social work force and research agendas.
<b>Home and school:</b> If children do not fulfil tasks at home/or miss school because of necessary work, they may experience punishment at school.	Better understanding for teachers that poverty has a direct bearing on violence affecting children. Through PTA associations (to make the link)? Other ways?	Better understanding for teachers that poverty has a direct bearing on VAC. As above with particular emphasis on MoE  Ministry of Education through revision of the Educational Management, Organisation, Community, Participation and Finance guidelines; suggestion of the need for separate guidelines on Violence and Positive Discipline in Schools.	MoE: Regional and Woreda offices through school clusters, and in each school involving PSTAs and school clubs, student councils, student parliaments, One-to-Five classroom structures, and through Colleges of Teacher Education.	Presentation of findings and recommendations to the Education Technical Working Group and to the School Improvement Programme Directorate.
<b>School:</b> Corporal punishment or other forms of humiliating punishment are widely reported, especially for children in middle childhood. Schools can be effective entry-points	Work with teachers to enhance their understanding of consequences of violence, and the realities of children's everyday lives in poverty situations which cause them to miss school.	As above <b>Ministry of Education</b> through revision of the Educational Management, Organisation, Community, Participation and Finance guidelines; suggestion of the need for separate guidelines on Violence and Positive Discipline in Schools.	As above	As above

<p>into changing norms and values, but if schools are sites of violence, programming in schools may be contradictory.</p>				
<p><b>School:</b> corporal punishment is illegal, but persists.</p>	<p>Campaign for changes via federal, regional and district offices, and at community level.</p> <p>Develop guidelines for reporting, involving school administration, and Parent-Teacher Associations.</p> <p>Find schools that aren't involved in violence and use them as models – find out what works and why? Set incentives.</p>	<p>As above with emphasis on guidelines for Positive Discipline in Schools.</p>	<p>As Above</p>	<p>As above</p>
<p><b>School:</b> corporal punishment is linked to a pedagogical style that expects children to be silent, and discipline is used for a myriad of reasons.</p>	<p>Guidelines to promote a range of alternative forms of discipline, perhaps working with teachers, caregivers, elders, and school students, through school clubs.</p>	<p>As above with emphasis on guidelines for Positive Discipline in Schools. There should be further promotion of child-centred learning methodologies.</p>	<p>As above</p>	<p>As above</p>
<p><b>Community:</b> girls reported sexual harassment from boys, when collecting water or on the way to school.</p>	<p>Develop awareness of this, and address dominant forms of masculinity that encourage this kind of behaviour. Girls clubs – asset building (link to Pop Council work?). Link to key concerns about</p>	<p><b>Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs</b> through the national Strategy and Action Plan on Harmful Traditional Practices (2033) and proposed 10 year Roadmap to end FGM/C and Child marriage. Promote the need to revise the National Action Plan on Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children (2006-2010)</p>	<p>Focus on regions where this problem seems more acute.</p>	<p><b>MoWCA:</b> Presentation of findings and recommendation to the Child Research and Practice Forum and for discussion in the Roadmap to end FGC and Child Marriage</p>

	<p>Harmful Traditional Practices, notably FGM and child marriage. Develop further sensitive and careful research in order to implement strategies to address the problem.</p>			
<p><b>Work:</b> Young people at work report being ill-treated.</p>	<p>The rights of young people who work in the informal sector need to be respected. Protective measures could be introduced to enhance respect for dignity of workers/decent work. For example, guidelines for children's rights in the workplace, radio talk shows about it, have children linking up on common platforms for creative solutions.</p>	<p>Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs through its work on Child Labour and Action plan for the Social Protection Policy and to include in the training of social workers.</p> <p>NGOs involved in child labour issues such as Save the Children, Girl Effect, OAK, Plan, Multi-purpose Community Development (MCDP), People in Need (PIN), Mennonite Economic Development Associates (MEDA), Forum on Sustainable Child Empowerment (FSCE)</p>	<p>Through regional and woreda (local community) offices.</p>	<p>Promote findings and recommendations in the brief produced by African Child Policy Forum, Save the Children and Young Lives and book on Children's Work and Labour in East Africa: Social Context and Implications for Policy, Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, 2015 eds. Pankhurst et al.</p>
<p><b>Consequences of Violence</b></p> <p><b>Societal:</b> Lack of awareness of effects of violence affecting children and youth</p>	<p>(a) Coordination between government agencies from federal to community levels, with partners from NGOs, civil society, and the media to raise awareness and bring about change in norms and values that condone corporal punishment. Social norms exploration targeting first the institutional level.</p>	<p>Involving all stakeholders from Government, Donors, International and National NGOs, Civil Society Organisations, and relevant Advisory Groups, Networks and Forums, Research Institutions, media etc.</p>		

	(b) Longer term research to address children's understandings of and suggestions for solutions to violence so as to inform awareness-raising and coordination.	Encourage focus on this under-researched area Create awareness that violence can have longer term impact on children through to adulthood.		
<b>Emotional violence</b> in the form of insults and shaming is not well understood.	More research needed – link to findings in the joint UNICEF Office of Research social support work.	Encourage focus on this under-researched area. Create awareness that violence is not simply a matter of physical violence through various networks and with a wide range of stakeholders.		
<b>National Legislation</b> seems to be ineffective or not widely disseminated; Lack of awareness of international and African laws and approaches to understanding and preventing VAC.	Strengthen and improve implementation of legislation.  Raise awareness, create forum for experience-sharing and setting common goals among researchers, policy-makers and practitioners across the continent and beyond.	Ministry of Justice through courts, and Ministry of Women and Social Affairs through regional and woreda offices.  Establish links with continental research and policy organisations notably African Child Policy Forum and Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, and the African Union.	Courts at regional and woreda level.	Hold conference for African researchers and produce a brief and book. Advocate for appropriate change with continental organisations notably African Union with African Child Policy Forum.