

Understanding Violence Affecting Children in Ethiopia: a Qualitative Study

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About Young Lives

Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, following the lives of 12,000 children in four countries (Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam) over 15 years. www.younglives.org.uk

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Executive summary

This report presents findings from a sub-study by Young Lives Ethiopia on violence affecting children and youth in three Ethiopian communities (one rural, two urban). Qualitative research used individual interviews and group discussions to explore the following questions with children (aged 16-17), young adults (aged 22-23), caregivers, and professionals: (a) how is violence defined? What constitutes violence, and what practices are acceptable or not and why? (b) how do children and young people respond to violence and what forms of support are available to them? and (c) are practices, values and norms relating to violence perceived to be shifting in relation to social, economic and cultural change?

We did not want to pre-empt what does or does not constitute violence. However, we provided some general parameters for the scope of the study to guide the research design and questions. These came from our literature review and stakeholder mapping interviews (Mulugeta 2016a; 2016b). We focus on violence manifesting in interpersonal relations, whether physical, psychological or emotional (including insults and harassment) or sexual (Krug et al. 2002). We use the definition provided by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (2011: 4) whereby 'violence' is understood to mean 'all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse', including 'non-physical and/or non-intentional forms of harm (such as, inter alia, neglect and psychological maltreatment)'. We explore the connections between interpersonal violence and 'structural' violence, such as poverty, inequality, social exclusion and other forms of discrimination including harmful gender norms.

Key findings

- Understandings of violence tended to focus on corporal punishment and sexual violence, with less appreciation of emotional and psychological violence. However, while in the urban sites violence was understood more in terms of gender-based violence, in the rural site poverty and limited service access as well as gender-based norms and harmful traditional practices were included and emphasised in understandings of violence.
- There were gender and age differences, with corporal punishment more common among younger children (above age 8), while older girls were at greater risk of gender-based violence and older boys of exploitation at work.
- Certain categories of children, notably migrants, domestic workers, children living with relatives, from very poor households, or living on the streets were perceived to be more at risk of abuse, including overwork, denial of schooling and sexual violence, especially for girls involved in domestic work.
- While there was a common rejection of most forms of physical punishment, the use of some corporal punishment such as pinching and mild beating was seen by some participants (children as well as adults) as potentially beneficial for proper child upbringing.
- Interpersonal violence was often linked to and exacerbated by structural violence, including poverty and harmful gender-based norms, in the accounts of children and adult participants. Changing economic, social and cultural contexts, particularly in urban areas,

notably unemployment, substance abuse and exposure to violence in media, were viewed by caregivers as new risks facing young people that were assumed to worsen violence, particularly gender-based violence and violence between peers.

- Most cases of violence are unreported or dealt with through family, friends, community support, informal mechanisms and religious institutions. However, economic, social and cultural contexts are changing, and formal institutions are beginning to address violence, including through school clubs and parliaments, health extension workers, Women and Children Affairs Bureaus and Justice Bureaus, social courts, and the police. Nonetheless, vulnerable children and young people tended to be highly unlikely to report cases of violence, particularly rape or sexual assault.

Policy implications

The importance of context and regional differences in shaping understandings of violence: There is a need for greater understanding of how violence is defined locally, and how definitions differ between regions and environments (urban and rural). Starting with local definitions of violence would enhance the effectiveness of policies and programming, and would bridge the gap with national and international definitions. Holding regional dialogues on how violence affecting children is understood and how children are disciplined would enable a better understanding of how national policies are translated into practice, and enhance the possibilities of engaging with communities for change.

Building a multisectoral and multi-level approach: Strengthening inter-sectoral coordination on violence affecting children, following on from the work of the inter-ministerial committee on violence affecting women and children, and the National Coordinating Committee on Children's Rights, is essential to create awareness and implement existing national policies, and plans, and enable greater collaboration between government, UN and international and national NGOs, alliances and networks and research institutions. The feasibility of developing a national action plan to prevent violence affecting children and youth in collaboration with existing committees should be discussed.

Initiatives to prevent and address violence affecting children must reach down from the federal level to the regions, *woredas* and especially the *kebele* and community levels where the violence occurs. At the *kebele* level, health extension workers and increasingly social workers as well as school clubs and community care coalitions can play key roles in preventing and addressing violence.¹

Adopting a whole-school, comprehensive approach to violence prevention: Schools need to be supportive, inclusive and safe spaces where children can learn and flourish. Preventing school violence requires addressing the structures, norms and practices within schools that promote violent behaviour, whether between peers or between students and teachers, and reinforce exclusion. Improving understanding among teachers about the relationship between poverty and violence and promoting awareness of how these factors may influence children's ability to attend and engage with schooling is critical, especially in relation to children's roles and responsibilities and sense of duty towards caregivers.

¹ Community care coalitions were set up on a pilot basis to coordinate mobilising local resources from different stakeholders and thereby to provide support for vulnerable categories.

Improving school governance is central, using guidelines and action plans on eliminating violence in schools, including corporal punishment. Measures include employment policies (e.g. use of corporal punishment constituting misconduct and liable to disciplinary action) and teacher training, with appropriate budgetary support, in order to provide the knowledge, human and financial resources necessary to enforce legislation and increase accountability. The proper implementation of the Ministry of Education's 2014 Code of Conduct on Prevention of School Related Gender Based Violence in Schools can go a long way in addressing gender-based violence. Confidential reporting systems, with appropriate follow-up support, for children who witness or experience violence are also important.

Embedding an age- and gender-sensitive approach to violence prevention: Children are more likely to experience different forms of violence, at different ages and on account of their gender. This should be acknowledged and included in the implementation of the National Children's Policy and the Ethiopian Youth Development and Change Strategy. The current focus on gender-based violence in relation to harmful traditional practices could be expanded to include violence affecting both girls and boys at home and at school. Understanding and addressing gender norms is critical. Developing an awareness of and challenging dominant forms of masculinity that encourage boys to harass girls will be important. Another area which needs attention is the ill-treatment of young people at work, developing protective measures to enhance respect for the dignity of young workers by creating guidelines about rights in the workplace.

Building child-sensitive social protection: Policies and programmes on violence prevention should be sensitive to poverty and structural factors that often underpin violence towards children. Greater attention needs to be given to protecting 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 emphasising these issues in the implementation of the Social Protection Policy and Strategy and in the training and deployment of social workers.

Creating comprehensive legislation and a national action plan on preventing violence against children: National legislation should be made more comprehensive and linked to regional continental initiatives such as those promoted by the African Child Policy Forum and African Union. Existing legislation and awareness could be strengthened, for example by creating a forum for sharing experiences, promoting greater inter-sectoral coordination, and setting common goals among policymakers, practitioners and researchers across the continent.

Innovative approaches to addressing social norms could be developed for Ethiopia by drawing on experiences from elsewhere. Societal attitudes and norms appear to be changing in some communities in relation to the use of harsh discipline in the home. Parents need to be enabled to air their concerns about changing perceptions of risk, and efforts need to be made to support them in non-punitive ways, perhaps by working with community and religious leaders and local institutions to promote a more tolerant approach.

Training for social workers and health extension workers: Training could be extended to raise awareness of the need to be sensitive to local definitions of violence, the importance of accessible services for children, and focusing on working with children and families who are affected, ensuring that children are listened to and parents are supported.

1. Introduction and background

Violence in childhood and adulthood is a universal phenomenon, usually perpetrated by people with whom children and young people interact every day in home, school and community settings. However, the ways in which violence is understood in differing environments and contexts is rarely explored. This working paper builds on earlier research by Young Lives Ethiopia (Pankhurst, Negussie and Mulugeta 2016) that explored children's everyday experiences of violence, reported in Young Lives survey and qualitative research, which found that rates of violence were high across Young Lives sites, and also found variation in these experiences.² A qualitative study was designed to explore in greater depth how violence is perceived, defined and understood in three parts of Ethiopia – two urban sites, and one rural, as well as the forms of violence experienced and the responses from children, youth, caregivers and professionals.

We show that the terms used in local languages for 'violence' are broad and are translated to include various forms of risk/harm, including neglect, abuse, exploitation and harmful traditional practices that are sanctioned by cultures. These differing conceptualisations affect how people understand and react towards violence. We suggest that it is vital to take local understandings and definitions into account not only when researching how violence affects children, but also in designing policies and programmes to address violence in particular contexts.

The study set out to explore the following questions:

What are children's and adults' understandings and perspectives on violence in their homes, schools and communities?

- What constitutes violence? What is considered acceptable or not and why? Are there differences by age and gender and between children and adults?

How do children respond to violence and why?

- How available, accessible and acceptable are institutional sources of support (e.g. *kebele* or *woreda* officials, police, courts, health extension workers, teachers, religious leaders, community care coalitions, social workers)?
- How has the availability of such institutions changed over time?
- How do children seek support or give support in situations of violence? Are there differences by gender and age?

² Young Lives is a study of childhood poverty in four countries, Ethiopia, India (the former state of Andhra Pradesh), Peru and Vietnam, over a 15-year period between 2002–17. Young Lives followed an Older Cohort of around 1,000 young people per country, born in 1994/5, and a Younger Cohort of 2,000 children per country born in 2001/2. Five rounds of survey data were collected from children, their households and their communities, in 2002, 2006, 2009, 2013 and 2017. Findings from survey data are complemented by four rounds of qualitative data, as well as thematic sub-studies.

To what extent are practices, values and norms relating to violence towards and between children shifting in response to economic, social and cultural change?

- Are ideas and practices associated with parenting and adult-child relations more widely changing in relation to discipline (teachers and students) and between employers and children, but also gender norms including peer relations?
- How are these changes informed by increasing laws, policies and interventions related to violence against children?

A key consideration for this study was to explore how violence is understood and constructed by different actors and the different meanings and significance attached to different acts. As such we did not want to pre-empt what does or does not constitute violence. However, we set some general parameters to guide the research design and questions, following our review of the literature and stakeholder mapping interviews (Mulugeta 2016a; 2016b).

Our initial starting point for explorations of violence was a focus on experiences of violence manifesting in interpersonal relations, whether physical, psychological or emotional (including insults and harassment) or sexual (Krug et al. 2002).³ We took the definition provided by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (2011: 4) whereby ‘violence’ is understood to mean ‘all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse’. The Committee continues:

in common parlance the term violence is often understood to mean only physical harm and/or intentional harm. However, the Committee emphasizes most strongly that the choice of the term violence in the present general comment 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 (such as, inter alia, neglect and psychological maltreatment).

The Committee notes that there may not be ‘exact equivalences of the English term “violence” in other languages.

However, a key aim of the research was to explore the connections between violence at the interpersonal level and what is often termed ‘structural violence’. Structural violence, such as poverty, inequality, social exclusion and other forms of discrimination can be considered as ‘violence’ due to the direct harm caused to an individual, through hunger, illness and stress, and to their social relations through stigma and humiliation, as well as indirectly, by rendering individuals more vulnerable to interpersonal violence.

Based on feedback from a consultation workshop with key stakeholders and given the considerable research interest and work already carried out on Child, early and forced marriage (CEFM) and female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C), we did not explicitly focus on these practices but, as our findings show, these practices are deeply intertwined with other forms of violence, as well as being recognised by participants as forms of violence. Instead, we focused on forms of everyday violence such as corporal punishment at home and school, emotional violence (such as insults or harassment), community-level violence

³ Psychological and emotional violence are often used interchangeably but are sometimes used to distinguish between actions intended to intimidate and control others (psychological violence), and actions intended to belittle or invoke feelings of worthlessness in others (emotional violence). Within this paper we use the terms interchangeably.

(such as peer violence), and employers using violence, that Young Lives initial evidence suggests are prevalent (Pankhurst, Negussie and Mulugeta 2016).

Throughout this paper we use the term 'violence affecting children/youth' (VACY) rather than 'violence against children/youth' in recognition of the multiple ways in which children may witness, experience and enact violence, either directly, or indirectly where others are the principal 'target'. We use the term violence in the broad sense, to reflect the responses of participants.

The report is structured as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the study design and methods. Section 3 analyses definitions of violence, terminology and translations in the three research sites, and explores what is considered to be unacceptable or acceptable violence by gender and age. Section 4 explores views about children and young people's experiences of violence, from a range of points of view, including young people themselves. Section 5 describes participants' views about the causes and consequences of violence, in home, school and communities. Section 6 explores sources of support for children and young people experiencing violence and perceived barriers to seeking support. Section 7 describes participants' perceptions of change over time in relation to violence affecting children and young people. Section 8 concludes with some implications for policy and practical suggestions.

2. Study design and methods

The research began with a literature review and policy context analysis, followed by stakeholder mapping by Emebet Mulugeta (Mulugeta 2016a; 2016b). The literature review found that most existing research involved surveys in secondary schools and higher education colleges, with very little research in communities, involving parents/caregivers. There was very little research on intimate partner violence, nor how children and young people react to violence and whether they seek support or report violence (Mulugeta 2016a). The policy context analysis found that while Ethiopia has signed, ratified and adopted various international and regional legal instruments, there was no integrated and effective legal instrument addressing all dimensions of VACY, and laws are rarely applied (Mulugeta 2016b; Pankhurst et al. 2018). The Ministry of Education issued guidelines which stipulate that corporal punishment in schools is prohibited, and punishment 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. The National Child Policy (2017) provides for the prevention and elimination of harmful traditional practices, and protection of children.

A workshop was organised on 19-20 October 2016 with a range of stakeholders, including representatives from government ministries (Ministry of Women, Youth and Children Affairs, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs), and international and local organisations (UNICEF, ACPF, Child Fund, Family Health International, Goal, Plan International, Population Council, Retrak, Save the Children, World Vision) as well as researchers from Addis Ababa University. The literature review and stakeholder mapping were presented, with research outputs on violence affecting children across the four Young Lives countries and findings from the previous qualitative research in

Ethiopia also presented and discussed. We held a number of group discussions on understanding practices of violence, strategies and approaches for dealing with violence and potential areas of research, which were then used to form the basis of the research design.

Fieldwork was carried out in May 2017, in two phases in three sites in different regions, one in the capital city, the second in a small town and the third in a rural area.^{4 5} They reviewed the research aims and key questions through individual interviews with local officials, service providers and customary leaders, in order to understand the context of violence affecting children and youth in each site (Table 1). They also undertook mapping of formal services to ensure that appropriate services were in place, to which children could be referred if child protection concerns arose during the research.

Table 1. *Exploratory phase participants*

Woreda	Kebele
Office of Women and Children Affairs	Kebele manager
Office of Social and Labour Affairs	Kebele chair
Woreda court	Kebele health cabinet member
Woreda police	Kebele education cabinet member
Office of Education	Kebele Women and Children Affairs Bureau representative
Office of Health	Social court member
NGOs, para social worker	Community police officer
Children's parliament representative	

The exploratory phase was followed by a debriefing workshop and further training, where the protocols were reviewed and the vignettes, timelines and other methods were discussed (see Appendix for full description of methods). The second phase involved focus group discussions and individual interviews with children, young people and caregivers (Table 2).

Table 2. *Number of participants by site and method*

Site	Exploratory phase		Main phase	
	Key informant interviews	Key informant interviews	Individual interviews	Focus group discussions
Duba	9	6	25	6
Kok	13	5	24	6
Leki	11	3	24	6
Total	33	14	73	18

A total of 120 individual interviews were held in the three sites, with 33 of these in the first exploratory phase with key informants with officials and sector representatives from the district (*woreda*) and local (*kebele*) levels. In the main phase, 73 interviews were conducted with children and caregivers and 14 with key community informants. We also held focus group discussions with Younger Cohort children (aged 16-17) and Older Cohort youth (aged

4 Site names are anonymised to ensure participants' confidentiality.

5 The research was carried out prior to the changes enacted by the government of Prime Minister Dr Abiy Ahmed.

22-23), in separate groups with girls and boys, and with male and female caregivers in each site (with a total of 18 participants).

2.2. Research sites

In selecting research sites, we decided it was important to understand rural and urban variation, with new challenges in urban areas, and differences between cities and smaller towns. We were also constrained in our choices given the State of Emergency and unrest in some areas, and therefore considerations of safety for our fieldworkers and willingness of young people to engage in discussions around violence.⁶

Site 1: Duba, an urban site within Addis Ababa

This site is located on the outskirts of the capital city Addis Ababa, along a corridor out of the city where there are a number of industries. It is one of the poorest areas of the city with a large number of migrants and where a large proportion of households earn a living from informal sector activities. There are many households headed by women, some of whom are involved in service sector activities, in bars and as commercial sex workers. Youth unemployment and underemployment is a major problem.

Site 2: Kok, an area within a small town in Amhara region

This site is within a small town that is a tourist destination in northern Amhara and has expanding services to serve tourists. Some young people are involved as tourist guides, and the tourism sector is a major factor for the growth of the town. Residents have strong links with neighbouring rural areas, and many women are involved in petty trade. Some of the neighbourhoods are very poor with limited access to services, and apart from tourism there are few jobs and limited opportunities for young people.

Site 3: Leki, a rural site in Oromia region

This site is near a lake in the Rift Valley. Some of the young men are involved in fishing, providing a source of income due to demand from a nearby town, whereas most of the population farms and raises livestock. The site is within walking distance to a medium-sized town, and close to flower farms where some young people and migrants from other areas find employment. Land scarcity and limited access to credit are seen as constraints for young people to improve their lives.

2.3. Methods

We used individual interviews and group discussions for both young people and caregivers. We started with focus group discussions with children and young people (four groups per site) and caregivers (two groups per site) to generate an overview of social norms and general accounts of types of violence experienced in the community, as well as perceived causes and responses. We then followed up in more depth in individual interviews on sources of support and (changing) norms, values and practices regarding violence with both young people and caregivers. We also gave young people the option of being interviewed in pairs, if that made them feel more comfortable. We conducted individual interviews with key

⁶ The State of Emergency was declared on 9 October 2016 and was lifted on 5 June 2018.

local officials, including social workers, health extension workers (HEWs) and community care coalitions to explore local child protection systems (see Appendix for methods).

2.4. Ethics

Ethical approval for the research was obtained from the Ethiopian Public Health Institute Institutional Review Board and the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) in May 2017.

Training was provided to fieldworkers and covered a range of topics, such as obtaining the informed consent of young people and other stakeholders, explaining the intended uses of the data, issues of confidentiality, and what is to be done when young people disclose abuse or exploitation. In the debriefing process following fieldwork, fieldworkers were encouraged to report on challenges relating to ethics. The research was designed to explore shared understandings and definitions of violence, rather than individual experiences of violence, but inevitably some participants described negative experiences that had taken place in the past. Fieldworkers addressed this sensitively, by ensuring distress was taken seriously and sources of support offered, if appropriate.

3. Understanding violence

Overall, the study found a range of terms for ‘violence’ being used across the research sites, located in different regions of the country, shaping the way people defined and categorised violence.

3.1. Definitions used

Understanding what is meant by ‘violence’ is complicated by different views and terms in rural and urban areas and in Amharic and Oromiffa languages. In rural Leki in Oromia, the word *miidha*, which may be translated as ‘harm’ or ‘hurt’, is often used interchangeably with the broader term *rakkoo* meaning ‘problem’. Many participants indicated that *miidha* included harm inflicted on children due to the inability of caregivers to provide children with their basic needs, such as food, school, clothing, shelter, and medical care. Thus, caregivers considered that children are affected by abuse when they are not sent to school, are exposed to exploitation at work, or are not given food and become malnourished or stunted and poverty increases their vulnerability to violence. For example, the *kebele* Women and Children Affairs Bureau representative in Leki explained:

Children are vulnerable to violence when they lack food, when they drop out of school and when parents give birth with no gap.

Thus, in Leki, *rakkoo* goes far beyond the worst forms of violence and covers all kinds of harm, including those related to harmful traditional practices, and even the lack of fulfilment of basic needs.

In contrast, in the two urban sites, Duba and Kok, violence was referred to by the Amharic term *tiqat*, which tends to have a much narrower connotation often related to gender-based violence. However, *tiqat* can encompass wider abuse, such as physical, psychological and work exploitation. A male participant from Duba *woreda* Education Office explained:

When I hear of *tiqat*, the first thing that comes to my mind is the things related to sexual violence. But violence can be physical or psychological abuse.

A representative from Duba Women and Children Affairs Bureau defined violence to mean physical abuse, saying this could include beating, pinching, fumigating with the smoke of hot pepper (*berbere maten*), and beating children with small implements.

Thus, the Amharic term *tiqat* used in the two urban sites, and the Afaan Oromoo term *miidha* used in the rural site have different connotations. Violence affecting children was linked to poverty, structural problems and restricted access to services in rural Leki, while in urban Duba and Kok it mainly spans abuse and exploitation. The differences therefore seem to be partly related to urban/rural distinctions as well as linguistic ones. Some practices – including child marriage, polygamous marriage and widow inheritance – were also defined as forms of violence. We found many terms and definitions for forms of violence affecting children and youth (Table 3).

Table 3. *Types of punishment, violence and abuse – translation of terms*

Types of violence		Amharic terms (<i>tiqat</i>)	Afaan Oromoo terms (<i>miidha</i> or <i>rakkoo</i>)
Forms of punishment	Punishment (in general)	<i>Qitat</i>	<i>Adabbi</i>
	Reprimanding	<i>Meqotat</i>	<i>Dheekamu</i>
	Rebuke	<i>Megetssets/Tegstats</i>	<i>Deekamu</i>
	Standing facing wall	<i>Fitin wede gimb azuro meqom</i>	<i>Gara Keenyaanatti fuula galagalchani dhaabachu</i>
	Beating	<i>Megref</i>	<i>Reebuu</i>
	Denying food	<i>Migib Mekelkel</i>	<i>Nyaata dhoowachu</i>
	Slapping	<i>Betifi memtat</i>	<i>Kabaluu</i>
	Punching	<i>Bebuti memtat</i>	<i>Abootani rukkutu</i>
	Hitting on head	<i>Kurkum</i>	<i>Mataa keessaa gadii dhahuu</i>
	Pinching	<i>Meqontet/Qunticha</i>	<i>Qimidu</i>
	Twisting ear	<i>Joro meqontet</i>	<i>Gura qimidu</i>
	Kicking	<i>Bekalcho memtat</i>	<i>Milaan dhahuu</i>
	Hitting with ruler	<i>Bemasmeriya memtat</i>	<i>Sarartuun dhahuu</i>
	Hitting with a rubber hose	<i>Begomma memtat</i>	<i>Goommaan rukkuutu</i>
	Squeezing pen between fingers	<i>Iskirbto betat mehal meyaz</i>	<i>Peenaa qubaa giddu galchuun ruukutu</i>
	Making children kneel	<i>Manberket</i>	<i>Jilbefachiisu</i>
	Bending with hands holding ears between legs	<i>Gombess bileh ijihin begir mehal joro meyaz</i>	<i>Harka jilbaa gidduu baasuun guraa qabachuu</i>
	Punishing children by making them do work	<i>Sira masserrat</i>	<i>Hojii hojechiisun addabu</i>
	Gender-based violence	Gender-based violence – general	<i>Tsotawi Tinkosa</i>
Teasing		<i>Mefoger</i>	<i>Foggeru</i>
Verbal bullying		<i>Melkefi/Melekefi/Lekefa</i>	<i>Duubiif tutuquu Arabaan</i>
Harassment		<i>Tinkosa</i>	<i>Arabsuu</i>
Physical bullying		<i>Megontel</i>	<i>Duubiif tutuquu Humnaan</i>
Rape		<i>Medfer</i>	<i>Gudeedu</i>
Verbal abuse	Using demeaning words	<i>Yeqalat sidib</i>	<i>Jechaan arabsu/maddessu</i>
	Insulting	<i>Mesadeb</i>	<i>Arabsu</i>
	Anger/angry expressions	<i>Qutta</i>	<i>Dheekamsa</i>
Non-verbal, emotional abuse	Angry looks, scowling	<i>Gilmicha</i>	<i>Ijaan ykn nyaraan dheekamu</i>

Notes: Table includes nouns as well as infinitives and other active and passive verbal forms of the terms.

To an extent, violence has become a catch-all term that can mean virtually any form of hurt or harm. Stakeholders and practitioners tended to define violence in accordance with their respective area of work. For example, health professionals (HEWs) understood 'violence' as anything that hampers the physical development of a child, while others in the education sector defined violence as an infringement of children's rights when children were not able to realise their rights to education. Participants working in the criminal justice system, like the police in Leki, defined violence as "any threat imposed on any segments of the society. be it physical, psychological or sexual".

3.2. 'Acceptable' and 'unacceptable' forms of violence and abuse

The forms of punishment mentioned by our respondents ranged from verbal admonishing or rebuking, making children face a wall, kneel, bend and hold their ears between their legs, denying them a meal, or making them do work, to increasingly harsh physical punishments ranging from pinching ears or slapping, to hitting with a ruler or rubber hose, punching, kicking, and beating. Verbal abuse included insults and using demeaning words, and anger could be expressed verbally or with non-verbal scowling looks. Gender-based violence ranged from mild teasing to verbal bullying and harassment, and bullying and extreme forms including rape.

However, some forms of violence were considered appropriate. In many Ethiopian communities, physical punishments involving beating and pinching are very common, though the majority of children and young people who participated in this study stated that they were not acceptable forms of disciplining. Pinching (*kunticha*), often of the ear, by family and even neighbours to discipline children is a common practice and was an accepted practice in all three sites.

For some caregivers, punishment intended to correct children's behaviour but not to inflict physical injury on children was seen as acceptable, within limits. Punishments through reprimanding were seen as positive ways in which children develop and grow. Such punishment should not be intended to injure children, but to make them develop in the 'right way'; making children learn from their mistakes. Apart from milder punishments, in most cases, giving advice and having open discussions were thought to be the best forms of discipline. According to an NGO social worker in Leki, it was best to explain the negative consequences of engaging in 'bad' things, such as chewing the narcotic *chat*, taking drugs and smoking *shisha* water pipes, before completely prohibiting children from such activities. Thus, instead of telling a child not to play with fire, it is good to first explain to the child that playing with fire is dangerous, and can cause burns. Paying close attention to the everyday interactions of children and opening room for discussion and meeting within a family were worth considering when disciplining children. As one male caregiver in Duba explained:

A child is like a flower. When a flower lacks sunshine and water, it withers away.

Similarly, if the life of the child is based on fear, s/he will forget even what he/she learnt at school. S/he only carries his/her notebooks and books to and back from school. So, it is good to teach children patience, love, tolerance and responsibility by mentioning our past as a story.

A female caregiver in Leki also reflected on why advice is more acceptable than (physical) punishment:

Punishing children is not acceptable. If children are punished, they may take bad actions and go to the extent of committing suicide. Others also may decide to marry or run away from the family when they want to escape from parental punishment.

Tegtsats (rebuking) differs from reprimanding (*qutta*). Reprimanding is understood as involving force, while rebuking is understood as strongly advising children, and verbally challenging their behaviour.

According to some adult participants, the age and maturity of the children determine the extent to which certain punishments are acceptable or not. If the children are less than 10 years, it is not good to punish them, and better to advise them. But if they are above 10, and if a child is seen doing something wrong, it was considered acceptable to apply milder punishments like pinching and beating with small implements. Caregivers and other adults tended to see some form of physical punishment as acceptable. For example, a teacher in Kok said:

Disciplining children by making them kneel (*manberkek*) in school is acceptable because it does not cause physical harm.

On the other hand, there were other adults who said that punishment of children is not good as it inflicts harm (physical and emotional) on children. They felt that changes in children's character only comes through teaching. Children are also disciplined through religious morals and education. Advising and teaching them by mentioning the good deeds of friends (peers) as an example helps children develop on the right track. When children see their well-mannered friends, they can try to be like them and they can easily learn from their mistakes. Punishments like sending children out of the house bring emotional harm and were not acceptable at all. Unsurprisingly, children preferred to be disciplined through advice and discussion.

3.3. Gender and age differences

There were contrasting norms regarding disciplining girls and boys. Girls in rural areas are expected to work at home and learn household skills, while boys work on the farm (Pankhurst, Crivello and Tiemelissan 2015). Domestic work is seen as one way to discipline girls in order to make them better wives and mothers in the future. Teaching children to work at home helps them to be self-reliant and become good citizens, and useful to the country. A female caregiver in Leki explained, "To discipline my children, I give them tasks so that they will not spend their time idle and in bad places." To protect girls from danger, parents explained that they punish girls more than boys as the impacts of bad behaviour are more severe for girls. This is because girls are seen as being at greater risk of abuse, and hence they should be taught how they can protect themselves and minimise the risks. This includes being taught how to associate and mix with boys, how to cook food and generally how to become skilful in life. Caregivers' perceptions were that boys do not face violence in the same ways as girls, since there are different expectations for their roles, and they are physically stronger and can retaliate.

Children are punished because they are their parents' responsibilities, and because they are considered to require disciplining to shape their character. A 17-year-old boy in Kok said:

Punishment is sometimes important depending on the age of children since it shapes children's bad character. For instance, a child who engages in stealing could improve his/her behaviour if he/she is sent to correction centres for a limited duration of time.

Caregivers are wary of trying to use corporal punishment on older children, especially boys as they may rebel. Generally, punishments that were viewed as helping children with their future life were seen as acceptable and believed to shape children in positive ways. Punishments that were perceived to cause physical or emotional harm to children were not seen as acceptable. However, there were a range of views expressed by caregivers, some suggesting that things seem to be improving, but in other ways, there were perceptions that children are being harmed by banning certain forms of punishment. In part, these variations in perceptions related to how participants defined violence, as discussed above.

4. Children and young people's experiences of violence

This section analyses participants' descriptions of violence affecting children and young people at home, school, and in the community and workplace (see also Pankhurst, Negussie and Mulugeta 2016). Overall, participants perceived violence to be widespread. Furthermore, gender, age, and poverty are related to children's experiences of violence.

4.1. Home

There were some differences between the urban and rural sites. As noted above, definitions of violence in the rural site Leki were more akin to 'harm', and included not getting basic needs of schooling, food, clothing and shelter. Not using family planning methods, lack of balanced diet, inadequate care and support, absence of hygiene and sanitation, work exploitation and not sending school-age children to school, and lack of right to property and land ownership were commonly perceived as forms of abuse in Leki. According to caregivers, corporal punishment, notably beating, denying food and sending children out of the house, were reportedly rare in Leki, yet in some cases children were said to be forced to undertake domestic work, which may lead to them running away. 'Violence' was also considered to affect children indirectly. The drinking habits of fathers, divorce, and conflict between couples that lead to domestic violence were seen as negatively affecting children within the household.

Forms of violence and abuse that were reported in the two urban sites, Duba and Kok, were somewhat similar. These included physical punishments, sending children out of the house when they did something wrong, denying children food, and verbal bullying and insults using words that demean children. There were also situations in which children were said to be made to leave the house, or be beaten and locked up inside their homes. The main difference between the two urban sites was that in Kok children were said to be leaving school and engaging in *mawwakeb* (acting as a tourist guide). This worried their parents, as the work meant that children often left school and some children were reported as spending the income on drugs and alcohol, sometimes creating conflicts with parents or becoming involved in violent or criminal behaviour. In Kok, *woreda* police mentioned burning as a form

of corporal punishment that was used when reprimanding did not work. Another specific form of punishment involved fumigating boys aged 10-15 with the smoke of hot chili peppers (*berbere*), though this practice was said to be rare and declining.

4.2. School

School-related violence, though reported as declining in all three sites, seemed to be more prominent in the small town of Kok. According to many of the children and some adults, most school-related abuse in Kok involved work imposed as punishment on students above Grade 4 (approximately age 10), and included cleaning the school compound, ploughing school gardens and cleaning school toilets. Students were also punished by being made to crouch on their knees, bending over while holding their ears between legs, holding fingers together firmly while putting a pen between the fingers, and being hit with rubber hose. Expelling and suspending students was also common. Another punishment was making students bring their parents to school in order to discipline the student, although some caregivers considered this a form of abuse, as it makes the students resent school and leads to some abandoning their education altogether.

While young people said they witnessed corporal punishment at school, adults believed that corporal punishment was declining. For example, a male participant from Duba *woreda* Education Office said:

If students disturb at school, they may be lightly beaten by stick on their hand. These days, teachers do not harm their students physically or psychologically.

Regarding gender-based violence in school, the risk of sexual harassment by teachers of girls was mentioned. Allegations were made of cases of some high-school teachers trying to force girls to have sexual relationships with them and threatening the girls if they refused. For example, it was suggested by young women in a group discussion in Duba that a girl's grades may be reduced if she refused to accept the demand of sex by male teachers. In Kok, a young woman explained:

I know a teacher aged 40 who was harassing an 18-year-old female student for the sake of having a relationship with her. When she refused, he has taken all the possible academic measures on her, including deducting her grades. (Younger Cohort FGD)

4.3. Community

In all three communities, the types of violence that were reported as being committed against children in the surrounding community were mostly gender-based violence. In rural Leki, adults and children mentioned harmful traditional practices, such as FGM/C, child marriage (both voluntary and involuntary), and giving birth without enough space between births.

In the urban sites, girls were said to be verbally bullied (*melekef*) in the streets if they refuse to respond to boys' calls, and boyfriends could also physically harass girls if they want to terminate the relationship. In Leki, sexual harassment, abortion (rarely) and the practice of having more than one boyfriend or girlfriend (*sagaagaluuma*) were also said to be forms of gender-based violence experienced by some young people. There were also reports of group fighting among young men, sometimes exacerbated by addiction to local alcoholic drinks *Areke* and *Farso* and by unemployment.

Girls who experienced rape were said to be stigmatised, seen as unclean and unwanted. Even close friends and family members can outcast girls who have been raped because they feel that shame has been brought on the family. Rape of boys was reported to be rare but was perceived to be on the rise in the two urban sites. A male community elder in Duba described the following case:

Some four years ago, we had a frightening situation where three young boys were kidnapped and raped by male strangers. The rapists took the boys in a black car to somewhere. At the place, these boys escaped through a window and came back to the community and reported the case to the police, which was communicated to the whole community. The boys were about 13-14 years old and were playing in the field when they were kidnapped. One of them has left the community, the second one changed where he lived and the third one lives here but he is not well and spends his time idle in the community.

Verbal abuse was reported as being common in the community in Leki, the rural site. Children born to unmarried parents are called *diqala* (bastard), which is extremely distressing for children and a source of shame. Verbal bullying included using derogative terms such as *jaarti* (old) towards unmarried young women above the age of about 22, *sharmuta* (whore) to a girl seen talking to a boy, and *duriye* (bad mannered) to a girl who easily socialises with a boy. Insults, including demeaning phrases such as 'child of a prostitute' and 'child of bad areas where alcohol is consumed', constituted common forms of verbal abuse in Duba.

4.4. Work-related violence

Exploitation at work, including withholding or deducting pay, were perceived to be forms of abuse and thus violence/harm. A young woman in a focus group discussion in Leki described the following case:

There was a girl who was learning in Grade 9 (approximately age 16) and while she was at school, she had disagreements with her parents. Then her parents asked her to stop her education and do some work which pays her 500 birr a month. So she started working and the agreement was for a year. Before winding up her contract, she wanted to quit the job and asked for her pay, but the employers refused saying 'you have to work for a month to get your salary.' She again asked to be paid for the period she has covered, the employers again refused saying, 'You can even go sue us if you want.' But she just insisted they should pay her but they again refused. They told her to complete the remaining two weeks but she insisted to be paid for the periods she has already covered. Later, the employers totally refused to pay her and she returned home without money. She lost both her education and the money.

Child domestic workers, young adult domestic workers and waged workers were perceived to face the most ill-treatment. For instance, a young man in Kok described how he had been working on a building site:

It was when I was 17 years of age that I was working with a contractor on a construction site. After I completed my portion of the job, the contractor unreasonably deducted 500 birr from my agreed-upon payment; which was done with the perception that I am young and could not do anything. As a result, I was very angry but did not take any measures, except leaving him.

Similarly, migrant labourers in Leki were subject to abuse. A 16-year-old boy who had migrated to Leki from southern Ethiopia said:

Though I am happy getting some money from the wage work, it does not go beyond the daily subsistence and I cannot save money. Once my employer refused to pay me 140 birr and also refused to pay my other friends a total of 5,000 birr. So we are often not paid our salary.

These two examples show that denial and deduction of payments were experienced by young people who are waged workers in both urban and rural sites. However, in rural Leki, migrants have to cover house rent and living expenses. According to some, this kind of abuse leads to problems around lacking money and being unable to send remittances home. Rape was also an additional risk for young, female domestic workers.

4.5. Vulnerable children

The experiences of violence tend to cumulate for certain categories of children. Orphans and children living with relatives were perceived to be vulnerable to physical abuse and work exploitation. As a young woman in Leki who had lost both parents explained:

In case of danger or a threat, children who have families can tell their families, but since I do not have parents there is no one to protect me from danger.

Children living on the streets, and children living with relatives were said to experience compounded effects of violence. Some key informants, including officials in the Women and Children Affairs Bureau in Leki, and police in Kok and Leki, felt that the prevalence of violence was higher for these children, compared to children living with their biological parents.

4.6. Variations by gender and age

Both boys and girls are at risk of experiencing violence, though the degree, form, and acceptability often varies. In the urban sites, it was usually older boys (age 16 and above) who were said to be punished by being sent out of the house when they were disobedient. Girls, on the other hand, were punished by being locked inside the house in Kok. Adolescent boys described being punished by being denied food. According to younger girls in Kok, at school, male students usually face harsher and more frequent punishments than female students when they broke school rules, because girls were assumed to have a heavier workload at home. This occurred regardless of the gender of the teacher. There was also a difference in boys' and girls' reactions towards school-related punishments. Girls were said to be more tolerant and less likely to quit school following punishment. Corporal punishment was not used on adolescent boys as it was feared that they may react violently, but was carried out on children below age 15. However, some older girls were subjected to beatings at home even in their late teens. A mother in Leki reported that she would punish her daughter, even if the girl was soon to be married.

Girls were reported as being subject to gender-based violence and hidden forms of violence that may not be recognised as violence. Physical and verbal violence facing girls from boys on their way to and from school, as well as in the school, sexual harassment and even work exploitation at home were all seen as forms of abuse affecting girls. Patriarchal structures, male privilege and community power relations make it possible for any violence, and especially sexual violence, to continue happening to girls (Pankhurst, Negussie and

Mulugeta 2016). Girls face verbal bullying (*lekefa*) and in some cases physical aggression from boys.

There is also variation by gender and age in attitudes towards disciplining children. Culturally it is believed that it is good to be strict with girls in the course of their upbringing as this helps shape their future and their character. If a boy is somehow 'rude', parents will not be harsh with him and will say nothing because it is less damaging to his reputation than to a girl. Girls are assumed to magnify the status of their family by their good behaviour, and hence there is a burden of expectation upon them. This is not the case for boys, according to a caregiver in Leki:

Girls are expected to acquire skills like how to cook, chop onions, make *Injera* [flat round bread made from *teff* flour], wash clothes and how to make *danteli* [do crochet]. No horse is released to the fields without being able to race. Girls are like horses. They need to have skills to win the race of life. Girls should walk slowly and eat slowly because it is culturally expected for them to do so.

A mother in Duba said the following regarding how she brought up her children:

I have a son and a daughter whom I have brought up as a single mother. I provided both equal treatment in relation to their food and other basic needs. However, I had to teach the home management, cooking and keeping personal hygiene and compound sanitation to my daughter more than I do to my son.

Caregivers reported that girls are given more advice, and their whereabouts are often tracked. Typically, girls receive more monitoring because it is believed that they are more susceptible to risks and are highly vulnerable compared to boys. For example, if a girl is not fully supplied with what she needs for her schooling and clothing, there is a tendency for her to opt for getting married early, as indicated in Leki – and to make quick decisions about entering a relationship, as mentioned in the two urban sites.

Gender norms are intimately linked with the way girls are disciplined. Teaching work skills and making girls work at home are major aspects of disciplining a girl at home. There is a proverb in Oromo as to why a girl has to work at home, *akkana guddisani nyapha hin dullisani*. This means if a girl is brought up without learning any household skills and if found unskilful, she brings disgrace on her family. She also becomes unable to lead her own family in the future. Thus, a girl has to be guided properly by her parents, otherwise she will be exposed to a number of risks. Raising girls is thought to be very challenging, as girls (unlike boys) are seen as very delicate and easily exposed to various risks. Girls are also responsible for the reputation of their family as a whole.

As children grow older, they are at greater risk of sexual violence, but to a much larger extent for girls (Know Violence in Childhood 2017). Girls were perceived to be at risk, especially in urban areas where gangs and young men may pass the time. A caregiver in Duba described the following incident that happened to her daughter. She explained:

I don't want my younger daughter age 16 go out of home after it is 6 pm because it is risky for girls to be seen in the street in the evening. I remember one day, both my daughters went to the beauty salon and got too late to come back home. That time, I was very worried and was standing along the road wait[ing] for them. At a distance, I saw both coming towards home followed by a young man. Then, I got nervous and told him

to retreat. He was trying to assault them. So, it is not safe for girls to walk around the community in the evenings.

There was also a perception that prevalence of rape is higher among girls of poorer families. This is because the perpetrators think girls from poorer households cannot do anything to defend themselves. A young man in Kok said:

I know a girl age around 16 who was raped by the son of her neighbour while she was staying alone at home and she got pregnant. Though her family took the case to court, the boys' parents are better-off and paid the girl compensation money and diverted the decision made by the lawyer through bribing.

Though rape is one of the most severe forms of violence facing girls, it is reported to be very rare in the rural site compared to the two urban sites. Finally, also in one of the urban sites, there were allegedly cases of boys being raped. A boy age 16 in Kok described how, "A male child aged 9 to 10 years was raped by a man aged around 20 in the town ... The child then faced serious health complications."

5. Causes and consequences of violence

5.1. Causes of violence – home

There are various reasons why parents punish their children at home. First and foremost, children are punished when they do something wrong, such as stealing, insulting parents, not obeying orders and seen engaged in addictions. A mother in Kok said:

I once punished my daughter by smoking her with *berbere* [hot red pepper] for stealing money from me.⁷ At the time, I first tried to tell her off/reprimand her peacefully, but she refused [to admit]. Next, I tried to make her talk through beating with a stick, but she refused again. Then finally I was forced to take serious measure and fumigate her with *berbere* smoke, and she disclosed that she took the money and she never tried it again.

A *woreda* police officer in Leki confirmed, "Parents, caregivers and employers burn the child's hand when they assume that the child has stolen something in the house. This is the worst form of violence committed against small children in the area."

Officials reported that educated parents who were more exposed to ideas about children's rights may be less inclined to subject their children to traditional forms of harsh disciplining. For example, families who have no knowledge of children's rights may not consider a child has right to food and hence may use depriving children of food as a form of punishment.

⁷ *Berber* is a blend of powdered spices including red chili pepper that is used in Ethiopian cuisine. People in the past used to use *berbere* powder for fumigating children with its smoke as one form of punishment. Children's hands and legs were tied together and hot *berbere* smoke was brought towards their face to make them tell the truth. Fumigation with *berbere* is a very severe form of punishment, intended to dissuade children from making the same mistake in the future.

In Kok, participants explained that children are punished mostly by being expelled from the house and this punishment does not vary by gender, though the causes were different for girls and boys. Girls were made to leave the house when they experienced unwanted pregnancy, while the boys leave the house when they commit serious misdemeanours. There were examples of both boys and girls age 17 and 18 being beaten if they were found stealing money, or if a girl is known to have a boyfriend and seen going out of the house without parental permission.

5.2. Causes of violence – school practices

At school, punishments were imposed on children who come to school late, are disruptive in class, those who fail to do class and homework assignments, and generally on those who do not respect school rules and regulations. When children were kept away from school on a regular basis to help the family or care for sick family members, or when pupils damaged school property, they were often suspended for as long as a year.

In Leki, structural factors, including the absence of quality education, lack of educational materials, early marriage and involvement in waged work were perceived to lead to children leaving school early. Some parents considered that lack of parental control, widespread sale of alcoholic drinks, and the sense of hopelessness because of lack of work for those youth who completed secondary education, expose them to the risk of various types of addictions, which can lead to conflicts with their parents and violent behaviour.

5.3. Causes of violence – community

Poverty was seen as related to or underpinning violence affecting children and young people in the rural site. Problems facing youth notably limited their involvement in further education beyond primary school. Unemployment or demeaning work in urban areas and land scarcity in rural areas, together with lack of credit, were also perceived to be contributing factors leading some young men to become idle and engage theft and other crimes. As noted, in Leki, violence was broadly defined as 'structural' or societal harm.

Child marriage was listed as a form of violence against girls. Poverty, together with peer pressure, culture, and conflict with parents, were seen as the main push factors for girls to get married early in Leki. Some girls were forced into early marriage by parents who were keen to obtain bridewealth (*gabbaraa*). Others lacking financial support for school materials and for other needs, decided to stop school and get married early. A male caregiver in Leki said:

There are girls who get married against the will of their family, but [are] reconciled with their parents later. Girls decide to marry early, assuming that the husband has properties and provides them with their needs. They often think that the boy is self-reliant, and can head his own family. So they get cheated.

Similarly, poverty forces children to engage in waged work that affects their education, with compounded effects. A 16-year-old boy who lived on the street in Kok indicated how family poverty meant that he dropped out of school and became involved in street life, where he was exposed to violence.

My sister was the one supporting my education with the money she gets from a certain foreigner. When she got married, the man interrupted the support. As a result, she could not continue to support me. My father had already retired from his work as a guard. Thus,

I started to work as a shoe shiner and garbage remover to cover my basic needs, like that of clothing. But I couldn't properly attend my education, as I was busy the whole day with my activities. Thus, I was forced to miss class and sometimes arrive late at school. That in turn has exposed me to be suspended from school and to other punishments in the school. Finally, I interrupted my education and continued with street life.

As noted, 'violence' often translates as generalised 'harm' or 'risk', and thus risky environments are also indicated to be underlying sources of violence in the three sites. In Leki, video houses, pool houses and those where football matches are watched were reported to be negatively affecting the behaviour of young people. Unemployed and idle youth in the streets in Kok, and the presence of liquor houses and coffee/tea houses in Duba, were factors which exacerbate sexual harassment against young girls, along with *chat* houses exposing boys to addictions. A boy aged 16 in Kok said:

I know a girl living in [name of locality] in Kok town. She lives with her uncle because she was not on good terms with her mother. Where she lives, there are many jobless youth. When she passes through, they usually insult and bully/harass her. One evening, while I was having a walk with my friend, we observed about four youths calling her and getting closer to her. Finally, they have taken her forcefully to dark area. We tried to rescue her, but they reacted forcefully on us and we didn't have any option except leaving. On the next day, we heard that she was raped by eight boys and faced fistula and other health problems.

Girls face verbal bullying for different reasons, demonstrating that powerful gender norms are at the root of some forms of violence. For example, in Kok and Duba, girls and boys both indicated that the dress style of girls contributed to verbal harassment of the girls. A girl in Kok indicated:

There are times when some males insult females, especially if the females reflect a somewhat different dress style to the locality.

On the other hand, the way boys are brought up, that it is acceptable for men to harass girls, the tendency to see verbal bullying as normal and right, and the thinking that boys are naturally created superior to girls, seem to intensify verbal bullying of the girls. In sum, poverty is embedded in much of the violence children and young people face. A mother in Leki explained:

It is the poor who are more at risk of violence. My girl was raped because we are poor. Had not my husband been a drunkard, and had he taken care of my girl, she would not have been raped. Because of our poverty even the *Abba Gadas* [traditional leaders] have taken bribes to settle cases in favour of the perpetrator.

This is the same for those communities who do not settle such problems through traditional arbitrary means. For example, in urban areas, there were allegations of cases in which judges and the police took bribes and had links with the perpetrators. A community policeman in Leki described how rape by itself leads to early marriage and why support systems fail to function:

Once a 14-year-old girl was raped by a 23-year-old boy, but the boy escaped to a different locality, though the father of the girl was following the case. Later the father stopped suing the boy and the matter ended up in reconciliation and the girl was made to marry to her rapist. After some time, the boy did not want to live with the girl and

returned the girl to her parent's place and she gave birth at her parents' home. So, some girls are abandoned by their husbands.

5.4. Consequences of violence

Violence has various consequences and lasting impacts on children and young people. In this section, we discuss the consequences of violence on health, well-being, relationships, future prospects and schooling. Some forms of violence have a direct effect on the well-being of children, while others affect them indirectly. According to some participants, violence against women and mothers within the household has an indirect connection with violence that children may experience. Parental disagreement, divorce and wife-beating are mentioned as having an indirect effect on the well-being of children and young people.

5.4.1. Risks to health and well-being

From the point of view of participants, there were direct health outcomes that result from various punishments imposed on children. Eye irritation can happen when children are punished through fumigating smoke of *berbere*. Respiratory problems can happen as a result of cleaning school toilets. Some injuries have prolonged effects when children are punished through beating. A boy in Kok recalled how another boy sustained a finger injury following punishment at school, "I remember a child who has been punished with a pen in between his fingers and resulted in infection of his fingers."

Participants in rural Leki defined child marriage as a form of violence, and were aware of the physical risks of early child-bearing. A 19-year-old girl in Leki who had experienced obstructed labour recounted her experience:

I regret marrying early and having a child early. Early marriage brings an impact during birth and I suffered a lot when I had my first child. I experienced labour pain in the night and traditional birth attendants could not help me as I was unable to push the baby out and the baby was not coming forth. Then they called an ambulance and took me to Batu Hospital. At the hospital, the doctors helped me deliver a healthy baby in a normal way.

Generally, work which does not take into account children's physical capacity can be harmful. Work can inflict injury to the body, such as backache. For example, children fetching water in large jars may experience back pain. Finally, rape of children can expose them to sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), HIV/AIDS, and (for girls) uterus infection and unwanted pregnancy.

Some types of violence were understood as having a long-term effect on the well-being of children and young people. Insulting children using bad words could affect them psychologically. A 16-year-old boy living with his grandmother in Leki recounted his experience of this emotional violence:

I have discontinued my education because of lack of support from my parents. My father and mother are not living together. My mother is living in an Arab country and my father married another wife. I am left to live with my poor grandmother who could not fulfil my educational needs. When I become ill, I do not have someone to care for me. My uncle insults me saying *diqala* [bastard]. This affects me so badly. I wish and value more if they do not insult me using such a bad word than their support.

Emotional distress can lead children to make decisions that undermine their life chances. Young people who are affected by lack of work and whose parents verbally abused them or who live in families where there is conflict may run away or were even said to have attempted suicide. Others may be exposed to drugs, alcohol or join gangs. Feeling of worthlessness and incompetence, inferiority and loss of morale were also reported as resulting from lack of employment.

Participants emphasised that whenever a child makes a mistake, he/she is in fear of the beatings that follow at home. Children who are not enrolled in the school, and those who repeated grades, may continue to suffer from low self-esteem and a sense of inferiority. A 15-year-old boy in Duba said:

Last year, I had failed in Grade 8 examination and was very scared to receive my certificate. I was really scared and didn't know where to run to. I was ashamed of seeing my friends who were in the same class. Even now, I still consider failing in class as the most shameful thing in my life.

Participants also explained that unmarried girls who gave birth at home may be insulted, and their family may also experience disgrace. The community usually insult such girls using the derogatory term *sharmuta* (whore). Girls who experienced rape can also become depressed, develop negative self-image and experience mental distress. They are very much isolated, feel shame in the community and tend not to participate in social activities. A 20-year-old young woman in Leki, who experienced rape at age 17 and was forced to marry through arranged marriage, recounted her story:

Because I was raped, my friends stopped associating with me like they did in the past and I was without friends. They started considering me as 'dirty' and this has impacted my feelings. They considered [my marrying the man who raped me] as being in my best interest. I am also unhappy having a baby, because that was not my plan. I am also forced to bear additional responsibility of caring for a child. Assuming such responsibility is really difficult since my husband does not give me money to raise the child with.

In addition, verbal bullying also has an impact on the well-being of children and young people. Girls may lose self-confidence as well as suffer from fear and anxiety, which may contribute to poor emotional well-being. As girls in a group discussion in Duba explained:

Verbal harassment [*lekefa*] affects girls and means they cannot move freely from place to place. They are limited to their neighbourhoods and are dependent on other males (usually older brothers and other male relatives) when they want to walk around the streets. They do not dare walk alone at all. They always are conscious of their dress style, hairstyle [etc.] to escape bad-mouth of the males who sit along the streets watching females passing by. Females feel like they are under the heavy control of males while they walk to and from their school.

Thus, verbal bullying seems to result in many negative consequences, especially on girls. Though it is assumed to be very minor in its nature, its impact can be severe and make girls depend on others to protect themselves. As a 16-year-old girl in Duba said, "When girls are insulted by boys, they feel inferior and they may stop going to school. They don't feel confident about themselves. They may not forget the bad words and insults by men. So, it might disturb their mind or upset them."

5.4.2. *Consequences for relationships*

Participants described situations where children who have faced violence may develop negative attitudes towards others. For example, a boy in Kok who experienced insults said:

I stopped having a relationship with my aunt after she badly insulted me saying 'stupid' and told me not to come to her house again.

Parents, especially mothers, who have experienced domestic violence or divorce may seek to influence their daughters' relationships. A 22-year-old young woman in Duba described her experience:

My parents' divorce has had a bad impact in my life. Although my father is still supporting us, their separation has been so bad for me. My mother doesn't trust men, and she had put a lot of pressure on me so that I become suspicious of my relationship with men. I was scared of boys. And I have never thought that I would fall in love with a boy. But fortunately, I am happy with my current relationship with my boyfriend. My mother, however, is not happy about my relationship with my boyfriend. She doesn't encourage me to stay with him although I had introduced her to him.

It was also reported that being deprived of basic needs affects children's relationships with peers, with whom they feel unequal. A 16-year-old girl in Duba remembered the difficult moments of her life:

Once when I was in Grade 4, we had economic constraints in my family while my friends were able to have all their needs met. That time, I felt inferior to my friends and was not happy about my situation.

5.4.3. *Consequences for schooling*

Besides impacts on health and well-being, abuse also affects children's schooling. If there are punishments at school, children may either stop attending or be absent from school; long-term or short-term school suspension in particular leads to interruption of schooling. For example, the father of a boy in Kok said:

My son was absent from school for several days. As a result, he was suspended from school, but he considered that as an opportunity and not as a threat then started to live in the street, leaving his education behind.

Similarly, in Leki children in a group discussion described how:

There was a boy who was learning in Grade 4. One day his teacher was punishing students who arrived at school late. The boy was among the latecomers. Before his teacher imposed the punishment on him, the boy begged the teacher not to punish him. Then the boy went home and never returned to school.

Children who enrol in school late had difficulty keeping up with their counterparts who started school on time. And those children who could not go to school because their needs were not met may feel inferior to others. In Leki, a 20-year-old woman who was orphaned indicated why she dropped out of school:

I was so depressed and stopped my education because of lack of support which resulted in lack of interest in education. So, to support myself, I started engaging in waged work from a young age.

Children's work burden at home was seen as negatively affecting schooling, not least because they lack time to study. A girl in a group discussion in Duba explained:

There is a boy in my neighbourhood who helps a family keeping milk cows. The boy is about 10 years old and always works hard for the family and sells the milk to customers by going to their houses. The boy has migrated from a rural area and is a relative of the employer. He looks very thin. He does not go to school because he has to work all day. His employer insults him, quarrels with him and gets angry with him daily if he does not do his job properly.

Early marriage also leads to girls stopping school altogether. Young Lives has found that very few of those who married early continued their education (Pankhurst, Tiemelissan and Chuta 2016).

5.4.4. *Other impacts*

Frequent insults and verbal abuse in families were perceived to incite children to run away. In Kok and Duba, some parents were said to expel children who disobeyed them from their house, and this has had a huge impact on boys and girls. Boys engage in addictions of various kinds, it was claimed, while girls are exposed to rape, unintended pregnancy, psychological problems and commercial sex work for survival. Due to beatings, adolescent girls may leave their house to live with boyfriends and they then may be exposed to unwanted pregnancy. Other children could also be subjected to street life once they are sent out of the house. A male caregiver in Kok explained:

A girl aged about 19 was sent out from a house by her mother and started living in the street. Following this, she was subjected to unintended pregnancy. Then her mother let her return to home when her time to deliver approached. After she gave birth, conflict arose between them again and she was sent out of the house for the second time, leaving her child behind.

Due to violence at home it was also reported that girls tend to rush into early marriage, while boys migrate to other places. Apart from violence directed at children, there are also impacts from indirect violence. Family-related violence can cause family disintegration and children can be negatively affected. According to girls in Leki, unemployment of young people brings problems on the family, since it makes children dependent on their parents. There were also reports of cases of children committing suicide by taking poison because of unemployment. A mother in Leki explained, "There are children who commit suicide because of lack of work. Lack of work also affects the mentality of the children."

It was also claimed that one form of violence can lead to other forms of violence, and can have intergenerational consequences (discussed further in Section 7). As violence affects thinking and perception, children who were treated badly during their upbringing may treat their own children the same way. However, other children and young people indicated that they will raise their own children (as far as they are able to) free of violence.

6. Sources of support in response to violence

In this section, we discuss the sources of support for children and young people in response to violence. According to responses from children and adults, the primary source of support comes from informal resources like friends, peers, young adults, community elders and neighbours. There are also government or NGO programmes and formal sources of support that children and youth can turn to.

6.1. Home – family, neighbours and friends

At home, though the family was frequently seen as a source of violence, family members are also a primary source of support for any violence children encounter. Within families, children listed parents first, then siblings and other family members. Parents are expected to supervise their children strictly and (as noted above) provide for their needs. This is what children and young people meant by ‘support’ and ‘response’ and this is how parents protect children from violence. Other responses include holding a discussion among family members and finding solutions accordingly. As part of disciplining, having transparent discussions with children at home was believed by parents to support children in mitigating the impacts of violence. Apart from providing basic needs, families also are expected to provide emotional support to their children, regardless of age and gender.

According to participants in Kok, neighbours also play a pivotal role in calming conflicts between children and parents. In the Ethiopian context, the influence of neighbours and extended families is crucial in child upbringing and disciplining. In addition, *Abba Gadas* (traditional leaders) in Leki and community elders were mentioned to be good sources of support when facing violence. Elders play a mediating role when there is conflict between couples, as well as between parents and children in all the sites. Women usually go to community elders and report cases of abuse, but in minor types of conflicts, neighbours are also involved. When children are afraid to talk about cases of abuse, elders also intervene to reconcile them with their parents and, if they have left home, convince them to return. However, elders’ patriarchal values mean they may not prioritise women’s and children’s interests sufficiently (Pankhurst and Assefa 2008).

Friends were also described as good sources of informal support in all three sites. Both girls and boys mentioned that they fall back on friends in case of any problems. For example, if children are sent out of the house, friends would provide accommodation and advice to avoid further conflict with parents. Apart from reconciling children with their families, friends were sources of material support, lending each other pens and exercise books, and sometimes money (if they have any). A young woman in Kok said:

I advised a friend who is about 22 years of age and who was sent out of the house because of a quarrel with her mother. The girl was in conflict with her mother because she fell pregnant unexpectedly. Following this incident, the girl asked me to give her money for an abortion, or to help her run away from the community. But I told my friend that I will not give her money because I was afraid of the health risks that would follow the abortion. I also told her boyfriend about what my friend is going through. Lastly, my

friend decided to have the baby and she gave birth to a baby girl and is living in the community.

6.2. Sources of support at school

Responses to reduce violence against children in schools are mainly addressed through school clubs, class monitors, and school headteachers who support students. Though these are available sources of response in school, it is difficult to say if these interventions are coordinated and available for all students. As noted above, bullying and harassment are major forms of violence against girls, and girls' clubs have been established to address gender-based violence. According to a representative of the Duba *woreda* Education Office:

Anti-HIV/AIDS and gender clubs give life-skills training on how students manage their life. And the girls are told how to protect themselves from violence. They are told that they do not have to stand in isolation. This helps to protect the girl students from potential violence.

Generally, the girls' clubs in the three sites worked on the prevention of sexual violence against girls and also on reporting any cases of such violence. The school club in Leki was said to support children who due to lack of finance could not attend school regardless of gender, and also gave catch-up classes for students who missed school because of their workloads at home. The club also helps girls who are at risk of child marriage, by reporting their case to the Education Office and to the Women and Children Affairs Bureau. School clubs in all three sites also undertook awareness-raising programmes on violence affecting children through literature, dramas and school mini-media (clubs using smaller-scale electronic media and sound systems).

In relation to disruptive behaviour in schools, headteachers, teachers and parent-teacher associations (PTAs) were involved in response mechanisms. The findings revealed that the headteacher acts as a mediator between students and teachers and that mediation approaches play an important role in mitigating ill-treatment. A 16-year-old boy in Kok said:

When I was in Grade 9, I was suspended from entering class because I had insulted my teacher and was in conflict with him. One day, an older boy came to class drinking local beverage *tella* and smoking a cigarette. The whole class was disturbed with this unpleasant smell and since I was sitting by him, I could not stand the smell and asked the teacher for permission to go out and then I left the class. The next day, when I came to class the teacher denied me that he gave me the permission and that I went out on my own will. As a result, I was suspended from class. Since I had three exams on the day, I then communicated the case to school headmaster and was allowed to join class.

PTAs were also said to be involved in mitigating violence that arises between students and teachers at school in Kok. According to a member of the Kok *woreda* Education Office, PTAs generally work as a bridge between the school and the community, and specifically in relation to violence affecting children, they work on students' discipline and also on exerting punishments on students and teachers who commit violence against students. Student police in Duba also worked to calm conflict among students.⁸ According to the Student Parliament

⁸ Schools set up groups of student police to play a role in resolving conflict.

Prime Minister in Duba, “When some students fight in the school, the student police makes sure that students are not harmed and that school property is not damaged.”⁹

School parliaments active in both urban sites differed in their approaches. In Duba, the school parliament was mainly working to shape students’ conduct in collaboration with the PTA, teachers and headteachers, while in Kok, the school parliament worked to create awareness among students to report any case of violence to the Justice Bureau. Apart from addressing cases of violence, school parliaments also try to support those students who lack educational materials, such as exercise books and pens.

To seek help within a school, hierarchies within the school administration had to be navigated. According to the student parliament in Duba, if school representatives including the headmaster and PTAs are unable to solve any case of abuse, the case can be taken to the *woreda* Education Office.

6.3. Sources of support in the community

Children can turn to both formal and informal sources of guidance and advice, which can work together. In the two urban sites, social workers, health extension workers (HEWs), *kebele* and *woreda* police, Women and Children Affairs Bureaus and child rights committees were in place.¹⁰ A child rights committee in Duba was involved in work-related abuse and children’s rights issues, as the following case illustrates:

Once a person was having a girl sell lottery tickets, and he was not paying her what they have agreed upon. One time she bought a lottery ticket for herself and won 50,000 birr. He took 40,000 birr and gave her only the remaining 10,000 birr. We took the case to the police and finally he was sentenced for five years. She also got her money back.

There were contrasting views regarding the role of the police. It was assumed that the police can help with violence at the community level. For instance, they were expected to make fair decisions about violence affecting domestic workers since these workers lack legal protection, and perpetrators tend to be set free with no punishment. A 20-year-old boy in Kok explained, “I know a housemaid who got in conflict with her employers for not paying her salary for long time. As a result, she took the case to the police and got a solution.” In Kok, the police office worked mostly on supporting vulnerable groups of children, including the reunification of children with their parents. The Women and Children Affairs Bureau was also expected to support children and young people with legal action. Yet often there is poor collaboration between the Bureau and local level *kebele* officials. According to some participants, the *woreda* Court and Justice Bureau were also assumed to be institutions that can address any violence children and young people may experience. For example, a 16-year-old boy in Kok reported that if a student is unfairly suspended from school and if there is

9 The student parliament is an organisation established through the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, initially with NGO support, to teach children leadership skills and address their concerns.

10 A child rights committee mainly works on children’s rights and constitutes different members. The representative of the *woreda* Women and Children Affairs Bureau acts as a chair; religious leaders and people from the community in each *ketana* (sub-sect) of the *woreda* are members of the committee. The committee prepares training on children’s rights and also uses development groups available in each *ketana* and school clubs to communicate ideas, provide training and awareness-raising programmes and distribute flyers to the wider audience.

no one to consider the case among the school communities, the student can take the case to the court and the court can resolve the problem.

Community volunteers and/or facilitators acting as social workers mainly operate in response to conflicts that happen between children and their parents, through providing information on the impact of violence against children. When cases were beyond their capacity, they reported these to community elders and the elders then resolve the problem. The community volunteers try to identify children who face violence or who are in conflict with their parents and report these cases to the elders, who then take the initiative to find agreement between the parents and the children. However, if children are affected by serious crime, the elders inform government officials, notably the courts.

Churches in Kok and Duba also give food and shelter services to children who have no means of livelihood, such as orphaned children, using contributions from their members. In Duba, the priest indicated that children who have family problems escape to seek sanctuary under the church and at least receive emotional support. Within Duba, a coalition of *iddirs* (informal burial associations) also helps in reporting cases of violence to the relevant body and contributes money to support orphaned children with their education.

In Leki, the rural site, at the *woreda* level the Women and Children Affairs Bureau primarily worked with orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) and tended to leave issues of violence to the police. The Women's Development Army works at the community level primarily to identify and register children who need health care (Maes et al. 2015).¹¹ Most households with malnourished children in Leki were benefiting from this structure, receiving supplementary diets. However, the Women's Development Army has no clear role in relation to support in cases of violence. Religious organisations including churches and mosques also support vulnerable children with clothes, shoes, and educational materials. Though this support exists, it is minimal and limited to exercise books given once a year, and clothes given very occasionally.

Health professionals, notably HEWs can provide support in treating the physical harm or illness facing victims of violence. Clinics may examine sexually abused children and provide a medical certificate that helps as a guarantor to report to the police. When girls face unwanted pregnancy following rape, they can go to *kebele* officials to get a letter of support and in some cases the *kebele* officials do the follow-up work to assist the girls to get appropriate health care and take the case to the courts.

6.4. Barriers to seeking support

There is an interaction between types of violence and gender that affects the likelihood of seeking support. Both girls and boys can seek help for abuse, though the majority of children do not report sexual abuse. Most cases of violence are unreported and, in some cases, are dealt with through informal response mechanisms. For example, a 16-year-old boy in Duba indicated during a group discussion that he feared going to the police when an older boy beat him, for fear of reprisals:

¹¹ The Women's Development Army was a strategy developed in 2011 to mobilise local women through leaders working closely with the health extension workers deployed at a community level by the Ministry of Health.

I am afraid to take any case of abuse to the police for fear if the person might get imprisoned that his friends might beat me more. They may also make me imprisoned as well. So, for these reasons, I prefer not to take my case to the police.

Sexual violence, notably rape, tends to be reported less because of its invisible nature. There are various reasons why the victims fail to report sexual violence in particular and other types of violence in general.

First, there is fear of stigma and discrimination related to reporting rape cases. Many girls do not dare to report sexual violence because they fear what will follow. They often believe that the person who committed the crime will become angry with them and cause further damage. There is also fear of intimidation and revenge. A 22-year-old young woman in Duba who said she was raped at around age 12/13 recounted her traumatic experience:

One day, I was going to my older sister's home alone and a boy who is familiar in my community asked me to go to a place I have never been to before with him. He then raped me. Then, he warned me not to tell anybody be it my family or anyone else in the community. I was very scared and did not really understand what had happened to me. He gave me 100 birr so that I keep the case secret. He told me to seek medical treatment in case I fall ill and not to speak to any person about the incident. Or otherwise, he would kill me. Then, I went to my sister's home and did not tell her anything.

Second, there is the issue of social status and reputation of the family. Families of rape victims and of girls who experienced unwanted pregnancy do not want to be the focus of gossip in the neighbourhood, and in some cases, families also tend to blame girls for being the cause for the violence they encountered. A 15-year-old girl in Duba explained:

If a girl reports any case of harassment to her parents, they will first try to shout at her and will repeatedly blame her for why she exposed herself to the violence. They would let her accept the risk and assume it was created by her ... It is really difficult to get acceptance and trust from parents especially at the time of sexual violence. Although the family know the facts about how such risks are created, they still think that girl victims have a role in arranging the risky situations.

Parents were reported as preferring to hide violence committed against their daughters and, in some cases, to send the girls out of the house. If the rapist is also a close family member, like a stepfather, cousin and other extended family member, victims keep the matter secret to protect the reputation and name of the family. A 16-year-old girl in Duba spoke of a friend's experience:

I know a girl who was raped in my neighbourhood by her stepfather. But she didn't report the case on time because she was afraid to disclose the issue to her mother. After sometime, when she heard him quarrelling with her mother, she suddenly spoke about the case with her mother and the mother took the case to the Women and Children Affairs [Bureau]. Then, the office followed up the case and the man was taken to the court.

In relation to this, it was reported that girls living with stepfathers were at high risk of sexual harassment. The worst situation is when they cannot speak about their challenges because they are family members and dependents, and no one accepts their accounts. Due to these factors many girls do not dare to report violence cases, or in some cases report them a long time after the events took place.

Third, in line with this, the fact that the police and the court ask for evidence from witnesses at the time of the rape meant that cases are unlikely to be followed up and taken to court. In such situations, the victim's family terminate the case and settle the matter through traditional ways of reconciliation. Thus, a case of rape that is not supported by evidence is not accepted by the court or the police.

Fourth, there was also a lack of confidence in the judicial system. Seeing a case of violence reported but bringing no solution for the victim, many children and young people prefer not to report their own cases. An expected lack of punishment of the perpetrators of physical violence, emotional violence or sexual violence meant that people do not seek support. There was a perception that a lot of violence happens in communities, but most of the cases are hidden and even if reported, the concerned bodies such as the police do not take the required measures to help, except in making the case public. Offenders usually do not receive serious punishments as allowed by the law and even if imprisoned, perpetrators will be released after some time. A mother in Duba said:

My husband gets 1,800 birr monthly but does not contribute anything to the family. He was beating me severely saying that I would get nothing even if I report. And one day I lost one tooth after he repeatedly hit me. I went to the police but they asked for evidence. I then went to a hospital and they told me that the results will be sent directly to the police. Then nothing happened. Since then I stopped reporting any case of abuse to the *kebele* or to the police station because they do not do anything to help me, rather [they] make my case go public.

Lastly, there is limited knowledge of how, when and to whom to report any cases of violence. Victims do not know the reporting procedures and therefore decline to report their cases. All these factors weave together and hinder victims of violence from seeking the required support.

Thus, the widespread abuse that children and young people experience is sometimes not matched by adequate responses from various services. Specific forms of violence may not fall within the remit of specific administrative units. Even serious abuse sometimes fails to receive the required response from local government. This was common across all the three sites. For example, a 15-year-old girl who had migrated from the southern part of Ethiopia to work in Leki said:

When I face any abuse, I know I should report to the *kebele* though I could not report when my employer refused to pay me. Sometimes the *kebele* people intervene and ask the employers to pay us. But if this is beyond their capacity, they refer it to respective authorities in [nearby town].

It was also reported in Leki that the *kebele* representatives sometimes do not respond to questions appropriately because they say they have no capacity or power.

The findings suggest that only a small proportion of affected children are able to report violence. Further, informal mechanisms and formal services were perceived to be failing to respond in a timely and appropriate way. There were also religious leaders and community elders who were assumed to hold authority to address violence in all three sites. Though both the informal avenues and formal support services (like the police and courts) work on their own accord, both sometimes fail to respond in an appropriate manner. The mother of a girl in Leki who experienced rape explained:

When my girl was raped by a person who belonged to the same clan, I went to the *Abba Gada* [traditional leader] but they [the *Abba Gada* and the people he worked with] took a bribe and closed our case with no decision. Then we went to [a nearby town] to a different *Abba Gada*. They decided that the boy's parents should give seven heads of cattle; out of which five are for the raped girl and the rest – two – for the *Abba Gada*. Even if this is decided, the case has remained suspended and we stopped talking to the boy's family and eating with them. We do not even go to each other's house now.

According to the community elder in Leki:

The *Abba Gadas* play a role in solving violence at a community level. They have codes of conduct to punish a person who inflicts violence. For example, a person who rapes a 13-year-old girl pays 15 head of cattle and a man who rapes an 18-year-old girl pays seven head of cattle. But there is not code of conduct to punish parents who punish their children. *Abba Gadas* role here is mainly advising the parents. *Abba Gadas* usually solve disputes among people. In addition, they advocate respecting social norms and values.

Participants also claimed that some rape cases also go unreported because the offenders bribe the families of victims. The problem here is that the law is vague. Some participants alleged that the police also do not take seriously any cases of abuse which are reported by younger children. Hence there is perceived to be a lack of adequate and effective response, which is a deterrent to reporting, justice and support. On the other hand, some successful interventions were reported. A *woreda* Justice Bureau official in Kok said:

About eight cases of rape and child marriage cases have got appropriate solutions so far. Two cases of child violence, namely rape and child marriage have been reported to us and got the respective decisions ... there was a case of rape committed against a girl aged 10. The perpetrator then was sentenced for 25 years of imprisonment.

There were also descriptions of other forms of abuse that were dealt with by the police. A 15-year-old boy in Duba explained how:

I once had a disagreement with my father. He does not live with me and he refused to pay for my school fees. I took the case to the police. They called him and talked with him and he is paying promptly since then. This was when I was in Grade 4.

Similarly, in Leki, workplace violence and ill-treatment were successfully addressed through the intervention of the *kebele* Social Court Officer, who explained:

There was a broker who brought four boys aged around 12 from the southern part of the country to be hired on plantations. When bargaining with the employer, the broker was saying that the children are his and that they can be hired any time the investor wanted. But these children were not given their salary for four months even though they were doing a lot of work on the plantation. Then the broker who made them stay with him tried to send them out of his house. One of the boys approached me and told me that he was not paid for four months. The boys do not even know the local language and we had a hard time communicating with them. Then later we asked the employer and made him pay them their salary.

7. Change over time

In this section, we describe perceived general changes over time in the practices of childrearing and discipline, intergenerational change, and changes in sources of support. Most participants across the three sites believed that there has been a reduction in violence on the whole and especially in certain kinds of violence. This was the case not just among officials and community leaders, but also among male and female caregivers as well as both Younger Cohort and Older Cohort boys and girls. There were, however, differences in which kinds of violence were said to be decreasing, in which contexts, and the reasons given, and some participants pointed out that a decrease does not mean that the practices have stopped. There were also participants who suggested that there had been an increase in certain kinds of violence or that certain categories, age groups or genders (generally girls) were more affected. While there was an overall sense that corporal punishment, notably extreme forms, and labour exploitation have declined, there was a strong perception that sexual violence, notably harassment of older girls, has been on the increase. There are also urban/rural and site differences, with harassment being seen as more of an urban problem particularly in the Addis Ababa site, while the risk of child marriage was more of a concern in the rural sites.

7.1. Physical violence

Participants expressed the view that physical violence, mainly in the form of corporal punishment, had decreased, in home and at school, and to some extent violence among children had also decreased in the community. In talking about how their own upbringing was different from that of their children, several caregivers stressed that they were punished by beating, some with a stick or belt, and that children in the past were much more obedient and subservient.

Many participants suggested that the worst forms of abuse have declined significantly in the home context. For instance, in Kok, as we have seen above, the practice of fumigating children with *berbere* was said to have declined and almost disappeared. The practice of locking children in the house as a form of punishment also no longer exists, according to a Younger Cohort girl in Kok.

There was a strong sense that the use of corporal punishment has declined in schools, particularly in Kok. An elderly female caregiver mentioned that in the past teachers used to make students kneel and beat them on the hands if they were absent from school, but that this is no longer a practice supported by the community, although she was in favour of teachers using physical punishment. A Younger Cohort boy suggested that the enforcement of cleaning school latrines had more or less stopped.

7.2. Labour exploitation

There was a sense that most children are no longer subjected to being overworked by parents or caregivers. One younger boy in Duba said:

I think currently the situation is getting better. In earlier times, children may be expected to work a lot and due to this they may be late to school. Parents may be angry and beat children severely if they do not work properly. But now, children do not usually engage in work in the house and schools are nearer.

7.3. Reasons for the decline in VACY

A range of reasons for the perceived decrease in violence were mentioned, mainly relating to government interventions, the role of schools and children's greater awareness of their rights. The role of government was stressed by government and extension workers. The Women and Children Affairs Bureau representative in Duba mentioned counselling sessions that the office holds with parents when they have disagreements with their children, and suggested that parents also fear reprisals. She said: "Most people have come to realise that even saying bad words to their children can get them in trouble." In Kok, the head of the social court noted that fumigating with *berbere* has decreased, more so in the town than in rural areas, and that community discussions raised awareness of the risk of suffocation.

Government interventions were also mentioned by caregivers as taking place in public assemblies, in the school environment, and by teachers. One 55-year-old male community leader in Kok pointed to the key role of the police:

There is huge improvement with regard to violence happening to children in their home. The main reason for this is the extensive awareness-creation activities carried in the locality through concerned government bodies and institutions. Among all [these], the responsibility taken by the police is the highest one. Policemen were assigned in each *kebele* to strictly inform parents not to harm their children whatever mistakes they commit, as that is a crime; rather through the collaborative effort of providing advice by the police and parents, better solutions could be achieved.

He also mentioned that other parties have contributed to the decline in violence, including Women and Children Affairs Bureaus, courts, community volunteers and community elders. The role of the justice system was mentioned by a number of participants, and in particular the fear of violating laws that protect children. In the community setting the recent deployment of community police was seen as reducing fighting, as one elderly woman from Duba explained:

I sell *Kolo* near the taxi station. The young people used to fight a lot in earlier times. These days, there are not many fights because there is a police station in the area and if such things happened the police would come quickly. The police are now taking immediate action. I heard that one boy was disturbing a lot. He was beating people with stones. When he refused to listen to the advice of people, he was taken to the police and now he is in prison.

The role of schools was emphasised by many participants, with changes in teachers' behaviour, children's growing awareness about their rights and schools influencing parental behaviour. One Younger Cohort boy in Kok suggested that PTA members had regular meetings that addressed violence in school. Children's greater awareness of their rights was emphasised by many caregivers. For instance, a caregiver in Kok attributed the change to children being taught about their rights in school, and teachers fearing being sued. Likewise, in Leki, a combination of literacy and children knowing their rights was seen to be important, as mentioned by a 17-year-old boy who said:

There are significant changes in the cases of violence in recent years because almost all people are sending their children to school. The current generation is almost literate. Children also know their obligations and rights because they also are literate. The reasons for violence are also decreasing over time.

Likewise, a female caregiver in Kok mentioned children knowing about their rights:

This change is because children are advised in school about child rights. For example, teachers do not beat students now. Students talk to teachers boldly. In the past there was no student who even saw the eyes of their teachers. Now teachers are sued if they beat children. The change is because of child rights and because of the system.

A male caregiver in Duba suggested that school uniforms protected children from abuse as they enable students to differentiate themselves from others. He added: "Nobody touches students, especially girls, as was the case before sometimes." The same participant mentioned the role of the police at the school entrances. "Policemen are assigned to stand on guard for students when students are entering school and when they are dismissed from school." A Younger Cohort boy in Duba suggested that as well as the role of schools for children, adult education and health workers teaching families about how to discipline children were additional factors.

Several participants suggested that modernisation, changes in attitudes and better information were important factors leading to attitudinal change. A younger boy in Duba spoke about the laws becoming more stringent, and that violence was coming to be seen as "backwardness". He also suggested that "information is disseminated everywhere" and people understand that violence "may hurt children's psyche". An older boy in the same site mentioned globalisation and law enforcement:

There are changes. This does not mean that violence is no longer happening. This is a time of globalisation and the media gives attention and coverage. The awareness is increasing and offenders may refrain from doing bad. Violence cases are decreasing due to the awareness and due to the presence of policemen and law enforcement officials within the community.

A younger girl in Duba suggested that awareness-raising programmes on TV and radio played a role. Likewise, an older girl in Leki mentioned that people are learning from each other and "getting information on radio and TV".

Children's ability to defend themselves in the home and school setting was also mentioned. One Younger Cohort girl in Kok said:

Now there is no rape and hitting. The beatings, insults and reprimanding at home and school are decreasing because students also know what to do when that happens, they come to learn, there is nothing they do other than that.

7.4. Continuing physical violence and condoning corporal punishment

Although there was a strong view that physical violence was decreasing, a number of participants pointed out that this did not mean it had stopped completely. A community development worker in Kok suggested that beating was no longer a serious problem, although he added, "it is difficult to conclude that it is 100 per cent eliminated because one cannot see what is happening in individual households".

While many participants in Kok suggested that the practice of flogging children with *berbere* has declined, a Younger Cohort girl mentioned a case of a girl she knew who was punished in this way for disobedience:

I know a female child in our locality who has been seriously told not to go out of the home without permission and was hit by her parents. But, since she didn't stop wandering, she was punished with *berbere* smoke.

Regarding discipline by teachers with corporal punishment, a member of the Youth and Sport Office in Kok suggested that teachers still punish students with slapping and/or beating with a stick when they turn up late. He believed this was important to manage “deviant behaviour” and felt it was “part of the Ethiopian tradition”.

Punishment in school is like the behaviour of a father and a child. Even though it has its own impact psychologically, teachers take them as their own child and work to grow them by building them up mentally in knowledge, and physically. And they manage some deviant behaviours while doing so, that is vital, and there are some measures they take. Slapping, beating with stick, kneeling down, *megetsets* [rebukes] when they come to school late. Such things exist. I take this positively. It is not only with what the science says but there is what our Ethiopian behaviour itself carries. I find it difficult to call it negative. What is called negative is not fulfilling school materials, the relation between school and family to improve the discipline of students.

Likewise, an elderly woman in Duba suggested disciplining methods that involve beating are part of the Habesha (Ethiopian) tradition. In the community context, some participants in Duba suggested that the exposure of children to alcohol and *chat* chewing was leading to violence and fighting. One female caregiver described the following case:

Boys and men are addicted to *chat*, cigarette and alcohol. Recently, one boy was stabbed in his stomach and his intestine was out of his body. He was taken to a hospital and I don't know what happened to him after that.

In Leki, the younger boys' focus group suggested that addiction to alcohol even among children was leading to violent conflicts within families. In Duba, theft of mobile phones was said by one elderly woman to be “the rule now”, and another woman said she cannot use her mobile phone in public after 8 pm for fear of theft. An older boy suggested that neighbours are reluctant to report cases of violence, and that a lack of appropriate punishments is part of the problem. In Leki, violence was said by some to be increasing due to unemployment. One male caregiver explained:

Jobless people will do anything possible to survive like cheating, beating and other. They may marry early at least to survive. The problem is increasing.

7.5. Sexual violence

While there was a strong view that physical violence had been reduced, most participants among both adults and children suggested that sexual harassment had increased. Regarding rape, some participants suggested it was declining. For instance, a Younger Cohort boy in Duba suggested this was because society was getting better, but that girls were still at risk from neighbours, uncles, and so on. However, several participants in Duba felt it was becoming worse. The women's focus group mentioned a case of a schoolgirl who was raped by a group of men “after they had a deal with her girl friend who took her to the boys' place”. The health extension worker felt strongly that the problem was getting worse as offenders were released and that tougher measures were needed. She said:

Offenders do not receive equivalent punishment. If they are imprisoned for a while and released, the problem gets worse. They rape, they kill inhumanely and they are imprisoned for a while and they are released. Prison for them is like a resting place. There is a need to take severe measures against those people who rape children; don't label me as cruel.

A female caregiver in Duba mentioned the risk of girls walking alone in narrow streets being raped by strangers or *duriye* (louts) and mentioned a recent case:

Recently, I heard in my community where a young girl was raped by a stranger who also snatched her school materials. He disappeared to Amhara region and has not been to court. Besides, there are adult men who sexually harass male children. They take the children down to the river area and harass them.

In Kok, several participants suggested rape had declined due to fear of punishments, especially imprisonment. One Younger Cohort girl added that, "advice is given in the school, by the *kebele*, at home ... by everyone". Another Younger Cohort girl suggested fear of contracting HIV/AIDS was another factor. An Older Cohort girl suggested that though rape is very rare, domestic workers were at risk of rape from the man in the house if the wife was away. She also argued that rape was more common in rural areas but has decreased in the last five years. In a group discussion, young men in Duba suggested that rape was becoming rare and that "it is only stepfathers who committed that and it also happens to girls who work as domestic workers". An elderly woman in Duba mentioned that commercial sex workers were abused and beaten.

However, bullying and harassment of girls was clearly felt to be on the increase, especially in Duba. For instance, the girls' focus group gave an example of an elderly Bajaj (taxi) driver trying to engage three of them in conversation on the way to the interview:

He was pushing us to say something but we didn't want to talk with that man because he was older than us. He speaks very loudly so that other people around the place could hear him and we could feel shy. He was very old.

A younger girl noted how this trend was affecting girls' self-confidence:

I think there has been increasing trend of *lekefa* [verbal bullying]; it is becoming very common while affecting the morale of girls and affecting their confidence to walk alone.

A number of reasons were given. Many participants, particularly in Duba, attributed this to addiction to alcohol and *chat*. One female caregiver noted that girls (including university students) were spending their time out of school and class and were seduced and unable to protect themselves when violence happens. In a group discussion among Younger Cohort boys in Duba, bullying was seen as "almost normal" since there many youth were perceived to be idle. "When they are simply sitting and see girls, they don't think twice before they bully and harass the girls." In-migration was also said to increase the risks, with one Younger Cohort girl suggesting neighbourhoods were changing with migration and people not knowing each other.

The use of mobile phones to harass girls was mentioned in all three sites. A member of the women's focus group in Duba said: "Boys have the phone numbers of the girls. They call day and night and the girls couldn't feel free and couldn't be secured. The boys are trouble makers and they beat girls who refuse to respond on their phones." In Leki, a girl was

proposed marriage by a boy who was older than her and fought with her brother. She said he kept threatening and insulting the family on the phone.

One Younger Cohort girl in Kok suggested that there are now new insults using slang words.

7.6. Increase of violence against certain categories and in specific contexts

As noted, alcohol and *chat* consumption were linked to violence in many participants' accounts. Several participants in Duba suggested that the expansion of drinking houses, consumption of alcohol and *chat*, leading to addiction, was creating an environment promoting violence. One female caregiver mentioned that people were selling *areqe* liquor from their houses without licences, and that many students who became addicted abandoned their studies. Likewise, a male caregiver in Duba suggested that the liberalisation of market forces that allowed an expansion of consumption of alcohol and *chat* without regulation was creating a context for violence, with university students abandoning their education, businesses selling alcohol under cover, inspectors failing to prevent this, and alcohol being sold during working hours. He explained:

Some other things are getting worse though. Some young people who come to attend university level education are spoiled. They spend most of their time in our neighbourhood chewing *chat* and drinking alcohol. There are some businesses that appear to be genuine and innocent. For example, there are some pool houses, but behind the scenes many bad things happen. Some innocent children might go to play pool, but will be attracted by the things that are happening backstage. These houses are places where *chat* is served and *shisha* is smoked. With these things come other forms of violence including sexual violence ... *Denboch* [people who are assigned by the *woreda* to supervise businesses and ban other unlawful activities] come to see what's going on but they do nothing that's meaningful.

These things started to happen not long after the current government came to power. After the free market is proclaimed to guide the country, everything has gone out of control. This is especially true after 1997 E.C. People get permission for a pool, café, grocery, and so on, then what is done behind the curtain is a different thing. It is good if the government does not give permission to such businesses. It will be the government that will be faced with many problems in the future. The children and youth in the current generation have lost their mind; other things are controlling them. Night clubs and bars are open from 6 am in the morning till after midnight. Those who frequent these bars are children under 18. Most of the waitresses in these places are also young girls who are underage. Boys and men of all sorts of age come to meet with these girls. It would be good if bars are closed during the day, especially during working hours.

A female caregiver in Duba suggested that while violence affecting children had decreased, violence affecting youth had increased many fold. She attributed this to the influence of addiction and the expansion of drinking houses that "are spoiling the generation".

Changing perceptions about what practices are considered acceptable or not was blamed by a *woreda* youth representative in Duba:

When I was a student of 16 or 18 years old, smoking cigarettes, *chat* chewing, sexual assault to girls and boycotting classes ... was considered to be taboo. Now, it is becoming

the fashion that many young boys are engaged in *chat* chewing, smoking cigarettes and assaulting girls by standing along the street is becoming very common.

He added that he thought that general problems facing the youth were underlying factors:

I think the problems of the youth in general, such as unemployment, exposure to foreign culture, hopelessness and stress is increasing.

Furthermore, he thought that social media and exposure to foreign values were partly to blame:

During my time at school, teachers and parents were very serious regarding our behaviour and they had control over our time. Thus, I never had missed class unless I was very sick. Besides, we were not tempted by social media or internet advertisements. Nowadays, missing classes or not attending classes carefully, or failing in examinations is not considered a serious problem. The parents blame the teachers and the teachers blame parents for children's failures. This generation is hanging between two groups with no one willing to take responsibility. In the middle, their mind is snatched by social media and internet posts. Their personality is shaped by external culture and foreign values.

He felt that the decline in religious values and less professional ethics of teachers were also part of the problem:

During our early years, religious institutions and schools had a significant contribution in building the personality of children. Teachers were respected and they had been second parents to the children. Now, there are less professional ethics of teachers in the school. Parents' power to influence behaviour of children was positively effective and children respected family values. Now, parents seem to be confused on how to guide their children; they couldn't identify what is best for their children and what is harmful to their future life. Many parents think that fulfilling material needs of children is more than enough to be the best way of bringing up children.

Finally, while many participants noted that labour exploitation of children had decreased, in a group discussion among younger boys in Duba this was seen as rising, due to people bringing children to work from rural areas to work for them. One of them said:

Child labour exploitation is rampant. There are people who bring children from rural areas whose labour is exploited so much. This happens in hotels and residence houses. Migrants are involved in informal exploitative work and do not have local ID cards that would enable them to do other work.

7.7. Recent intergenerational changes

Some participants suggested changes are relatively recent. A 45-year-old male caregiver in Kok mentioned that the situation improved in the last three or four years. An Older Cohort girl in the same site suggested it was in the past couple of years due to the expansion of schools. She said: "if the school comes there will not be *duriye* [louts], all will go to school". The presence of community police (a measure introduced recently) was also mentioned by several participants. An elderly male caregiver in Kok suggested the changes have been happening since the Ethiopian Millennium (2007), particularly at home and school, due to the strong government intervention, with awareness sessions in public assemblies and the school environment. Asked about differences in upbringing between older and younger

children, a 50-year-old female caregiver from Kok said she did not beat her last three children, and attributed this to other parents changing, the school forbidding it and the children claiming their rights not to be beaten.

There is no *dulla* [stick] for the last two girls and the boy. It was because of watching other people. The school also says, 'Do not control them with a *dulla*, reprimand them.' Now it is just reprimanding. Now I do not say, 'Where have you been?' and the like. I have left that. I do not know why. It is because others are changed. It is when they say they should not be beaten by *dulla*. It is because they say 'it is our right' and the like. I beat them and reprimanded them and there is no change so I have abandoned that. But still even though I do not beat them I do not let them free. I reprimand and they respect me, and they do not go to bad places.

Globalisation, access to media and children becoming more aware of their rights were seen as major changes, described by one female caregiver in Duba in contrast with her own childhood:

The ways of disciplining have changed a lot. I was born and raised in a rural area, so they used to beat me with whatever they got hold of. Teachers used to punish us severely as well. They used to make us grovel in sand on our knees and put pens between our fingers and press it. They were dictators. Nowadays, for anyone with an open mind, one can learn by observing and reading different things everywhere. On TV, internet, everywhere, if you look around, you will have many things to read. There is no one who punishes children severely; children have also come to know the laws and the articles. They mention what the law says. The children study about the laws of the country; they also observe everything.

7.8. Parents' views about changes in child rearing and discipline

Changes in children's upbringing was mentioned by many caregivers, and some felt that their inability to discipline their children was leading them to face problems. A female caregiver in Duba mentioned the changes from her generation, when beating was common, and that now children may threaten to report their parents:

We used to be beaten until we got married. Now, we can't beat the older daughter which is unthinkable. We don't dare to use hard words to discipline children. Rather we try our best to be polite and discuss matters with the children. You know, when sometimes I try to use force in disciplining the younger daughter, she warns me that she would report me to the police for being physically harassed. There are some children who accuse their parents of beating them and trying to discipline them using physical punishment. So, we can't use the forms of disciplining children that were used in the past. The best mechanism would be to use physical punishment although the law might not support it.

Another woman (age 45) in Duba recalled that when they were young they were punished if they went out of the compound without their parents' permission. She added:

My parents used to beat us using sticks and pinching. We couldn't even have direct eye contact with strangers or guests that visited our parents. Now, we can't do so. Our children are growing free; we don't dare to speak harshly, and only sometimes do we reprimand.

She added that inability to discipline girls was leading to them having sexual relationships even before the age of 16. Another female caregiver mentioned that children no longer listen to their parents and her daughter had given birth before being 18. She added:

This time, girls do not accept their parent's ideas and suggestions on what is best for them. They want to discover things with all the risks by themselves Girls get pregnant and may catch sexually transmitted diseases. Their life is messed up as they drop out of school. Their parents hate them and get disappointed.

Similarly, a female caregiver in Leki aged 49 recalled:

During my childhood, my mother used to beat me and order me to do work to discipline me. I was being punished until I got married and this is not the case with the present children. Currently punishing a child is considered a harmful practice and there is this rights issue for the children. In the past, parents used to punish their children because of lack of knowledge but now there is good knowledge and children also become upset with their parents if they are punished.

Another female caregiver (age 45) in the same site mentioned the restrictions on children during their childhood:

There is change. When I was raised, girls were not allowed to go out of the house except to go to fetch firewood and water. We were given a lot of work and if we had not accomplished it, we were asked where we have been. And we would be assigned additional work as a punishment. As a child, I was not even allowed to go to markets and it was my parents who used to buy me clothes. We did not stand on the road like the girls of today. Though girls do work at home, today, things are simplified because of education. The tradition was very strong in the past and children were being harassed in many ways. For children in the past, there was no encouragement forwarded to them.

Another female caregiver in the same site suggested that the restrictions on girls were due to fear of abductions. Some caregivers also commented that disciplining used to involve the wider community in the past. One elderly woman in Duba recalled:

It is different than when I was child. During my childhood, it was not only my parents but also neighbours who used to control us and beat us when we misbehaved. I also remember that I was controlling the behaviour of all the children in my neighbourhood when I brought up my children. These days, it is impossible to even say a word to children because they would reply that it is none of your business. There is a common interest of parents in disciplining children. But in the past, during the Derg and Hailelassie time, a child was treated as well as protected by the whole community, and beating was common even if the child was 20 years old. Everybody had a feeling of belongingness and responsibility in disciplining children. Now, we try our best to discuss the problem together with the children and solve together. We should be very polite and beg the children to give us time so that we can suggest our ideas regarding their personality.

Likewise, in Leki an elderly male caregiver recalled:

During our era, not only the families but also relatives can punish you. While I was young I made a minor mistake and was deprived of food for three days. Beating children, insulting and depriving them of food were common and acceptable too. Now this is not

acceptable and not being done to the current generation because people have learnt and changed.

Though earlier sexual experimentation and the risks for girls were mentioned by many caregivers, an elderly woman in Duba recalled that early marriage and abduction were common in the past and that a girl aged 7 had to get married to get economic support, and if not she faced the risk of being raped or abducted by the time she was 13.

7.9. Views on changing levels of violence in the three sites

In Kok, both children and caregivers agreed that corporal punishment in school and in the home has declined, with children being advised and admonished when doing wrong. This was attributed to better awareness-raising promoted by government through meetings and training about children's rights and the negative consequences of corporal punishment, and the expansion of schooling. One male student mentioned that PTAs discuss how to resolve violence, and another said that children who were sent out of class could talk to a school counsellor to resolve the problem. However, less strict discipline was seen by one elderly caregiver as leading children to focus less on education and dropping out of school. As already noted, the most extreme form of punishment in the home that involved fumigating children who misbehaved with *berbere* smoke was said to have stopped, because of hard work from concerned people.

Violence in the community was also seen as decreasing by some. The recent presence of policemen on the streets was viewed as a positive development, mentioned by a male caregiver and a young man, making it safer for adolescent girls on the street who were previously at risk from "gamblers and jobless youth who sat along the streets and insult, bully and beat female children". One male parent suggested early marriage and rape were on the decline due to attempts to check the age of girls to be married. However, two young men suggested there was no improvement regarding verbal bullying of girls and that rape still happened, while another said that the situation of domestic workers had worsened.

In Duba, caregivers suggested violence was decreasing, since "schools teach children and their parents about child protection". A priest said, "Children are told about their rights and they confront their parents and elders that they have a right to speak with adults. Even girls have the right to speak now." One mother said, "Unlike earlier times, even other people who are not directly affected come and report because of the awareness they got from the child rights committee, volunteers, and school clubs." An education officer suggested that violence in schools is decreasing since teachers now use positive means of discipline.

However, several girls suggested that violence affecting girls is increasing as a result of men drinking and becoming addicted to *chat*. One young girl suggested that verbal bullying of girls was increasing. Two girls suggested that girls were more at risk since parents do not know where their children spend time and do not check whether they are at school. A priest suggested that while violence affecting children has decreased, violence affecting youth has increased greatly as parents no longer keep track of their children. Likewise, one father suggested that mass media and TV programmes are "spoiling children". However, he suggested that violence was decreasing since policemen are involved in security. A young man of 15 also noted that a new police station had been opened, leading to less violence in the neighbourhood. Rape was said to be decreasing due to greater awareness and police presence.

In Leki there was a sense from both children and caregivers that corporal punishment is declining due to education, promotion of children's rights, greater awareness among parents and fear they could get into trouble. A few people also suggested that the better behaviour of children was a factor. One father mentioned that during his childhood "beating, depriving of food and kicking children out of the home were common and acceptable methods of disciplining of children". He added, "Now these do not work either for children or parents." An elderly widow said, "I used to beat my elder child but now I cannot as the children would not let me do so and the law also forbids it." Some parents suggested that in the past not only close family but also relatives used to punish children and the clan would discipline youth, but this is no longer acceptable.

However, regarding gender-based violence, the picture is mixed. Several participants suggested that abduction and rape are decreasing in part since girls can make their own choices and due to stricter punishments, although one girl suggested these practices were continuing as punishments were not being imposed. Regarding early marriage, some participants claimed it was increasing as girls were going to school and many were choosing their own partners; some mentioned that girls who were not progressing at school and boys who did not find a job were more likely to marry early. One girl mentioned that early involvement in "love affairs" increased the risk of early marriage. A mother argued, "Early marriage is increasing in the name of going to school, cheating and peer pressure." However, one elderly woman thought early marriage, especially arranged marriages, were "rampant in the past" and parents were "selling their girls like cattle". One girl pointed out that even though girls were more involved in choosing their husbands some still abuse and beat their wives.

8. Conclusion

The study found that **definitions of violence** affecting children and youth were broad, with differences between the urban sites and the rural one regarding how violence was understood reflected in the terms commonly used. In the urban sites, violence was understood mainly in terms of gender-based violence and physical punishment, whereas in the rural site violence was seen as largely related to poverty, with a lack of basic needs and access to services rendering children vulnerable to violence. Youth unemployment, substance abuse and addiction were perceived to be contributory factors also leading to the harassment of girls. Customary practices of abduction and child marriage were also defined as forms of gender-based violence and were primarily a rural phenomenon, while the risk of bullying, harassment and even rape of girls was viewed as a more serious threat in the urban sites, with exceptional cases of boys being raped. Underlying factors leading to violence in the rural site included poverty, which was seen as a driver of child marriage as parents sought bride payments and girls hoped to find wealthier husbands. The cultures of polygynous marriages and widow inheritance compounded the problem. Especially in the urban sites, exposure to influences from satellite TV and other media was also said to be affecting youth behaviour, and perceived to be promoting violence.

While most forms of violence were considered wrong and unacceptable by officials, service providers, caregivers and children, opinions were divided with regard to corporal punishment (and some other forms of punishment) as a means of discipline in child upbringing. Many

caregivers and some children believed that pinching as a form of discipline and in some cases mild beating may be not just acceptable but beneficial – ‘for the child’s own good’. However, many participants suggested that excessive punishment could be very harmful, sometimes leading to children running away from home, or feeling suicidal.

There were **gender and age** differences, with corporal punishment more common among younger children (above age 8), while older girls were at greater risk of gender-based violence, and older boys of exploitation at work. Certain **vulnerable categories of children**, notably migrants, domestic workers, and in some cases children living with relatives, in very poor households, or living on the streets were perceived to be more at risk of abuse, including overwork and denial of schooling. Girls involved in domestic work were at risk of rape by employers.

Regarding violence in **schools**, children often face corporal punishment for coming to school late, not having done homework, disturbing the classroom and not respecting rules. However, many participants suggested that corporal punishment in schools was declining, although girls face more bullying from boys, and there was also mention of cases of girls facing sexual advances from male teachers.

Consequences of violence included health risks from overwork and child marriage, and unemployment and substance abuse leading to fighting, crime and even possibly suicide. Overworked children tended to come to school late and were punished or suspended, often leading to them leaving school altogether. Girls who were married early usually would not continue schooling, and victims of rape faced ostracism and a lack of confidence.

Most cases of violence were not reported and were dealt with through **informal channels**. In the home, children relied for emotional support on parents, siblings and other relatives who sought to resolve problems through discussions; neighbours would often also intervene to calm conflict between parents and teenagers. Children would turn to friends, especially if they were expelled from the house, and girls facing problems with boys would seek help from female peers. Local elders and religious leaders would often be called upon to resolve conflicts between spouses and sometimes between parents and children, and some children sought sanctuary in churches or mosques that would also help orphans or migrant children. Likewise, *iddir* funeral associations assisted orphans, including helping them with costs associated with schooling.

Reporting violence to **formal institutions** was less common. At the community level, children could obtain support from the *kebele* Women and Children Affairs Bureau representative and the community police, for instance in cases of abuse from employers, and from health extension workers and social workers in the urban sites. In the school setting, headmasters and PTAs can play a role regarding violence by teachers, and school clubs are important in creating awareness through dramas. Student parliaments and student police in the urban sites can also address fights, and serious cases can be reported to the *woreda* Education and/or Justice Bureaus. The *woreda* Women and Children Affairs Bureaus also play a role in reuniting children who have been victims of trafficking or have been abducted. Examples of successful interventions included:

- In the rural site a broker who withheld salaries from four migrant children was reported by one of the boys to the *kebele* social court and the broker was forced to pay.

- In the urban site within the capital, a boy reported to the police that his father with whom he was not living had refused to pay his school fees and the father started paying.
- In the small town, eight cases of rape and child marriage were dealt with by the *woreda* Justice Bureau, in one case leading to a 25-year sentence for the rape of a 10-year-old girl.

However, in practice there are serious constraints on reporting violence to institutions in the formal system. This is especially so in cases of rape due to stigma and discrimination, family reputation, requirements by police and courts to produce witnesses, a lack of information on how, when and whom to report to, a lack of follow up when cases are reported, and even allegations of bribery within informal and formal institutions. Often cases are therefore not reported and are instead resolved through customary mechanisms that are dominated by patriarchal values, with limited concern for children's rights.

Considering change over time, there is a clear sense that the worst forms of violence related to physical punishment have decreased. The practices of fumigating children who have misbehaved with *berbere* smoke in one urban site, and the burning of hands for stealing in the rural site, are now very uncommon. Moreover, corporal punishment in the home and in school is said to be much rarer, and girls are more able to resist imposed child or early marriages. These changes are attributed in part to greater awareness of children's rights and promotion of gender equality through schools, clubs, and mass media. Institutions that can protect children such as *woreda* Women and Children Affairs Bureaus and *kebele* representatives, social and *woreda* courts, community and *woreda* police, and schools and *woreda* Education Bureaus provide deterrents and address some cases, despite constraints on reporting and worries about the potential negative consequences of doing so.

Despite this (mostly) positive picture of change, bullying and harassment of girls by boys is said to have increased, in part as a result of greater interactions between teenagers and involvement in drinking, smoking cigarettes and drugs, chewing *chat*, and teenage sex with risks of pregnancy, compounded by limited employment opportunities for youth and a lack of adequate protection procedures and serious measures to deal with offences. Moreover, caregivers and service providers allude to new risks in child-rearing, with children and youth less willing to accept parental discipline and affected by foreign and global influences, notably through satellite TV.

The study revealed considerable variation in definitions as well as forms and consequences of violence in terms of urban/rural difference, gender and age, and home, school and community settings, with particular groups being more at risk. Moreover, the context of violence has been changing, with global influences, urbanisation, and changing economic, social and cultural contexts facing youth. Alongside wider links with poverty and persistent structural factors, new risks, especially of gender-based violence, have arisen. Stresses on youth resulting from unemployment, sometimes leading to addiction and involvement in crime as well as exposure to violence in films and through the internet were perceived as posing threats to child upbringing and socialisation, leading to intergenerational tensions and presumed to aggravate violence.

Policy implications

The importance of context and regional differences in shaping understandings of violence: There is a need for greater understanding of how violence is defined locally, and how definitions differ between regions and environments (urban and rural). Starting with local definitions of violence would enhance the effectiveness of policies and programming, and would bridge the gap with national and international definitions. Holding regional dialogues on how violence affecting children is understood and how children are disciplined would enable a better understanding of how national policies are translated into practice, and enhance the possibilities of engaging with communities for change.

Building a multisectoral and multi-level approach: Strengthening inter-sectoral coordination on violence affecting children, following on from the work of the inter-ministerial committee on violence affecting women and children, and the National Coordinating Committee on Children's Rights, is essential to create awareness and implement existing national policies, and plans, and enable greater collaboration between government, UN and international and national NGOs, alliances and networks and research institutions. The feasibility of developing a national action plan to prevent violence affecting children and youth in collaboration with existing committees should be discussed.

Initiatives to prevent and address violence affecting children must reach down from the federal level to the regions, woredas and especially the *kebele* and community levels where the violence occurs. At the *kebele* level, health extension workers and increasingly social workers as well as school clubs and community care coalitions can play key roles in preventing and addressing violence.

Adopting a whole-school, comprehensive approach to violence prevention: Schools need to be supportive, inclusive and safe spaces where children can learn and flourish. Preventing school violence requires addressing the structures, norms and practices within schools that promote violent behaviour, whether between peers or between students and teachers, and reinforce exclusion. Improving understanding among teachers about the relationship between poverty and violence and promoting awareness of how these factors may influence children's ability to attend and engage with schooling is critical, especially in relation to children's roles and responsibilities and sense of duty towards caregivers.

Improving school governance is central, using guidelines and action plans on eliminating violence in schools, including corporal punishment. Measures include employment policies (e.g. use of corporal punishment constituting misconduct and liable to disciplinary action) and teacher training, with appropriate budgetary support, in order to provide the knowledge, human and financial resources necessary to enforce legislation and increase accountability. The proper implementation of the Ministry of Education's 2014 Code of Conduct on Prevention of School Related Gender Based Violence in Schools can go a long way in addressing gender-based violence. Confidential reporting systems, with appropriate follow-up support, for children who witness or experience violence are also important.

Embedding an age- and gender-sensitive approach to violence prevention: Children are more likely to experience different forms of violence, at different ages and on account of their gender. This should be acknowledged and included in the implementation of the National Children's Policy and the Ethiopian Youth Development and Change Strategy. The current focus on gender-based violence in relation to harmful traditional practices could be expanded to include violence affecting both girls and boys at home and at school.

Understanding and addressing gender norms is critical. Developing an awareness of and challenging dominant forms of masculinity that encourage boys to harass girls will be important. Another area which needs attention is the ill-treatment of young people at work, developing protective measures to enhance respect for the dignity of young workers by creating guidelines about rights in the workplace.

Building child-sensitive social protection: Policies and programmes on violence prevention should be sensitive to poverty and structural factors that often underpin violence towards children. Greater attention needs to be given to protecting 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 emphasising these issues in the implementation of the Social Protection Policy and Strategy and in the training and deployment of social workers.

Creating comprehensive legislation and a national action plan on preventing violence against children: National legislation should be made more comprehensive and linked to regional continental initiatives such as those promoted by the African Child Policy Forum and African Union. Existing legislation and awareness could be strengthened, for example by creating a forum for sharing experiences, promoting greater inter-sectoral coordination, and setting common goals among policymakers, practitioners and researchers across the continent.

Innovative approaches to addressing social norms could be developed for Ethiopia by drawing on experiences from elsewhere. Societal attitudes and norms appear to be changing in some communities in relation to the use of harsh discipline in the home. Parents need to be enabled to air their concerns about changing perceptions of risk, and efforts need to be made to support them in non-punitive ways, perhaps by working with community and religious leaders and local institutions to promote a more tolerant approach.

Training for social workers and health extension workers: Training could be extended to raise awareness of the need to be sensitive to local definitions of violence, the importance of accessible services for children, and focusing on working with children and families who are affected, ensuring that children are listened to and parents are supported.

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Appendix: Methods

This sub-study was undertaken using the interview protocols outlined below. Note that questions were indicative only and mostly to be used as prompts. Young Lives qualitative research is conversational in style.

Focus groups with young people

Approximate time: 1 hour 15 mins.

Focus: Understandings of what is considered as violence within the community, perceptions regarding the reasons for its occurrence and impacts on the lives of children and young people and others, exploring possible sources of support and solutions.

Activities: Explain the purpose of the research, participants' rights and seek informed consent verbally.

The focus group discussions consisted of two exercises: five vignettes (at home, school and community levels for the Younger Cohort, and at home/community and work for the Older Cohort); and the problem/solution tree exercise.

1. Vignettes

For the Younger Cohort, one vignette to explore norms regarding violence in the home, a second in schools, a third to explore violence in the community. For the Older Cohort, one vignette regarding gender-based harassment at home/community and the second regarding verbal abuse and salary deduction in the workplace. The vignettes were created drawing on examples from previous qualitative data generated as part of Young Lives Ethiopia and adapted from a UNICEF Participatory Tool.¹²

Sample vignettes

Vignette 1 (Younger Cohort, home)

Biftu is 15 and lives with her maternal grandmother. She is the only girl of four children in the household. So she is expected to execute most of the household chores. She makes the beds, cooks for the family, cleans animal dung and sometimes works on the farm. One day when her grandmother came home from market, she understood that Biftu had not accomplished all of the tasks assigned to her for the day. Because of this, her grandmother hit her with a stick and did not give her supper for the evening.

- *How would Biftu feel about this punishment?*
- *Do you think Biftu can defend the punishment imposed on her? How would she react against it?*
- *What would Biftu do to explain things to her grandmother?*
- *Have you come across such a girl/boy in your area with a similar experience?*

¹² Available at www.unicef.org/violencestudy/pdf/UNICEF%20Participatory%20Assessment%20Tool.pdf (accessed 30 August 2018).

Vignette 2 (Younger Cohort, school)

Kebede 16, is in Grade 7 and would like to become an astronaut one day. In order to realise his aspiration he is working very hard. Out of school hours, he helps his parents doing work at home. Because of this, one day he went to school without doing his homework. He also reached school very late in the morning because he was hanging with friends on his way. As a result, his teacher punished him, twisting his ears and ordered him to bring his parents to school. Kebede became angry with his teacher and told his classmate that he is not coming to school any more.

- *What was the teacher supposed to do before punishing Kebede?*
- *How was Kebede supposed to explain about what happened instead of becoming angry with the teacher?*
- *How would you help Kebede if you were his teacher?*
- *To whom should Kebede resort for help before deciding to quit school?*
- *Do you know anyone with the same story in your school?*

Vignette 3 (Younger Cohort girl, community)

Alem is 16 years old. She lives with her parents and her siblings. One day she became very late for school because her mother went to market. Her friends left her to go to school earlier so she had to go to school alone when her mother came back from the market. Alem had to cross a forest to reach to her school. She encountered boys sitting and listening to songs through a mobile phone. The boys asked her to greet them and some of them were teasing her about her clothing. Alem does not know the boys at all and she did not feel comfortable to greet them. Alem stopped walking and searched for other people but unfortunately there was no one around. After some moments she saw a man and a woman coming towards them, and she waited for them and went with them.

- *What do you think Alem will feel about this?*
- *What do you think could have happened to her if the man and woman had not come?*
- *Do you think she could do something to defend herself?*
- *To whom could she go at that time?*
- *What do you think if it had been her brother or a boy in general?*
- *Does such risk also happen in your community?*
- *Do you think that all children regardless of age and gender face the same risk, or that it varies?*

Vignette 4 (Older Cohort girl)

Bontu was only 15 when she married without the consent of her parents. When she married, she dropped out of school in Grade 6. Her parents always wanted her to continue with her education and reach a better level but Bontu has no interest in school and always hangs with boys in her neighbourhood. She got married to one of her boy friends in the locality. Because she married without her parents' consent, her parents highly resisted her marriage and told her not to come to their house. Because of this Bontu is unhappy and does not know what to do.

- *What do you advise Bontu to do?*
- *What other things should her mother do for Bontu instead of ignoring her like this?*
- *How were Bontu's parents supposed to discipline her before her marriage?*
- *Do you know a girl/boy who married early like Bontu without the consent of the parents and was rejected by her/his family?*

Vignette 5 (Older Cohort girl)

Hamelmal is 22 years old and comes from a very devout religious family. She is currently attending a college in a nearby town. She has a boyfriend who also attends the same college and who is from her neighbourhood. Hamelmal did not tell to anyone from her family because her family are against it. Her boyfriend knows this and asks her to do things she does not want to do. If she opposes him, he says he would show her photographs with him to her parents, that he took using his smart phone on different occasions and various places. She is afraid of getting pregnant and she is also afraid of raising the issue with her parents.

- *What should Hamelmal do about her relationship with her boyfriend?*
- *What should Hamelmal do about her relationship with her parents?*
- *From whom can you obtain advice and help?*
- *Do you think there are similar risks for children in your community? If so, what kinds?*

Vignette 6 (Older Cohort boy, urban)

Mulatu is 22 years old and lives with his mother and his two younger siblings. He has the responsibility of supporting himself and providing for the family. He works in a garage in the neighbourhood. He starts his work early in the morning and stays even after the others finish their work. He is the youngest worker in the garage. The other workers in the garage get a minimum of 150 birr a day, while Mulatu gets only 30 birr per day. Not only is his payment low, but he is also not usually paid on time and there are days when he was not paid at all. On top of this, although he is a committed worker, most of the workers, including the owner, tease him, shout at him and demean him for not working well. He is losing hope and blaming himself. His friends advise him to do a different job or try to join a different garage, but he does not have the confidence to do so.

- *Do you think Mulatu could do something to defend himself from these people?*
- *From whom can he ask for help?*
- *What advice would you give to Mulatu?*

2. Problem/solution tree

Building on the discussions arising from the vignettes we used the problem/solution tree participatory method to generate an overview of understandings and experiences of violence affecting young people within the community (at a group rather than individual level) and possible responses and sources of support.

Using a diagram of a tree on a large sheet of paper, research participants were asked to:

- Write down (either individually on pieces of paper, or as a group, assisted by the facilitator if necessary and depending on the literacy levels in the group) all the **types of violence** affecting young people in their community on the *trunk of the tree*, i.e. 'the problem'. These may be actions directed against young people, or actions directed towards others that young people see or hear about. Follow-up questions: where do these actions happen? What sorts of people are involved (e.g. parents, teachers, young boys, older girls etc.), with special attention to difference by gender and age? Participants will be reminded not to name specific individuals. Which forms are most/least common in your community? Can you think of a recent example? (remind participants not to give names).
- Write down (individually or as a group – same as above) all the **reasons** they can think of as to why violence happens. These reasons are written/placed as the *roots* (i.e. the causes) of the tree. Participants are asked to discuss which causes link with which types of violence and why, with special attention to difference by gender and age. Which factors are the most important in your community and why? Can you think of a recent example? (remind participants not to give names).
- Write down (as above) all the **effects/impacts** of violence on young people in their community. These are listed/placed on the *branches* (i.e. the outcomes). How does it make young people think, feel, act? Are others also affected? Do different types of violence lead to different effects/experiences by young people? Are there different effects/experiences by different groups of young people (e.g. age, gender, young people in vulnerable circumstances, extreme poverty)? Can you think of a recent example? (remind participants not to give names).
- Write down (as above) – what do young people see as the possible **solutions** to addressing violence in the community, with special attention to difference by gender and age? Who can help and how? What actions can be taken? What can young people do? These responses are placed as the *fruit or flowers* on the tree (i.e. the solutions). Can you think of a recent example? (remind participants not to give names).

Close with an opportunity for participants to offer further thoughts or suggestions and to ask questions. Debrief participants with details of where they can go and seek further support if necessary.

Individual interviews

Approximate time: 1 hour.

Focus: Personal sources of informal and formal support (how young people give and seek support), experiences of violence within the community (not necessarily direct experiences) and childcare practices growing up, as well as thoughts on becoming a parent in the future and hopes for their own children and young people.

Activities: Explain the purpose of the research, what will be covered in this session and seek informed consent.

1. Questions on changing norms, values and practices over time

In this section of the interview the participant was asked to reflect on experiences growing up and to look ahead to adulthood and, potentially, parenthood.

Topics included:

- What is it like having been a boy/girl growing up in X community? What sorts of opportunities/difficulties have/do you face?
- Ask for general responses and then probe by filling in the table below. Rather than age it may be easier to think about cultural and social markers, e.g. being a baby, before going to school, primary school, etc.

Age	Opportunities for boys	Opportunities for girls	Difficulties for boys	Difficulties for girls	Sources of support for boys	Sources of support for girls
0-4						
5-6						
7-11						
12-15						
16-17						
18+						

- Ideas around the best way to bring up children. How were you brought up? How will you bring up own children? Why?
- Follow-up on issues of violence discussed in the focus group discussions – extent to which agreed or disagreed with the conclusions reached. Further details and suggestions. Asking for examples (not naming individuals or having to talk about own experience) to illustrate the points.

2. *Changing forms of violence*

- What kinds of violence do you think are the worst forms? Do these exist in your community?
- Who is involved and why?
- What are the impacts of violence on children?
- Why are some children subjected to violence and not others?
- Is violence more of a risk for children from certain groups/backgrounds (e.g. poverty and disadvantage)? In what ways and why?
- Who do children turn to for support?
- Are there differences in the types of punishment for children according to age? And gender?
- How can the community continue to protect children? What is required to ensure this happens?
- Have the extent and forms of violence and the locus of violence been changing?
- Probe for last year or two, last five years? Last ten years? Since EPRDF came to power?

3. *Umbrella exercise*¹³

The purpose of this exercise was to understand where young people can go for support when they experience problems, whether they feel able to go by themselves or with others, and what can be done to strengthen these sources of support.

Give the participant a drawing of an umbrella with many sections (like below).



Ask the participant what is the purpose of an umbrella, why do we use an umbrella? (elicit answers, such as to protect from the rain, or to be prepared).

Then say, just as an umbrella provides support and protection from the rain, we are going to think about the types of support young people have in this community.

Ask: If you are experiencing problems in your life where can you go for help?

¹³ *Tila* in Amharic has a strong sense of protection. It is even a male name – *Tilaye* – my umbrella, or *Tilahun* – be a protector.

Ask them to write the sources of support in each section of the umbrella. Remind them that this can be both formal sources such as NGOs, and informal sources such as friends, family, and teachers, health extension workers, *kebele* officials, elders, and religious leaders (note if the child is not literate then s/he will need assistance in making notes on the diagram).

Ask them to write around the outside of the picture the people they support.

4. *Timeline from early childhood to present (age 16-17 for Younger Cohort and 22-23 for Older Cohort)*

The purpose of this exercise was to understand the individual opportunities and challenges faced by the respondent as s/he grows up.

On the following timeline identify key problems faced, sources of support received (if any) and what was the outcome.

Age	Younger Cohort	Older Cohort
0 _____	16-17 _____	22-23 _____

5. *Follow-up questions for discussion*

- For each source of support: how does this person/people/organisation help you (e.g. what sorts of difficulties, problems, needs)?
 - Try to obtain examples:
 - What happened? Where? When?
 - Who was involved? Who helped?
 - How did they help?
 - What was the outcome?
 - Is this a problem that most boys/girls face in this community?
- Whom do you help/support? What kind of things do you do for other people?
- What sorts of support do you give to others? How?
- How do these people/organisations respond when you talk with them/go there? (For example, are young people listened to, are they open and kind, or are they a bit intimidating? Are they rude? Who takes more interest or less? Was their help useful? If so, in what ways?)
- Do you go alone to seek help, or with others? If so, who do you go with?
- If you had a friend who was experiencing violence at home, in the community/at work/at school what advice would you give them?
- What can be done to improve the support available to young people and young people? (e.g. more people/options, better information or training, better understanding of young people's lives).

Finish with time for questions and debriefing.

Focus groups for caregivers

Participants: 4-5 adults. Two groups per community, one group of men and one group of women.

Selection criteria:

- Older Cohort, married with children (in 20s)
- Younger adult male/female, in late 20s or 30s
- Middle adult male/female, in 40s or 50s
- Older adult male/female, in 60 or 70s
- Educated male/female, to at least secondary school level

Time: 1 hour 15 mins.

Focus: Understandings of what is considered as violence within the community, perceptions regarding the reasons for its occurrence and impacts on the lives of children and young people and others, exploring possible sources of support and solutions.

Activities: Vignettes were used to explore norms regarding violence and the challenges of caring for children in changing social contexts. This was followed by the problem/solution tree activity to generate an overview of understandings and experiences of violence affecting children within the community from the perspectives of adults, and possible responses and sources of support.

Individual interviews for caregivers

Participants: Ten caregivers, five men and five women per community.

Selection criteria:

1. At least one from the Older Cohort and two from the Younger Cohort
2. Parents from different age groups to include older caregivers
3. One educated to at least secondary school level

Time: 1 hour.

Focus: Changing norms, values and practices of childcare over time and sources of support.

Topic areas for interview questions: Contrasting own experiences of growing up, with lives of children, especially in relation to ideas of what is considered 'good' or bad/harmful. Whether these ideas are changing and if so, to what extent. Where caregivers receive informal and formal support from (information, material, emotional and so on) in bringing up children and access to services. How this has changed over time. Reflections on the problem/solution tree from the group discussion and elicitation of examples, such as:

- What are good practices in bringing up children and what are bad practices? How does this vary for girls and for boys, and for infants, small children, older children, adolescents?
- What forms of disciplining are acceptable and what are not?
- How does this vary by age and by gender?
- How have you brought up your children?

- What differences are there in bringing up boys and girls?
- Have there been differences between the way you brought up your oldest and youngest child?
- How do you encourage children?
- What methods of disciplining do you use?
- Have the forms of disciplining and encouragement changed since your childhood?
- Have the extent and forms of violence and the locus of violence been changing since your childhood? If so, in what ways?
- Have the sources of support and types of child protection and availability changed since your childhood? If so, in what ways?

Individual interviews for local community leaders and professionals

Participants: Approximately six interviews from the following two categories: (1) extension workers in services for children, including (a) health extension workers, (b) teachers, (c) social workers and (d) community care coalition members; and (2) community leaders, including (a) community elders and (b) religious leaders.

Approximate time: 1 hour.

Focus: Responses to preventing and responding to violence affecting children at the local level.

Topic areas for interview questions:

General questions for all respondents

- What are the important issues in bringing up children in your community? Does this vary by age and by gender?
- What is violence against children? Is this a problem in this community and why? For which children (probe for age, gender, disadvantage, poverty)? Who is responsible for acts of violence (gender, age, position, poverty etc.)?
- Which issues are more common/less common in this community? Has this been changing? If so, how?
- Do you think the extent and forms of violence have changed in your community? Has there been an increase or decrease in particular types of violence? If so, over what period? In what ways? Why?
- Do you think attitudes to violence against children have changed in your area? If no, why not? If yes, how and what made this happen? Please give examples.
- What responsibilities do adults have in protecting children against violence? What are the difficulties faced by adults in doing so?
- What has been the role of local authorities/your organisation and other organisations in tackling violence, abuse and exploitation against children?

- What referral mechanisms/support/programmes exist for children who are at risk or who have experienced violence?
 - What kinds of cases are referred to them and how? What is the follow-up provided?
 - How well do the structures work? What challenges do they face?
- Is there a mechanism that brings together the different stakeholders involved in preventing and responding to child protection issues at *kebele/woreda* level?
 - What activities are undertaken? What information or data are collected? Please describe.
- What could be done to improve the links between local child protection systems and the *woreda*, regional and national levels?
- What kinds of links exist between different sectors, organisations in government (*kebele* officials, health extension workers, teachers, Women and Children Affairs Bureau, police, courts) and with non-government (NGOs, elders, *iddirs*, *mehabers*, etc.)?
- Should greater links be promoted? If so, between whom and in what ways?

Specific questions for participants working directly with children

- Has anyone ever reported a case of violence against children to you or at your office/centre/school? (Please describe without mentioning names).
- How do you record this information?
- To whom, how frequently and how do you report on what you record?
- How are you or your office/centre/school involved in responding to cases of violence against children? What is the follow-up provided?
- What areas or cases do you think you have been successful? Can you provide an example?
- How well do these processes work? What are the challenges?
- Are there special codes of conduct or protocols you need to follow when addressing cases of violence? (If yes, ask to give the name of the code/protocols and the areas which it covers).
- Who monitors and evaluates your activities and how?
- What training have you received on working with children who have experienced violence, abuse or exploitation? (Include the details of who provided training and when conducted).
- What would strengthen your work, especially in protecting children?

Specific questions for community leaders

- What issues does the community face in raising children? How does this differ for boys and for girls, for younger and older children?
- To what extent are cultural and religious values important in bringing up children?
- What kinds of children face what kinds of risks or problems? (First ask without probing and then probe for gender, age, wealth, disability, minority statuses, etc.)

- What kinds of violence are more or less common in your community?
- How has this been changing since you were young? Since the Imperial and Derg periods?
- What role do cultural and religious institutions play in supporting parents to bring up children?
- Which institutions play what role regarding children and VACY? Can you give examples?
- What roles do cultural and religious institutions play with regard to conflicts affecting children? (First ask without probing, then probe for adoption, divorce, children's behaviour and disciplining, substance abuse, abduction and early marriage.)
- How do customary institutions relate to formal institutions regarding child protection?
- Should there be closer cooperation? If so between whom?
- How could the role of customary institutions be better supported?
- Do you think there are similar risks for children in your community? If so what kinds?

Informed consent

Box 1 contains some suggested ways of explaining different aspects of the study that we adapted for different groups (young people/adults).

Box 1.

Obtaining informed consent

Introduction

Be sensitive to local concerns about young people (for example, young people's fears that confidential data might be revealed to their parents). Be clear about the nature of the study and what participation in the study entails. Introduce yourself as a researcher with the Young Lives study and explain:

My name is X. I am a researcher with Young Lives. Young Lives is a research study not an NGO. We are here to learn from you about the lives of young people in this community. We are especially interested in young people's experiences of seeking support when they experience violence in one form or another, including what you understand as violence. This research study entitled 'Sources of support for young people' is being conducted by Young Lives Ethiopia.

We are staying in the community for around two weeks and we will be talking to many young people and adults during this time.

Although we will provide a small compensation for you for time spent with us we cannot promise to improve your life, but we will use the information that you tell us in our research reports. We hope that this information will be useful for local and national governments when planning services for young people in the future.

Obtain consent from all young people, as well as their caregivers. In the case where the child is on his/her own (e.g. if s/he has migrated without a caregiver) the child's consent is sufficient.

Explanation

Explain to young people what you want them to do. For example:

I would like to talk to you and ask you some questions about young people's experiences of seeking help/support when they experience violence. This discussion might take around [X amount of time].

I would like to invite you to be part of a group discussion about young people's lives in the community, including some of the challenges that boys/girls your age face. The group discussion will take around [X amount of time].

Anonymity

Explain that they will be anonymous.

Your name will not be used in my report, so we can describe what you think without anyone knowing that it is you. This means that what you say will be shared with other members of the research team, but I am not going to tell your family or anybody in the community what you tell me. We will also disguise the name of the community.

Child protection

State your position on child protection.

If you say something that makes me worried about your safety, I will talk to you about it first, then I may talk to my boss/supervisor. If you do not want to answer a particular question, we can skip it. And you can stop at any time.

If a respondent tells you something that makes you worry about their safety or welfare, speak to your co-researcher. You may also decide to provide information about where they can go in the local community/area to seek support, for example, health extension workers, teachers, and representatives of the Women and Children Affairs Bureau. If you cannot decide what to do, get in contact with the Principal Investigator/leader. Do not do anything that would place the child in danger.

Young people should not be asked to miss school in order to participate in the research.

Remind them that there are no right or wrong answers. Allow the young people to speak for as long as they want in answering a question *before* you start using probes. Make it clear in your report what answers came spontaneously and which ones as a result of prompting, by inserting the words 'After prompting' to indicate the difference.

Recording

Be sure to ask the young people/participants for permission before audio recordings. Make it clear at the beginning of each session if you are doing recording.

Ask if we can use photographs of their drawings in our reports (if relevant).

Understanding Violence Affecting Children in Ethiopia: a Qualitative Study

This working paper describes a sub-study by Young Lives Ethiopia on conceptualisations and understandings of violence affecting children and youth in three Ethiopian communities (one rural, two urban). Qualitative research was undertaken in May 2017, in two phases, with a total of 120 participants, using individual interviews and group discussions with children, young adults, caregivers, and professionals.

The study found a range of terms for and definitions of violence, with differences between the rural (Oromiffa-speaking) area, where violence included harm caused by poverty, and the two urban (Amharic-speaking) sites, where violence included abuse and exploitation. Some forms of violence were considered acceptable or unacceptable according to age and gender. Children were said to be punished at home or at school for a range of reasons, and violence was widely understood to have lasting negative effects. Children sought support from a range of people – mostly kin and friends, but occasionally from school clubs, headteachers, parent-teacher associations, and the police. There were powerful barriers to reporting sexual assault and rape.

Generally, participants reported that there has been a reduction in violence overall, though some violent practices continued, and there was a sense that gender-based violence had increased, especially harassment of older girls. A marked intergenerational change was widely reported – especially in relation to reductions in the use of severe corporal punishment by parents – and was seen as a response to much greater awareness among caregivers of changes in the law and children's rights.



An International Study of Childhood Poverty

About Young Lives

Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, involving 12,000 children in four countries over 15 years. It is led by a team in the Department of International Development at the University of Oxford in association with research and policy partners in the four study countries: Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam.

Through researching different aspects of children's lives, we seek to improve policies and programmes for children.

Young Lives Partners

Young Lives is coordinated by a small team based at the University of Oxford, led by Professor Jo Boyden.

- *Ethiopian Development Research Institute, Ethiopia*
- *Pankhurst Development Research and Consulting plc, Ethiopia*
- *Centre for Economic and Social Studies, Hyderabad, India*
- *Save the Children India*
- *Sri Padmavathi Mahila Visvavidyalayam (Women's University), Andhra Pradesh, India*
- *Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo (GRADE), Peru*
- *Instituto de Investigación Nutricional, Peru*
- *Centre for Analysis and Forecasting, Vietnamese Academy of Social Sciences, Vietnam*
- *General Statistics Office, Vietnam*
- *Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford, UK*

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