

EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION

CHILD ABUSE :- A SURVEY IN NAIROBI

BY

WERE SARAH MAKOKHA.

M.A Thesis Submitted to the Department of
Sociology, University of Nairobi, as a partial
fulfillment for the award of the Master of Arts
Degree in Sociology.

JULY 1992.

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI LIBRARY



0146209 2

FOR USE IN THE LIBRARY ONLY

Ed 17305

AJN.

HV

8079

.C46K147

This thesis is an original work. It has not been previously
presented for award of a degree in any other University.

Sare

WERE, SARAH MAKOKHA

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval
as University Supervisors.

P. Onyango

Dr. P. ONYANGO

P. Njau

P. NJAU (Mrs.)

DEDICATED TO:

BOB WERE

BRIANE MAKOKHA

DONATAH KHATAMBI

SOLOMON ORENDO ENDEGE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE	PAGE
Dedication	i
Acknowledgements	v
Abstract	vi
CHAPTER ONE: – Introduction	1
Problem Statement and Focus of the Study	
 CHAPTER TWO: – Literature Review	 8
i) Child Abuse defined	
ii) Forms of Child Abuse	
iii) Nature and extent of Child Abuse	
iv) Causes of Child Abuse	
v) Theoretical Framework	
vi) Questions Arising	
 CHAPTER THREE: – Research Method.....	 43
i) Site Description	
ii) Population and Sample Size	
iii) Method of Data Collection	
iv) Presentation and Analysis of the Data	
 CHAPTER FOUR: – Presentation of the Findings	 55
i) Introduction	
ii) Demographic Characteristics of Abused Children and their Parents	

TITLE	PAGE
CHAPTER FIVE:-.....	82
i) Data Interpretation and Analysis	
CHAPTER SIX:-	
ii) Discussion of Research Questions	
CHAPTER SEVEN	
i) Case Studies.....	115
CHAPTER EIGHT	
i) Conclusion.....	128
ii) Recommendations.....	132
 BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	 138
 LIST OF TABLES	
i) Ages Of The Children According To The Type Of Abuse....	57
ii) Sex Distribution According To The Type Of Abuse.....	58
iii) Ethnic Distribution Of The Children.....	60
iv) Education Level Of The Children According To The Type Of Abuse.....	61
v) The Type Children Who Are More Vulnerable To Abuse.....	64
vi) Number Of Siblings In The Families Of The Abused Children.....	65
vii) Ages Of The Parents According To The Type Of Abuse.....	67

TITLE	PAGE
viii) Parental Marital Status According To The Type Of Abuse	69
x) Education Level Of The Parents According To The Type Of Abuse.	70
xi) Occupation Of The Parents According To The Type Of Abuse.	71
xii) Parental Level Of Income According To The Type Of Abuse.	73
xiii) Parental Physical And/Or Mental Handicap, Drinking Of Alcohol, And Criminal Record.	74
xiv) Type Of Dwelling According To The Type Of Abuse.	75
xv) Whether The Dwelling Has Running/Piped Water, Electricity, Toilet And Bathroom.	77
xvi) Size Of Dwelling According To The Type Of Abuse.	78
xvii) Religious Groups Of The Parents According To The Type Of Abuse.	79
xviii) Parental Group Membership.....	80



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the University of Nairobi for sponsoring me to study for the Masters Degree Programme and for their patience with me when undertaking the course.

I acknowledge my sincere thanks to my supervisor Dr. P. Onyango for her patience and encouragements without which I would not have completed this work. I am equally grateful to Dr. H.N. Njeru and Mrs. Njau who took over from Dr. Njeru. This research benefited a great deal from her guidance.

I appreciate the contributions and all kinds of support extended to me by my friends through out my study. To all of them, and particularly Betty Maloba, Jacinta Murgor, Margaret Munuku, Namwalo Lishamba , Solomon Endege and not forgetting, Elphas K. M. Endege for his editing and typographic assistance, I say thank you. To all those interviewed during the research on this report, thanks for your cooperation, patience and understanding.

Finally, I wish to record my loving gratitude to my sons, Bob and Briane and daughter, Donatah who really used their intuition to realise how busy I was and gave me peace that enabled me to write this report with least interference from them. Small as they are, they understood my problems during the difficult times we experienced while I was writing this report. I pray that God blesses them to apply their intuition when confronted with more difficult situations that they may encounter in their lives.

ABSTRACT

The study on child abuse was carried out in Nairobi between 1989-1992 to determine the magnitude of the problem (child abuse).

The increased rate of press reports on incidents of child-abuse, sometimes leading to the death of the children involved prompted me to carry out the research.

The objectives of the study were to investigate the nature and extent of child abuse in Kenya in general and Nairobi in particular, to find out whether there is a relationship between gender and child abuse, to find out the type of families that make children more vulnerable to abuse, to find out the kind of parents who are more likely to abuse their children, to find out the risk factors in the child.

The theoretical rationale of this study was that parts of the family ; that is, the father, mother and children, have roles and functions which they play to maintain the family as a system. The success or failure of any of these parts in performing their roles effectively may render children more vulnerable to abuse.

A total of sixty five abused children and seventy three

parents of the abused children above were interviewed. Thus sample involved, eight cases of sexually abused children, fourteen cases of physically abused children, twenty cases of neglected children, twenty three cases of abandoned children, and seventy three parents of the abused children above.

All the cases were drawn from those dealt with at the provincial office of the Children's Department in Nairobi. Systematic sampling technique was used to select the sample of respondents and a questionnaire and observation were used in the data collection. Basic statistics such as the mean, mode and variance among others have been used to analyse the data.

The most significant finding of this study is that child abandonment accounts for the highest percentage of abused children in Nairobi (thirty five percent). Thirty one percent of the children were neglected, twenty two percent were physically abused and twelve percent were sexually abused, suggesting that child abuse is on the increase in Nairobi.

In conclusion, this study found that the risk factors in the family included low levels of income (57 %) and large number of siblings (65 %) among others.

The significant factors relating to parents included single parenthood (80 %), drinking of alcohol (53 %), the level of education (70 %), and physical and/or mental status (10 %).

The risk factors in the child were found to be illegitimacy

(14 %), the sex of the child (10 %), and the child's physical and/or mental status (9 %).

The study made several recommendations. These include among others further research on child abuse using a larger sample to establish the nature and extent of child abuse in Kenya. The study also recommends for an establishment of detection and protection programmes, community education and mobilization, general family support, treatment programmes, professional training, national health policies, day care centres and stern judicial measures as ways of combating child abuse.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Child abuse can be referred to as maltreatment of children. Maltreatment of children is not a phenomenon that is unique to Kenya alone. Child abuse is a global problem resulting from various changes world-wide. The phenomenon may only differ in form. For example, children still form a large proportion of the labour force in glass, carpet, rubber and construction industries in various parts of the world.

Onyango (1988) notes that in Africa, about sixteen million children below the age of sixteen years are working and that there are at least three million street children. Unless something is done, there may be over ten million street children on streets in the continent by 2000 A.D.

In Kenya, incidences of child abuse are frequently reported in local press reports. According to the reports, eighty four children lost their lives in house infernoes in 1989. This figure covers only cases reported by the local press, but could be higher if cases not carried in the press are included. Nevertheless, the alarming cases of loss of children's lives through house fires caused a lot of concern that His Excellency President HOn. D. Arap Moi appealed to the public to give children more care, protection and education as these form a backbone of the society.

In the traditional African societies, children were viewed as gifts from God, hope for the future and continuity of families to

posterity. Consequently, children were allowed to lead a peaceful life and enjoyed their natural right to life to the highest extent. Nowadays, hardly a week passes without the press reports of savage attacks against children by adults. Quite often, some parents quarrel and one of the parents may attack their children as a way of venting anger. Through such quarrels, lives of either spouses and/or children have been lost (Standard Newspaper, August 20, 1989, The Daily Nation, May 13, 1990).

There are many cruel practices against children's lives in many communities in Kenya. These include the tossing of children to and from their maternal and paternal homes when their parents have differed (separated/divorced), hence turning children into victims of the disagreements between parents. Sometimes, children are viciously attacked by either or both parents for very minor offenses for which a verbal warning or counselling would have been appropriate just because the parent(s) believe in the dictum "spare the rod and destroy the child" (Caffey, 1972, Gill, 1975, and Bwibo 1986).

Randill (1966) notes that some ancient philosophers beat their pupils mercilessly while parents, teachers and ministers alike, believed that the best cure to foolishness bound in the child's head was repression - the use of the rod.

Child labour is another common phenomenon among some societies in Kenya. Though primary school education in Kenya is "free", many children have been forced out of school because many of their parents have been unable to bear many of the financial

commitments required to keep the children at school. The school drop-out children are forced to seek employment at very tender ages. Many end up taking odd jobs as bar-maids, house maids, shamba-boys to mention but a few which have little or no prospects of advancement within the employment. Children who are forced into the jobs cited above tend to work for very long hours and late into nights; they are often under-paid, sexually abused or given inadequate food by their masters. There have been cases of very young girls withdrawn from school by their parents to be married off to very old rich men. These cases lead to a desire for a compulsory free primary education legislation in Kenya.

Another issue that Kenya ought to address herself to is the increasing population of street children, parking and twilight children and juvenile prostitutes which are alien to the past. In the traditional African societies, children belonged to the family in particular and to the clan and tribe in general. Every adult within a family, clan or tribe had an obligation to care for the children. Forces of social change have broken down many of the structures that protected children and has given plenty of room for child abuse.

Sexual abuse of children is another phenomenon that the Kenyan societies need to consider. In parts of slum estates in Nairobi, some adults keep juveniles with intentions of subjecting them to sexual abuse by clients for a fee payable to the person keeping the juveniles. The adult "pays" the juveniles in kind (food rations and shelter). This practice exposes the affected children to

sexually transmitted diseases and unplanned pregnancies. It is not surprising that a child of nine years gave birth at Kenyatta National Hospital in 1987 (Daily Nation, August, 1987).

There are night clubs which essentially are brothels in which young girls are sexually abused in some of Kenya's major towns. These include the "Modern Green" and "Rainbow" bars in Nairobi and Mombasa respectively. With the outbreak of deadly diseases such as "Aids", measures have to be taken to protect children vulnerable to abuses such as sexual abuse and infection with the diseases. There were about 817 children suffering from "Aids" in Kenya in 1989 (Ministry of Health report Dec. 1989). This calls for urgent measures for protection of children from infection with the disease.

Many street children on Kenya's streets are seen sniffing gum or petrol or smoking "bhang". These children buy these "goods" from adults who know the risks facing the children. These "goods" have negative side effects on the children.

Some children are used by their parents/guardians for begging on streets for money and other consumer goods. This practice exposes the children to many dangers. Some of the children develop delinquent behaviour due to the influence of other delinquent children in the streets. Sometimes, adults involve children in illegal activities such as transporting and/or handling of stolen and illegal goods such as "changaa" and drugs. This exposure is quite detrimental to the children. The list of abusive acts on children in Kenya is endless.

Many children in Kenya accompany their mothers to prison while others are born in prisons. According to Musiime-Muli and Kilonzo (1986), 22,206 children (2,221 children per annum) accompanied their mothers to prisons between 1975 and 1984. The children were exposed to negative social and psychological conditions and live under serious health conditions. Other children are left alone at home after the arrest and imprisonment of their parents/guardians. These evil acts against children bring out a view of a cruel society against the children in contrast to that of holding children as precious resources and hope for the future of any given society.

In Kenya, the Children and Young Persons Act of 1963 caters for the protection of children. The Act has not been revised since it was enacted in spite of many socio-economic changes that have occurred. Bwibo (1978) notes that significant number of children in Kenya are born out of wedlock, but existing Kenya's legal provisions leave out such children completely.

This could be the reason to the increasing population of street and abandoned children in Kenya. The present day Kenya is not what it was in 1963 when Kenya attained independence. The laws of the land including legal provisions for the care and protection of young persons should be constantly revised to take into account the social transformations in process. To fail to do so is catastrophic.

This study looks at how Kenyan societies deal with the problem of child abuse. The study is limited to Nairobi City because it has most of the variables that may explain the problems of child abuse (Bwibo 1978, 1986, Caffey 1972, Gill 1975, Onyango 1988).

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The broad objective of this study was to ascertain the causes of various forms of child abuse, including some avoidable accidents, leading to loss of lives of children or physical disability. The specific objectives of the study were: -

- (i) to investigate the nature and extent of child abuse in Kenya in general and Nairobi in particular.
- (ii) to find out whether there is a relationship between gender and child abuse.
- (iii) to find out the type of families that make children vulnerable to abuse.
- (iv) to find out kind of parents who are more likely to abuse their children.
- v) to find out the kind of children who are more likely to be abused.

Based on the findings in (i) to (v), the study will suggest possible solutions to minimize cases of child abuse.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

The most disturbing issue is that common as child abuse seems to be, no effective practical measures are taken to curb the problem. We often read press reports of children having been burnt to death in house fires and all we are told is that investigations are going on to ascertain the cause of the fire and the story usually ends there. Ascertainment of the causes of the fire would help to prevent the loss of children's life under similar circumstances as parents/guardians would take preventive measures against the causes. The study seeks to explore into the major causes of child abuse and propose remedial measures against the practice.

Though much is said/reported on cases of child abuse mainly in workshops/seminars, there have been few systematic studies of the subject in Kenya. Most of the existing studies on child abuse in Kenya are based on the American, British and Asian findings. In most cases, such findings are culturally biased and cannot be taken as wholly applicable to the Kenyan situations. This study will therefore be important as being among the few systematic studies on child abuse in Kenya.

The study will also be of great benefit to the professionals working in this field as it would serve as a guideline towards the formulation of strategies and policies for protection of children against abuse. The study will form a basis of further research as it may raise many questions as it attempts to offer solutions to the problem of child abuse.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

Child abuse has been defined in different ways by different scholars. This is because child abuse means different things to different people at different times. Chege (1978) looks at child abuse as the "infliction of physical or psychological trauma upon a child causing significant injury or death". He looks at lack of reasonable care and protection of children by their parents/guardians or relatives as child abuse, and says that child abuse occurs when there is wilful neglect or failure to provide basic needs such as food, clothing, love, and security.

The problem with the above definition is that it does not tell us at what level the injury caused to the child becomes significant. We are also uncertain about the type of care and protection of children that is reasonable. The terms significant and reasonable are therefore somewhat vague.

Onyango (1988) defines child abuse as situations where children are maltreated. Children may be maltreated within the family or the society. They are maltreated when their basic needs are not met or when they are exposed to conditions of civil strife, famines, racism and poverty.

Giovannoni (1971) defines child abuse as parenting acts that constitute a misuse or exploitation of the rights of parents and care-takers to control and discipline children under their care. Thus, child abuse occurs when a parent or care-taker knowingly misuses his privileged position over the child to commit acts of

non-economic nature which are not in tune with societal norms and which are detrimental to the child.

According to Giovannoni therefore, a guardian who misuses a privileged position over a child in economic aspects is not considered as abusing a child. This would therefore mean that child labour engaged for economic purposes will not be considered as child abuse. Giovannoni gives the following as forms of child abuse: -

- i) physical abuse/violence, or non-accidental use of force by a parent/guardian or other care-takers when interacting with the child, with the aim of injuring the child.
- ii) social abuse - acts that are detrimental to the development of the child as a full member of his society. These include all forms of discrimination and prejudice against the child based on the child's age, sex, race, legal status and parental status.
- iii) emotional or psychological abuse - from acts that militate against adequate personality development of the child. These may involve continual victimization, harassment and rejection of the child.

Kempe and Steel (1961) define child abuse as parental acts

which constitute misuse or exploitation of the rights of the parents/guardians or care-takers to control and discipline children under their care.

Child abuse is seen as a family affair, since it is considered as occurring when a parent/guardian or care-taker knowingly misuses their privileged position over the child to commit acts which are not in tune with accepted social and moral norms of the society. Kempe and Steel stress that the acts must be detrimental to the health and well-being of the child. Giovannoni's and Kempe's and Steel's definitions seem to be conceptually sound but somewhat unsatisfactory in so much as non-accidental and knowingly are used. This would mean that the attack on the child has to be deliberate for it to qualify as an abuse. Many will however agree that there are chance elements in some cases of child abuse.

To UNICEF, child abuse is seen as the portion of harm to children that results from human actions or inaction that is proscribed, proximate and preventable. The use of the term "human action" limits child abuse to the harm that is caused by action or inaction such as failure to provide the child with basic needs.

Proscribed is used to imply that the action must be negatively valued, a pervasion of social values of the society. This limits the application of the term to actions which are detrimental to the health and well-being of the child to qualify as a case of child abuse. The term preventable limits child abuse only to acts of commission or omission which could be avoided but whose occurrence would harm a child.

In general, a proper definition of the term child abuse should be general enough to apply to a range of situations in a variety of social and cultural contexts.

This is because child abuse is not simply any harm that children experience; it is only a type of harm among many that children suffer from. This study adopts Onyango's definition of child abuse

Generally, the extent of child abuse is still unclear primarily because there is no universally acceptable definition of the concept. Onyango (1988) points out that the channels through which child abuse cases are reported are often blocked by denials, rationalization, and defensiveness from those involved, including the physicians and parents of abused children. This makes it difficult to establish the extent of child abuse. Also, the range of physical punishment meted out against children and reasons advanced by the administrators of the punishment make it even more difficult to define the concept of child abuse.

The Situation In Africa

The major factors affecting children in Africa can be classified into three major categories. These are: -

- i) the family.
- ii) the society.
- iii) conflicts.

Within the broad classification, one finds that for example, many African countries are torn with civil strifes. Through these strifes, many children lose their lives, parents/guardians, or become displaced as has occurred in the civil strife - torn countries like Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, Liberia, Somali among others.

Independence struggles is another cause of child suffering in Africa. During the struggles, many children lose their lives, or are force into refugee status; a predicament characterized by extreme suffering and sometimes diseases and/or death. The sufferings of the children is aggravated by the destruction of many institutions such as hospitals, schools, homes to mention but a few, in which children many be cared for (Onyango and Mugambi 1988).

Natural calamities such as drought especially in the Sahel countries of Africa have been a cause of untold suffering and death of children. In most African countries, situations are worsened by the fact that during calamities, governments affected

institutionalize very protective and sometimes offensive regulations which quite often than not, restrict any sources of external assistance to needy children (Onyango 1986).

Poverty is another major cause of suffering among children in Africa. Poverty may be attributed to large families, ignorance, illiteracy, and the dearth of resources. Most of the children on streets in some of Africa's towns are starved and obliged to fend for themselves (Bwibo 1971, Giovannoni and Bilingsley 1970).

Child prostitution is another emerging problem in many cities in African countries and yet it has not yet received the attention that it deserves. In essence, most of the young prostitutes are always mainly from families with meager resources. In most cases, these poorest of the poor also happen to be victims of ignorance and illiteracy and therefore, any development programme hardly reaches them (Mehta et. al. 1979).

Lack of accommodation is also a major problem causing suffering to many children in Africa. Shortage of shelter for the low income groups in major towns of African countries is a major problem that forces the victims to crowd in congested housing units and environment prone to epidemics and other related problems that lead to children's loss of life (Onyango and Manguyu 1988).

Rapid social change in some cases leading to the breaking up of important cultural practices has been a major cause of suffering among children in Africa. In traditional Africa, caring for orphaned and any other disadvantaged children was very healthy. However, changes that have occurred in many African societies have

left such vital models undefined and therefore left room for abuse of disadvantaged children. Examples include child trafficking by those who are supposed to care for the disadvantaged children, child marriages, and child labour (Onyango 1988).

Single parenthood is another source of suffering among children in Africa. Single parenthood refers to mothers who usually get children out of wedlock. Majority of these single parent families tend to be very large and in most cases the single parent's income is very small and insufficient to meet the daily needs of the family. This has led to many children resorting to loitering on streets. Also some of the single parents tend to be too young and immature to care for the children (Bwibo 1971, and Onyango 1986).

The development of nuclear family has also led to great suffering of many children. From the African context, nuclear families are dangerous. They do not have institutions and facilities to take care of marriage as an institution. Break-up of marriages, which is now on the increase, leaves women and children as the major victims (Mugambi 1988).

The Situation In Kenya.

Onyango (1988) points out that in a country like Kenya where a woman's status and entire life is centred around children, child abuse is quite an overloaded concept. Among the various ethnic dialects in Kenya, the term "child abuse" is non-existent. The only evidence of the phenomenon that we have available are press

left such vital models undefined and therefore left room for abuse of disadvantaged children. Examples include child trafficking by those who are supposed to care for the disadvantaged children, child marriages, and child labour (Onyango 1988).

Single parenthood is another source of suffering among children in Africa. Single parenthood refers to mothers who usually get children out of wedlock. Majority of these single parent families tend to be very large and in most cases the single parent's income is very small and insufficient to meet the daily needs of the family. This has led to many children resorting to loitering on streets. Also some of the single parents tend to be too young and immature to care for the children (Bwibo 1971, and Onyango 1986).

The development of nuclear family has also led to great suffering of many children. From the African context, nuclear families are dangerous. They do not have institutions and facilities to take care of marriage as an institution. Break-up of marriages, which is now on the increase, leaves women and children as the major victims (Mugambi 1988).

The Situation In Kenya.

Onyango (1988) points out that in a country like Kenya where a woman's status and entire life is centred around children, child abuse is quite an overloaded concept. Among the various ethnic dialects in Kenya, the term "child abuse" is non-existent. The only evidence of the phenomenon that we have available are press

reports.

Child abuse in Kenya like anywhere else can be seen in a historical perspective. In the Old Testament, Abraham, obeying God's command was ready to sacrifice his only child, Isaac. As per the New Testament, King Herod's decree ordered for the slaying of new born baby boys hoping that a new born child Jesus Christ would be among those killed (Mathew chapter 3).

Onyango (1988) further notes that in Kenya, children contribute a great deal to the incomes of their families, though statistics on their contributions are not available. The majority of women in Kenya depend on children's labour for carrying out economic activities such as water and fuel-wood collection. As early as 1925, an awareness of child abuse in Kenya had started as we have press reports of child labour had began. Children between 14-18 years were working on European farms while others served as domestic workers ("kitchen toto"). By 1940, twenty per cent of Kenya's working children worked for European coloniser. By 1966 after departure of European colonisers, 8,780 children were still working. Nowadays, informal child work is still very common in Kenya, majority of whom are employed as "shamba-boys" and maids (Onyango 1989).

Bwibo (1972) first identified cases of battered children in East Africa. Today, many such children are still reported and admitted to Kenyatta National Hospital, most of them with serious bruises. Some lose their lives while others are maimed. But the majority of cases on child abuse remain unreported.

Grol (1976) identified parking boys in some major towns of Kenya as a problem that needs everybody's concern. On this strength, Undugu Society of Kenya was established to cater for the street children. As Onyango (1988) points out, awareness of child abuse in Kenya was detected earlier than in many other African countries and so were the efforts to curb the problem.

Mirikau (1981) identified the problem of working children in Kenya. Working children work for very long hours, for wages below subsistence level and exposure to harassment by some employers. Following this study, the University of Nairobi carried out a study on domestic working children in 1982-85. The study covered 500 children working on tea and sisal farms or on domestic work in homes. A comparison of the 500 working children with non-working children suggested that the working children were more vulnerable to psychological and delinquent problems (Onyango and Kayangomale 1986). The children working outside homes were more vulnerable to the above problems than those in homes.

Prior to 1982, the issue of child abuse was given very little attention even by professionals. For example, when WHO organized for a workshop to discuss the problem of child abuse in December 1982, only 23 participants from the Government, NGOs, and the University of Nairobi attended. The low level of attendance imply low levels of awareness of the problem of child abuse.

Onyango (1988) says that it was only around 1984-85 when UNICEF set in to create an awareness of child abuse under the programme "Children in difficult circumstances" that the level of

awareness on child abuse started rising. In 1985, UNICEF organized a workshop in which for the first time, issues such as sexual abuse of children, the problem of abandoned children, and the issue of children accompanying their mothers to prisons/remand were discussed. Today, many professionals in Kenya discuss the issue of child abuse though little has been put into practice for eradication of the problem.

Forms Of Child Abuse

Several forms of child abuse have been identified by different authorities in the field. This include the following:-

(i) Sexual abuse: -

Sexual abuse takes many forms. For example,

Schumit (1980) defines sexual abuse of the child as any sexual misuse of the child by a care-taker or any other adult. Sexual abuse therefore includes incest, oral genital contact, sodomy, harassment, defilement, rape, to mention afew.

Rape: -

In this form of sexual abuse, the child is subjected to violent sexual assault. Mehta, et. al. (1979) note that rape is feared by families around the world, suggesting that it is widespread and that it is particularly common in situation of rapid urbanization or social conflict.

Parental-Child sexual abuse: -

Mehta, et. al (1979) highlights that parent-child sexual abuse was not common a few years back but it is now common especially in the United States. One out of every twenty children in the United states has suffered some form of parent-child sexual abuse involving the father or step father. The damage to the child arising from the experience is the stigma of betrayal at that hand of an immediate relative/care-taker.

Schumit (1980) notes that children who suffer from this kind of sexual abuse appear to suffer from rejection/alienation from the entire family. The dynamics of parent-child sexual abuse tends to thrive on family isolation, male domination and feeling among females of inferiority in many societies.

Child prostitution

Mehta, et. al (1979) note that child prostitutes may be purchased from their parents or guardians for sexual purposes. Children who have run away from their homes may be lured/forced

into prostitution for economic expediency. Schumit (1980) notes that in some societies, men highly value sex with virgins or young children. Such attitudes create incentives for child prostitution.

In some cases, child prostitution is fostered by international travel.

Onyango (1988) notes that in developing countries, due to economic conditions and inadequate legal constraints, men are able to obtain access to children in ways that they could not in their own countries. Available studies on sexual abuse and child labour in Kenya also indicate that in some of the families with young girls working as maids/ayahs, some employers or their sons sexually abuse the young girls. Cases of sexual abuse of young employed girls by their employers and/or their sons have been reported in our local press media. In schools, unsuspecting girls have been sexually abused by some of their male teachers (Onyango 1988).

Child pornography: -

Child pornography is a product of technological changes; it is a less common form of child abuse. Many of the children involved in child pornography are involved in prostitution (Onyango 1988). On the basis of pornographic photographs available to authorities in many countries, it is likely that child pornography is a world-wide problem (Schumit 1980).

**Sexual exploitation of Children
by other prescribed persons.**

Most societies have social norms against sexual exploitation of children by others. However, some of the people with responsibilities over the children abuse their relationship with the children by subjecting the latter to sexual abuse (Onyango 1988).

This kind of sexual abuse is common in United States in which, according to surveys, one-third of all girls and one-tenths of all boys are likely to suffer from this abuse (Mehta, et. al. 1979). It is however not clear how widespread this form of abuse is world-wide.

Nowadays, in Kenya, young girls and boys engage in sexual activities from a very tender age. This is also a form of sexual abuse leading to early child-hood pregnancies and unplanned for babies. It leads to the controversial issue of whether contraceptives should be availed to teen-age children.

2) Physical Child abuse

Available studies on physical child abuse indicate that the various forms of physical child abuse are:-

Parental child battering -

A physical abuse whereby parents intentionally inflict injuries on their children. Kammerman (1975) notes that the most

common context for this type of abuse is overzealous physical punishment to correct mistakes done by the child. This form of physical abuse may occur as a result of parents' uncontrolled aggressiveness, or with parents with sadistic mentality or with social and psychological problems (Kempe and Steel 1961).

Institutional child battering -

This form of physical child abuse is quite similar to parental child battering. The only difference being that institutional child battering is mainly committed in institutions such as schools, orphanages etc.

Child homicide -

Occurs when parents or families kill children for religious, economic, cultural and personal reasons. Most of children who are victims of this abuse are stigmatized socially or religiously as in cases of taboo children or children born outside wedlock (Onyango 1988).

Impairment of children in rituals-

In some rituals of some societies, child rearing practices are potentially harmful and fatal (Manguyu 1988). An example of such rituals is female clitoridectomy and infibulation.

Physical neglect -

A form of child abuse whose most common consequences are malnutrition and disease (Kemmerman 1975). The neglect may be due to poverty, ignorance or other forms of parental incapacity.

Child labour

This refers to the condition where a child works for a wage in order to support oneself or one's family. Whereas it is good for a child to work to acquire skills that may be useful later in life, a child who is employed to earn a living may be abused (Onyango 1988).

In Kenya, we do not have children working in the formal sectors but many children work in the informal sector. Most of these child workers are house boys/girls, herds-boys or "shamba-boys". These children are over-worked, abused by their employers or the employers' children, and paid below subsistence wages (for those working for cash payments). These children, who usually come from very poor families, are employed by the well-off families in order to enable them support themselves or their families.

Emotional/psychological abuse: -

This is a wilful destruction or significant impairment of a child's competence through such acts as punishment of attachment, behaviour punishment of a self esteem and punishment of behaviors

needed for normal social interaction (Gabarino 1983).

The components of this type of abuse include: -

- i) chronic denigration of the child's qualities, capabilities and desires.
- ii) deprivation of access to social contact and resources necessary for normal development as a member of the child's culture.
- iii) chronic threatening of abandonment or severe bodily or social harm.
- iv) extraneous demands on the child.
- v) subjection of the child to deviant child care practices and severe impairment of ability to function socially (Gabarino 1983).

Causes Of Child Abuse.

Eustance (1951) maintains that urban life and environment stress are the major causes of child abuse. Eustance argues that cruelty to children is peculiar in urban areas as opposed to rural societies because family stability in urban areas is more threatened by such additional factors as adverse economic environmental circumstances, lack of education, immaturity and irresponsibility on the part of the parent and deficiency of maternal instinct.

All the above factors make the children victims of cruelty and aggression. The results of the cruelty and aggression against children may be manifested in three of the following forms: -

(i) consistent and deliberate cruelty

i.e the uncontrallable actions of a pathologically sick parent;

(ii) Episodic active - cruelty

i.e momentary violence response of a frustrated or over-burdened parent.

(iii) passive cruelty or neglect

i.e the abusive parent's continual failure to provide for his/her child's basic needs of love, shelter, food, clothing, or medical care.

Eustance (1951) however maintains that although physical neglect is often unavoidable consequence of poverty, deliberate emotional neglect is more often found in middle and upper class homes.

Birrel and Birrel (1976) also found urban life and environmental stress as the major causes of child abuse. In viewing forty two cases of abused children, these sociologists found mental ill-health or subnormality, alcoholism, severe financial difficulties, out of wedlock pregnancies, and single parent status as major causes of abuse. Lack of community support services, day nurseries and ^{Forster} ~~fast~~ care facilities were also found to be causative factors.

Bush (1976) supports Birrel and Birrel. Analysing one hundred and forty cases of homicide, Bush found the affected children to be under fifteen years of age. Poverty, alcoholism, drug abuse, criminal activity, and assault were found to be colloraries of child abuse. Also mothers were found to be frequent perpetrators.

Gelles (1973) found, social economic status, unemployment, unwanted pregnancies, and unhealthy child rearing practices as major causes of child abuse. Urban life and environmental stress are given special ^m ~~em~~phasis.

Gill (1973) supports Gelles and says that a combination of efforts on all levels, including education, legislative action, efforts to eliminate poverty, active participation of social services aiming at reducing family stress and carrying out intervention measures are all needed in order to curb child abuse.

Poverty and social depression have also been found to be causes of child abuse (Giovannoni and Bilingsley 1970). The casual factors given by these writers are;- stress, marital difficulties, poverty, weaker family ties, little knowledge about community resources, and inability to respond to needs of small children. They suggested that child abuse should not be treated as an individual problem, but as a community's responsibility and particularly call for relieving stress exacerbated by poverty as a remedy.

Bwibo (1971) also found poverty and social deprivation as contributory factors of child abuse. Analysing eight cases of battered children in East Africa, he found that broken homes, environmental strain, poverty and social deprivation are precipitates of child abuse. He also found premeditated murderous disciplinary attacks to be colloraries of child abuse.

Inadequate parenting practises has also been found to be a causative factors of child abuse. Steel (1975) gives the following as characteristics of abusive parents:-

- (i) immature and dependent,
- (ii) socially isolated,
- (iii) has a poor self-esteem,

(iv) hold a distorted preception of the child, often role reversal.

(v) has difficulty seeking or obtaining pleasure,

(vi) often have fear of spoiling the child,

(vii) has impared ability to empathise with the child's needs and respond appropriately.

The general idea that one gets from these characteristics is that the abused child is quite apt to be born to a parent/parents who has/have excessive and quite distorted expectations of the child. Often, the parent in this case is looking to the child for need gratification, fantasising that the baby's love for him/her will compensate his/her life-long pattern of being unloved and uncared about. Rather than be happy when the child is happy, such parents are only happy when the child responds to their (parents) emotional and physical needs.

Steel (1975) points out that the abusive parents often punish or discourage investigations and curiosity in the ~~A~~child and that they (parents) are normally erratic in that they may ignore specific behaviour at times and other times pinish or dissaprove the same behaviour. And that such parents may also respond to the needs of the child at one time and they may get angry at the child's needs or ignore them all together at other times.

Birrel and Birrel note that abusive parents are often under chronic stress and that acute crisis often seem to ignite the abusive incident. They emphasize the futility of preventing or reducing child abuse unless one takes a sociological view.

Social stress arising from poverty, child rearing, social isolation, and inadequate housing are given special emphasis.

Borgam (1969) also found inadequate parenting practices as a major cause of child abuse and says that most abusive mothers have a limited intelligence i.e. I.Q below 60.

Hawat, Lynch and Robert (1977) also found inadequate parenting as a major casual factor. In their study of fifty abused children and fifty children control group, they found that;

- (i) Abusing mothers were under twenty years when they had their first child,
- (ii) Abusing mothers were more likely to have signs of emotional disturbances recorded in their maternity notes,
- (iii) Abusing parents were refered to the matenity hospital social workers,
- (iv) The abused babies were likely to have been admitted to the special care baby nursery.
- (v) The abusing mothers often evoked concern over their mothering capacity.

From the above findings, we see that the abusive mother being under twenty years of age is actually too young and is still too emotional for parenthood.

Bowley (1961) says that often, such mother's living environment is harsh. And that in some cases, the first pregnancy

is a result of an effort to escape from the harsh and rigid home. Hence, the young deprived parent in this case expects the child to provide her with the love she has never had. Her expectations of the child's behaviour and development are likely to be totally unrealistic.

Bowley (1961) notes that the emotional disturbances displayed by such mothers include;

- (i) suicide attempts,
- (ii) nervous-break down,
- (iii) drug addiction,
- (iv) being a run-away,
- (v) educational subnormality.

Referral to a Social worker at around the time the child is born is also a sign of emotional and practical difficulties in abusive parents.

Martin (1978) also says that abusive families often have diffuse problems affecting every aspect of their lives, including the marriage, housing, financial matters, employment etc. He further says that admission of the baby to a special care nursery due to prematurity or illness causes distress and that this is likely to jeopardize the normal bonding process and increase the risk of subsequent abuse. He points out that abusive parents are more likely to be socially isolated, trust no one, and have very few if any, friends, and that they judge people primarily in terms of their capacity for need gratification.

Klaus and Kennel (1970) found that factors in a child may increase the probability of abuse. In their study of sixty children (25 abused and 35 control group) they found that the abused child is more likely to be;-

- (i) A product of abnormal pregnancy,
- (ii) A product of abnormal labour or delivery,
- (iii) Had illness in the first year of life.
- (iv) Had a sick mother in first year of life.

Smith and Hanson (1974) also support the fact that factors in the child may also increase the probability of abuse. Among the characteristics given by these sociologists are:-

- (i) The child that is like to be abused is one with a general development quotient of 90 or below on the griffinth scales of mental development.
- (ii) A child that is physically neglected on admission to hospital.
- (iii) A child who is not excitable or lively by day and not wakeful at night.
- (iv) A child with low birth weight.

Soeffing (1975) supports Smith and Hanson and says that abused children are exceptional children. Handicapped children such as

the mentally retarded, the emotionally disturbed, those with physical defects and growth failures are more likely to be abused.

Lynch (1976) also supports Soeffing, Smith and Hanson. She says that factors in a child may increase the probability of abuse. However, she limits her work to factors in parents/child attachment which she says may intrude into optimal bonding and attachment and therefore lead to subsequent abuse.

In general, what we can deduce from the work of Klaus and Kennel (1970), Smith and Hanson (1974), Soeffing (1975), and Lynch (1976) is that:-

- (i) Any factors which intrude into the early bonding and attachment of mother to child such as prematurity and separation of mother and the new born baby increase the risk of the child being abused.
- (ii) Characteristics in a child which make him a less gratifying child increases the chances of abuse. Thus a child for whom it is more difficult to care and who is more difficult to soothe than most babies is more likely to be abused.
- (iii) Any child who does not meet the expectations of the parents is more likely to be abused. This may be as simple as the child being of the "wrong sex" or the child may be normal but does not measure to the expectations of

the parents because the parents' expectations are distorted and unrealistic. Also, a child with abnormalities or illness may constitute disappointment to the parents and is therefore likely to be abused or to be neglected.

(iv) A specific development level of the child may also present stress to specific parents and therefore lead to abuse. For example, some children are only abused during the pre-school age, some are abused during the toddler stage and some are abused during teenage years.

Kalisch (1978) says that the reason why this is so is that the marginal parent may be able to parent the child at some ages adequately but the normal behaviours of a specific development stage may elicit physical attack. She further says that this is also the case because almost all parents find some developmental stages more stressful than others. For example some parents find the inquisitive and talkative pre-school difficult to handle and yet others find problems in handling the temperous teenagers.

Kempe and Helfer (1968) argue that there are children who seem to deliberately invite or provoke abuse by knowingly behaving in a provocative manner or expecting or inviting physical punishment. This may be common among children who feel neglected and that they behave in such away because it may be the only way of obtaining attention from the parents. Such children may equate punishment

with love. In some children, the provocative and often aggressive behaviour seems to be identification with the abusive parents.

Kastel (1962) found out that abusive parents were themselves abused, neglected, or deprived as children. He further says that such parents expect their children to fulfil their needs and that when this does not happen, abuse results. This is also supported by Steel (1975) and Harrold (1976). Smith, Hanson and Noble (1974) also found that specific social characteristics of a given family have a bearing on child abuse.

Among the characteristics given by these sociologists include:- a child whose:-

- (i) natural father is absent from the home,
- (ii) parents acquainted for less than six months prior to marriage,
- (iii) Mother considers the marriage unsatisfactory,
- (iv) mother conceived pre-maturely,
- (v) mother thinks her partner rejects the child,
- (vi) Accommodation lacks one or more basic amenities,
- (vii) mother rarely sees any relatives,
- (viii) mother has no social activities,
- (ix) mother has no opportunities for breaks from the child,
- (x) mother has no friends,
- (xi) mother has inadequate income,
- (xii) mother is a drug addict,

(xiii) born to un-married mother.

A CRITIQUE OF THE REVIEWED LITERATURE:

Most of the available literature is Western with obvious cultural limitations. The literature we have on the Kenya situation is mainly in form of seminar papers and working papers. Very few systematic studies have been done on child abuse in Kenya. These few available systematic studies are on sections of child abuse in general and child labour in particular.

It is clear that while various scholars have been able to identify causes of child abuse in Kenya, there still appears to be a gap in that none has combined all these factors in order to show how they relate to each other. This study looks at child abuse in general, in that the various forms of child abuse, their causes, consequences, and what could be done to reduce or eradicate them are considered. It is hoped that the study would go a step further in filling the gaps in the understanding of the determinants of child abuse and how they can be dealt with.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

The study attempted to answer the following questions:

- (i) What role do parental characteristics such as age, level of income, marital status, and level of education play in child abuse?,

- (ii) Do parental behaviour such as drinking of alcohol, criminal behaviour, and physical and/or mental state have any bearing on child abuse?,
- (iii) Does family composition such as number of siblings and single parenthood have any bearing on child abuse?,
- (iv) Can special characteristics in a child such as illegitimacy, physical and/or mental disabilities and the sex of a child provoke abuse?,

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The major theoretical bases of this study include:

- (i) Role theory,
- (ii) Structural-functional theory.

ROLE THEORY

Role theory has been visualized by quoting a famous passage from Shakespear's "AS YOU LIKE" (Act 2 scene 7) which says:

"All the world's stage,
And all the men and women merely players:
They have their exits and their entrances,
and one man in his time plays many parts".

The assumption here is that just as players on the stage have a clearly defined part to play, so do actors in society as they occupy clear positions. Also, just as players follow a written script, so do actors in society, who must follow specified norms.

Therefore, for the role theory, the social world is seen as a network of many interrelated statuses or positions within which individuals enact roles. For each position, there are various kinds of expectations concerning how occupants must behave. Take for instance the role of parents and children in a family as a unit. Every parent is expected to provide food, shelter, clothing, education and love to the children. The children are in turn expected to respect and obey their parents, and also take care of their parents when they are old. However, due to forces of social change, most parents are unable to meet the above expectations mainly due to financial problems. This is especially the case in large families with low income. Thus the parents who have many children may not be able to meet needs of each individual child. Also families with low income, whether small or big also

face the same problem as the parents may not be able to meet the children's needs. The result is that the children may be neglected, have poor shelter, poor clothing, and little or no medical attention. Some children rebel such life and end up in the streets as street children and sooner or later develop delinquent behavior.

Children with physical or mental disabilities are also difficult to care for and they present problems in their parents' roles. Such children may end up being neglected or abandoned all together. In the well to do families such children end up being placed in institutions that cater for the disabled children and they are therefore separated from the rest of the family, a

factor which makes some of the children emotionally disturbed. Such children are also deprived of parental love and care. In a way, the children in such circumstances are physically and emotionally abandoned.

Normal character of a specific development stage in a child may also present problems to some parents, making it difficult for the parent to play his/her role efficiently and thus exposing the child to abuse. This is especially the case with physical abuse. This is also the reason why some children are only abused during the toddler stage, while other are only abused during the preschool age and yet other are only abused during latency or teenage stages. Thus, the marginal parent may be able to parent the child at other stages adequately but the normal behavior of a specific development stage may cause role problems and elicit physical attack.

Physical or mental disabilities in a parent may also make him/her unable to play his/her role effectively. This is mainly because a physically disabled parent may not be able to carry out the duties required in playing his/her role of bringing up children. Similarly, a mentally handicapped parent is likely to be unable to play his/her role of parenting children effectively. For example, a mental problem may make a parent batter or abandon a child quite easily.

Certain characteristics in a parent such as excessive drinking of alcohol, single parenthood with its associated strain are also likely to make a parent experience problems in playing his/her role

of bring up children, thus, making the children involved more vulnerable to abuse. Similarly, an illegitimate child is likely to present problems in the role of the step parent due to lack of biological bond between the illegitimate child and the step parent, thus making the illegitimate child more vulnerable to abuse.

Some parents who are unable to meet their children's needs are sometimes forced to send their children to the streets to beg for money and other edibles. This practice not only expose the children concerned to many life dangers but also forces the children to start fending for themselves at very tender ages. This makes the children concerned vulnerable to delinquent behavior such as stealing and child prostitution among others as a way of earning a living, since they are forced to play a role that is not meant for them i.e meeting their basic needs.

Some young girls also get unplanned and unwanted pregnancies and they find themselves parents before they are able to play the role that goes with parenthood. This forces some of them to abandon their children while on the extreme, some kill their children. Therefore in cases where a parent is unable to play his/her role in the family as bread winner and provider of shelter, love and protection to the children, the family as a unit is disrupted and the children in such families are more vulnerable to abuse.

STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM THEORY:

In structural functionalism theory, an analogy of the notion

of the function of the part of an organism is drawn to relate to the structures of that organism. For example, if we consider the functioning of the various parts of the human body such as the eye, the ear, the kidney, e.t.c., each of the structures has certain functions to perform. Society in this case is perceived as a set of actions and interactions among human beings. These actions and interactions result in a structure of relations as in a family.

A family as a unit is made up of a father, a mother, and children. Each of the structures mentioned above, father, mother and children, perform different functions contributing to the existence of the family. For example, the father and the mother are charged with the function of procreation, and provision of food, shelter, education, medical attention, clothing and love for the children and for each other. The children in turn have to respect their parents in a systematic authority. Thus the family as a social structure is maintained by continuing role-interaction among the various units mentioned above. This actions and interactions forming a continuous process are functions. This therefore means that actions and interactions of the units within a structure such as father, mother, and children

in a family, function to maintain the family as a structure.

Relating this theory to child abuse, let us assume that the various units of a family i.e father, mother, and the children each contribute a given percentage to the existence of the family. We shall then have something like this

MOTHER %

FATHER %

CHILDREN%

This then explains why children from broken families, orphaned children, and children from single parent families are more likely to be abused as one or more units that function to maintain the family as a unit are missing in each of the cases. In the single parent families, a problem arises from the fact that the single parent has to adjust and play both his/her function and that of the missing partner. With the present forces of social change, this is extremely difficult in terms of being able to make ends meet, especially in the urban areas where the cost of living is extremely

high. It has also been found that the number of single parents is very big in urban areas (see Bwibo 1986). Thus the single parent family would look as shown below :

MOTHER %

Function of
missing father also
to be shouldered by
the mother %

CHILDREN %

The single parent therefore experiences a lot of stress as she/he struggles to fulfil his/her functions and those of the missing partner single handedly to maintain the existence of the family as a unit. For example, she has to continue procreating outside marriage and meet the family's needs single handedly. She therefore undergoes a lot of strain and stress and in the process, the children may be neglected, abandoned or battered, especially when a child makes a mistake when the stressful single parent is under stress.

CHAPTER THREE:**METHODOLOGY****(i) Site Description.**

The study was carried out in Nairobi. Nairobi is the capital city of Kenya and it is most suitable for this study because it has most of the characteristics found responsible for child abuse by Bwibo (1978), Caffey (1972), Gill (1975) and Birrel and Birrel (1976) among others. For example teenage mothers, nuclear families, single parents, etc. are more common in Nairobi.

Nairobi is the capital, commercial, administration, and cultural centre of Kenya. It (Nairobi) is a fast growing city with a population of over 1.5 million. The city centre has an area of about 700 square kilometers and stands at an altitude of 1,675 south of the equator and some 480 kilometers west of Indian Ocean.

Nairobi experiences no real winter or summer because it is near the equator and at a high altitude. The days in Nairobi are warm and the nights are cold for the greater part of the year, with the temperature rarely rising above 80° F (27°C) in the middle of the day or falling below 50°F (10°C) at night. In short, Nairobi enjoys temperate January and August and October, while July is the coolest. The long rains come from end of October to December. The average annual rainfall is about 800 cm.

(ii) Population and Sample Size:

The study consists of three samples. The first sample

consisted of abused children, while the second sample consisted of the parents of the abused children above. The third sample consisted of professionals who in this case are primary school teachers, probation officers, children officers, social workers in institutions that cater for children and pediatricians who deal with children on a daily basis. It was necessary to have the three samples because the study entailed interviewing children of very tender ages, who could not be able to answer some of the questions. Hence the gaps left in the information gathered from the children was filled by the information gathered from the parents/guardians while the gaps left in the information from the parents was filled by the professionals.

The sample of abused children was drawn from the cases of abused children dealt with by Children Department (Nairobi Office) during the year 1989. The reasons why I chose on the cases dealt with in 1989 alone was that if the cases dealt with many years back were included it would be difficult to trace the child and the parents when their time for interview came as they may have migrated to a different place or left Nairobi altogether.

For sampling, all the individual files of the abused children dealt with during the year 1989 were put together and using the surnames of the children involved, the files were arranged in alphabetical order. Using systematic sampling, a random number (N) which in this case was six was chosen and thus every sixth file was picked until I had seventy seven files. There were only eight cases of sexual abuse dealt with during 1989. This eight were all

taken and thus a total sample of eighty five cases was sampled. I therefore expect to have a sample of eighty five children and one hundred and seventy parents, assuming that each child had both parents. However, this was not the case as some children were found to be from single parent families while twenty children and their parents could not be traced. Hence the study reports on sixty five cases of abused children and seventy three parents of the abused children above. It is therefore important to note that this study is limited to those cases that the researcher could follow.

On the sampling of teachers, the names of the primary schools in Nairobi were also arranged alphabetically and using systematic sampling, ten schools were sampled. The names of the teachers in the respective sampled schools were also arranged alphabetically using the teachers surnames and five teachers were sampled from each school. The samples of teachers therefore had a total of fifty teachers.

Systematic sampling was also used to get the names of the other professionals in the mentioned departments and institutions. Their names were also arranged in alphabetical order using the professionals surnames and a sample of eight professionals was drawn from each of the departments. We therefore had a sample of thirty two respondents from the rest of the groups of professionals. In total, we have a sample of eighty two professionals.

(iii) Methods of data Collection.

The study took a form of three factor analysis. These were:-

Use of available data.

The available data on the subject of child abuse was used. This included press reports on incidents of child abuse, seminar papers, and other books and magazines such as psychology Digest, children's magazines, and the various journals that touch on this subject. The available studies on child abuse were also used.

Interviewing of key Informants.

The main instruments used for collecting the required data was a questionnaire. Thus, a questionnaire was used to collect data from the various professionals whose day to day work involved dealing with children. This group of informants also included the parents of the abused children. Hence, two separate questionnaire designs were used;- one for the parents of the abused children and the other for the professionals. The questionnaire used to collect data from the professionals was self administered while the one used for the parents was administered by the researcher.

The group of professionals interviewed included children Officers, primary school teachers, and pediatricians. Also social workers in the various institutions that cater for disadvantaged children such as children homes, approved schools, etc were also

interviewed.

The information gathered from the professionals is only used in the section on recommendations. The same procedure as that used to draw the random sample of abused children was used to draw the sample of the professionals who were interviewed.

(iii) Interview of abused children.

A random sample of eighty five abused children was drawn using systematic sampling as mentioned earlier, and case studies of sixty five children which the researcher could follow was made. For interviewing the abused children, a different questionnaire design from both the one administered to the parents of the abused children and the one administered to the professionals was used.

The individual files of the abused children dealt with by children's department Nairobi office during the year 1989 served as a sampling frame from which a sample of eighty five children was drawn. In all, three different questionnaire designs were used, i.e one for the professionals, the other for the abused children and the third for the parents of the abused children above. A three factor analysis was used to enable the researcher to come up with a more comprehensive study. Hence, for data collection, questionnaire together with sample observation and the information in the individual files of the abused children was used. In cases where the child was too young to give enough information and the information gathered from such a child's records was not comprehensive enough, the neighbours of the child and sometimes the

child's relatives or teachers were also interviewed.

iv. Use of case studies

Individual case studies of the abused children were followed and used to illustrate various points.

(d) Data presentation and analysis:

For presentation and analysis of data, comparative approach was adopted. Here, the data collected from the three groups of respondents mentioned earlier and the available secondary data was compared and analyzed. The research findings were also compared with the available studies in the field of child abuse.

Frequency tables and graphs were used in the presentation and analysis of the data collected. Descriptive statistical techniques used involved the mean, mode and median.

Operational Definition Of Research Variables:**Battered Child:-**

Any child who has been physically abused is considered to be battered. Physical injuries will therefore serve here as a qualifying factor of battering.

Neglected Child:-

For the purpose of this study, the operational definition of a neglected child will be the child on the street. Hence, any child charged with vagrancy by the juvenile court and found guilty of the offence will be considered to be a neglected child.

Abandoned Child:-

Any deserted child and any child left on her/his own without any adult to provide food and the necessary care will be considered to be an abandoned child.

Sexually abused Child:-

Any child found to have been sexually used by an adult was considered to have been sexually abused. Here, incest, oral genital contact, sodomy, molestation, digital manipulation, defilement, and rape, among others were all considered as sexual abuse.

Parental age:-

The apparent ages of the parents of the abused children was found through interviews. The ages of these parents at the time they got their first child was also recorded. These two age categories were then be compared and analyzed in relation to child abuse.

Parental marital status:-

This was found through interviews with the parents concerned. Thus, the parents of the abused children were asked whether they are married or single, divorced or separated or widowed.

Parental level of education:-

This refers to the level of education attained by the parents. Thus, the parents were asked through interviews how far they went to school.

Parental drinking of alcohol:-

Was found by asking the parents concerned whether they take alcohol or not, how often they take alcohol, the kind of alcohol they take most often. [whether they oftenly take illegal or legal alcohol] and how much they spend on alcohol. The amount of money spent on alcohol per month was then compared with the total monthly income and then analyzed in relation to child abuse.

Parenteral criminal behavior:-

Was ascertained by asking the parents of abused children if they have ever been arrested and where applicable, how many times they have been arrested, and what they had done each of the times they were arrested.

Parental physical disability:-

This was found through observation. The nature of physical handicap was noted. The major aim here is find out whether there is any relationship between parental physical disability and child abuse.

Parental mental disability:-

This was found through asking the parents if they have ever been treated for any mental problem. For those who have ever been treated for mental problem, the number of times they have been treated was also noted in order to find out the frequency of the problem.

The number of siblings:

Was found by asking the abused children how many brothers and sisters they have. The parents of the abused children were also asked how many children they have so as to enable the study to counter - check for reliability of the information given by the children.

Poverty:-

In the home was established through finding out what the family's monthly income totals to and analyzing this in relation to the number of siblings in the family. For example, a family with a monthly income of Ksh. 500/- per month with six siblings has Ksh. 500/- for eight people, assuming that the family is made up of both parents and the children. Therefore in a month, each member of the family has Ksh. 62.50/- per month. In a day, each of the family members has 2/- for food, shelter, clothing, health etc. In Kenya today, there is no meal that costs Ksh. 2/-. Hence, such a family is considered to be poor.

Illegitimate child:-

A child born outside wedlock and living with one biological parent and a step parent.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED.

- (i) The study involved covering long distances to reach the respondents and this made it time consuming and expensive. This affected the study because the time allocated for the study turned out to be short and extension of the submission period was sought and granted.
- (ii) It was sometimes quite difficult to bring the parents of the sexually abused children and the physically abused children to openly talk about their abused children. This proved to be too sensitive that some parents broke down and cried recalling the incident. This also became time consuming as some parents required quite sometime to recollect themselves.
- (iii) The study also faced the problem of failing to find the respondents at home. This was especially the case with the working parents and those engaged in petty business. Many fruitless visits had to be made even on appointments. This also delayed the completion of the study quite abit.
- (iv) Communication was also a big problem. Some of the children involved were too young to answer the questions. Relatives and guardians were used and this has the limitation of giving biased answers. Also, some of the parents and the children

could not speak English and the questions had to be translated into Kiswahili and to some extent, to the respondents' mother tongue. This also has the limitation of distorting the questions and therefore affecting the responses. Therefore the information from parents/guardians was normally counter checked by comparing the information from guardians with the neighbours' to ascertain the truth.

- (v) The study also faced the problem of tracing the respondent's homes. This was quite difficult and in some cases, some of the homes were not traced completely. This affected the study quite a lot because the sample size was reduced.
- (vi) The study also faced the problem of lack of finance. The finances allocated for the study by the sponsor fell short of the required amount. A lot of time was taken soliciting funds to complete the study and this led to a delay in completing the study.

CHAPTER FOUR**THE FINDINGS**

This chapter presents the findings of the study. The chapter presents information regarding the demographic characteristics of the children and their parents.

The study included sixty five children who were considered abused at the time of the study as well as seventy three parents of these abused children. The sample included eight sexually abused children, fourteen physically abused children, twenty neglected children, and twenty three abandoned children.

The various categories of abuse are coded as follows:-

- 01 - Sexual abuse
- 02 - physical abuse
- 03 - Neglect
- 04 - Abandonment
- N - Number of Cases

SECTION ONE:**Demographic Characteristics Of The Abused
Children And Their Parents.****(i) Age And Type Of Abuse.**

The findings indicate that thirty seven parents of the children were aged between eleven to fifteen years. Children of age six to ten years were second highest with a representation of thirty four percent while the third position was taken by children of age sixteen years and above.

The children of age five took the fourth position with a representation of eight percent while those below the age of one year were last with a representation of three percent.

According to the findings, children of age eleven to fifteen years tended to be more vulnerable to sexual abuse as they constituted fifty percent of the sexually abused children. Children of age eleven to sixteen years and above were found to be more vulnerable to neglect as eighty two percent of the neglected children were of this age category, while children of age six to ten years were found to be more vulnerable to abandonment as they constituted sixty two percent of the abandoned children. Table one shown below provides information on the ages of the children and the type of abuse.

Table 1:-Ages Of The Children According To The Type Of Abuse.

Age in Years	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	Total	%
Below 1 Yr.	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.7	2	3
1-5	-	-	4	28.6	1	5	-	-	5	7.8
6-10	2	25	5	35.7	3	15	12	52.2	22	33.8
11-15	4	50	5	35.7	9	45	6	26.1	24	36.9
16+	2	25	-	-	7	35	3	13	12	18.5
N	8	100	14	100	20	100	23	100	65	100

None of the sexually abused children was of the age zero to five years, while twenty five percent were of age six to ten years and another twenty five percent were aged sixteen years and above. The remaining fifty percent were aged eleven to fifteen years.

The majority of physically abused children were aged six to fifteen years, while none was below the age of one year. The study found that twenty nine percent of the physically abused children were aged one to five years, while thirty six percent were aged six to ten years and another thirty six percent were aged between fifteen years. None was sixteen years and above.

Most of the neglected children were aged eleven to fifteen years. That is forty five percent of the neglected children were aged eleven to fifteen years while thirty five percent were aged

sixteen years and above and fifteen percent were aged six to ten years. The remaining five percent were aged one to five years while none was below one year.

The ages of the abandoned children ranges from below one year to sixteen years and above. About three percent of the abandoned children were below the age of one year while fifty two percent were aged six to ten years and twenty six percent were age sixteen years and above. Most of the abandoned children were from single parent families and their parents had been arrested, hospitalized or died. This is well illustrated in the case studies.

(ii) Sex Distribution And Type Of Abuse.

The sex of the children was noted and it was found that most of the children were male. The study found that fifty five percent of the children were male while forty five percent were female. Table two shown below illustrates this point.

Table 2:-Sex Distribution According To The Type Of Abuse.

SEX	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	TOTAL	%
MALE	-	-	9	64	16	80	11	48	36	55
FEMALE	8	100	5	36	4	20	12	52	29	45
TOTAL	8	100	14	100	20	100	23	100	65	100

According to the findings, no male was a victim of sexual abuse while majority of physically abused and the neglected children were male. Thus sixty four percent of the physically abused children were male while thirty six percent were female.

Male children were also found to be majority among the neglected children with a representation of eighty percent while only twenty percent of the neglected children were female. On the other hand, female children were majority among the abandoned children. The study found that fifty two percent of the abandoned children were female, while forty eight percent were male.

(iii) Ethnic Distribution.

The study also attempted to establish the ethnic groups of the children and it was found that majority were Kikuyus. Table three shown below illustrates this point.

Table 3:-Ethnic Distribution Of The Children.

ETHNIC GROUP	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	TOTAL	%
KIKUYU	3	37.5	-	-	14	70	11	48	28	43
KAMBA	1	12.5	-	-	2	10	5	22	8	12
MERU	1	12.5	3	21	1	5	2	9	7	11
KISII	1	12.5	4	29	-	-	1	4	6	9
LUHYA	2	25	3	21	-	-	-	-	5	8
EMBU	-	-	2	14	1	5	1	4	4	6
MASAI	-	-	-	-	2	10	1	4	3	5
LUO	-	-	2	14	-	-	-	-	2	3
NOT KNOWN	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	7	2	3
TOTAL	8	100	14	100	20	100	23	100	65	100

As shown in table three above, forty three percent of the children were Kikuyu while twelve percent were Kamba and eleven percent were Meru. The Kisii had a representation of nine percent while the Luhya had a representation of eight percent and six percent were Embu. The Masai had a representation of five percent while three

percent were Luo. The ethnic groups of three percent of the children could not be established as these were abandoned babies whose parents or relatives could not be traced.

(iv) Education Level Of The Children.

The education level of the children was also noted and it was found that most of the children had very little education. This could however be attributed to the fact that some of the children were too young. Table four shown below illustrates the children's level of education.

Table 4:-Education Level Of The Children According To The Type Of Abuse.

EDUCATION LEV.	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	Tot.	%
Below Sch. age	-	-	3	21	-	-	2	8.7	5	8
Never to sch.	-	-	5	36	5	25	6	26	16	25
Nursery	1	13	1	7	-	-	-	-	2	3
Std 1-IV	2	25	3	22	6	30	8	35	19	29
Std V-VII	3	37	2	14	9	45	5	22	19	29
Form I-IV	2	25	-	-	-	-	2	9	4	6
Total	8	100	14	100	20	100	23	100	65	100

Majority of the children had primary education. The study found that twenty nine percent of the children had attained standard one to four level of education, while another twenty nine percent had standard five to seven level of education. Twenty five percent of the children had never been to school while eight percent were below school age and six percent had form one to four education. The remaining three percent were in nursery school.

All the sexually abused children were in school. The physically abused children had majority representation among those who had never been to school. This could be attributed to the fact that some of the physically abused children were maids who had been physically abused by their employers. Thus, according to the

findings, fifty seven percent of the physically abused children had never been to school while twenty six percent of the abandoned children had never been to school. Majority of the neglected children were primary school drop outs.

A few of the children in this category were standard VII or VIII drop outs who had failed to qualify their Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (K.C.P.E) examinations, while others had dropped out of school due to their parents' inability to meet their (children) school requirements.

Majority of the children who were below school age had been physically abused. Thus, twenty one percent of the physically abused children were below school age, while nine percent of the abandoned children were also below school age and none of the sexually abused and neglected children were below school age.

All the sexually abused children were in school while thirty six percent of the physically abused children had never been to school and twenty five percent of the neglected had never been to school. None of the abandoned and the neglected children were in nursery school while thirteen percent of the sexually abused and seven percent of the physically abused children were in nursery school.

Majority of the children with standard I-IV level of education were abandoned. Thus, thirty five percent of the abandoned children had standard I-IV education while thirty percent of the neglected children also had Standard I-IV level of education and twenty five percent of the sexually abused children had standard I-IV level of education. Finally twenty two percent of the

physically abused children had standard I-IV level of education.

Most of the neglected children had standard V-VIII level of education. Thus, forty five percent of the neglected children had standard V-VIII level of education while thirty seven percent of the sexually abused children also had standard V-VIII level of education and twenty two percent of the abandoned children also had standard V-VIII level of education. Finally fourteen percent of the physically abused children had standard V-VIII level of education.

None of the physically abused and the neglected children had form one to four level of education, while twenty five percent of the sexually abused children were between form one and nine percent of the abandoned children were between form one to four in secondary school. Only a total of six percent of all the children were in secondary school.

(v) Child Abuse And Special Children.

The study also attempted to establish the type of children who are more vulnerable to abuse. Illegitimate children, physically and/or mentally handicapped children and children born of single parents tended to be more vulnerable to abuse. Table five shown below illustrates this point.

Table 5:-The Type Children Who Are More Vulnerable To Abuse.

WHETHER THE CHILD IS:-	R E S P O N S E			
	YES	%	NO	%
ILLEGITIMATE	9	(14)	56	(86)
PHYSICALLY AND/OR MENTALLY HANDICAPPED	6	(9)	59	(91)
ORPHANED	4	(6)	61	(94)

As shown in Table five above, fourteen percent of the children were illegitimate, while nine percent had a physical and/or a mental handicap and six percent were orphaned. Some of the illegitimate children had been battered, while some had been neglected and one had been sexually abused. This is well illustrated in the case studies. All the physically and mentally handicapped children had been abandoned or neglected. Also, all the orphaned children had been abandoned or neglected.

(vi) Family Size.

According to the findings, majority of the abused children were from large families. The study found that sixty six percent of the children were from families with six to twelve siblings. See table six shown below.

Table 6:-Number Of Siblings In The Families Of The Abused Children.

NO. OF SIBLINGS	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	To1	%
NOT KNOWN	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	9	2	3
3-5	5	62.5	6	43	5	25	4	17	20	31
6-8	3	37.5	7	50	11	55	16	70	37	57
9-11	-	-	1	7	3	15	1	4	5	7
12+	-	-	-	-	1	5	-	-	1	2
N										

Fifty seven percent of the children were from families with six to eight siblings, while thirty one percent were from families with three to five siblings and seven percent were from families with nine to eleven siblings. Families with twelve siblings and above had a representation of two percent while the number of siblings in the families of three percent of the children could not be established. This was because these three percent were abandoned babies whose parents or relatives could not be established for interview purposes.

Majority of the abandoned children were from large families. That is, seventy percent of the abandoned children were from families of six to eight siblings, while fifty five percent of the neglected children were also from families with six to eight siblings and fifty percent of the physically abused children were also from families from six to eight siblings. Finally thirty

eight percent of the sexually abused children were from families of six to eight siblings.

Generally the sexually abused children tended to hail from small families (families of three to five). Families with nine to twelve children were found to be fewer.

From the findings given in the above table, a significant number of children from families with six to eight siblings tended to be neglected, abandoned, or physically abused.

(vii) Specific Characteristics Of The Parents.

Characteristics of the parents of the abused children were also sought and it was noted that certain characteristics such as parental age, level of education, drinking of alcohol, marital state, isolation and criminal record tend to be risk factors. Parental level of income also seem to play a significant role in child abuse.

(viii) Age Distribution Of The Parents.

The study found that forty two percent of the parents were between age fifteen to twenty five years, while forty three percent were aged between twenty six and forty five and fifteen percent were aged between forty six and fifty one, and above. Table seven shown below illustrates this point.

Table 7:-Ages Of The Parents According To The Type Of Abuse.

AGE OF PARENTS YRS	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	TOL	%
15-20	1	9	4	17.4	3	14.2	3	16.7	11	15
21-25	-	-	8	34.8	5	24	7	38.9	20	27.4
26-30	5	45.5	6	26	1	4.7	1	5.5	13	17.8
31-35	3	27.5	-	-	2	9.5	3	16.7	8	11
36-40	1	9	1	4	2	9.5	1	5.5	5	6.8
41-45	1	9	3	13	-	-	1	5.5	5	6.8
46-50	-	-	1	4.4	6	28.6	2	11.2	9	12.4
51+	-	-	-	-	2	9.5	-	-	2	2.8
N	11	100	23	100	21	100	18	100	73	100

As shown in the above table, majority of the parents of the physically abused children were below the age of thirty years (seventy percent).

Most of them were aged between twenty one and twenty five years (thirty five percent). On the other hand, a large number of the parents of the sexually abused children were aged between twenty six to thirty five years (seventy four percent).

The study also revealed that most of the parents of the abandoned children were aged between fifteen to twenty five years (fifty six percent). The study also tended to reveal that majority of the parents of the neglected children were either too young

(below the age of twenty six years) or fairly old (age forty six to fifty and above). Thus, thirty four percent of the parents of the neglected children were below the age of twenty six years, while twenty nine percent were above the age of forty six years.

(ix) Marital Status Of The Parents.

The study also attempted to establish the relationship between parental marital status and child abuse. The findings seemed to point out that single parents tend to neglect and abandon their children. This is because the findings showed that forty three percent of the parents of the neglected children and eighty nine percent of the parents of the abandoned children were single. This point is well illustrated in table eight shown below.

Table 8:-Parental Marital Status According To The Type Of Abuse

PARENTAL MARITAL S.	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	To1	%
SINGLE	-	-	1	4	9	43	16	89	26	36
MARRIED	9	82	19	83	9	43	-	-	37	51
DIVORCED	1	9	2	9	-	-	1	5.5	4	5
SEPARATED	1	9	-	-	1	5	1	5.5	3	4
WIDOWED	-	-	1	4	2	9	-	-	3	4
N	11	100	23	100	21	100	18	100	73	100

According to the findings, thirty six percent of the parents were single, while fifty one percent were married and five percent were divorced. Out of the remaining eight percent, four percent were separated while another four percent were widowed. Eighty two percent of the abandoned children were abandoned due to their single parent's arrest, hospitalization, or death. This is well illustrated in the case studies.

Most of the parents of the sexually and the physically abused children were married. Thus, eighty two percent of the parents of the sexually abused children and eighty three percent of the parents of the physically abused children were married.

(x) Education Level Of The Parents.

The education level of the parents were also noted and the findings tended to show that the parents, like their children had very little education. The findings also seemed to reveal that education plays a significant role in neglect and abandonment but not in sexual and physical abuse. Table ten shown below illustrates this point.

Table 10:-**Education Level Of The Parents According To The Type Of Abuse.**

PARENTAL EDUCATION	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	To1	%
Never been to sch1	2	18	5	22	12	57	7	39	26	36
Primary level	1	9	10	43	7	33	7	39	25	34
Sec. level F.(I-IV)	6	55	6	26	2	10	3	17	17	23
Sec. level F.(V-VI)	1	9	1	4.5	-	-	1	5	3	4
University	1	9	1	4.5	-	-	-	-	2	3
N	11	100	23	100	21	100	18	100	73	100

According to the findings, thirty six percent of the parents had never been to school while thirty four percent had primary school education and twenty three percent had form one to form four education. Only four percent of the parents had form five to six education and three percent had university education.

Most of the parents of the neglected children had never been

to school (fifty seven percent) while most of the parents of the sexually abused children had secondary school education (seventy three percent).

(xi) Occupation Of The Parents.

The occupation of the parents was also noted and it was found that majority of the parents engage in petty business for a living. They buy and sell fruits, vegetables etc, while a few run kiosks. The study found out that forty two percent of the parents have permanent employment, while twenty five percent run petty business and eight percent have casual employment. The remaining twenty one percent claimed to do nothing for a living. Table eleven shown below illustrates this point.

Table 11:-Occupation Of The Parents According To The Type Of Abuse.

OCCUPATION	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	To1	%
NONE	-	-	-	-	10	47	5	28	15	12
PETTY BUSINESS	4	36	7	30	4	19	6	33	21	29
CASUAL EMPLOYMENT	2	18	2	9	2	10	-	-	6	8
PERMANENT EMPLOYMEN	5	46	14	61	5	24	7	39	31	42
N	11	100	23	100	21	100	18	100	73	100

According to the findings, sixty one percent of the parents of the physically abused children have permanent employment while thirty percent run petty businesses and nine percent have casual employment. Most of the parents of the sexually abused children also have permanent employment. The study found out that forty six percent of the parents of the sexually abused children have permanent employment while thirty six percent claimed to be running petty businesses and eighteen percent claimed to be casually employed.

Most of the parents of the neglected children claimed to be doing nothing for a living. Thus, forty seven percent of the parents of the neglected children claimed to be doing nothing for a living, while twenty four percent have permanent employment and nineteen percent run petty businesses. The remaining ten percent claimed to be casually employed. On the other hand thirty nine

percent of the parents of the abandoned children claimed to be permanently employed while thirty three percent run petty businesses and twenty eight percent do nothing for a living. None had casual employment.

(xii) Parental Levels Of Income.

The study also attempted to establish the income levels of the parents and the findings tended to show that most parents were poor. According to the findings, thirty seven percent of the parents have an income of less than Ksh. 500 per month while twenty two percent earn less than Ksh. 900 per month and ten percent earn less than Ksh. 1,300 per month. Only fifteen percent of the parents had an income of Ksh. 2,100 per month. Table twelve shown below illustrates this point.

Table 12:-Parental Level Of Income According To The Type Of Abuse.

INCOME IN Ksh.	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	TOL	%
> 200-500	1	9	6	26	12	57	8	44	27	37
< 500-900	2	18	8	35	5	23	1	6	16	22
> 900-1300	1	9	1	4	2	10	3	17	7	10
< 1300-1700	3	27	2	9	-	-	3	17	8	11
> 1700-2100	-	-	2	9	1	5	1	6	4	5
2100+	4	37	4	17	1	5	2	11	11	15
N	11	100	23	100	21	100	18	100	73	100

Family incomes for most of the neglected and abandoned children was very low. Fifty seven percent of the parents of the neglected children have an income of Ksh. 200 to 500 per month while forty four percent of the parents of the abandoned children also have an income of Ksh. 200 to 500 per month.

The findings also showed that, eighty percent of the parents of the neglected children have an income of Ksh. 200 to 900 per month while sixty one percent of the parents of the physically abused children also have an income of Ksh. 200 to 900 per month. Thirty seven percent of the parents of the sexually abused children had an income of Ksh. 2100 and above per month.

(xiii) Parental Criminal Record, Drinking Of Alcohol, And Physical And/Or Mental Handicap.

The study also noted some parental characteristics such as parental drinking alcohol, criminal record and physical and/or mental handicap. The findings revealed that thirty nine percent of the parents drink alcohol, while forty seven percent do not drink any alcohol. It was also noted that twenty three percent of the parents had a criminal record while seven percent were physically and/or mentally handicapped. This point is illustrated in table thirteen shown below.

Table 13:- Parental Physical And/Or Mental Handicap, Drinking Of Alcohol, And Criminal Record.

WHETHER THE PARENT	R E S P O N S E			
	YES	%	NO	%
DRINKS ALCOHOL	39	(53.4)	34	(46.6)
HAS A CRIMINAL RECORD	23	(31.5)	50	(68.6)
IS MENTALLY AND/OR PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED	7	(9.6)	66	(90.4)

(seven) Type Of Dwelling

The study tried to establish the type of houses in which the abused children and their parents live. The findings revealed that most of the abused children come from congested dwellings and that majority live in single rooms. The findings showed that sixty seven percent of the parents live in permanent houses while fourteen percent live in semi-permanent houses. The remaining five percent live in paper houses. Table fourteen shown below illustrates this point.

Table 14:- Type Of Dwelling According To
The Type Of Abuse.

TYPE OF DWELLING	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	Total	%
Permanent	8	72.7	18	78	8	38	15	83	49	67
Semi-Permanent	2	18.2	3	13	3	14	2	11	10	14
mud house	1	9.1	2	8.6	6	29	1	6	10	14
Paper house	-	-	-	-	-	4	19	-	-	5
Total	11	100	23	100	21	100	18	100	73	100

Majority of the parents of the sexually abused, the physically abused, and the neglected children live in permanent houses, i.e seventy three percent, seventy eight percent, and eighty eight percent respectively, while very few of the parents of the neglected children live in permanent houses (thirty eight percent).

nineteen percent of the parents of the neglected children live in paper houses while twenty nine percent live in mud houses. This implies that forty eight percent of the parents of the neglected children live in poor houses.

The study also sought to establish whether the houses in which the abused children live have essential services such as running/piped water, electricity, bathroom and toilet. The findings revealed that fifty six percent of the parents live in houses with piped water, while forty eight percent live in houses with electricity and forty two percent have toilets in the houses they live in. Only forty nine percent of the parents have bathrooms in their houses. Table fifteen illustrates this point.

Table 15:-

Whether The Dwelling Has Running/Piped Water, Electricity, Toilet And Bathroom.

DOES DWELLING HAVE:	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	To1	%
Running/piped water	9	82	16	70	7	33	9	50	41	56
Electricity	7	64	12	52	7	33	9	50	35	48
Toilet	9	82	16	70	5	24	8	44	38	52
Bathroom	9	82	14	61	5	24	8	44	36	49

According to the findings, most of the parents of the neglected children, do not have running/piped water, electricity, toilets and bathrooms in the houses they live.

(xvi) Size Of Dwelling.

The size of dwelling was also noted and it was found that many of the parents live in single rooms (fourty five percent), while fourty three percent live in one bedroomed houses and nineteen percent live in two bedroomed houses. Only one percent of the parents live in three bedroomed houses. This is well illustrated in table sixteen shown below.

Table 16:-
Size Of Dwelling According To The
Type Of Abuse.

SIZE OF DWELLING	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	To1	%
A single room	2	18	7	30	15	71	9	50	33	45.2
One bedroomed	5	46	10	44	6	29	4	22	25	34.2
Two bedroomed	3	27	6	26	-	-	5	28	14	19.2
Three bedroomed+	1	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.4
N	11	100	23	100	21	100	18	100	73	100

Many of the parents of the neglected children live in single rooms (seventy one percent), very few of the parents of the sexually abused, and the physically abused children live in single rooms, i.e eighteen percent and thirty percent respectively. On the other hand, fifty percent of the parents of the abandoned children live in single rooms, while forty six percent of the parents of the sexually abused children live in one bedroomed houses. generally, most of the children live in congested environments as seventy nine percent of the children live in houses with either one bedroom or single rooms.

(xvii) The Parents' Religion.

The religions of the parents was noted and it was found that majority of the parents were Christians (fifty one percent). The findings also revealed that twenty nine percent of the parents were Muslims while three percent were Hindus and five percent belonged to other religious groups. The religion of twelve percent of the parents was not specified. Table seventeen shown below illustrates this point.

Table 17:-Religious Groups Of The Parents According To The Type Of Abuse.

RELIGIOUS GROUPS	01	%	02	%	03	%	04	%	TOL	%
Christian	7	64	12	52	5	23	13	72	37	51
Muslim	3	27	8	35	6	29	-	22	21	29
Hindu	-	-	1	4	1	5	-	-	2	3
Any other	1	9	-	-	3	14	-	-	4	5
Not Specified	-	-	2	9	6	29	1	6	9	12
N	11	100	23	100	21	100	18	100	73	100

The study also attempted to establish whether the parents belong to any self-help groups in their community and it was found that fifty six percent of the parents do not belong to any group at all. Only forty four percent of the parents belong to self-help groups. Table eighteen shown below illustrates this.

Table 18:-**Parental Group Membership.**

Whether parent is member of any group	No. of parents	%
Yes	32	44
No	41	56
Total	73	100

Chapter Five:

Data Interpretations and Analysis

Majority of the abused children were aged eleven to fifteen years. According to Erickson (1972), children of this age are either starting their adolescent stage or they are already in their adolescent stage and the adolescent is sometimes difficult to cope with. This could therefore mean that most parents find problems coping with the adolescent, a factor which makes the adolescent child vulnerable to abuse. Out of age eleven to fifteen category, most of the children were neglected. majority of the neglected children claimed that they had fallen out of school due to the inability of their parents to maintain them in school or after failing their (K.C.P.E). It could therefore be argued that these children resorted to street wondering due to idleness.

Children of age one to ten years had a significant representation among the physically abused children. children of this age are normally dependent as they are still very young. The fact that sixty five percent of the physically abused children were between age one to ten years may lead us to argue that some parents have problems coping with the dependent nature of children of this age. It is also important to note that fifty two percent of the abandoned children were between age six to ten years. Most of the children in this age category were between six to eight years and therefore too young to know much about their parents homes or origin.

We may however, argue that with the forces of social change, many parents are finding problems coping with needs and demands of the young and dependent children. This puts a lot of pressure on the roles and functions of the parents making it difficult for some parents to play their roles efficiently. The role and function of the parent is worsened in cases of single parenthood as was the case in about ninety percent of the cases of the abandoned children. It also seems that rural urban migration has cut off many people from their relatives, giving a lot of room to child abandonment in cases of calamities such as illness and death of the parent/parents.

The mean age of the sexually abused children was found to be twelve years, while the physically abused children had a mean age of eight years and the neglected children had a mean age of thirteen years. The mean age of the abandoned children was eleven years, and the mean age of all the children was also found to be eleven years.

The variance of the ages of the sexually abused children was found to be fourteen while that of the ages of the physically abused children was twenty three and that of the ages of the neglected children was fourteen. Finally the variance of the ages of the abandoned children was also found to be twenty three.

Most of the abused children were male (fifty five percent). This could be attributed to the fact that male children are more aggressive than the female children and that some parents find problems coping with this aggressive tendency, a factor which

exposes the male children to abuse. (see Elkin and Handel 1978). The study however revealed that some forms of abuse are more common to a particular sex compared to the other. For example, according to the findings of the study, sexual abuse tended to be more common to the female children as one hundred percent of the sexually abused children were female, while physical abuse and neglect tended to be more common to the male children as sixty four percent of the physically abused children and eighty percent of the neglected children were male. These findings may lead us to suggest that female children are more vulnerable to sexual abuse while male children are more vulnerable to physical abuse and neglect.

The ethnic groups of the children were noted and the findings revealed that most of the children were Kikuyu. This could be partly attributed to the fact that the site of the study is dominated by the Kikuyu and partly to the fact that most of the neglected children understood and spoke Kikuyu fluently. Hence, some who are not Kikuyu may have been mistaken to be Kikuyu. However, the fact that the Kikuyu ethnic group had majority representation in the three of the four types of abuse under study could be attributed to the fact that the Kikuyu ethnic group was most affected by the colonial rule in Kenya, a factor which led to the displacement of many of the Kikuyu as the colonial rulers grabbed their (kikuyu) land and eroded their traditions and customs. (see Kenyatta 1978).

Today there are many Kikuyus in Nairobi who own no other home

88

apart from the Nairobi one, whereas other ethnic groups such as the Luhya, Luo, Kisii, etc have a tradition of holding on to the two homes; a rural and urban one. It is therefore not easy to find children from the above ethnic groups abandoned since they always have another home and probably known relatives to resort to in times of calamity unlike the Kikuyu who tend to be too individualistic.

An interesting finding was that the Kikuyu and Kamba had no physically abused children, while the Kisii, Meru, and Luhya had majority representation among the physically abused children. This could have something to do with the socialization process of the various ethnic groups. The Kisii and Meru for instance tend to be too emotional and this could be the reason why the Kisii and the Meru had majority representation among the physically abused children.

Luo children were found to be vulnerable to physical abuse only, while the Massai children were found to be vulnerable to neglect and abandonment. The findings also showed that the Embu children are vulnerable to physical abuse, neglect, and abandonment but less vulnerable to neglect, while the Meru children tended to be vulnerable to all the four types of abuse. The reason why children from the various ethnic groups are more vulnerable to certain forms of abuse and not others could be connected to the socialization process of the various ethnic groups and more so, the beliefs and customs of the various ethnic groups.

A look at the education level of the children revealed that

the children have very little education (Ref. Table four). This could however be attributed to the fact that some of the children involved were too young. It was however found that twenty five percent of the children had never been to school though they were above school age. The children who had never been to school claimed that their parents could not afford to take them to school due to lack of funds. These children were mainly from poor families. The findings however tended to reveal that most of the parents who never went to school never took their children to school. Instead, such parents give away their children to be employed as maids/ayahs/houseboys at a very tender age. Such parents also tend to leave their children to start fendng for themselves at very tender age. They seemed to be in a hurry to get rid of their responsibility of caring for their children and thus transfer their roles to the children.

According to the findings of the study, the illegitimate child, the handicapped child, and the orphaned child seem to be more vulnerable to abuse. Bwibo (1976), Birrel and Birrel (1976), and Sherinda (1971), among others found that illegitimate children were more vulnerable to abuse. These scholars argue that lack of strong biological bond between child and parent, and particularly a mother, makes the child more vulnerable to abuse. This study supports this argument. Most of the abused illegitimate children had been abused by their step mothers. The study also observed that illegitimate children staying with their biological fathers and step mothers are worse placed than those staying with their

step fathers and their biological mothers. Many illegitimate children complained that their fathers never care what they go through even when they complain to them about their step mothers.

On the other hand, the physically and mentally handicapped children seemed to be vulnerable to abuse due to the demands, such children put on the roles of their parents. In actual sense, the handicapped child requires extra love and care which some parents seem to be unable to provide. It was also noted that some parents who have handicapped children are not aware of the available institutions that rehabilitate such children. The few parents who are aware of the available rehabilitation centres claimed that the centres are too expensive for them to afford and that the Government ones are inaccessible.

Orphaned children seemed to be vulnerable to abuse in general and abandonment in particular. In traditional African societies, caring for orphaned children was well defined and quite healthy. However, many changes have occurred in the various African societies leaving such vital models undefined and this has left plenty of room for abuse of the orphaned child. Some relatives of the orphaned children take such disadvantaged children to look after them but instead of according them the love, care and protection they need, they turn the orphaned children into maids/ayas/ and some even subject them to physical abuse.

The study observed that due to the forces of social change, and especially financial difficulties, the relatives of the orphaned children decline taking up the care and upbringing of the

orphaned children. In some cases, the relatives of the orphaned children do not show up until they learn that the children have been taken up by the state to a children's home.

According to the findings, most of the children were from large families. The mean number of children per family was found to be six. In Kenya today the cost of living is quite high and large families are more likely to feel the pinch most.

This is especially the case with large families living in urban areas, since the cost of living in the urban areas is higher than in the rural areas. The study noted that many parents with large number of children find problems meeting the children's needs such as adequate food, shelter, and education. A large family may also expose the children to abuse as the parents are sometimes strained in the struggle of meeting their children's needs and when they fail, some release their frustrations on the children. This may easily lead to physical abuse of the children. Some parents after failing to meet their children needs may simply neglect the children.

Eustence (1951), Swibo (1971), Gill (1975, Gelles (1973) Neuberger (1975) and Birrel and Birrel (1976) among others found urban life and environmental stress as a major cause of child abuse. This study observed that the urban life makes the situation of families with low income worse as they have to pay rent, buy water, fuel, etc. Which are obtainable in the rural areas free of charge or at very low cost.

The study observed that the families concerned would be better placed in the rural areas in terms of educating their children since bus-fare, school shoes, etc are not school necessities in the rural areas. Hence, the study noted that in urban life family stability is threatened more by factors such as adverse economic and environmental circumstances, immaturity, and to some extent, irresponsibility on the part of some parents. All these factors make children vulnerable to abuse.

As argued by the role theory, we find that parents in the urban areas have a more difficult role compared to the parents in the rural areas because the parents in the urban areas have to undergo a more strenuous financial obligations than their counterparts in the rural areas.

Some parents find problems coping with their strenuous financial obligation and some end up stressed and batter their children due to the stress. Others simply neglect their children while others find themselves in problem with the law in the struggle to make ends meet, sometimes getting arrested and therefore abandoning their children altogether.

Inadequate housing was found to be a major problem in more than eighty percent of the families. In most cases, the families had a single room functioning as a kitchen, sitting room, dining room, bedroom, library etc. As illustrated in table seven, majority of the children were from large families. The mean number of children per family was found to be six. It is therefore quite difficult for a family of eight (assuming that the family has both

parents) to be comfortable in a single room or a one bedroomed house as a few of the families had a one bedroomed house. Hence, as the children grow up, they reach a stage when they easily start feeling uncomfortable in this kind of environment and some may feel displaced and leave their families and start fending for themselves at a very tender age. Others learn of issues related to sexual relations from their parents at very tender ages and therefore indulge themselves into sexual activities at an early stage. Hence, this leads to the problem of unplanned pregnancies, unwanted children, and teenage mothers.

Social isolation was also found to be a common problem as most people do not belong to any self-help groups in their community and have no friends. It also seems that in Nairobi, people hardly bother what a neighbour is doing to his or her children. Gill (1975), Gelles (1973) Neuburger (1975) Borgman (1969), Smith, Hanson and Billingsley (1970) among others found social isolation as one of the most common causes of child abuse. Ideally, parents who have friends are more likely to be able to share their family problems with their friends and get some assistance and/or advice from their friends whenever possible, whereas parents who are isolated may only keep their problems to themselves and this has a likelihood of causing stress. Under such stress, the parent in question may easily abuse his/her children.

The study found that the dwelling houses of majority of the families are poor and congested. Such congested dwellings and environments are quite prone to epidemics and other related

problems that pose danger to the lives of the children. Many of the children also came from families that live in houses lacking essential facilities such as piped water, electricity, toilets and bathroom.

CHAPTER SIX
DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS.

QUESTION (i) What role do parental characteristics such as age, education level, income level, and marital state play in child abuse?

(i) Parental age.

The study sought to establish the role played by parental age in child abuse. Questions three and four, appendix three were used. The findings showed that parents who are very young (i.e below the age of twenty five years) are more likely to abuse their children. This could be attributed to the fact that a parent below the age of twenty five years is still too young and emotional to be able to parent children responsibly. Most of the children with such young parents tended to be vulnerable to physical abuse, neglect, and abandonment. In some cases, some of those young parents were financially dependent on their parents. Such financial dependence in itself incapacitates responsible parenthood.

Children with parents of age fifty-one years and above also seemed to be vulnerable to abuse in general and neglect in particular. This could be attributed to the fact that most parents of age fifty-one and above may have already had disappointments from some of their elder children or they may be already contended

with what the older children have achieved and they may have become less responsible or loving and caring to the younger children. Hence, the younger children may feel neglected and some may react by becoming delinquent or performing poorly in school and finally dropping out of school. And once, idle the child may resort to street wandering.

According to the findings of this study, the most suitable age for parenthood seemed to be age thirty six to forty five years as most parents in Nairobi are more likely to fall within this age category and yet very few parents in this category had abused children. Wolf (1981), Teroedjre (1981) Robertson (1979), Korbin (1981), Izuora and Ebigbo (1983) and Kammerman (1975) among others argue that tender age in a parent is a risk factor. These scholars argue that parents below age twenty years are more likely to abuse their children. This is based on the argument that such young parents are inexperienced and still too emotional to bring up children responsibly. The following case studies illustrates this point.

W. M. aged five years and B. O. aged seven years were found to have been physically abused by both their parents. The mother of W.M was nineteen years old while his father was twenty fours years old. W.M's parents used to beat him badly causing fractures of his limbs and sometimes ribs. W.M. also had many marks on the trunk which he claimed results from his parents pinching. On the other hand, B.O's parents were both twenty three years old. They also used to beat B.O badly causing fractures of his limbs. Both B.O

and W.M were identified as battered children at kenyatta National Hospital. The observation made by the Kenyatta Hospital social worker was that the parents involved were young and too emotional and therefore unable to control their tempers especially when punishing their children.

The study noted that apart from being too emotional and inexperienced, parents who are still young (below age twenty five years) hardly expose their children to their relatives and in case of a calamity befalling the parents, the children have nobody familiar to turn to for assistance. This was made worse by the fact that majority of the young parents in the study were single mothers. This was found to disadvantage the children even more. The case of J.A and D.K. given below illustrates this point.

J.A. and D.K. were from single mother families. The mother of J.A was sixteen years while the mother of D.K was nineteen years old. J.A, his brothers and sisters were abandoned due to their mother's illness leading to hospitalization, while D.K, her brothers and sisters were abandoned due to their mother's death. In both cases, the mothers had deserted their homes due to having conceived while in school. They had cut off ties with their parents completely and set up their own homes here in Nairobi, hardly getting in touch with their family members and relatives. It took children's Department a very long time to trace the relatives of the children involved, meanwhile, the children had to stay at the Nairobi children's remand home and the very young ones in the two families had to stay at the New Nairobi children's Home.

The older ones stayed at the remand Home, because of lack of space in the various children's Homes in Nairobi.

The study found that fifty two percent of the parents who physically abused their children were below age twenty five years. This agrees with the findings of Izuora (1983), and Gaberino (1983) among others that young parents are normally too emotional and that this makes them easily batter their children. Fifty eight percent of the parents in this age category abandoned their children. This could be a proof that parents of this age are still young and irresponsible.

All the parents of these children had never been to school. D.M and S.R claimed that they had never been to school because their parents told them that one does not need education to survive. J.M claimed that he had been educating himself by collecting fruits from Ukulima market and selling them to raise money for the required fees at school. He claimed that early in the morning on Saturdays and Sundays, he goes round Ukulima market collecting fruits and tomatoes which falls from those sold by the various traders who sell in bulk and spends the rest of the week selling his collection every after school. He claimed that his parents told him that he doesn't need formal education because they (the parents) had no education but are living and are comfortable. J.M gave up schooling in standard four due to inability to raise enough money to keep him at school and most likely, due to lack of encouragement from his parents.

On the other hand, M.M had been battered by his employer. She

had never stepped in school. She claimed that her parents gave her away to a well-off family to be employed as an ayah at the age of ten years. Although she longed to go school very much, her parents who had never gone beyond primary school told her that instead of wasting time going to school, she should think of earning some money for the family's use because education is not important at all.

(ii) Parental Level of Education.

Question twelve appendix three was used to find out the education level of the parents. The findings tended to reveal that there is a significant relationship between parental level of education and child abuse. Most of the parents had very little education while many others never went to school at all.

Seventy percent of the parents never went beyond primary school. Out of these seventy percent, thirty six percent never went to school at all, while thirty four percent had attained some primary school education. Only seven percent of the parents went beyond form four.

The most interesting finding was that none of the parents of the neglected children had gone beyond primary school level of education. This could explain why such parents seem to be less concerned with their children's education and leave them to wonder about in the streets. This could also explain why none of the neglected children in the study had gone beyond standard eight level of education. This point is well illustrated in the case

studies below.

D.M., S.R., and J.M. were among the neglected children. D.M and S.R had never been to school while J.M had dropped out of school in standard four. Her parents who were primary school drop-outs told her that instead of wasting time going to school, she should think of earning some money for her family's use because education is not important at all.

The above case study seems to point to the fact that parents who never went to school and those who never achieved better standards of education tend to discourage their children from going to school. None of the parents of the neglected children in the study went beyond primary level of education. On the other hand, the parents of the sexually abused children, the physically abused children and the abandoned children had comparatively higher levels of education and their children also had comparatively higher levels of education compared to the neglected children. (ref. tables four and ten). From the findings of the study, we may argue that parents with low education level are more likely to neglected their children.

(iii) Parental level of Income.

Questions six, seven and eight appendix three were used to categorize the incomes of the parents. According to the findings, the incomes of most parents tended to be on the lower side. thirty seven percent of the parents have an income of less than Ksh. 500

per month while twenty two percent have an income of Ksh. 500-900 per month. This means that a total of fifty nine percent of the parents have an income of less than Ksh. 1000 per month. (ref table twelve). The mean income per family for the families of the sexually abused and the abandoned children was found to be Ksh. 1000 and 990 respectively, while the mean income per family for the families of the physically abused and the abandoned children, was Ksh. 650 per month.

Considering a family of a father, mother and their six children, (the mean number of siblings per family was found to be six), we find that the eight members of the family have to survive on Ksh. 650 per month. This means that each of the family members has Ksh eighty-one and twenty five cents per month. It also means that each of the family members has to survive on two shillings and seventy cents per day. Assuming that the family members get three meals per day, each of the meals should be worth ninety cents. In Kenya today there is no single meal that can cost ninety cents. In fact this amount has not taken into account other basic needs such as shelter, clothing, health, education etc.

Giorannoni and Billingsly (1970), Bwibo (1971), Gelles (1973, Gill (1973), Birrel and Birrel (1976) and Bush (1976) among others found that severe financial difficulties precipitate child abuse. These scholars argue that parents with severe financial difficulties tend to be stressed most of the time and that this stressful situation can lead to child abuse.

This study noted that apart from stress, parents with low

income also tend to have child rearing problems as most of them tend to spend most of their time away from home struggling to make ends meet. Some go about hawking the whole day while others are employed as maids and therefore spend a whole day at their employers houses, and yet others spend the whole day and part of the night in the bush brewing and selling illegal brews (chan'gaa). They brew from the bush so as to keep off from the police. In such families, the parents leave the care of their young children to the older children who may not be old enough to provide adequate care to the young child. The young children in such situations are quite prone to avoidable accidents. The older children in such situations were observed to easily develop delinquent behaviour and in most cases;- street wondering. The following case studies illustrates this point.

L.M and B.W were found to be from low income families. In the case of L.M her mother was a hawker and L.M aged twelve years was the eldest child in the family. Since her mother was always hawking up to late in the night, it was the duty of L.M to care for her younger brothers and sisters, including a five month's old baby. After sometimes, L.M started rebelling and refusing to perform her normal duties. This prompted her unmarried mother to beat her up terribly. L.M deserted her home after the mother's beating and became a street wandering girl.

In the case of B.W, his parents earn a living by brewing illegal brews. B.W who was also the eldest in the family used to assist in the selling of the illegal brews. Within no time, B.W

started taking the illegal brew (chan'gaa) and he later started taking toxic drugs. By the time B.W's -parents approached children's department for assistance, B.W was beyond correction as he was already sixteen years old.

The study also observed that due to severe financial difficulties, some parents are unable to maintain their children in school. Thus, although primary school education in Kenya is free, there are other financial needs in school such as Harambee funds, building funds, books, uniforms, etc. parents with low income tend to be unable to meet these needs and this makes children to drop out of school. Once out of school, the children become idle and in some cases, resort to street wandering and/or other delinquent activities.

Some of the low income parents were also found to earn a living by sending their children to the streets to beg for money and other edibles for the family's use. This practice exposes children to earning easy money and soon or later makes the children desert their homes for street life. Apart from exposing the child involved to other forms of abuse, street life also poses many dangers to the life of the child.

The findings also revealed that due to financial difficulties, some parents stop fending for their children at very tender ages. This forces the children concerned to resort to street wandering, stealing, etc., to meet their needs. This kind of role reversal may also make the child develop delinquent behaviour from childhood and such a child may grow up to become an adult criminal. The case

of X, Y, and Z, illustrate this point.

X, Y and Z were found to be among the children from very poor families. The parents of X, and Z earn a living through hawking while the parents of Y earn a living through brewing and selling alcohol (chan'gaa). All the three children come from very large families and their parents seemed to be unable to provide for their (children's) basic needs. X, Y and Z claimed that they started fending for themselves at the age of four or five years, by begging in the streets for money and edibles and that through begging in the streets, they also managed to take some money and food back home to their younger brothers and sisters. At the moment X, Y and Z are aged over fourteen years but they are still in the streets. Efforts to settle them down in the Approved schools have failed since they always escape from the approved schools whenever they are taken there. They have grown up used to earning easy money and food and this seems to be the only kind of life they know.

The study also found that some parents who have financial difficulties give away their children to be employed as maids/ayahs at very tender ages. This could also be seen as a way of the parents getting rid of their responsibility over the child as well as making the child provide for his/her family, since the child's salary is normally paid to the parents. In away, this can be termed as role reversal as the parents have their child providing for them instead of being the ones to provide for the child. Studies on child workers in Kenya have revealed that such children

are ill-treated, ill-fed, and are prone to teenage pregnancies. hence, financial difficulties may expose children to various forms of abuse.

Parental Marital State.

According to the findings the majority of the parents were unmarried. Thus, forty eight percent of the parents were single (unmarried), while thirty seven percent were married and another six percent were divorced. Another five percent were separated, while the remaining five percent were widowed. In all the cases of divorce, the children were staying with their mothers.

Most of the single parents complained of the inability to make ends meet and to maintain discipline in their children. Those who were single due to separation, divorce, or widow hood, claimed that it was much better while with their spouses because then, they would pool their resources together and afford to give their children better quality life and education but now, the situation is different and that their children seem to be emotionally disturbed as they seem to want the missing parent.

Many of the single parents also complained that their children refuse school and start wandering about the streets or go to work for a salary which the rest of the family members never see. Such deviant behaviour in children from single parent families could be said to be a result of emotional disturbances in the children. Hence, the children's rebellion may be seen as a manifestation of the emotional disturbances.

The study found out that children from single parents families tend to be more prone to neglect and abandonment. In reality, a single parent undergoes a lot of strain in the effort to bring up the children single handedly as this is a role designed for two people. Also, in the event of natural calamities such as illness, accidents or death, the children are left all alone with no parent to care for them. Ninety one percent of the abandoned children were from single mother families and had been abandoned due to their mother's arrest, hospitalization, or death. This therefore means that if these children had both parents, they would not have been victims of abandonment as the remaining parent would have taken over the care of the children.

The study observed that some single parents break down due to the stress they experience in caring for the children single handedly and some release their frustrations on the children. The children in such situations end up battered or neglected. It is however worth noting that it is not only the single parents who get stressed and react to the stress by battering or neglecting their children as some married parents and even maids were also found to batter and/or neglect children under their care. Illegitimate children tended to be the major victims of neglect and battering arising from stress.

Therefore as hypothesised by the role theory and the structural functional theory, we see that it is important for the children to have both parents because in the event of one of the parents meeting a calamity, the remaining parent takes over his/her

role plus that of the missing parent and this saves the children from abandonment. Also, from the findings shown in table number nine, we can argue that children from single parent families are more vulnerable to abandonment.

Question II:- Do parental behaviour such as criminal behaviour, drinking of alcohol, and physical and/or mental state have any bearing on child abuse?

Parental Criminal record.

The study sought to find out the relationship between the parent's criminal behaviour and child abuse. Questions fifteen and sixteen (appendix three) were used. The findings showed that thirty two percent of the parents had been arrested at least once, while some among the thirty-two percent had been arrested several times due to offenses ranging from hawking without licence to stealing, assault, and brewing of illegal alcohol. The arrest of parents was found to be a cause of great suffering to the children, especially in the cases of single parents as the arrest led to the abandonment of the children. This is well illustrated in the case studies.

The study however observed that majority of the parents were simply arrested while answering one of the most important of natures call i.e., "striving to provide for their children". This is shown in the fact that most of the parents were arrested due to offenses such as hawking without licence , or brewing illegal

brews. The study found out that forty-four percent of the parents were arrested due to hawking without licence. These parents claimed that although they need a licence to enable them sell their goods, the licences are never given to them even when they approach the appropriate authority. They also complained that the places given to them as alternative to street hawking are far removed from the city centre and customers are rare in these lawful hawking places.

On the other hand, thirty-two percent of the parents who had ever been arrested had been arrested due to brewing chang'aa. These parents claimed that chang'aa brewing was their only economic activity and therefore their only source of income for their families. Therefore, on one hand, the parents arrested for hawking and brewing of illegal alcohol may be seen as having committed criminal offenses while on the other hand, these parents could be considered as having been merely struggling to earn a living (to survive).

In general children whose parents are prone to frequent arrests suffer a great deal, especially those from single parent families. Such children are normally abandoned after their parent's arrest. The study found that parental arrest is a major cause of abandonment in Nairobi. The arrest also tended to have a negative effect on the children.

Parental drinking of alcohol.

The study attempted to find out if there is any relationship

between parental drinking of alcohol and child abuse. Questions thirteen a, b, c, and Question fourteen (appendix three) were used. The findings showed that fifty-three percent of the parents take alcohol. It was further noted that for those parents who take alcohol, fifty-seven percent take alcohol every day.

The study noted that some parents abuse their children due to the influence of alcohol. For example, some men were found to have sexually abused their daughters or maids due of the influence of alcohol. In some cases, the spouses of those who take alcohol (mainly females) complained that their husbands sometimes beat them plus their children or chase them out of the house into the cold late in the night after they have been drinking alcohol. Some also complained that their husbands spend all their income on alcohol and neglect their responsibility of providing for the children. The study noted that most of the parents who take alcohol spend most of their time and money on alcohol at the expense of their families care and provision.

In cases where we have a single parent who takes alcohol excessively, and in cases where both parents take alcohol excessively, the children were observed to be ill-fed and poorly clothed. The children in such families tended to be totally left to the care of a maid if there is any in the family. Where there is no maid, the older children are totally given the duty of caring for the young ones in the family. This gives the children a leeway to venture in delinquent activities since there is no parent to check and control them. The study also noted that the parents who drink

alcohol excessively tend to leave their children to start providing for themselves at very tender ages and this also leads children to street wondering and other delinquent activities.

The study observed that domestic violence arising from parental drinking of alcohol is a major cause of broken marriages, leaving the children with a single parent and also making the children concerned more vulnerable to abuse. In majority of the cases of broken marriages, it's the women who are left with the burden of bringing up the children.

Infact broken marriage should be seen as a cause of child abuse since the children involved suffer in at least one way or another and are made vulnerable to abuse due to breaking up of the parents. In most cases, children form each broken families suffer financial hardships and/or emotional disturbances.

The study also noted that parents who take alcohol tend to leave their children unattended for long hours as they are in most cases away from home working or having a drink with friends after work. Such lack of attention for the children may also give the children leeway to venture into delinquent activities. Such children were found to be vulnerable to neglect and street wandering in particular. Some children may also react to such lack of attention by making mistakes or truanting school in order to attract the attention of the parents and this has a likelihood of affecting the child's performance in school and may lead to the child failing his/her national examinations or dropping out of school altogether.

The study also found that parents who brew and sell illegal alcohol for a living are vulnerable to frequent arrests leading to the abandonment of their children. Such parents were also found to leave their children unattended for long hours and their children were found to be vulnerable to street wandering. This is well illustrated in the case studies.

Parental Mental/And /Or Physical State-

The study attempted to establish the relationship between the parental physical and/or mental handicap and child abuse. Questions seventeen, eighteen and forty (appendix three) were used. The findings revealed that ten percent of the parents had a mental and/or physical handicap. Physical and/or mental handicap makes the children vulnerable to abuse since the handicap poses a problem in the parent's ability to go about the duties that go with their roles and functions in the family.

The study observed that some of the physically handicapped parents, especially the blind and lame ones take their children along with them as they go about begging in the streets. Such children are indeed disadvantaged since they do not go to school and they are idle most of the time. The children in such circumstances may easily resort to street life since the kind of life they lead tends to train them to earn easy money and food.

On the other hand, parents with a mental handicap were found to easily abandon, neglect or physically abuse their children due to their mental state. Hence, children with mentally and/or

physically handicapped parents tend to be more vulnerable to abuse.

Question III:- Does family composition such as; number of siblings and single parenthood have any bearing on child abuse?

Number Of Siblings.

The study sought to establish the relationship between large families and child abuse. Question seven (appendix two) and Question five (i) and (ii) (appendix three) were used. The findings revealed that significant number of the abused children came from large families. The mean number of children per family was found to be six (Ref. Table six).

In Kenya today, the cost of living is very high. Families living in urban areas are bound to feel the pinch most, especially the large families. A family of six sibling is in itself very big and parents are more likely to experience many financial difficulties in meeting the needs of the children.

The study observed that some of the parents who have many children engage in illegal activities to generate some income and curb their financial difficulties and this leads them into problems with the law, making them prone to frequent arrests. Such arrests cause a lot of strain to their families and in some cases, the children are left abandoned with no body to care and provide for them.

The study also noted that children from large families tend to

be more vulnerable to dropping out school due to the inability of their parents to meet their (the children) school needs this is, although primary school education is "free" in Kenya, other school needs such as books, uniforms, harambee fees, etc, turn out to a be burden which can not be borne by some parents. This leads to many children dropping out of school and as a result they become idle and this causes some children to resort to street wandering.

The study observed that some of the parents who have large families and are unable to provide for their children's needs send their children to beg for money and other edibles on the streets, and this exposes the children involved to many dangers including death through traffic accidents. The practice also exposes children to earning easy money and this makes some children to desert their homes for the streets. Some of the parents who have many children and have low income give away their children to be employed as ayahs/maids/houseboys in well-off families. Studies have revealed that these child workers are mistreated, ill-fed and lowly paid by their employers.

The study noted that families with many sibling have sleeping problems as most of the children were from families living in a single room. As a result, some parents are always in hurry to get rid of the older children from the houses and this leads to children being left to fend for themselves at very tender ages. This may be one of the reasons why we have many cases of teenage mothers and unwanted children. The children living in a crowded house also tend to learn about sexual relation from their parents at very early ages and some start involving themselves into sexual relationship at tender ages. This may be one of the reasons why we have many cases of teenage mothers and unwanted children. In some families sleeping space is not available and in many cases, the children spread their bedding under their parent's bed. Some children rebel such crowded environments and resort to street life.

The single parent families are discussed in hypothesis one. Such families also tend to expose children to abuse.

Question (iv) can special characteristics in a child such as illegitimacy, physical and/or mental disabilities and the sex of a child provoke abuse?

(i) illegitimacy:

The study attempted to find out the type of children who are more vulnerable to abuse; Questions eight (i) and (ii), fourteen (i) and (ii), (appendix two) and question twenty five (i) and (ii), twenty six, twenty seven, twenty eight and twenty nine (appendix three) were used. The findings showed that fourteen percent of the abused children were illegitimate.

The illegitimate children in the study were mainly victims of physical abuse and neglect. Only a few were victims of sexual abuse. The study noted that illegitimate children living with a biological mother and a step father were better placed than those staying with a biological father and a step mother as the fathers in this case tended to be irresponsible and uncaring to the illegitimate child. This was found to result into a lot of suffering for the illegitimate child.

(ii) physical and/or mental disabilities.

According to the findings, nine percent of the children were physically and/or mentally handicapped. The study observed that some of the physically handicapped children are left all alone without anybody to attend to them as the rest of the family members go about their daily duties. Some parents also use their handicapped children to earn some money for the family's use by taking the handicapped child to strategic places in the city centre to beg for money and edibles from passers by. Such parents use the child's disability to provoke sympathy from the street users and earn some money for their use. The handicapped children who are used for begging in the streets tend to suffer from neglect of the highest order as they are left all alone on the street without anybody to assist them move to a shed during the times of hot sunshine or rain.

The study noted that most of the parents who have handicapped children are not aware of the available rehabilitation centres for such handicapped children. The few who are aware of the available rehabilitation centres claimed that the centres are too expensive to afford. They also claimed that the available government rehabilitation centres are too hard to secure a place there for a child.

The study observed that the children who are both physically and mentally handicapped easily get lost from their homes and end up in the city centre where they are normally arrested and remanded at the Juvenile remand home. Such children spend a very long

period in the juvenile remand home since they can neither hear nor speak and so they cannot be identified. Some parents of such children seem to appreciate the loss of such a child as they tend to look at it as a relief from the burden of caring for the handicapped child and so they hardly go to look for the lost child. There were cases of deaf and dumb children who had spent over two years in the juvenile remand homes.

(iii) Sex:

Some people believe that the sex of the child they get is determined by God, while others believe that it is purely the work of nature. Whichever way, the study observed that some parents have sex preferences and when they get a child of the "wrong" sex, they end up neglecting the child or battering him/her. This is mainly common among the Luhya, Luo, Meru, Kisii, etc, who value sons more than daughters to the extent that daughters are not regarded as children. Daughters in such ethnic groups may therefore be easily abused.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Consequences Of Abuse:- Case Studies

(1) The Sexually Abused Children

All cases of the sexually abused children involved only girls. This leads us to believe that girls are more vulnerable to sexual abuse than boys.

G. M. aged five years was sexually abused by a male relative staying with her family. Here the perpetrator was a Partanal uncle to G. M. He used to sexually abuse his niece when her parents (G. M) have left for work and he is left with the child to take her to school. It was also his duty to pick G. M. from school. G. M. was attending nursery school. It was latter learnt that G. M's uncle used to sexually abuse her when preparing her for school. G. M. never reported this to her parents, until her mother noticed that G. M. could not walk properly and that she sat down as though in pain. She also became quite withdrawn and quiet. On close interview by the mother, she revealed that her uncle was sexually abusing her. She also revealed that he (the uncle) had threatened to slaughter her if she ever revealed the affair to anybody.

G. M. was admitted to Kenyatta National Hospital where she received treatment for quite some time. When she was discharged from hospital after a minor operation, she had no doubt physically recovered from the abuse. What remains a question is whether she had Psychologically recovered from the abuse. To date G. M. fears men very much to the extent that she can not move close to her own

father. It may therefore be very difficult to get appropriate therapy for the psychological effects of abuse in G. M. It is possible that G. M. may never be able to form relationship with people of opposite sex.

Swanson (1968) and Reifer (1972) point out that sexually abused children grow up never to get married and that in cases where they grow up and get married, they end up with marriage problems and sometimes broken marriages. It is possible to look at G. M. in this categories as she is unfriendly to all males, including her father and her brothers.

S. K. aged seven years was sexually abused by a foster father. The foster father was married with four sons and no daughter. This had prompted him and his wife to foster a baby girl. S. K. was then fostered into their family. Later when S. K. was about seven years her foster mother noticed that S. K. was emitting a bad smell and could not sit down well. She could only sit on the side using one of the buttocks and she preferred standing most of the time. Her mother took her for medical check up and it was only then that S. K. revealed to the hospital's social worker that her foster father was sexually abusing her.

Unlike G. M. S. K. had not shown any change in behaviour. She was still friendly to the male members of her family and she particularly remained very close to her foster father, although he was sexually abusing her. At the moment it is not possible to find an explanation for S. K's behaviour.

J. M. and B. O. aged thirteen and fifteen years respectively were sexually abused by men who they have never seen before. In both cases the children had been sent to the shops by their mothers. Late at night and on their way to the shops, the children had been abducted by men they did not know and raped. In both cases the perpetrators were never arrested. J. M's and B. O's cases had been reported to children's Department because the two girls had started truanting school and going with matatu touts.

Swanson (1968) and Reifer (1972) argued that sexually abused children may sometimes grow up into adult prostitutes. This argument is quite applicable to J. M. and B. O. as these two girls could openly agree that they go about with matatu touts. They also never feared disclosing that they were once raped.

P. N. aged fifteen years was found to have been sexually abused by the employer. P. N. hailed from a poor family and had been employed by a well off family as a maid. It was while she was working for this family that the man of the house turns her into a "secret wife". He would leave in the morning for duty together with his wife and then sneak back home to sexually abuse the maid. This was not discovered until P. N. got pregnant and the lady of the house told her to leave and go back to her parents so that they take care of her during the last period of her pregnancy. At this time, P. N. was about five months pregnant. It was at this juncture that P. M. told the lady of the house that the man of the house ought to take care of her because he is responsible for the pregnancy. P. N. was finally sent away from the house.

She tried to report her case at the children's Department but she was turned away on grounds that there is no law that would enable the Department to force the man responsible for the pregnancy to give her assistance. She ended up with a child who she could not fend for both physically and emotionally.

B. G. aged sixteen years found to have been sexually abused by her step father. The mother of B. G. got her out of wedlock and on getting married, she (the mother) moved into her matrimonial home with her daughter B. G. At the age of sixteen years, B. G. reported to her maternal grandmother that her step father forces her into sexual relations and threatens to kill her if she ever reported him to her mother. B. G. was not found to have any physical injuries. she was only withdrawn and quite emotional. She cried very much whenever anybody reminded her of the affair.

M. W. aged fifteen years was found to be among many other young girls kept by an old woman in one of the slum estates in Nairobi. It was discovered that the old woman in this case keeps a number of young girls who she has men coming to have sexual relations with for a fee paid to the old woman. M. W. plus many other girls in a group were one day rounded up by police and taken to juvenile court. The police officer who arrested this girls suspected that the girls in question were not Kenyans. Indeed some of the girls were found to Ugandans and they were repatriated to their country.

M. W. plus a few others were Kenyans. The court ordered for a

medical examination for all the girls involved and they were all found to have contacted at least one or more sexually transmitted diseases. M. W. on her part had contacted syphilis. She was treated and placed in an approved school.

Most interesting of all the cases of sexual abuse was that of G.N who was found to have been sexually abused by her biological father. G.N. had been staying with her younger sisters, brothers and their father alone. Their mother had left their matrimonial home after a disagreement with her husband who she claimed used to beat her and the children badly whenever he was under the influence of alcohol. She also claimed that her husband once threaten to murder her plus her children. She therefore decided to look for a house of her own and stay alone, away from her brutal husband.

It was after she had left her husband that he started using his first born child (G.N.) for sexual satisfaction. This was not discovered until G.N. become pregnant and revealed that her father was responsible for the pregnancy.

According to the traditions of G.N's clan, the baby born by G.N. under this circumstances was supposed to be killed at birth because it was a taboo child. G.N's uncle got concerned and reported to this child department with intentions of saving the life of the baby. After birth G.N's. baby was given away for adoption.

Most of this study's findings agree with available findings in regard to sexual abuse of children. For example, Acuda (1982) points out that while most of the adults who sexually abuse children in other countries show varying degrees of psychological disturbances in their lives and some are overtly mentally ill, studies in Kenya show that majority offenders are normal adults. This study found Acuda's findings quite true as none of the these was noted to be mentally ill.

Swanson (1968) and Reifer (1972) found that most of the adults who sexually abuse children drink alcohol excessively. This study also found alcoholism as a common social problem associated with sexual abuse of children. The study also found that some of the perpetrators had a criminal record as they had been arrested once or more for non-sexual offence.

The study also observed that of almost all the sexually abused children seventy five percent are first borns in their respective families. This could lead us to believe that first born girls are more vulnerable to sexual abuse than the rest of the girls in a family.

(ii) The Physically Abused Children.

(ii) The Physically Abused Children.

In this category of abuse, boys were found to be the majority. This could be attributed to the fact that boys are more aggressive than girls and that some parents find difficulties coping with this aggressive tendency and this makes boys more vulnerable to physical abuse.

The study found that six children had been physically abused by their parents. The common characteristics of these parents included low income, poor housing, low education level, unemployment, strained marital relations, and heavy drinking of alcohol. Among the characteristics of the children included bruises on the trunk, face, and limbs, fractures of the limbs, ribs, etc. Some of the children were also malnourished, while some had already been identified at various hospitals where they were treated as suffering from failure to thrive "syndrome".

Three children aged one, two, and two and a half years were found to have been physically abused by their ayahs. The child aged one was claimed to have fallen down breaking his limbs. The same child had previous to breaking his limbs got burnt by hot water which the same ayah was boiling for his bath. The study observed that the ayah in question was too young to be delegated the duty of caring for this child as she was only twelve years old. As a result, the child often met avoidable accidents.

The ayah of the child aged two years put her (the ayah's) fingers into the child's private parts and tore her badly. The ayah

then deserted her employer's home. This child was seriously injured and hospitalised for quite some time. On the other hand, the ayah of the child aged two and half years used to put a bottle top into a burning "jiko" and then put the burning bottle top in the child's napkin causing serious burns on the child's buttocks. On close interview, it was found that this ayah used to burn the child whenever the child's mother quarrelled or mistreated her (the ayah).

The study observed that to some extent, the relationship between the child and the ayah is determined by the relationship between the child's mother and the ayah. This observation was made after finding out that the maids who physically abused the children under their care claimed that their employers mistreated them very much. Some ayahs claimed that they are badly beaten by their employers who also deny them food at times.

Three children were found to have been physically abused by their step mothers. The step mother of J.K. used to beat him badly, causing scars and bruises on his body. J.K was also quite malnourished. On close interview, he claimed that his step mother used to deny him food on occasions. He also said that his father would always turn against him and beat him even more whenever he reported to him that his step mother has beaten or denied him food. This went on for a long time until J.K started revenging on his younger step brother whenever his mother beat or denied him food.

By the time J.K's parents reported his case to the children's department seeking a place in an approved school for him, J.K. had become quite aggressive and had started truanting school.

On the hand, B.N's and S.A's step mothers used to punish them by placing a table knife in a burning "jiko" and inflicting burns on the children's buttocks thighs, and trunk. The most interesting thing about these two children was that their cases were reported to children's department by the children's neighbours. In all the cases of abuse affecting illegitimate children, the children's biological fathers hardly bothered with their children's well-being. Infact, the study observed that illegitimate children staying with a biological mother and a step father are better placed than those staying with a step mother and a biological father.

S.R. and D.W. were found to have been physically abused by their employers. These two children were from poor families and had been employed as maids. S.R's employer used to beat her very badly, causing scars and bruises on her body. She (the employer) would beat S.R. using anything within her reach, until she one day threw a knife at S.R. and the knife went right into S.R's eye. S.R. underwent an operation but the affected eye could not be saved. It went blind.

On the other hand, the employer of D.W. poured hot water on her because she broke a cup. D.W. claimed she was laying the table for employer's family for a cup of tea when one of the cup

slipped out of her hand and broke. She responded by pouring on her the tea she (D.W.) had prepared for them. D.W.'s face and trunk were seriously burnt. she was admitted to Kenyatta National Hospital where she stayed for many days undergoing treatment. The incident however left her quite deformed.

(iii) Abandoned Children

This form of abuse had the highest score. The age range of children in this group was from a few days old to sixteen years.

An interesting finding here was that none of the children involved had both parents. Apart from two cases who were orphaned, the rest of the children were from single mother (unmarried) families. Following is the abandoned children's case histories.

Baby Michael was abandoned by his mother at country bus station. Michael's mother asked a fellow woman to hold for her the baby under the pretext that she (Michael's mother) was going for a short call. She never turned up again. The lady who had been left with Michael started suspecting that Michael's mother had played a trick on her after she (Michael's mother) took too long to come back. Soon the baby started crying due to hunger and the lady who had been left with him (the baby) decided to go to Kamukunji police station and report the matter. She was then taken to children's department by police officers from Kamukunji police station. Baby Michael was about one week old when he was abandoned. He was taken to the new Nairobi Children's home but unfortunately, baby Michael died eight days after he had been taken to the home. His mother was

never traced.

Baby Patrick was abandoned by his mother at Kenyatta National Hospital. Patrick was about one month old at the time he was abandoned. His mother took him to Kenyatta National Hospital when he was sick and the doctor who attended him recommended that he be admitted to hospital to undergo treatment. Two days after Patrick was admitted to hospital, his mother sneaked out of the hospital and left him there. Patrick was treated, he recovered and was taken to 'mama' Ngina children's home and later given away for fostering.

Baby Moses was abandoned in a train at Nairobi railway station. The train in which Moses was abandoned had come from Kisumu and it was suspected that Moses's mother either came from Kisumu or Nakuru because this particular train stopped only at Nakuru from Kisumu and then came express to Nairobi. When tidying up the train, the cleaners found Moses sound asleep on one of the chairs in the train. Moses was taken to Mama Ngina children's home and given away for fostering.

B. M. aged twelve years was rescued together with his brothers and sisters after they were left alone in the house by their mother for over one week without any responsible adult to care and provide for them. B. M's mother had been sentenced to a six months jail term having been found guilty of stealing from her manfriend. The children were so starved by the time they were discovered by a neighbour such that the youngest child aged about two years had to be fed through his veins in the hospital.

M. C. and R. K. were in separate cases rescued from their houses together with their brothers and sisters after spending several days alone in the house. In both cases, the children's mothers had been arrested and charged with assault. M. C's mother had already been proved guilty and given a jail term whereas R. K.'s mother was still in remand at the time of the study. The children in both cases had been abandoned in their houses after the arrest of the mothers.

J. N., Y. A. and F. G. together with brothers and sisters to each of them were found abandoned in their houses after the death of their mothers. Each of these children came from single mother families. In each of the three cases, the mother had been taken ill, went to hospital where she was admitted and later died. In all the three cases, relatives had never been traced and the mothers in question had not identified to the children where their original home was. They had also not been in touch with any relatives of who the children could identify with and possibly get assistance from. It was not made clear whether the mothers in question were buried by the state. But at the time of the study their bodies were still lying at the Kenyatta National Hospital mortuary.

B. W. , J. A. and M. O. were in separate cases found abandoned together with their brothers and sisters. In each of the cases, the children's mother had been taken ill and admitted to hospital. The children in all the cases had been left without any responsible adult to care for them and meet their needs. B. W. and his brothers and sisters were discovered by a neighbour. J. A. and her brothers and sisters were discovered by Kanu youth wingers and M. O. and her brothers and sisters were discovered by their mother's friend.

K. A., D. A., E. O., and J. W. were in separate cases found abandoned in their houses after the arrest of their mothers. In all the five cases, the mothers to these children had been found hawking without licence and had then been arrested by the City Commission 'askaris'. All the five cases here involved children from very large families. For example, K. N. came from a family of five children, Y. W. and E. O. came from families of seven children, D. N. came from a family of eight children and G. L. came from a family of six children. In all the five cases, the children involved were discovered by neighbours and friends to the children's mothers.

H. M., P. K., M. D., J. L., and S. S. were in six separate cases, found abandoned in their houses together with their sisters and brothers after their mothers had been arrested for brewing 'chan'gaa'. All the six children came from poor families and their parents lived on brewing and selling 'chang'aa'. The six children

here also came from very large families and they all hailed from the city's slum areas. The five children's families' economic status was also judged to be poor. Majority of the children in the five families involved were either out of school due to inability of their parents to meet school requirements or had never been to school at all. Of all the six cases, P. K. was physically disabled. She could not move from one point to another and relied on her sister who was about nine years old to assist her in going to the toilet and turning from one side to another of the bed. On the other hand, the mother of S. S. was a mental case. She was in Mathari mental hospital on and off.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion And Recommendations:

This study explores an area representing one of the most widespread and least visible problems facing children today:- "child abuse". The objectives of the study were:-

To find out whether there is any relationship between gender and child abuse, to establish the sort of family composition that is more vulnerable to child abuse, to establish the kind of parents who are more likely to abuse their children,

to find out the kind of children who are more likely to be abused.

According to the findings, female children were found to be more vulnerable to sexual abuse and abandonment, while the male children were found to be more vulnerable to physical abuse and neglect. It is worth noting that although none of the sexually abused children was male, this does not mean that male children never suffer sexual abuse. Some of the professionals working in approved schools and the children's remand home claimed that sexual abuse does occur among the male children in the institutions, although the necessary legal steps are never taken against the offenders. Some of the primary school teachers interviewed also did acknowledge that male children also suffer sexual abuse and that a major problem with elimination of sexual abuse of children lies in the fact that the parents of the children who suffer sexual

abuse normally want the incident concealed and this only helps to perpetrate sexual abuse.

The fact that most of the abandoned children were female could be attributed to the fact that some ethnic groups value male children and never count females as children. This could encourage abandonment of girls. However, the fact that most of the abandoned children came from single parent families and they had been abandoned due to the arrest, hospitalization, or death of their single parents. This may lead us to argue that the abandonment was purely a result of single parenthood. On the other hand, the fact that most of the physically abused children were male could lead us to argue that male children are more vulnerable to physical abuse due to the aggressive nature of the male children as compared to the female children.

The study found out that single parent families with a large number of siblings tend to expose children to abuse. According to the findings, the incomes of most of the parents tended to be on the lower side and this makes it impossible for such parents to maintain their children in school, thus making the children drop out of school while some of the parents give away their children to be employed as maids/house boys and yet others send their children to the streets to beg for money and other edibles for the families use. All these acts expose children to abuse.

Single parenthood tended to expose children to abandonment among other forms of abuse. For example, 95 percent of the abandoned children were from single parent (mother) families. Single parenthood also tends to create stress and strain in the parent and such stress tended to make the parents affected to physically abuse the children under their care.

The study also found out that the illegitimate children, and children with physical and/or mental handicap tend to be more vulnerable to abuse. In most cases the study observed that illegitimate children tend to be more vulnerable to physical abuse and neglect while the handicapped children tended to be vulnerable to neglect and abandonment. The reason why handicapped children tend to be more vulnerable to neglect and abandonment could be due to the problems associated with providing adequate care for such children. Hence, some parents find difficulties coping with such children's special needs and this may make such parents to neglect or abandon the physical or mentally handicapped child. On the other hand, the fact that the illegitimate children tended to be more vulnerable to physical abuse may lead us to argue that since the illegitimate children were normally abused by their step parents, this could be due to lack of a biological bond between the physically abusing parent and the child.

In majority of the cases of the physical abuse of the illegitimate child by the step parent, there existed a disagreement between the child's biological parent and the step parent which resulted in the step parent revenging on the illegitimate child.

All in all, illegitimate children living with a biological mother and a step father tended to be better placed than those living with a step mother and a biological father. It was however, found out that in cases where a female illegitimate child stays with a biological mother and a step father, the child stands a high risk of sexual abuse by the step father.

In conclusion, the study notes that children all over the world have been subjected to all forms of exploitation and abuse due to their (the children) vulnerability. Such exploitation includes mental and physical cruelty manifested in the form of sexual abuse, child battering, infanticide, child labour, child trafficking etc. It is also worth noting that despite the achievements in health in developing countries which has led to increased child survival, the future of the world's children seems to be quite uncertain as child abuse seems to be on the increase worldwide. Also, in most parts of Kenya, children seem to continue to die from preventable diseases just because their parents are not ready to seek medical attention due to their religious or traditional beliefs.

Recommendations:

The first step in curbing child abuse is to admit that child abuse exists, it is a serious problem which should not be ignored, and that our societies create and shelter child abusers. It is only after we admit the above facts that any other steps towards curbing child abuse can be effective. The study recommends the following steps in curbing child abuse:-

(i) Creation of awareness.

There is dire need to educate the public on their responsibility towards protecting children from abuse. Children also need to be educated and trained to protect themselves from abuse. For instance, children in institutions should be taught to report those who abuse them to the relevant authority. Similarly, children in the family setting should also be taught to report to their parents any relative or caretaker abusing them. It is also important to train children to identify possible molesters and to try and avoid situations that may endanger them.

The study strongly recommends that awareness of the prevalence of child sexual abuse needs to ensure the protection of children from sexual abuse by certain members of the family. This is particularly important because available studies on child sexual abuse reveal that the subject of sex is considered a taboo in many family set-ups and yet the highest incidences of child sexual abuse

are committed within the home by close relatives and even sometimes by parents. Where cruelty to children is concerned, parents should be made to understand and assist to find alternative ways of punishing or disciplining children without injuring them fatally.

(ii) There is need for promoting detection and protection programmes. Here, detection is used to refer to "an organised social activity aimed at identifying children who have been abused or those who are at risk of being abused. Such a programme would require skilled professionals from a variety of disciplines with the capacity of identifying subtle signs of abuse and eliciting admissions of abuse from both the children and perpetrators. Protection then would follow the detection i.e the necessary steps would then be taken to ensure the safety of the child who is detected as being at risk. Protection of such children also require professionals from a variety of disciplines. Such professionals should be able to work directly with the family concerned to identify and alleviate strains that contribute to the abusive situations.

The study noted that there exists many strains and stresses in the families of the abused children. Of particular importance were stresses connected to housing, finance, counselling, day-care assistance etc. Therefore the protection programme would definitely need supportive service in the provision of the goods and services needed by the clientele.

(iii) Treatment programmes should also be set up to assist abusers stop abusing children and also to assist the abused children recover from the trauma of abuse. This could include family, group and individual counselling etc. Self-help groups can also be used as they have proved to be quite effective in the developed countries such as United States, Britain, and Canada among others.

(iv) There is earnest need for promotion of the convention on the rights of the child which was recently adopted by the United Nations General assembly. The convention contains fifty-four articles covering specific rights and needs of children in such varied fields as health, education, adoption, nationality, violence, economic exploitation, and civil rights among others.

For the Kenyan child, there is great need for advocacy of adequate protection under the Kenyan law. Currently there is no particular law protecting the rights of the Kenyan child as the laws concerning protection of children in Kenya are scattered over sixty five statutes mainly dealing with afflictions and not specifically legislated for the protection of the child. There is therefore earnest need for enforcement of some of the laws affecting the rights of the child. Laws dealing with abusers should be more stringent and not as lax as they are.

(v) Family courts/panels should be set up to deal with cases of children so that issues related to children's well-being and their parents can be dealt with in a sympathetic setting where the

interests of the child are paramount. Ideally, such courts/panels should be composed of elderly retired people who have wide experience in dealing with children. Such courts/panels would go a step further in protecting any bias on the part of the presiding magistrate against the child and the court/panel would ensure that the fate of the child is not at the mercy of only one person. Such courts may also be able to prevent cases of abuse by identifying children at risk and ensuring that the necessary preventive instead of curative measures are taken.

(vi) There is need for mobilization and training of professionals about the problems of child abuse. Social workers, teachers, nurses, physicians, police, psychologists etc should be well trained to be able to detect cases of child abuse. This would go a step ahead in detecting child abuse cases.

(vii) The various societies should understand and accept that the problem of child abuse has roots in the culture of the various communities, the attitude and knowledge of the parents, and the general environment in which children are brought up. Therefore, there is need to change the values and attitudes that perpetrate child abuse and strengthen those that constitute to healthy child rearing in different ways.

(viii) Although we cannot fully blame poverty for all the ills inflicted on children, poverty contributes directly or indirectly to child abuse. Therefore, Kenyans need to seriously address

themselves to the root causes of poverty in their midst. Diverse and effective ways of dealing with the root causes of poverty would assist a great deal in curbing cases of child abuse.

(ix) Donors and agencies interested in the prevention of child abuse should help fund projects that are directly aimed at combating child abuse. They could also help fund work-shops, support counselling services to rehabilitate child abusers etc. Generally the study recommends the establishment of "child abuse Anonymous" in each village or District because there are some people who need help but do not know where to get it.

(x) With the launching of the "National Alliance for Advocacy of children's Rights", a local network should be formed so that committed and interested Kenyans can also be able to give contribution in making others aware of the rights of the child.

(xi) Statistics indicate that the number of vulnerable and disadvantaged children referred to the children's department as being in need of assistance from sources other than their own parents is on the increase. This situation calls for closer attention and concern about the number of children produced by Kenyans, married or unmarried. It is therefore important for Kenyans to be made to understand and produce only the number of children who they can be able to adequately provide for and not to over-burden others with problems of children who they are unable to

provide for. Therefore, family planning education should be intensified, especially among the poor who tend to have the largest number of children.

(xii) One of the implications of this study to the researcher is that it was indeed broad. This means that no one factor was really looked into thoroughly. Hence, some generalised observations have been made. Also due to the time limit and the available funds, the sample used is indeed small. Hence, there is need for an indepth study using a large sample to determine major factors that may lead to child abuse and how these factors relate to each other.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. ACUDA, S. W., :- "SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN" - In proceedings of Workshop on Children and Health. Dec 1982 Nairobi.
2. BIRREL and BIRREL., :- "Causes of Child Abuse :- A Controlled Study" CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT, THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, 2 (3) 1976.
3. BORGMAN, ROBERT., :- "Intelligence and maternal inadequacy" CHILD WELFARE MAGAZINE VOL. 48 No. 1, 1969 P.P 302-304
4. BUSH, SHERINDA., :- "Child Abuse Within The Family" - In Martin H. P. ed. 1976.
5. BWIBO, N. O., :- "Battered child syndrome" - In KALISCH BEATRICE'S CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT. Greenwood press., 1978.
6. BWIBO, N. O., :- EAST AFRICA MEDICAL JOURNAL, Vol 49, No. 11 1972 PP 934-938.
7. BOWLEY, A. H., :- CHILD CARE - A handbook on the care of the child deprived of a normal life. P.H.D, University of London 1951.
8. CAFFEY, JOHN., :- IN Kalisch B's CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT. OPP. CIT.
9. CARR, J. N., :- MATERNAL DRUG DEPENDENCE , DRUG USE PATTERNS, AND IMPACT ON CHILDREN. N. Y. Odyseey House, 1975.
10. CARTER, J. (ed)., :- THE MALTREATED CHILD. Priority press.1974.
11. CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS ACT (CAP 141) LAWS OF KENYA.

12. COHN, ANNIE., :- "Stopping abuse before it occurs - Different solutions for Different population groups. CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT, THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, 6(4) (1982) pp 473-482.
13. CHESSER, EUSTANCE., :- CRUELTY TO CHILDREN. N. Y. philosophical library, 1951.
14. COSTNER, L. HERBERT., :- SOCIOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY. Jossey - Bass inc., Publishers, San Francisco, Washington, London. 1971.
15. EEKELARR, J. and KATZ S., (eds) FAMILY VIOLENCE AN INTERNATIONAL & INTERDISPLINARY STUDY. Toronto, Butterworths, 1978.
16. EISENBERG, LEON., :- "Cross - cultural & Historic perspectives on child abuse and neglect" :- THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL 5(3), 1981 PP 299-308.
17. FABIO, DALLAPE., :- AN EXPERIENCE WITH STREET CHILDREN. Man Graphics ltd. Undugu Society of Kenya, 1987.
18. FRASER, GETRUDE and KILBRIDE, PHILIP., :- "child abuse and neglect - rare but perhaps increasing phenomena among the Samia of Kenya". CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT ; THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, 4(4), 1980 PP 227-232.
19. GADDIN, R., :- "Incest as a development failure." CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT, THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL 7 (3) 1983 PP357 - 358.
20. GABARINO, E., :- CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND CHILDREN :- Nairobi, UNICEF, 1986.

21. GELLES, RICHARD, and PEDRICK, CORNELL., :- INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON FAMILY VIOLENCE, Lexington M.A. Lexington Books, 1983.
22. GIOVANNONI J.M. & BILINGSLEY A., "Child neglect among the poor :- A study of parental adequacy in families of three Ethnic groups - CHILD WELFARE MAGAZINE, VOL 49, NO.4 1970 PP 196-204.
- 23 GIOVANNONI, J. M., :- "Parental mistreatment; perpetrators and victims". JOURNAL OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY, VOL 33, 1971.
24. GILL, D. G., :- VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN; physical abuse in the USA Cambridge mass, Havard University press 1970.
25. GILL, DAVID., :- "Socio-cultural perspective on physical child abuse" CHILD WELFARE MAGAZINE NO. 50 VOL 7, 1991 PP 389-395.
26. IZUORA, G.I, and EBIGBO, P., :- "Emotional reactions of Adult Africans to children with severe Kwashiokor. CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT, THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL 7(3) 1983, PP 351-356.
27. KALISH, J. B., :- CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT - an annotated bibliography. Greenwood press, 1978.
28. KAMMERMAN, S., :- "Eight Countries Cross - National perspective on child abuse and neglect". CHILDREN TODAY, 1975 4:43-37.
29. KASTEL, J., :- CASE WORK IN CHILD CARE - London Routledge and kegan Paul. 1962 pp. 264-277.

30. KEMPE, J. and HELFER, R., :- THE BATTERED CHILD.
University of Chicago press. 1968.
31. KENYATTA, JOMO., :- FACING MOUNT KENYA - HEINNEMAN KENYA,
NAIROBI, 1978.
32. KLAUS and KENNEL in Franklin A. W'S., :- CHILD ABUSE.
Longman group 1978.
33. KLAUS and KENNEL., :- MATERNAL INFANT BONDING -
The impact of early separation or loss on family
development. St. Louis C.V mosby. 1976.
34. KORBIN, J. (ed)., :- CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT :- CROSS
CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES. Berkely, University of
California press. 1981.
35. KORBIN, JILL., :- " The cultural context of child Abuse and
Neglect. IN KEMPE C.H. & HELFER R.E's THE BATTERED
CHILD. Third edition, Chicago University of Chicago
press, 1980 pp. 21-35.
36. LEVINSON, D., :- "physical punishment of children and wife
beating in cross-cultural perspectives.
CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT; THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL 5(2)
1981 PP 193-195.
37. LEWANIKA, INONGE DR., :- WORKSHOP ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND
CHILDREN, MUCHURA JUSTINA ed, Nairobi, April 1986.
38. LOGAN, RICHARD., :- "Socio-cultural change and the perception
of children as burdens. CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT; THE
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL 3(3/4), 1979 PP 657-662.

39. LYNCH, M., :- "Risk factors in the child" in Martin H. P. 1976 Opp. Cit. PP 43 - 56.
40. MARTIN, H. P., :- CHILD CARE :- A Handbook on Institutional Care of Children. London, MacMillan Press, 1976.
41. MANGUYU, E., :- CHILD ABUSE. Kenya Medical Women Association, Nairobi September 1988.
42. MEHTA, M., LOKESHWAR, M. R., BHATT, S. S., ATHAVALE, V. B., and KULKARANI, B. S., :- "rape in children" - CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT ; THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL 3(3/4) 1979 PP.671-677.
43. MORLEY, D., and WOODLAND, M., :- SEE HOW THEY GROW. Macmillan press, London 1979.
44. MORRIS, B., "Value difficulties in definition of child abuse and neglect; Jehova's Witness; A case example, CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT. THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL 6(3/4) 1979, PP 651-655.
45. MUGAMBI, AFYA., :- In the proceedings of the workshop on children in especially disadvantaged circumstances: Nairobi, Kenya, April 1985.
46. OBIKEZE, D. S., :- BATTERED CHILD AND CHILD ABUSE. A paper presented at the sixth (10ms conference, Dec. 1985. Berne Switzerland.
47. ONYANGO, P. and KAYONGOMALE., :- "Multiple approach to the study and management of child labour" 5th international congress on child abuse and neglect, Montreal,

- Quebec, Canada Sept. 1984.
48. ONYANGO, P., :- In the proceedings of the regional workshop on children in especially disadvantaged circumstances: Nairobi, Kenya 1985.
49. ONYANGO, P., :- In the proceedings on child abuse. KENYA MEDICAL WOMEN ASSOCIATION, NAIROBI, sept 1987.
50. ONYANGO, P., :- IN THE WORKSHOP ON THE RIGHTS OF THE KENYAN CHILD. UNICEF, Nairobi sept. 1988
51. PARSONS, TALCOT., :- SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY AND THE MODERN SOCIETY. New York, Free Pr. 1967 .
52. PATTENO, S. N., :- HEREDITY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. New York Garland, 1984.
53. RANDIL, SAMUEL., :- In Martin H. P. Ed. 1976. Opp Cit.
54. RENVOIZE, JEAN., :- CHILDREN IN DANGER. Penguin Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.
55. RIGBY, P. J., :- Society and social change in Eastern Africa. Kampala Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1964.
56. RITCHIE, J. and RITCHIE, J., :- SPARE THE ROD. ALLEN and UNWIN, 1981.
57. ROBERTSON, B. A. and JURITZ, J. M., :- "Characteristics of the families of abused children. CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT; THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, 3(3/4) 1979, PP. 857-862.
58. SCMITT, B. D., :- "Battered child syndrome". H.C. Kemp et al (eds) California, Lange medical publications, 1980.
59. SMITH, S. N., and HANSON, R., :- "135 Battered Children" - A

medical and psychological study. BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL
VOL. 3 pp 666 - 670.

60. SMITH, S. M., HANSON, R. and NOBEL, S., :- "Social aspects of the battered babies; a controlled study" THE BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL, Vol. 3 pp 388 -391.
61. SOEFFING, MARYLENE., :- "Abused Children Are Exceptional Children" EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN Vol. 42 No. 3, Nov. 1975. pp 126 -133 .
62. SPEARLY, J. L., and LAUNDADALE, M., :- "Community characteristics and Ethnicity in the prediction of child maltreatment rates. CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT; THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL 7 (1), 1983 PP. 91-105.
63. STEIN, HERMAN DAVID., :- SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES ON BEHAVIOUR Stein H. and Cloward R. A. ed. Cloward New York Y. Free press 1958.
64. TAYLOR, LESLIE, and NWEBERGER., :- 'Child abuse in the international year of the child'. NEW ENGLAND JOURNAL OF MEDICINE, 301, 1979 PP. 1212-1215.
65. TEROEDJRE, I., :- "violence and the child in the adult world in Africa". CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT; THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL 5(3) 1981, PP498.
66. TIRKYARKIANE, E. A., :- SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY, VALUES AND SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE. London Free Press of Glencoe (1963)
67. TRUZZI, M. & SPRINGER, B. P., :- SOLVING SOCIAL PROBLEMS. California Good Year Publishing Co. 1976.
68. TURNER, R. H., :- FAMILY INTERACTION. New York, Wiley 1970.

69. TURNER, H. A., :- SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY. New York, Wiley 1986.
70. TURNER, R. H., :- SOCIAL CONTROL AND COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR.
Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1967.
71. UNICEF, ABANDONED AND STREET CHILDREN :- Ideas and forum
No. 18, 1984/3.
72. WILSON, EDWARD OSBORNE., :- ON HUMAN NATURE. Cambridge Mass.
Harvard University Press. 1978.
73. WOLF, REINHART., :- "Origins of child abuse and neglect within
the family. CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT;
THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL 5(3) PP. 223.
74. ZIMRIN, HANITA., :- "Builing up a new service for the abused
child. CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT ; THE INTERNATIONAL
JOURNAL, 7 (1), 1983, PP 55-60.

Appendix (ii)

QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN No. I
ADMINISTERED TO THE ABUSED CHILDREN

1. Identity
2. Sex
3. Age
4. Form of abuse
5. Relationship of the child to the perpetrator.....
6. Birth order in the family.....
7. Siblings :-
 - (i) Number of brothers
 - (ii) Number of sisters
8. Whether the child's parents are all alive.
 - (i) Yes.....
 - (ii) No
9. (a) If yes, whether they live together ?
(b) If no, why they don't live together ?
10. For those with both parents living together, whether the parents ever quarrel.
11. If yes, whenever they quarrel, who is always to blame ?
12. What do your parents quarrel about most often ?
.....

13. Where the child's parent original home is.....
14. Whether the child is living with
 - (a) A step mother
 - (b) A step father
15. Whether the child's parents have a maid
 - (a) Yes.....
 - (b) No
16. If no, who takes care of the younger children in the family?
17. Whether the parents take alcohol
 - (a) Yes.....
 - (b) No
18. What the parents do for a living
19. Whether any of the parents have been arrested
 - (a) Yes.....
 - (b) No
20. If yes, What he/she had done.....
How many times he/she has been arrested.....
21. Where in Nairobi do you stay?
22. What types of houses do you live in ?
 - (i) permanent.....
 - (ii) semi-permanent.....
 - (iii) mud house.....
 - (iv) wooden house.....
 - (v) paper house

23. How big is the house ?
- (i) one room.....
 - (ii) one bedroomed.....
 - (iii) two bedroomed.....
 - (iv) three bedroomed +.....
24. (i) Where do you sleep ?
- (a) on a bed.....
 - (b) on the floor.....
- (ii) Do you share your bed/bedding with any body else?
- (ii) If yes, how many of you share the bed/bedding?
- (iii) For those who sleep on the floor, where do spread your bedding?.....
25. Does the house you live in have
- (i) running or piped water
 - (ii) electricity
 - (iii) toilets
 - (iv) bathroom
26. Whether the child is in school
- (i) Yes
 - (ii) No.
27. (a) If No., why ?
- (b) at what level did the child stop schooling ?
.....

- 28. How many meals do you eat in a day ?
- 29. Who provides for your needs ?
 - (i) Father and mother.....
 - (ii) father alone.....
 - (iii) mother alone.....
 - (iv) myself.....
 - (v) others (specify)
- 30. The child's religion.....
- 31. The child's ethnic group.....

FOR THE INTERVIEWER

- 32. Does the child have recognisable disability ?
if yes, specify.....
- 33. How does the child relate to you as a stranger ?

28. How many meals do you eat in a day ?
29. Who provides for your needs ?
- (i) Father and mother.....
 - (ii) father alone.....
 - (iii) mother alone.....
 - (iv) myself.....
 - (v) others (specify)
30. The child's religion.....
31. The child's ethnic group.....

FOR THE INTERVIEWER

32. Does the child have recognisable disability ?
if yes, specify.....
33. How does the child relate to you as a stranger ?

Appendix (iii)

QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN No. II
ADMINISTERED TO THE PARENTS

1. Identity
2. sex
3. Age.....
4. Form of abuse
5. Number of children
- (i). Number of sons.....
- (ii). Number of daughters.....
6. What do you do for a living ?

7. What is your total monthly income ?

8. Where in Nairobi do you stay ?
9. What type of house do you live in ?
- (i) Permanent.....
- (ii) Semi-permanent.....
- (iii) Mud house
- (iv) Wooden house
- (v) Paper house
10. How big is the house ?
- (i) one room.....
- (ii) one bedroomed.....
- (iii) two bedroomed.....
- (iv) three bedroomed +.....

11. Does the house you live in have
- (i) running or piped water.....
 - (ii) electricity.....
 - (iii) toilets.....
 - (iv) bathroom.....
12. Up to what level did you go in school ?
- (i) Primary level
 - (ii) Secondary form I - IV
 - (iii) Secondary form V - VI
 - (iv) University
13. (a) Do you take alcohol ?.....
- (b) Do you smoke ?
- (c) Do you use any toxic drug ?
14. If Yes to any of the above, how often ?.....
15. Have you ever been arrested ?
- (i) Yes
 - (ii) No.
16. If yes (a) how many times ?
- (b) what had you done? (for
each of the times if the subject has been arrested
several time).

17. Have you ever been treated for any mental problem ?.....
(i) Yes.....
(ii) No.....
18. If yes, how many times ?
(specify the interview).
19. Marital state ?
(i) single.....
(ii) married
(iii) separated.....
(iv) widowed
20. If married, do you live with your spouse ?
(i) Yes
(ii) No.....
21. If yes, do you ever quarrel with your spouse?
(i) Yes
(ii) No
22. If yes,
(i) how often do you quarrel
(ii) what do you quarrel about most often?
(iii) whenever you quarrel, who is always to blame ?
.....
23. How many of your children are:-
(i) in school.....
(ii) out of school ?.....

24. If there are any out of school,
(a) why are they out of school?.....
(b) what are the ones out of school doing at the moment ?
.....
25. Do you have any handicapped child ?
(i) Yes
(ii) No
26. If yes, how old is the child ?
27. Where is the child ?.....
28. If the child is at home, does the parent know of any
institution that can assist in rehabilitation of the
child?.....
29. If yes, why hasn't she/him taken the handicapped child to the
institution for rehabilitation ?.....
30. Do you have any friends ?
(i) Yes (ii) No
31. If yes, what do your friends do for a living ?.....
32. Do you have a free time to sit and relax with your friends
?.....
33. What do you normally do whenever you are with your
friends ?.....

34. Do you share your family problems with your friends ?

.....

35. Are you a member of any group in your community ?.....

36. If yes, what activity does your group/s do ?

.....

37. What is your religion?.....

38. What is your ethnic group ?.....

39. What is the most pressing problem in bringing up your children ?.....

4.0 THE INTERVIEWER

Does the subject have any physical disability ?.....if
yes, specify.....

Appendix (iv)

QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN NO. III.
ANSWERED BY THE PROFESSIONALS

1. What do you identify as child abuse ?
2. How can you identify an abused child among others ?.....
3. What do you think are the main abuse causes of child abuse ?
.....
4. (a) What forms of child abuse do you encounter in your day to
day work ?.....
(b) Which of the above types (s) is/are more common ?.....
(c) Why do you think the mentioned type(s) is/are thus common
?
5. Is child abuse more prevalent to :-
(a) a particular sex
- (b) a particular age
- (c) or is the rate the same ?.....
6. What type of children do you think are more vulnerable to
abuse ?.....
7. What type of parents/guardians do you think are more likely to
abuse their children ?.....
8. What do you think is/are the social implications of abuse
on the abused child ?.....
9. How do you think the victims of the abuse can be best assisted
?.....
10. What general comment can you make regarding child abuse ?
.....

Appendix (iv)

QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN NO. III:
ANSWERED BY THE PROFESSIONALS

1. What do you identify as child abuse ?
2. How can you identify an abused child among others ?.....
3. What do you think are the main abuse causes of child abuse ?
.....
4. (a) What forms of child abuse do you encounter in your day to
day work ?.....
(b) Which of the above types (s) is/are more common ?.....
(c) Why do you think the mentioned type(s) is/are thus common
?
5. Is child abuse more prevalent to :-
(a) a particular sex
- (b) a particular age
- (c) or is the rate the same ?.....
6. What type of children do you think are more vulnerable to
abuse ?.....
7. What type of parents/guardians do you think are more likely to
abuse their children ?.....
8. What do you think is/are the social implications of abuse
on the abused child ?.....
9. How do you think the victims of the abuse can be best assisted
?.....
10. What general comment can you make regarding child abuse ?
.....