SOCIO-ECONOMIC CORRELATES OF CHILD ABUSE AMONG PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN ZARIA

By

PATIENCE E. UKIRI MUDIARE

A thesis submitted to the Postgraduate School,
Ahmadu Bello University, in partial fulfilment

the requirements for the award of degree of

Master of Science (M.Sc.) Sociology,

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Department of Sociology

Ahmadu Bello University

Zaria.

January, 1993.

DEDICATION

To the glory of God Almighty and in honour of my Queen and Mother, The Blessed Virgin Mary (B.V.M.)

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me and is a result of my research work. Sources of information other than mine are duly acknowledged.



Patience E. Ukiri-Mudiare.

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled "SOCIO-ECONOMIC CORRELATES OF CHILD ABUSE AMONG PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN ZARIA" By PATIENCE E. UKIRI-MUDIARE meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Science of Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

Prof. M. N. Kisekka
Chairman, Supervisory Committee

Date 13/2/95

Prof. E. Mensah
Member, Supervisory Committee

Date

Dr. J. Hellandandu
Member, Supervisory Committee

Date 29/6/95

Dr. P.T. Ahire
Head, Department of Sociology

Date 29/6/95

Dean, Post-Graduate School

Date 25/1/96

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I wish to thank both my Supervisors, Professors M.N. Kisekka and E. Mensah, without whomthis work would not have been. Their patience, concerns and constructive criticisms were very encouraging and very much appreciated.

To Doctors Ahire, Aliyu, Nkom; Professor M. Igbozuruike; all of the Sociology Department, I say thank you for your contributions especially for encouraging me during the initial stages of this work. Of course "Uncle Joe" (Dr. J. Halledendu) you are not left out; and Uncle J. Awosan, I appreciate your letters of encouragement all the way fromMassachusettes, U.S.A. Also the entire staff of the Department of Sociology, particularly the administrative staff, I say thank you for your moral support. I am grateful to Dr. Jokthan Toro and Mrs. T. Mai Anguwa of the Adult Education Department.

I am also indebted to my fellow sociology postgraduate students:- Mallik Ahmadu, Aina Oladipo, Victoria Oyateru, Shade Okeshola and Christiana D. Kantiok-Akau for their support and companionship. Ema Ndon, Mrs Rose Nkom and Mrs. Ashii Akosu you are also remembered.

To the various prayer groups and their patron saints: The St. Anthony's Guild, St. Jude Society and the Charismatic prayer group, I say thank you for your prayers.

I also wish to acknowledge with great appreciation the financial support I received from the Council for the Development of Social Sciences Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Dakar, Senegal,

To the parents, pupils and staff of the primary schools I visited. I say thank you all for your co-operation.

Mr. Robert, I also thank you for helping with some of the available data in the A.B.U. Teaching Hospital.

Finally, to my husband Dr. O. J. Mudiare, I thank you for your patience and love. You have always been a pillar to me in my pursuance of higher academic attainment. To my children Onajite, Ejiroghere, and Mary-Ogogome,Ufoma-Asumpta and brother, Otorme, I say thank you for your support even though I was a bit hard on you during my course-work.

Above all I give glory and thanks to God for making all this possible.

ABSTRACT

Child abuse encompasses detrimental emotional and physical acts of commissions or omissions perpetuated by adults against children. A study of 152 children from three public, and three private schools in Zaria was conducted to find out the extent to which socio-economic status, family type and size, marital harmony and ethnicity are associated with child abuse. Eighty-five (56%) of the children were from high social class families while 24 (16%) and 43 (28%) were from middle and low classes respectively,

From the Questionnaire administered to the children, 149 (98%) reported that they were physically abused indicating thai physical abuse occurs across all socio-economic and ethnic groups. Only three children, two from high and one from low socio-economic status were not abused. Physical abuse was however more severe in high class as indicated by report of more injuries sustained. The incidence of verbal abuse and neglect were also higher for high class children. Even though high class children were more frequently and severely punished, they interacted with greater ease with their parents and indicated absence of fear of parents more often than children from the lower class. Certain forms of punishment such as the use of horsewhip was however more[1] prominent aiming lower social group children.

With regards to family type, relatively fewer abuses were reported from monogamous families than from poiyg' ions families. However, there was no significant difference in the occurrence of abuse between large and small families. Thus the hy pothesis that child abuse is caused by poverty was not confirmed, rather

TABLE OF CONTENT

	Page
Dedication	ii
Declaration	iii
Certification	iv
Acknowledgement	v
Abstract	vii
Table of Content	ix
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures	xiii
List of Appendices	xiv
CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION	
Problem	1
Hypotheses	6
Research Objectives and Significance of the Study	7
CHAPTER TWO REVIEW OF LITERATURE	
Introduction	8
Definition of Child Abuse	8
Categories of Abuse and their Manifestations	10
Physical Abuse	11
Manifestation	11
Bruises	11
Burns	12
Physical Neglect	14
Physical Appearance	14
Nutritional Neglect	14
Medical Neglect	15
Environmental Sanitation	16
Educational Neglect	17
Cognitive Neglect	19
Emotional Abuse	19

Emotional Neglect 20
Sexual Abuse 22
Child Labour 24
Characteristics of Child Abuses 27
Explanatory Models of Child Abuse 27
Biological/Psychiatric Model 27
Psychological Model of Child Abuse 28
The Marxian Perspective 30
Functionalist Perspective 36
Life Events 38
Socio-Cultural Factors 40
Socio-psychological Factors 42

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

Description of the Study Area 44
Research Design 45
Methodology 46
Instruments and Sampling Strategy 46
Variables and their Operationalization 48
Abusive and Neglectful Factors 50
Problems Encountered in the Field 52

CHAPTER FOUR FINDINGS

Parental Background 55
Types of Abuse Encountered 57
Physical Abuse 57
Parental Supervision 60
Medical Neglect 61
Sexual Abuse 62
Child Labour 62
Verbal Abuse 63
Emotional Neglect 64
Verification of Hypothesis 65
Hypothesis 1 66

Hypothesis 2 70
Hypothesis 3 71
Hypothesis 4 71
Findings from Hospital Visitation 74
Report from Hospital Visitation 74
Social Welfare Records 76
Reports from Interviews Conducted with Parents 79
Child Abuse Case Studied as Reported by Parents 84
Case Studies encountered in the Field 85

CHAPTER FIVE SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Findings 86
Conclusion 87
Recommendations 88

REFERENCES 89

APPENDICES 106

LIST OF TABLES

1	Age of Children	54
2	Religion of Children	54
3	Ethnicity by Income	55
4	Social Class of Fathers	56
5	Type of Family	56
6	Family Size	56
7	Type of Medical Care by Social Class	61
8	Prevalence of Child Abuse	66
9	Incidence of Child abuse by Social Class	66
10	Social Class by Injuries	69
11	Mothers' Education by Incidence of Abuse	69
12	Mothers' Education by Incidence and Mode of Physical Punishment	70
13	Incidence of Child Abuse by Family Size	70
14	Incidence of Abuse and Family Size	71
15	Cases of Children's Illness and Death in ABU Teaching Hospital between 1987 and 1990	77

LIST OF FIGURES

1	Incidence and Type of Punishment	58
2	Types of Child Abuse by Social Class	67
3	Incidence of Injuries in Physical Abuse	68
4	Incidence of Child Abuse by Family Size	72
5	Types of Abuse by Family Type	73

LIST OF APPENDICES

I	Application for the Release of Data	100
II	Letter of Introduction from Department	101
III	Introduction of Research to Pupils and Parents	102

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

PROBLEM

In Nigeria, children are regarded as assets, for without welfare schemes, they provide extra income from their labour within and outside the home. During adulthood, they provide social security for their parents and siblings. The values of children are expressed in such names as Omonigho (in Urhobo language), Nwakaku, (Ibo) meaning "child is greater than wealth". In the Yoruba version, the child is preferred to gold ("Omowunmiju gold lo"). The birth of a child brings joy to the family even when others would consider additional child as a burden; such names as Olufunmilayo or Olufisayo in Yoruba meaning "God has given me joy or "added to my joy", Chukwuemeka (Ibo) "God has done me well", Kyauta, (gift) Murna, (joy), Alheri (good fortune), Rabo (luck) in Hausa are all expressions of the preciousness of children. The male child is particularly treasured for he assures continuity of the lineage as expressed in such Ibo names as Obiefule, "let my lineage not be lost", Obodoechi or Amaefule, "let my compound continue to exist".

Because of the value placed on children, the extended family and the community participate in their socialization. Unfortunately, even in this "we" atmosphere, the needs of children are not adequately met. Many in fact are psychologically or physically battered and neglected, while others are killed. As long as their rights to life, good care, education and protection as spelt out in the United Nations' Declaration on the Right of the Child, are

ignored, they stand the risk of being crippled emotionally or physically. Regrettably, the phenomenon of child abuse and neglect is a historical one which over the years has received opposition from individuals and groups in various countries at different periods. However, with the declaration of the International Year of the Child in 1989, by the International community, the problem of child abuse came to a focus.

In 1989 at the 44th United Nations General Assembly on the 20th of November, the 54 articles of the convention on the Rights of the child was unanimously adopted. The articles of the convention set standards that address the neglect and abuse which children face in varying degrees everyday in most countries. The goal of the convention is to promote the entitlements of children and to persuade governments to incorporate these rights into laws and to enforce them. Article 19 of the convention for example states on page 53 that

1. state parties, shall take all appropriate legislation, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child less than 18 years from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation including sexual abuse, while in the care of parents, legal guardians or any other person who has the care of the child.

2. such protective measures should as appropriate, include procedures for the establishment of social programmes. To provide necessary support for the child and for those who have the care of the child as well as for other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting, referral, investigation,

treatment, and follow-up of instances of child maltreatment described heretofore, and as appropriate for judicial involvement.

The above article is an affirmation of Article 21 of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on the African charter on the rights and welfare of the child which states on page 24 that-

1. state parties to the present charter shall take all appropriate measures to abolish customs and practices harmful to the welfare, normal growth and development of the child and in particular (a) those customs and practices prejudicial to the health or life of the child, and (b) those customs and practices discriminatory to the child on the grounds of sex or other status,

2. Child marriage and the betrothal of young girls shall be prohibited and effective action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify the minimum age of marriage and make registration of marriage in an official registry compulsory.

Due to the growing interest in the welfare of children, the month of September, 29th and 30th of 1990 witnessed yet again the gathering of 71 world leaders including Nigerian Head of State, General Ibrahim Babangida, and 88 senior governmentofficials at the United Nation World Summit for Children. On this occasion, the world summit adopted a declaration on the survival, protection and development of children and a plan of action for implementing the declaration in the 1990s by the year 2,000.

On march 21st 1991, Nigeria ratified the 1989 conventions on the rights of the child. Since then the Nigerian government has

embarked on a publicity campaign via posters on the rights of the child, through the Federal Ministry of Health and Human Services and United Nations Children's Educational Fund (UNICEF) Nigeria. By last year, 1992, captions on child abuse were being flashed periodically on television screens in both Hausa and English, such captions of child abuse include, "Child abuse is neglecting and denying a child of his/her right, so stop it"; "stop child abuse"; "*yara fa manya gobe ne, suna bukatar luran*" (children are leaders of tomorrow, they need care). Similarly, the children's television programme "Speak Out" is another effort aimed at enlightening the public about issues related to child abuse.

The Nigerian women also through the Better Life for Rural Women's programme initiated by the wife of the president, Mrs Maryam Babangida have been making efforts to improve the lot of women and children. For example, through enlightenment campaigns against early marriage for girls and its effect such as *Vesico Vaginal Fistula* (VVF) and *Recto Vaginal Fistula* (RVF), they have been able to reach the villagers and the masses who otherwise would have remained ignorant of these and other problems of child abuse.

Over the years there have been frequent reports in the media of cruel punitive measures meted out to children in the name of discipline. For example, a boy who stole two naira had his palm slashed and pepper rubbed into the cut by his guardian (elder sister) while for a similar offence, a mother rubbed pepper into the eyes of her children. Another boy I witnessed had his legs raised over a burning kerosine stove in a sitting position. Often it is

visible abuse involving physical injuries or death that make sensational news in the press while subtle forms of abuse no less harmful than the glaring ones are ignored. Unfortunately, many cases of abuse never get to the police as they are regarded as private family matters. The victims too young or too fearful to report, bear their sufferings alone, some to their death.

Decourcy and Decourcy (1973;4) however, concluded from their case studies of child abuse that "the forces that impel parents to torture, neglect or abuse their children are exceedingly complex; they include psychological stress, long established patterns of maladaptive behaviour and social pressures that are often intolerable". What could be responsible for this cruelty to children and the seeming indifference of people in general? Some authors like Martins (1976) have argued that frustration due to poverty is responsible. If Martins (1976) is correct, given the effects of the structural Adjustment Programme in Nigeria, we may expect to find a very high rate of child abuse. Moreover, the Nigerian child's nutritional status is further aggravated by diseases associated with poor hygiene and personal condition.

This study in search of answers as to the causes and explanation for child abuse will among other things look into the cultural beliefs and child rearing practices in Nigeria. The Nigerian culture demands that children show deference to elders. Acts of indiscipline on the part of the child are often seen as an indication of parental neglect in training their child as expressed in the phrase "lack of home training". This phrase is a challenge to parents

who fail in their duty to teach their children obedience and respect for elders- "a vital aspect of African education of which the end objective is to produce an individual who is honest, respectable, skilled, cooperative and conforms to the social order of the day" (Fafunwa, 1974:20).

Corporal punishment is often employed as a disciplinary measure in child training. To what extent then do cultural beliefs and child rearing practices influence the nature and extent of child abuse in Nigeria? Is socio-economic status a factor in abusive child rearing practices? Does separation from relatives play a role in the occurrence of child abuse? and finally, how has nuclearization of the family and the consequent decline of traditional support system contributed to the problem of child abuse and neglect in Nigeria? Bearing in mind the problem of polygyny and interferences from relatives in marriages as possible sources of frustration, this research will attempt to answer these problems with the aid and guidance of the following research hypotheses

HYPOTHESES

1. The higher the social status of the parents, the lower the incidence of child abuse.

2. The larger the family size, the higher the incidence of the child abuse.

3. Children in polygynous families are more likely to be abused than those from monogamous families.

4. Child abuse will reflect the extent to which the marriage is in harmony as reported by the children.

4. Child abuse will reflect the extent to which the marriage is in harmony as reported by the children.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

1. To enlighten the public about child abuse in Zaria in particular, and Nigeria, in general; on the plight of the victims of child abuse and neglect and the consequences of abuse and neglect.

2. To explain the causes of child abuse in Nigeria

3. To compare the views of professionals and lay people (including parents of the children from the sample) on what constitutes abuse, how they deal with the problem and its implication for the victims.

With increased awareness, it is hoped that people will be more open to discussion and seek help for the victims of abuse. Hopefully, by so doing, more people will respond to the crusade against child abuse and neglect and abusive cultural practices.

In the next section, a review of literature is given on all aspects of child abuse and neglect. This will take us to the explanation of child abuse and neglect as given by the functionalist and the Marxist paradigms.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Due to the multiple and subjective nature of the phenomenon called child abuse, there is the problem of defining what abuse actually is. In this section, the various categories of abuse are treated and at the end a common denominator is defined as what actually constitutes abuse. The causes, just as the definitions, are varied, will be explained using various explanatory models - biological, psychological and sociological models.

DEFINITION OF CHILD ABUSE

The definition of child abuse and neglect in itself is problematic. Firstly, because of the multi-faceted nature of abuse, it is difficult to concentrate on all aspects of the phenomenon. Secondly, there is the problem of defining child abuse in terms of the frequency of its occurrence or the severity. Thirdly, owing to the diversity in child rearing beliefs and practices among and within cultures, there is the danger of judging others from one's own cultural stand point. For example, scarification in parts of Nigeria, and the Vietnamese method of curing fever by means of rubbing hot coins on the body (cao-gio) may both be viewed as abusive by other groups. Hence, because of these differences and the danger of misinterpretation, Korbin, (1986) suggests that child abuse be studied from three angles:

1. The emic point of view - that is what obtains in a particular culture.

2. The etic point of view, which is what is validly child abuse.

3. Contributions of social factors like unemployment, discrimination, blocked opportunities, etc. These social factors according to Korbin, (1986) have the greatest impact.

Gils (1979) supports the view that more abuse occurs at the societal level than at individual or institutional levels because of differential access to opportunities and services.

Finally, it should be noted that the definition of child abuse keeps changing. At some point in time, before the introduction of Christianity in Calabar (Nigeria) for example, the killing of twins was the norm. In other parts of southern Nigeria, Ekpe, (1986) describes how babies whose mothers died at childbirth had to undergo the ordeal of sleeping at the grave side for 3 days after which they were accepted into the community, if they survived.

Earliest definition of child abuse focused on the physical injuries, (Kempe, 1961, Gils 1979 and Gelles, 1980). Since then it has expanded to include all forms of hurt - physical and emotional; what Fontana and Besharov, (1977) refer to as the "Maltreatment Syndrome". However, because of the multiple nature of this phenomenon, some people have looked at child abuse as a continuum of events. For example, Dietrich, Starr and Weisfeld (1983) used the continuum model in a gradient of severity: from the infant with neither growth failure nor accidental trauma, to the neglected;

battered; the battered anaemic to the battered failure-to-thrive infant.

Others have limited their definitions to operational definitions which restrict them to the particular aspect of abuse being investigated. Gelles (1980:83) for example, in his study of violence, describes it as "an act carried out with the intention or perceived intention of physically hurting another. The physical hurt may range from a slap to murder, while motivation may range from the concern for the child's safety to an intense desire for his death." Gils (1979:69) defines abusive and neglectful acts as "any acts of commission (abuse) or omission (neglect) and any condition resulting from such acts or inaction (consequences or effects) which deprive children of equal rights and liberties and/or interfere with their optimal development."

Neglect, Cantwell, (1980:187) elucidates as inattention by care givers in areas including medical, educational, stimulative, environmental, disciplinary, nutritional, physical, emotional and safety needs."

For the purpose of this study, we shall define child abuse as any condition that results in harm or injury to a child (abuse) or the threat of harm, in the case of neglect.

CATEGORIES OF ABUSE AND THEIR MANIFESTATIONS

Child abuse comes in different forms. They include the following six broad categories: physical abuse, emotional abuse; physical neglect, emotional neglect, sexual abuse and child labour.

Physical Abuse

This is often the result of disciplinary measures. It is defined as wilful, injury by parent/guardian to a child. In Nigeria, corporal punishment, followed by verbal abuse are the most common disciplinary measures (Afamefuna, 1986). According to Schmitt (1980), physical abuse is the most common type of child maltreatment seen by physicians of which at least 2,000 children die yearly as a result, 10% of these are children below the age of 5 years.

Manifestation

Physical abuse is seen in cases of burns (dry) or scalds (wet); bruises, particularly on the fleshy part of the body; swelling and broken bones.

Bruises

While not all injuries are abusive, distinction is however made by the site, shape, colour and extent of the injury. For example, in accidental falls, most injuries occur on the skin overlying prominent bones like the chin, forehead, elbow etc. Bruises found on the soft part like the abdominal wall, cheek, fleshy part of arm and buttocks, Schmitt (1980) warns, should be viewed with suspicion. In many cases, such injuries can only be detected through X-rays, autopsy or incisions. For example, Weston, (1980) reports a case of a baby who had a feeder hurled at him and three and a half hours later, he died from intra-abdominal hemorrhage. A post morten examination revealed a semi-circular laceration of the liver capsule, a shape similar to the visible injury on the abdomen.

Where the injures are visible, the weapons used are also visible in the form of welts, contusions, bite and burn marks. Human hands are visible in the case of slapping, squeezing or choking. Injury to the earlobe could be due to pinching or pulling, while a slap could result in eardrum perforation. Obiako, (1986) found this to be the case in patients he saw over a three year period. Most of the patients with eardrum perforation were either house-wives or house maids.

In other cases of injuries, the weapons are not visible e.g. subdural hematomas (bleeding in the head below the skull). This is the result of fist blow to the head, shaking or banging against a hard surface. Symptoms include: irritability, vomiting, decreased level of consciousness, convulsions, breathing difficulties, buldging fontanel and apneic eposides. The skull may or may not be fractured, but it leaves the child brain damaged if he survives.

Subgaleal hematoma (bleeding below the scalp) and traumatic alopacia (loss of hair due to yanking of the hair) should be viewed with suspicion so also are injuries to the limbs and ribs, as these fractures could be due to kicks from adults. (Schmitt, 1980). Evidence of previous fractures as revealed by x-rays actually point to abuse since abusive injuries tend to be repetitive and more severe (Rivara, Kamitsuka and Quan, 1988).

Burns

Burns can be wet (scalds) or dry as in open flame and contact burn e.g. branding and cigarette burns. Burns, most of which are abusive

according to Feldman, (1980) are the most frequent cause of death in children aged 5-14 years.

In a United States study of tap water scald burns in children, 45% of the injuries were found to be due to neglect while 28% of the cases were abusive (Feldman, Schaller, Feldman and McMillion, 1978). Similarly, Verma, (1981) in his Malumfashi, Kaduna State hospital study found 55 cases of burns, out of which 35 were children below 14 years of age. A higher proportion of children among burn victims was also reported by Sowemimo (1983) in his Lagos study and Kalayi (1989) in his Zaria study. They however, attributed the causes of burns to domestic accidents and also reported seasonal variation which reaches its peak during the harmattan season when house fires are made to heat the rooms.

While the high representation of children among burn victims could be due to ignorance and age of the victims, neglect by the parents should not be ruled out. This is because in most households in Nigeria where cooking as is done in most households in Nigeria is done at ground level, bedside fires are used and unsupervised children have been known to fall into such fires sometimes with fatal results.

As to whether the burn was intentional, a clue is given if (1) someone was around when the burn occurred, (2) who sought medical help and (3) how long it took to seek help. Where an adult was present, 48% of the burns were abusive, 60%, if the adult drew the

water and 71% if someone other than the parent sought help (Feldman, 1980).

Physical Neglect

This is inattention to the physical appearance, nutritional, medical and safety needs of the child. Other forms of neglect include cognitive and educational neglect.

Physical Appearance

Includes shabby, dirty clothing and appearance as well as inappropriate clothing for the weather. In babies, diaper rash and other infections set in because the diapers are left for too long on the baby and the baby is not regularly washed.

Nutritional Neglect

The Nigerian staple diet consists mainly of carbohydrate foods. Egharevba, (1981) has pointed out that because of the high cost of protein rich foods, many people are unable to eat enough quantity to meet their nutritional needs. She reported that the majority of Nigerians rely on starchy foods which have a more filling effect. In many cases, people prefer the taste of food to the nutritional content. An example is the soybean milk and other soybean recipes (soybean ogi, soybean egusi soup etc.) recently being promoted by the Home Economics Unit of the Agric. Extension, Rural and Liaison Services (A.E.R.LS.), Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. In spite of the high protein level of soybeans, many people complain of its taste, and are discouraged from using it. The role of taboos and other traditional practices which Kisekka, (1981) calls "negative cultural

survivors" should not be overlooked. Such taboos restrict children and women's(particularly pregnant women) food (nutritious) at a time when they need it most. For example, fathers are served the best part of the food and enough quantity of fish or meat while children are merely given small pieces or a bite of meat. On the other hand, in many homes eggs are prohibited for they are thought to encourage theft in children in the event that they don't get meat or eggs to eat or to sustain this habit. Women too in certain cultures are prevented from eating fruits and oil as they are thought to have negative effect on the foetus. The end result of these restrictions is malnutrition or under-nutrition which manifest in such health conditions as Marasmus(Wasting away of the body) and Kwashiorkor, (Protein energy malnutrition) and Anaemia. These conditions weaken the child's resistance to diseases and in severe cases, the shortage of food (marasmus) or protein (kwashiorkor) could result in mental and/or physical retardation as seen in the "Failure-to-Thrive Syndrome" which is non-organic in nature (Kempe, Cultler and Dean 1980; A.E.R.L.S. Extension Bulletin, No.21).

Medical Neglect

This includes failure to give medical attention to the unborn by not attending antenatal clinics, failure to immunize the children when they are born as well as ingesting harmful substances like alcohol and other drugs. Neglect of children's health can have serious irreversible if not fatal consequences for the child. For example, *toxaemia*, a situation where the baby is starved of oxygen in the last three weeks of pregnancy, and small-for-date babies (baby

looses weight rapidly in the third trimester of pregnancy) can both cause brain damage to the child. The situation could have been avoided if the mothers had attended prenatal clinic regularly.

Similarly, many childhood illnesses e.g. polio could be overcome if children were immunized early enough. Unfortunately, this is not taken seriously. Verma's (1981) study of school children in Malumfashi town revealed 52.4% of the 114 pre-school children and 40% of the 504 school children were unimmunized. Moreover, many of the babies were found to be anaemic, yet their mothers did not seek help. Ignorance, however may be responsible for this situation.

The harmful effect of drug/alcohol use as seen in Fetal Alcohol and Drug Withdrawal Syndromes have been documented by Black and Mayor, (1980). In the case of Fetal alcohol syndrome, the baby may be physically deformed with retarded physical and neurological growth and development. On the other hand, drug addicted babies in addition to their low birth weight, suffer from generalized convulsions, sweating, vomiting, diarrhoea, pitched crying, irritability, fever and other related symptoms when drugs (hard e.g. opiates) are withdrawn.

Environmental Sanitation

Poor sanitary conditions are responsible for a lot of diseases prevalent in Nigeria. Although preventable, malaria and gastroenterits claim 30 - 40% of all death according to Singha and Motha, (1981). Verma (1981) and Essien (1981) give a higher estimate of 60% and 80% respectively. Most cases of gastroenteritis occur

during the weaning period. Explanation for this may be due to inadequate weaning foods and poor handling of utensils as was confirmed by Mwanamwambira and Tadesse (1979) in Zambia. Because of this, Sanyu, (1983) suggests that maternal education be stressed as this has been found to reduce infant mortality. This view is also supported by the Federal Ministry of Health and National Population Bureau in their report on the "Effects of Population Factors on social and Economic Development in Nigeria" (1985).

The risk of children playing in stagnant waters of burrow pits and ponds has been demonstrated in the transmission of schistosomiasis (Bilhaziasis) in children (Odutan, 1971; Ebele, Muazu and Smith, 1981). Unfortunately this is a common sight seen as one drives along the Zaria-Kaduna road.

Educational Neglect

This is the failure to send a child to school or the interruption of his/her education. The implication is that it limits their job opportunities and eventually lowers their standard of living. In some cases, due to sexist attitudes, girls are either denied education or have their schooling interrupted to get married, while other children are either withdrawn from school to help in the family responsibilities or else are made to hawk wares before going to school. Such interferences have been found to manifest in poor performance, truancy, delinquency and drop outs especially for those children who returned to school after a long interruption (Ogwuike, 1986; Vinola and Fubara, 1986).

In Hausa communities, the pathetic case of the "almajiri" literally meaning "immigrants in the path of Allah" has been lucidly highlighted by Doi (1981), and Shima and Dauda (1981). These are children who are sent to Islamic teachers in distant towns to further their koranic education. They in turn are left to fend for themselves and in addition bring some of their proceeds from either odd jobs or alms to the teacher (mallam).

The sight of dirty, hungry children picking up food from garbage dumps and dust bins is particularly sad, See Shelleng (1991). Not surprising, many resort to stealing and other anti-social behaviours. While Doi (1981) indicts the government and Mallams for the plight of these children, Shima and Dauda (1981) disagree on the grounds that parents who should be more concerned about their children's welfare would entrust their children, some as young as 5 -years to outsiders without so much as even a visit during the period of their training.

In a 1974 head count of beggars Mensah (1977) found that out of a total of 4591 beggars, children constituted 3072 (66.91%), the majority of whom were male children (59.46%), who were koranic pupils. According to Mensah (1984:38) "the koranic school by its very nature and its flexible informal work schedules is not adverse to street begging and by conferring a special holy status to the pupils, it even promotes begging." This he said coupled with a missing feeling about the importance of school attendance and the general condonation it receives are some of the major factors for the appearance and continuity of street begging in Zaria. These children

like other unsupervised children who roam the streets or hawk wares are exposed to health hazards, accidents and even sexual abuse etc.

Cognitive Neglect

For optimum intellectual functioning, varied sensory stimulation via play is important. This has been demonstrated to be true in a study of severely malnourished children by Grantham - McGregor, Schofield and Harris (1983). Unfortunately, some children are denied the opportunity of learning through games or else lack the facilities to play with which will enhance their mental capabilities. Needless to say, even the Nigerian educational system has been criticised as not being conducive for learning. The tense classroom atmosphere, with a cane-wielding teacher; the high ratio of pupils to teachers and the outmoded rote learning method have been criticised by Maduewesi, (1986). According to her, children need varied, new and challenging atmosphere.

Okoro, (1986) also denounced the double standard inherent in the school system. On the one hand, a foreign culture and language is taught, yet children are expected to act according to cultural norms. Sufola (1983) refers to this trend towards western ways as "cultural suicide" while Pela (1986) calls it cultural dissonance.

EMOTIONAL ABUSE

This is injury to the child's psychological self which is meant to be punitive. It is experienced as parental hostility in the form of continuous terrorizing, rejection, criticisms and insults. Inglis, (1979) refers to this form of abuse as "mind battering" while

Mitchell, (1978) calls it "manipulative threat". It manifests in some cases in aggression, and in other cases, retreatism, that is, regression to childhood behaviours, and a general feeling of incompetence.

EMOTIONAL NEGLECT

It refers to emotional deprivation in which case the care giver (usually mother) fails to provide the psychological nuturance necessary for a child's growth and development. In other words, it is the lack of caring, loving and empathic attention towards a child which if present creates what Kempe and Helfer (1980) called developmental deficits. These deficits are caused by parental behaviours such as (1) cold and distant behaviour and (2) inconsistent application of reward and punishment for similar behaviours. In the former, instead of the mother soothing the child and responding to his cues and cries positively, a situation which enhances attachment, the child may be ignored or not allowed to express himself, Helfer, (1980) refers to this situation as the World of Abnormal Child Rearing (WAR). Rather than meet the needs of the child, the parents expect the child to meet their own need for attention (role-reversal). The child is valued not as an individual but rather his value is related to his willingness to be good and stay out of trouble (Martin, 1977; Kempe and Helfer, 1980). As a result of this neglect, the motor and interpersonal skills of the child are impaired. In Cantwell's (1979) words, they "lack affect and responsiveness."

Such children show marked physical, emotional and mental retardation or illness. Martins, (1980) found that emotionally neglected children were 34% more likely to be mentally retarded than the physically abused children (24%). They are often found in special classes for the emotionally disturbed and learning disabled children (Christiansen, 1980). Where the brain is affected due to physical battering or emotional neglect such children have been known to perform poorly in abstract tasks (Martins and Rodeheffer, 1976).

Another manifestation of neglect of this nature is the absence of anxiety reaction in such children. They go to any stranger who gives them attention even at a time they should resist. Martins (1980) attributes this tendency to the absence of object constancy, in psychology, the knowledge that a person or a thing exists even though cannot be seen. This behaviour is typical of institutionalized children who lack stable care givers.

In a study of institutionalized and non-institutionalized children, Burlington and Freud(1955) confirmed that while the former group of children performed better in personal and motor skills (as they had to learn on their own from peers most of the time)' such gains they concluded were incomparable to the gains in emotional satisfaction of the latter group in the non-institutionalized children.

In the case of the latter parental behaviour i.e. inconsistent, erratic and unpredictable behaviour of parents, children may be encouraged to engage in the same behaviours which the parents

themselves frown upon. Therefore, not taught how to get their needs met, such children will do anything including provocation to get their parents' attention. Some older children might even turn to other sources of attention through prostitution, delinquency and drug usage. Generally, such a child may be well fed, has everything except love and affection - typical of some children of high status background and working mothers (Etim, 1990; Kalu, 1986).

Other symptoms of emotional neglect are seen in negative self-image, inability to trust others, loss of identity and inability to accept responsibility for their behaviour, rather they put the blame on others. Some of these symptoms find expression in personality disorders such as Histrionic personality (immature-attention seeking behaviour) Narcissistic personality (self-elevation) and anti-social (psychopathic) personality (Mussen, Couger, Kagan and Huston, 1984).

Emotional neglect often blurs into emotional abuse thus such abused children can react also in the above ways.

SEXUAL ABUSE

Kempe and Kempe (1979:60) define this most invisible abuse as "the exploitation of children in that it robs them of developmentally determined control of their bodies and of their own preference with increasing maturity for sexual partners on equal basis." Variants of sexual abuse include:

Pederasty - sexual perversion with young male children. In ancient Rome, it was thought that venereal diseases could be cured by transferring them to children (Radbill, 1980).

Pedophilia - sexual activity by adults with children ranging from exhibitionsm (viewing or fondling of children's genitals) to rape.

Rape: is the forceful sexual relations in this case, with a child.

Incest: sexual relations between family members. It is the most secretive of all sexual abuses. Often discovery is made only during a crisis such as pregnancy, marital discord or venereal disease infection. Otesanya, (1987) in her study of 961 venereal disease patients in Zaria found children who were infected to be victims of sexual abuse by relations. Twenty-seven(16%) of these children were girls below five years of age whereas there was no male child in this age category. This goes to support Maden's (1980) findings that girls most often are the victims of sexual abuse.

Evidence of abuse is seen in raptured hymen, bleeding and bruises (in girls) and more recently Vesico Vaginal Fistulae (V.V.F.) and Recto Vaginal Fistula (R.V.F). Both V.V.F. and R.V.F. are medical conditions associated with very young children who are exposed prematurely to motherhood. The end result is that it leaves the girl with leaking urine (V.V.F.) or faeces, (R.V.F), thereby making her what Etim, (1990) calls a "social reject" for the rest of her life.

Other manifestation of sexual abuse include sudden weight loss or gain, school anxiety; depression, prostitution, delinquency, night terrors and clinging behaviour in children below six years of age (Kempe, 1980).

The most common incest is the step/father-daughter incest and the rarest being the mother-son incest. The latter is thought to be due to the absence of a man in the home in which case, the mother exploits her nurturing role to make up for the absence of a man.

CHILD LABOUR

Within the traditional African context, child labour in the form of trading, farming, housework, child care, errands etc. is considered part and parcel of socialization. Similarly, the western societies which have championed the campaign against child labour had in their traditional set up not the notion of child labour as being abusive. But with industrialization, child labour especially at the early part of the industrial revolution, was shifted from the home to the industries where children in their helplessness were ruthlessly exploited by both parents and manufacturers.

Children as young as four years of age were forced to work up to twelve hours daily under the threat of the whip of the foremen to keep them from falling asleep. Many of these children in the process of doing their work were mangled by machines to death, some were physically deformed while others contracted job related diseases like gangrene, cancer of the scrotum etc. The chimney sweeps for example, among whom cancer of the scrotum was common had to go through the ordeal of climbing into narrow, dark and sometimes hot chimneys to sweep while burning torches were held beneath them by their employers to quicken their entrance (cited in Onuigbo, 1986). It was against this background that Engles did his work on the Conditions of the

working class in England. So bad was the condition of the workers that he called it "social murder". According to Engels (1975:393)

> this is a situation whereby the society (ruling class) places hundreds of proletarians in such a position that they inevitably meet a too early and an unnatural death, one which is quite as much as a death by violence as that by the sword or bullet; when it deprives thousands of the necessities of life, places them under condition in which they cannot live, forces them through the strong arm of the law to remain in such conditions until that death ensues which is the inevitable consequence - knows that these thousands of victims must perish and yet permit these conditions to remain.

Under the above conditions, family life (Engels (1975:424) continues,

> is impossible for the worker. Forced to live in filthy, inadequate shelter, the husband works the whole day though perhaps the wife also and the children, all in different places; they meet night and morning only, all under perpetual temptation to drink. What family life is possible under such condition? Yet the working man cannot escape from the family and the consequence is a perpetual succession of family troubles, domestic quarrels, most demoralizing for parents and children alike. Neglect of all domestic duties, neglect of the children is only too common among the English working people.

In Nigeria, the negative effects of child labour in modern times are beginning to emerge. These include physical abuse particularly where the child works as a house maid; they are usually over worked and prone to physical abuse. These children are more likely to be emotionally abused and neglected. Where children are

made to hawk wares,they usually complain of being tired after school and being unable to study at home (Ogwuike-Ekwe, 1986). The danger of street hawking cannot be over-emphasized.

Beside truancy and delinquent behaviour, manyof these children perform below their chronological age (Vinola and Fubara, 1986). Furthermore, in the course of hawking children, are exposed to the danger of accidents and other health hazards. Most of these children, Shelleng (1986) reported complained of headaches, fever and diarrhoea for which they treat themselves with drugs purchased from drug stores. This is particularly true of the almajirai who live at the mercy of the public. However, in contrast, Shellenge (1986) found that those children who live with their parents/guardians look healthier than their almajirai counterparts.

In addition to the health risks, accidents and criminal tendencies to which hawking children are exposed, there is also the added burden of sexual molestation. Kisekka in her analysis of court records in Nigeria, found 80% of the victims of either attempted or actual rapes to be children, most of whom were hawking at the time of the incidents (Standing and Kisekka, 1987). Moreover, young girls employed as waitresses, dishwashers etc. in hotels are often used as baits to attract male customers and in return for their sexual favours they are given "extras" by the morally bankrupt operators of such hotels.

The result of child labour, thus should be viewed not only in terms of its immediate effect on the child - health, moral, economic

defence mechanism, (Mitchell, 1978). Kempe and Kempe (1978) estimate that 10% of abusers have psychiatric problems.

In the Fight-Flight model, a person who is threatened is warned by the release of adrenalin from the brain. The person reacts to the effect of adrenalin by increased heart beat which prepares one for action. The person thus provoked may react by fighting off the threat or retreating (Flight). However, when the person is unable to deal with the source of provocation as in the case of the arousal model, aggression may result and in this case, the aggression is directed at the child.

PSYCHOLOGICAL MODEL OF CHILD ABUSE

According to this model, which like the biological model is individual oriented, the cause of abusive behaviour is rooted in the individual who is not psychologically balanced or mature. Psychological maturity comes with age by learning through operant conditioning, stimulus conditioning and modelling (imitation). In the operant conditioning, - (Skinnerian model) a reward is received upon the performance of certain tasks, whereas in the Pavlovian stimulus conditioning, a behaviour is paired with a certain stimulus such that with time, the stimulus alone can elicit the behaviour.

Proper psychological functioning requires that one has necessary emotional support from care giver. The effect of such emotional deprivation has been discussed under emotional neglect. In the course of nurturing a bond is built between parent and child which further enhances the child's security with parents. Kempe and

Kempe (1978) found a positive correlation between mothers who were critical of their babies at birth and abusive behaviour later on. The reverse was the case for babies who were allowed to "room in" in maternity wards with their parents. In this case the care giver gives the appropriate affect and encourages the child in appropriate behaviours through rewards and punishments. An emotionally neglected person grows up with emotional problems such as low esteem; impulsivity, role-reveal and unrealistic expectations (Borne, 1979; Seaberg, 1980). Such parents are not tuned into the needs of the child and even if they know the child's needs, they may not be aware of how to meet such needs (Helfer, 1980). As Ainsworth (1980) puts it, such parents do not bond easily with their children. She identified three categories of children, namely: securely attached, anxious resistant and anxious avoidant babies. She found out that the anxious children's mothers were less sensitive to their needs. Worse were the avoidant babies who had less harmonious interaction with their rejecting mothers, they were typical of abused children.

Harris, Weston and Liberman (1989) found that anxiously attached children used more pediatric health services than securely attached children while Ringle, *et al.* (1978) found improved communication between mothers and babies who were securely attached.

In relation to child abuse, the learning theory e.g. modelling, explains abusive behaviour as having been modelled after their parents. That is, children simply imitate what they see or know the parents do. Not shown love or how to love, an abusive mother confessed she could not love her son because "I really never know

how. I was never shown. My mother never showed me how much she loved me in the way that I wanted to show my child." (Silverman, 1978:210).

The biological and the psychological models of child abuse are individualistic in their explanation i.e. they see the fault inherent in the abuser. They fail however to take cognisance of the fact that social conditions can and do weigh enormously on abusive behaviours of parents and that given the right conditions abusive behaviours would be greatly reduced. Moreover, going by Kempe and Kempe's (1978) estimate of 10% of abusive parents, these models fail to explain why biologically and psychologically sound parents would abuse their children. In view of these short comings the sociological models would be given extensive attention.

According to this position, inappropriate parenting is due to stress and frustration which parents encounter in their daily lives. These social conditions include poverty, unemployment, marital discord, drug abuse, illness, discrimination etc. These are summed up as life events. In addition to these factors, the role of socio-cultural factors are also brought to light in sociological analysis. Under the sociological framework, the two major sociological paradigms will be considered. They are the Marxist and the Functionalist perspectives. However, the functionalist perspective is adopted for this research work.

THE MARXIAN PERSPECTIVE

In the analysis of society, this perspective looks into how people have tried to meet their needs in order to survive, that is

production. In the earliest society, (primitive communism) production and the product of labour were communally owned. With the emergence of private property and private ownership of means of production in class societies, the fundamental contradiction of human society was created. That is to say, a minority of people become powerful enough to control the fruit and labour of the majority. This has been the case in all class societies from the feudal to the capitalist societies.

According to the Marxian theory, the economy is primary. Taken together, the forces of production (knowledge, skills and technology involved in production) and the relations of production (the relationship that exists between the two groups for example, capitalist - proletariat, in relation to the forces of production) form the economic base or infrastructure of society. This relation is one of inequality in which case "the ruling class which is the dominant material force in society is at the same time its dominant intellectual force. It is the class which has the means of production at its disposal that has control over the means of mental production so that in consequence the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are in general subject to it". (Thompson and Tunstall, 1971:47).

The economic base shapes and influences all other aspects of the society - political, religious, legal educational and ideological. These are the superstructure of society. The struggle between the two groups or classes is the basis for social change. As tension breaks into an open conflict, a new social order emerges. The

final stage of society is the communist society where all resources will be owned by the people and resources evenly distributed. This society, having moved through primitive communism to feudal, capitalist, and socialist systems of "purifications", will at the communist stage - the terminal stage of society reach perfection, where all forms of inequality and exploitation would cease.

Child abuse in the Marxian sense is the exploitation of the weak by the strong, without fear of retaliation. It is like other forms of exploitation tolerated in the society and since to a large extent, people are the products of the their social environment, the society from which exploitation is modelled should according to Feshback, (1980) be blamed.

This view rejects the notion that the family serves to socialize the child to become competent in future. Rather, proponents of Marxism ask, socialization for whom and for what? Socialization, they argue is geared towards accepting the existing exploitative organization of society, where the rich impose their will on the poor. The same argument is applicable to the definition of child abuse. According to Newberger and Daniel, (1979:23) "It is those socially marginal people who are most susceptible to having their children's injuries characterized as having been abusively or neglectfully obtained and also those whose adult behaviours is most likely to be labelled criminal." Bourne, (1979) observed such bias even among professionals. Doctors, for example, often define injuries of children to be accidental if the parents are of similar social class, while others undergo more scrutiny to avoid the tag

"abuse", or else are simply judged to have been wilfully injured. Besides, it is the rich who have access to private doctors who would not want to lose their clients by exposing them. Similarly, Seaberg, (1980) in his study of elementary school children, found that teachers in suburbanelementary schools tended to look for physical signs of abuse such as sleepy, dull and unkept appearances. Most often, it is the poor children who fit into this category.

Silverman, (1978) in his analysis of court records in Canada, found that though the problem of child abuse cuts across all segments of the society, the poor, low-income group were most susceptible to venting their frustration and anger on their children. In his words "they are victims of economic situation." The police and courts on the one hand, rather than remove the sources of structural stress like unemployment, overcrowding, poverty etc. tend more often than not, to blame the victims and to employ what Newberger and Hyde (1979) refer to as the control model, which tends to be punitive.

Some studies have deliberately focused on marginalized groups. For example, Berger and Kitzes (1979) reported a higher incidence of child abuse among American Indians, but failed to relate their situation to the capitalist system which thrives on exploitation by creating conditions of differential opportunities, poverty and discrimination, situations which this particular group of people have been subjected to for a long time.

The effect of the stresses and frustration caused by the capitalist system in particular is felt most within the family.

Because of the pressure to earn extra sources of income, children are forced into the labour force at a very tender age, and women have had to "neglect" their children to grow as "weeds". In this case, not only are the children abused so also are the parents (Ityanyer, cited in Donli, (1990). This is the situation Engels (1971) earlier referred to as social murder.

It is also within the family the frustration a man cannot express towards the system or his employers are vented. The home, they say is a man's castle as such family members - wife and children bear the brunt of his frustration. Children, particularly girls in this exploitative environment are most vulnerable. They can be abused in whatever form; they have their education interrupted, and at very young ages are betrothed to men old enough to be their fathers. Of the exploitative nature of child betrothal and the payment of bride price, Oyajobe (1990:15) warns "that if we concede that a child in future date will receive emancipation, there is no justification for committing her to an agreement without her knowledge which will restrict her full emancipation in future."

It is sad to note that while the law states 17 years to be the age at which a girl could be married under civil `marriage, customary law however does not limit the age at which a girl can get married. Moreover, while protecting other girls against rape under sec. 39 and 282(1)(e) of the Panel code and sec. 218 and 357 of the Criminal code; section 6 of the criminal code automatically excludes a wife. Thus a young teenage mother carries a heavier burden than her unmarried counterparts - financially, psychologically and medically

(V.V.F, R.V.F). In this strenuous atmosphere, not only does the "Baby mother" suffer but her children also suffer, thus reducing the chances of improving her lot in life. For children therefore to achieve emancipation from adults, according to Marxism, then the economic base, - the root cause of all inequalities must be changed.

The Marxian perspective recognizes the contribution of structural stress like unemployment etc. to the problem of child abuse. This perspective however, does not explain why even in the same lower classes, some families do not abuse their children. Moreover, as earlier stated the phenomenon of child abuse has no social boundry. The reason therefore for this disparity may lie in the differences in socialization as opposed to differences in social classes. Again, this will take on a cultural dimension. For example, Hess and Shipman, (1972) found the way mothers impart their knowledge to their children to be a function of socialization.

Caudill and Weinstein, (1972) also studied middle class families in Japan and America on Maternal care and infant behaviour. They found the difference between the two groups of nationalities to be socialization, and that basically by age 3 - 4 months, infants have learned to respond in culturally appropriate ways. They therefore concluded that mothers in both countries, seem to get what they want. The American preferring an independent assertive child while the Japanese prefers a gentle, dependent and obedient child.

FUNCTIONALIST PERSPECTIVE

The functionalist analysis focuses on the contributions (functions) of the various components (family, economy etc.) of society to its maintenance. The perspective begins with the assumption that society, like a biological organism, is made up of different, but interrelated parts (institutions e.g. family, education and religion) which work together to stabilize the society. A change in one part, elicits reactions from the other parts or institutions, to bring about equilibrium (stability). Any major structural changes in social system according to Parsons (1968:4) "always involves strain and disorganization." As there can be no society in perfect equilibrium, Parsons therefore explains social change in terms of a moving equilibrium.

However, for this equilibrium to be maintained, i.e. for the society to exist, four functional prerequisites have to be met. They are the adaptation to environment to get basic needs met, for which the economic institution is charged; the attainment of goals as set by the government; integrative function - conflict resolution for which the legal institution is responsible; and pattern maintenance, which the family, educational and religious institutions perform.

In relation to the child, the family and the school are the two major sub-systems involved in the socialization of the child. The child's personality is formed within the family. According to Parson (1964:133,61)

> the family is a collectivity within which the basic status structure is ascribed in terms of biological

> position i.e. there are inevitably differences of performance relative to these, and they are rewarded and punished in ways that contribute to the differential character formation.....
>
> The primary function of the family is for maintaining the emotional balances of all members of the family including the adults and its paramount role as an agency for the socialization of the children

The school on the other hand is the first socializing agency in the child's experience which institutionalizes a differentiation of status on non-biological basis; that is, it is achievement oriented as opposed to ascriptive, and universalistic (as opposed to particularistic) in orientation. In the school system children are given equal opportunities to perform and are rewarded based on their achievement which is a shared value. This is also the basis for selection into future adult roles, with higher rewards and privileges going to the deserving pupils. As in the school system where the pupil-teacher relationship are interconnected, the family institution as in the wider society has interconnected roles of father, mother and child. Each of these roles are guided by a set of norms which the child internalizes along side societal values as he grows up. On the one hand, the parents have a duty to care for their children and to train them to be obedient, competent and functioning members of society when adult, while the children also have a duty to obey their parents (Orville, 1975).

The Nigerian law recognizes the need for parents to care for and to discipline the children under sections 300, 301, and 302 of the criminal code. However, certain factors do impede the effective

performance of parenting roles, which may result in their performing their roles in a disruptive manner or withdrawing from functionally important activities. Child abuse may be one such consequence. Factors which have a potential to be disruptive according to Parsons (1964) include problem of power, opportunity and prestige allocation. Added to these are marital discord, alcohol/drug abuse poverty, illness etc. These Nye and Berardo (1973) refer to as life events.

Keniston and the Carnegie Council on Children (1977) however think otherwise. For them, these life events are not enough contributory factors to child abuse, rather, they blame the problem on the loss of the authority which the family institution used to wield. This loss of authority was due to the fact that the functions of the family have become highly reduced because many aspects have been taken over by other institutions. Thus, while the family used to be self-sufficient - that is both an economic unit of production and consumption, it has now been relegated to that of consumption, its economic and educational functions having been taken over by these other institutions.

Poverty and other factors summed up as life events can affect the functioning of parents thus exposing children to the risk of abuse. The manifestation of these are elucidated in the next section.

Life Events

These are conditions in life which constraints the proper functioning of one's roles in life in this case, parenting roles are limited by poverty, family, health and other pressures. On poverty,

Martins, (1976) argues that while child abuse and neglect know no social boundary, certain forms are more likely to be found in low socio-economic classes. He cited the case of Failure-To-Thrive (FTT) children who more often were over-represented in the samples of abused children to be from poorer families.

Gelles' (1970) and Gils' (1973) nation wide studies of child abuse in the United States found poverty to be a major factor. In a follow-up study of a group of abused and non abused children who had injuries, Elmer, (1977) found no major differences between the two groups in terms of physical care, weight and language articulation. She attributed this similarity to the chaotic and poorly organized background common to both groups.

Many parents unable to pay hospital bills delay only to rush their children to emergency wards (Rosenberg, Meyers and Shackleton (1989) while others still, out of poverty and the consideration of their economic loss should they visit hospitals (which means loosing the days earnings for self-employed traders) neglect their children. Such parents cannot afford to go to private clinics, yet going to the general hospital would mean as in Nigeria, spending most of the day on the queue to see a doctor.

It is poor children who are likely to be admitted for burns, gastroenteritis and home accidents (Beautrias, Fergusson and Shannon, 1980) and they who are likely to remain sick, (Lindskog and Lundqvist, (1989) or die, (Sanyu, 1983).

Drug and alcohol abusers report more negative life events, consequently have a higher incidence of depression, which can trigger abusive behaviour. Amaro, Zuckerman and Cabral (1989) found in their study, most of the cases to be from minority group, 62% of these were single parents. Such alcoholic mothers more often report more child behaviour problem (Golden, Sokol, Kuhnert and Bottoms, 1982). Children in this situation, have a higher risk of being abused.

A higher incidence of child mortality and abuse is also reported among families with Huntington's disease - (a degenerative disease of the central nervous system often heralded by behavioural changes) Pearlstain, Brill and Mancall (1982). Also increase in family size particularly with twins has been associated with child abuse (Grothus, Altemier, Robarge, Vietze, Lustiq, O'Connor and Sandler, 1982).

Socio-Cultural Factors

Apart from life events such as poverty etc. certain socio-cultural factors do influence the occurrence of child abuse. These are culturally sanctioned behaviour used in socializing children, they include corporal punishment, fostering and child marriage.

The use of corporal punishment at home and in school, often in the name of discipline is common in Nigeria. But discipline according to Macauley (1979) is not synonymous with punishment. It is the control one gains by enforcing obedience, i.e. training in obedience, whereas punishment is a penalty inflicted on the offender which need not involve pain. But very often, pain is involved in the Nigerian

culture of discipline. Where then do we draw the line between discipline and punishment? Feshback, (1980:57) answers "it is easier to teach parents not to use corporal punishment as a means of discipline than to teach them to discriminate between socially acceptable and socially unacceptable pain infliction."

In recognition of this danger, the Nigerian law while giving parents the right to discipline their children under Section 295 of the criminal code and 51(1) penal code, section 55(2) of the penal code restricts this right and in fact, makes an adult liable if any injury of harm is done to a child (Section 245, 247 and 441 Penal code; Section 335 Criminal code; cited by Donli, 1990).

As in corporal punishment, the practice of fostering in some cultures have been foundto be advantageous for the poor in Katsina. Pittin (1981) noted however that it was not at the expense of the female children's education. Hake (1982) argues against fostering on the grounds that 40% of the 175 children in his study of hausa children complained of differential treatment while 23% each complained of bullying and not feeling welcomed. Similarly, Ahire (1981) in his study of juveniles in the Remand Home in Kaduna, found that 38.5% of the children were living with their relatives prior to their conviction, compared to 19.2% each, living with one or both parents. One wonderswhy the higher number of children not living with their biological parents are represented in the group. Could it be that fostering may leave room for child abuse?

With regard to child marriage, apart from its economic, psychological and medical implications, earlier mentioned, a girl may be trapped in an unhappy marriage. Unable to leave because of her children, or not having financial resources to pay back her bride wealth (as is the practice in some cultures) or educational qualification to get a good job, she might be forced to remain in a stressful environment in which the children could be abused. This is an unfortunate situation for a woman whom society has relegated to the background.

With particular reference to the Hausa there is also the fatalistic tendency of leaving everything to fate. Thus a young girl whose lot could have been improved by better education and care is forced to bear her problem alone as the will of God ("Ikon Allah"). Moreover, where a child could have received better care and attention, for example in the case of illness, the child may be "neglected" due to the cultural practice of "kunya" (shyness) among the Hausa. In such a situation, where parents are shy of the first born, the children may suffer emotionally and sometimes physically if there are no relations to render some support.

Socio-psychological Factors

Independent of economic and cultural factors, socio-psychological factors have been found to be a factor in child abuse. Within the family, independent of the extraneous factors, patterned form of interaction between family members, particularly between parents and children can be problematic. Such problems of interaction have been identified as (a) a lack of communication, excessive

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA

Zaria is one of the old towns in the northern part of Nigeria. It lies between latitudes 9° and 12° North and Longitude 7°-9° East. It was founded by a legendary warrior queen called Zaria about the 16th or 17th century A.D. With a vegetation typical of savanna region, it's climate is characterized by two major seasons: The rainy season (May-September) and a long spell of cold dry harmattan months (November to February). Agriculture is patterned after the seasons, with wet season used for planting (mainly maize, sorghum, beans, millet etc.) and dry season, as harvest period. The dry season is also used for crafts, trading blacksmithing and other activities, while in marshy areas sugar cane, a favourite dry season snack thrives (Smith, 1960).

The Hausa people are the dominant inhabitants of the old Zaria city which has retained much of its physical characteristics - the city wall and gates; architectural design, housing and commercial activities such as crafts and trade in leather shoes, bags, and gold/blacksmithing etc. (Urquhart, 1970). Outside the city walls, is Tudun Wada, a settlement for non-indegenes. It has similar characteristics with Zaria City in terms of the dominance of Islamic religion and restriction of public consumption of alcohol. On the other side is Wussasa where there are Christian converts. Further down is Sabon-Gari meaning "New Town", where the largest market in Zaria is situated. It is heterogeneous in ethnic and religious

negative interaction (which can lead to deviance) and inconsistency in reward and punishment.

Breakdown in family interaction has been found to be a major factor in the mental breakdown of psychiatric patients (Laing and Esterson, cited by Inglis, 1979). Burgess and Conger (1980) found abusive parents to interact in less positive ways by way of disapproval and scolding, worst still were the neglectful parents who had minimal interaction with their children.

Moreover, Steinmetze (1977) in her study of assertive aggressive and abusive family interaction concluded that why some families choose not to be aggressive in a violent society is a function of the type of conflict resolution families over the years have adopted.

In light of the fore-going argument, a functionalist frame-work will be employed in this work. This is because the functionalist theory, while not absolving the society of its contribution to the problem of child abuse looks into the functioning of individuals within the context of the family and the cultural background within which the individuals operate or function. Thus while looking at the functional aspects of the family and some cultural practices, this theory also addresses their dysfunctional aspect in relation to the child. Thus, while child abuse, e.g. scape-goating a child, may help parents relieve their tension, and they are able to function better according to Vogel and Bell (1980), the reverse is the case for the child victim. It is this latter case that the study is all about.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA

Zaria is one of the old towns in the northern part of Nigeria. It lies between latitudes 9° and 12° North and Longitude 7°-9° East. It was founded by a legendary warrior queen called Zaria about the 16th or 17th century A.D. With a vegetation typical of savanna region, it's climate is characterized by two major seasons: The rainy season (May-September) and a long spell of cold dry harmattan months (November to February). Agriculture is patterned after the seasons, with wet season used for planting (mainly maize, sorghum, beans, millet etc.) and dry season, as harvest period. The dry season is also used for crafts, trading blacksmithing and other activities, while in marshy areas sugar cane, a favourite dry season snack thrives (Smith, 1960).

The Hausa people are the dominant inhabitants of the old Zaria city which has retained much of its physical characteristics - the city wall and gates; architectural design, housing and commercial activities such as crafts and trade in leather shoes, bags, and gold/blacksmithing etc. (Urquhart, 1970). Outside the city walls, is Tudun Wada, a settlement for non-indegenes. It has similar characteristics with Zaria City in terms of the dominance of Islamic religion and restriction of public consumption of alcohol. On the other side is Wussasa where there are Christian converts. Further down is Sabon-Gari meaning "New Town", where the largest market in Zaria is situated. It is heterogeneous in ethnic and religious

composition, more modern with Government Reservation Area (GRA) and is a commercial, business, industrial and entertainment centre of Zaria.

Samaru Village, within which the Ahmadu Bello University is situated, like Sabon-Gari, is heterogeneous in composition (i.e. tribal and religious affiliations) but much more modern. The growth of this village was heralded by such institutions as the Agricultural Research Station, now Institute of Agricultural Research (I.A.R.) established in 1924; Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, now Ahmadu Bello University, 1962. Since then more institutions such as the Leather Research Institute, Industrial Development Centre (IDC), Nigerian Civil Aviation and Training Centre and recently the Nigerian Institute of Transport Technology have emerged. With this kind of background, Samaru area of Zaria can be said to comprise more enlightened people than other areas and like Sabon-Gari, it can be described as a melting pot of all ethnic groups in Nigeria.

Research Design

The primary purpose of this study was to explore the extent or prevalence of child abuse and to explain its causes. The unit sampling comprised of schools, while the population was drawn from the Samaru, Sabon-Gari and Zaria City clusters of Zaria town. These clusters were chosen to reflect the various ethnic groups.

Methodology

The Zaria area was chosen for the study first because of its central location which links major northern cities like Kano, Jos Katsina, Sokoto etc., and through Kaduna, links the southern part of the country. This centrality therefore makes it ideal for a study of this nature to be generalized to other parts of the country. Second, my experience in a previous pilot study gave me assurance of the feasibility of this research. Third, financial constraints and the fact that the researcher resides in Zaria are other factors why the study was carried out in Zaria.

Instruments and Sampling Strategy

Zaria town was divided into three main clusters. They are:

Zaria City - all areas within the old walled city, includes Tukur-Tukur, Fada etc. One primary school - Fada Primary school, close to the Emir's Palace was chosen.

Sabon-Gari - This covers the areas outside the city walls. It include Wussasa, Tundun-Wada, Gyllesu, Congo and the Sabon-Gari Market area, which ends at the Government Reservation Area. (G.R.A).

Samaru - includes Kwangila, Palladan/Aviation area, Zango, Ahmadu Bello University Main Campus up to Samaru Village itself.

From each cluster, two primary schools, (one public and one private school) were purposively chosen. For Sabon-Gari area, the Sabon-Gari Local Education Authority (L.E.A.) school close to Sabon-Gari market was chosen, while the Zaria children's School, in the

Government Reservation Area (G.R.A.) which is a private school was also selected for the study. For Samaru however three schools were chosen, rather than two, the third school (a private school) was added to make up for the unavailability of private schools within the Old Zaria City. These schools are AhmaduBello University Staff School located within the University Campus; Montessori (now Unity Children's School) Nursery/Primary School in Zango. which is a privately operated school, rated as one of the best in the area and the Amina Public School located close to the Samaru Market and Opposite the Ahmadu Bello University Main Campus. The rationale for the Public/Private School dichotomy was to reflect differences in socio-economic background of the pupils.

A total of six primary schools (3 private and 3 public) were purposively chosen with 75 of the pupils from private, and 77 from public schools. To ensure representativeness, four pupils were systematically picked from the class registers from primary one to six. The twenty-fifth child was randomly chosen from any of the classes, also following the same format of picking every fifth male or female child, as the case may be. This brings the total number of questionnaires administered to 152. Where the children could not fill the questionnaires, the researcher had to help them with further prodding; thus necessitating several trips to particular schools.

A further interview was carried out with some teachers, parents of children in the sample, Doctors, Nurses, Social Welfare staff and the Police. Visits were also made to the Pediatric wards of the AhmaduBello University Teaching Hospital in Tudun-Wada, Zaria and

its Annexe on Hospital Road, Sabon-Gari; as well as the Kofar-Gaya Hospital just outside Zaria City, to observe the type of cases that were being admitted. Where allowed, the Hospital records were used. This exercise was repeated for several weeks. I also visited the Motherless Children's home in Berth Torrey Home in Wussasa.

The simple percentages were used to compare differences between the public and private schools on the various variables. The level of association were also tested and significance determined using the Gamma and Chi-Square analysis respectively.

VARIABLES AND THEIR OPERATIONALIZATION

Dependent variable - Child Abuse

Independent variable - Socio-economic Status

Operationalized as parental income, occupation and education. Since children did not know their parent's income, other indices such as type of residence, residential areas and ownership of means of mobility were used.

Occupation and education were rated in ascending order. Occupation is rated low if jobs are manual, low skill in nature for example, labourers cleaners, petty traders, unemployed etc. Usually their educational level is also low; that is to say, they have either Koranic or Primary school certificate or neither.

Medium or average income earners are those usually with secondary school certificate or its equivalent, in occupations such as teaching in primary school, clerical work, medium scale farming.

High income earners are those who usually possess certificates from tertiary institutions, or who are professionals, doctors, lawyers, lecturers, secondary school teachers, administrators, business people, etc. They usually live in flats or bungalows and are mobile - have cars.

Type of Residence

i. Compound: 3 rooms, over 3 rooms.

ii Flat: 2 bedroom, 3 bedroom flat.

Means of mobility

ownership of bicycle, motor bike, car, none.

Family Size

Determined by the number of children in a particular household. One to three children is considered to be small, 4 - 6 children, average, and 7 and above, large family size.

Type of family

Nuclear family - where one or both parents live with their siblings.

Nuclear Extended family - a nuclear family consisting of biological children as well as relatives.

Polygynous families are those which consist of a man and more than one wife and their children.

Ethnicity

Affiliation to major Nigerian ethnic groups - Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba. All others come under a separate category.

Parental behaviour

Judged as harsh or warm from children's response. They are harsh where children say they are afraid of them and where they do not feel at ease in their presence. Parents are warm if the reverse is the case, particularly where children say they play with their parents and are able to confide in them.

Marital Harmony

Marriage is in harmony where the children say the do not notice constant fighting in the home. The reverse is the case if there is not harmony.

Abusive and Neglectful Factors

Physical Abuse

The question, who do you hate most, usually shows who beats the child the most. The object used is another indicator of physical abuse, for example, cane, horsewhip, rubber etc., and where there is injury, particularly repeated injury abuse is also the case.

Physical Neglect

Exists where there is no supervision that is, where nobody is home with the children most of the time; where no medical attention is given when child is sick and when the child does not eat before going to school.

Sexual Abuse

Exists where a child is sexually molested by an adult.

Verbal Abuse

Is the case where children admit they are sometimes verbally abused. A more serious case is where they report constant verbal abuses.

Emotional Neglect

Exists where the child is not able to confide in either parent, where he/she does not feel close to them and where there is constant fear of parents due to either fear of being beaten or a combination of fear of being beaten and parental coldness towards child.

Child Labour

Where a child engages in hawking before school or where even at home the child is over worked, child abuse in form of child labour exists.

Public Schools: These are primary school under the Local Education Authority (L.E.A.) which are free except for some levies which parents pay.

Private School: These are schools owned and operated by private individuals. They attract fees from moderate to very high fees plus other levies. For example, Ahmadu Bello University Staff School (until 1992) when it became free) and Montessouri (recently changed to Unity Children's School) both attract moderate school fees, the former being ₦80.00 per term and the latter ₦150 per term. While Zaria Children's School attracts ₦300 per term. Given the numerous private nursery schools in Zaria, only those with terminal classes, that is, primary six, were included for this study.

Problems Encountered in the Field

Generally, all the Headmasters/Mistresses and teachers of the various schools visited were cooperative, except for one of the public schools in Sabon-Gari. Initially, I was allowed to administer the questionnaires which I ended up filling for the pupils as most of the children from the public schools and a few from the private schools could not complete a questionnaire by themselves. Zaria children's school however was an exception; even children in Primary II made efforts to fill their own questionnaires.

Also, many of the children did not know what their parents, particularly fathers, do for a living and even worse was the fact that they could not tell if their parents were literate (English) or not since they rarely saw then read in their presence. I had to issue out a small questionnaire through the children to their parents asking the parents to indicate their occupations, highest educational qualifications and residential addresses (which were usually difficult to trace as many of the houses are not even numbered).

However, on a second visit to Sabon-Gari Primary School; when I had to interview the parents of the children in my sample, I had to request for permission for the children to show me their houses as they could not give the addresses. Confusion arose as pupils started running away and neither the Headmaster nor the teachers could control them. I was then told that a group of Medical students had earlier come to get specimen (blood and stool) for their projects. The mention of blood sent parents' emotions high and the school authorities were accused of selling their children's blood for ritual

purposes. Because of this misunderstanding, I was not allowed to follow these children home as it would arouse suspicion of other pupils who at this time were already getting agitated. I therefore had to make do with those whose houses or parents places of work I could trace; and then I completed the numberof parents I wanted to interview with other people I met on the streets or in front of their houses.

The field work was conducted when there was tension in Zaria engendered by the May 1992 Zangon-Kataf, Kaduna State crises with which Christians are associated. At one point, the interview had to be interrupted and the venue changed as emotions were running high. Even where the topic of the interview had nothing to do with religion, these religious sentiments were still brought into the discussion.

Another problem was getting access to police and hospital records. I was referred to almost all the police stations in Zaria and at the end of it all I could only have access to the records which they felt could be released but which was not too useful to me.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

A total of 152 primary school children were randomly selected as the sample for this study. Of these, 77 (50.6%) were drawn from public schools while 75 (49.4%) were drawn from private schools. Each sex was represented with 77 (50.6%) males and 75 (49.4%) females mostly between the ages of 5 and 15 years of age.

Table 1 Age of Children

Year	No	%
5 - 9	62	40.8
10 - 14	84	55.3
15+	6	3.9
Total	152	100.0

In terms of religious background, children from Christian backgroundconstitute more of the sample while the majority of the Muslim children belong to the Hausa ethnic group. Moreover, when ethnicity is analysed, the Hausa children constitute the largest ethnic group.

Table 2 Religion of Children

Christianity		Islam		Total	
No	%	No	%	No	%
86	56.5	66	43.4	152	100

The Hausa children, in terms of numberare closely followed by the Yoruba and Ibo children respectively, while all other ethnic groups together constitute about one-third of the sample. The Hausa

children were also more likely to be from low socio-economic background and from polygynous families.

Table 3 Ethnicity by Income

Income of Parents	Hausa No (%)	Yoruba No (%)	Ibo No (%)	Others No (%)	Total No (%)
High	16 (28.6)	25 (80.6)	11 (78.6)	33 (64.7)	85 (55.9)
Medium	12 (41.4)	2 (6.5)	- -	10 (19.6)	24 (15.8)
Low	28 (50.0)	4 (12.9)	3 (21.4)	8 (15.7)	43 (28.3)
Total	56 (100)	31 (100)	14 (100)	51 (100)	152 (100)

Parental Background

The occupation and educational qualification, type of residence and ownership of means of transportation were used as indices of social class of families. High class families are those in which one or both parents have a university degree or its equivalent, is a top civil servant (administrator), university lecturer, professional or has large scale business, has a car and lives in a flat or bungalow. The reverse is the case for low class which is made up of petty traders, drivers, manual workers (skilled and semi-skilled) etc. In between the high and low classes is the middle class with average income and education such as primary/secondary school teachers, clerical staff, medium scale business people etc.

It is obvious from Table 4 that most of the fathers were of high class background using various socio-economic indices while mothers lagged behind. For example, while 80 (52.6%) of fathers had university degrees and 28 (18.4%) secondary school certificates, only 42 (27.6%) and 34 (22.4%) of the mothers had degrees and secondary

school certificates respectively. The ownership of cars and the 2 - 3 bedroom self contained houses they live in contrast with the sharing of compounds with tenants further confirm their high income status.

Table 4 Social Class of Fathers

Low Class		Middle Class		High Class		Total	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
43	28.3	25	16.4	84	55.3	152	100

Most of the families were nuclear in nature, 67 (44%), though there were nuclear extended 41 (26.9%) and polygynous families 44 (28.9%) as well. With the exception of four families, all polygynous families have Muslim background, mostly of low or average income. With regards to family size, only 32 (21%) were small (1-3 children) the majority, 55 (36.1%) were medium (4-6 children) others, 65 (42.7%) were large (7+ children).

Table 5 Type of Family

Nuclear		Nuclear Extended		Polygynous		Total	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
67	44.1	41	27.0	44	28.9	152	100

Table 6 Family Size

Small (1-3)		Medium (4-6)		Large (>7)		Total	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
32	21.0	55	36.2	65	42.8	152	100

Types of Abuse Encountered

Physical and verbal abuse were the most frequent forms of abuse reported by the children in this study though a few cases of lack of parental supervision leading to sexual experimentation and other delinquent behaviours were also reported. We shall attempt to determine how socio-economic status, family type and size, ethnicity, parental behaviour (whether parents were harsh or warm) and marital harmony influence the occurrence of child abuse.

To begin with, a neutral question was asked on whether the children hated anyone at home. Without hesitation twelve pupils (7.8%) mentioned their parents and siblings. With further prodding it was discovered that the cause of their hatred had to do with the constant beating which they received from these individuals. Out of these 12 children, only one girl hated her father, the rest hated their older siblings. In the absence of parents, older siblings tend to terrorize the younger ones put under their care. However, the majority of children hated no one in spite of the evidence of physical and verbal abuse and emotional neglect.

Physical Abuse

Mothers more often than fathers were mentioned as one who punished most, they are closely followed by fathers. In some cases both parents equally punish their children while in rare cases siblings were reported to mete out punishment on younger ones instead of the parents.

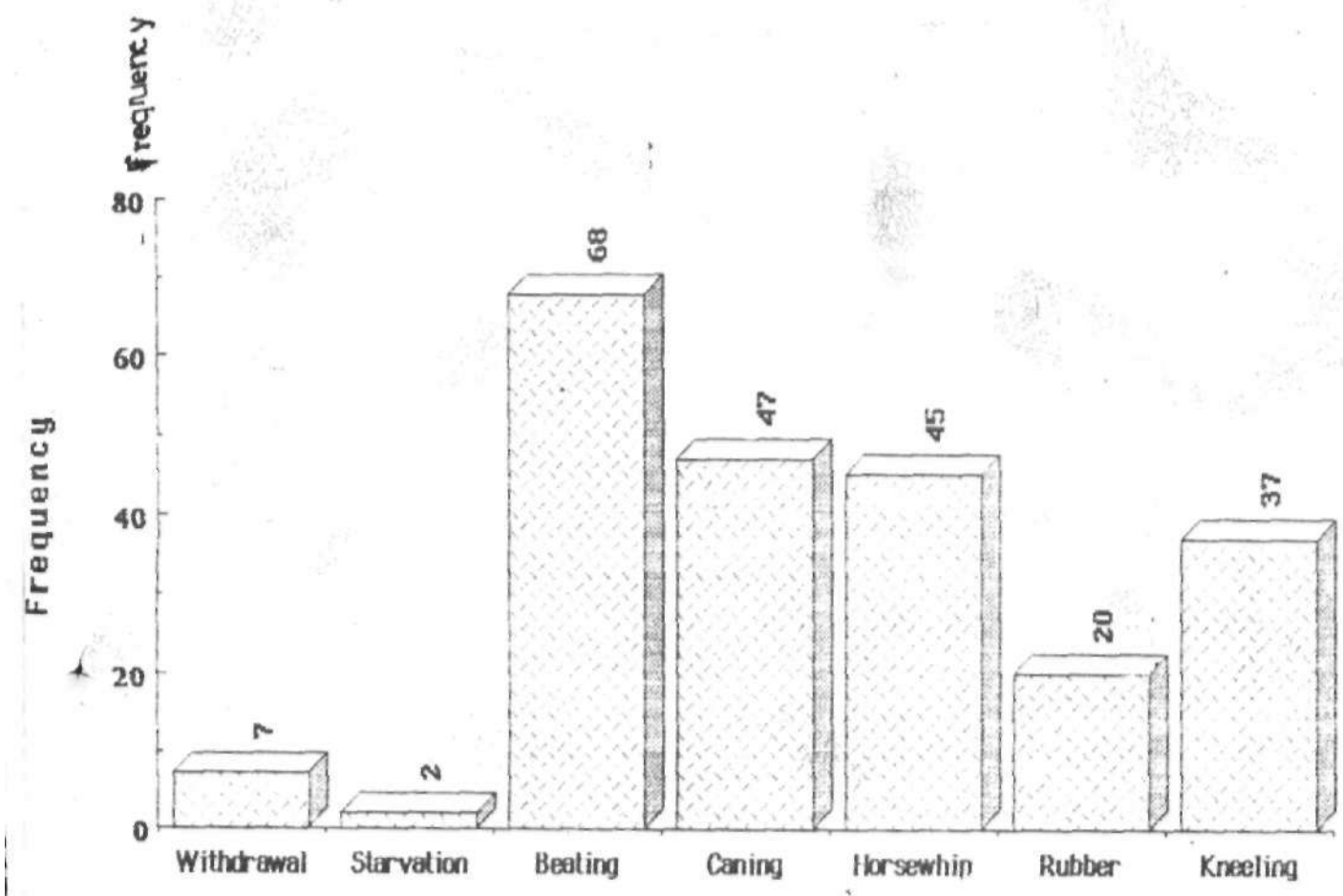


Fig. 1: Incidence and Type of Punishment

Since out of the 152 pupils interviewed, only 3 (1.9%) said they were hardly beaten by anyone at home, this suggests that irrespective of social class, family type and size, marital harmony and ethnicity earlier hypothesized to influence child abuse, children are often beaten. Punishment meted out to children included withdrawal of attention, starvation, kneeling, beating with cane, bare hands, rubber and horsewhip. Beating by hand accounts for 30%, which is the most common form of corporal punishment. It should however be noted that very often, beating by hand accompanies other forms of punishment.

In the case of kneeling, though it accounts for 16.4%, of the punishment, it is high class parents who more often resort to its use and less of corporal punishment such as rubber (rubber whip and electric cables) or horsewhip. When and if however they beat, it is usually more severe as indicated by the number of injuries and repeated injuries. For instance while 22 (14.5%) of the 152 children reported injuries, 14 (63.6%) were from high social class, 1 (4.5%) middle class, and 7 (31.8%) from low social class. Suffice it to say that of these 22 children who sustained injuries from punishments meted to them, 7 (31.8%) of these children had repeated injuries, 5 (22.7%) of which were from high class families, while only 2 (9.1%) were from low status families and none from the middle class families.

The majority of injuries 15, were on the limbs, while the remaining 7 injuries were sustained on the back (3) head (3) and abdomen (1) respectively. In most cases, punishment was effected as a

corrective measure - usually for wrong doing although three (3) children reported being beaten for no reason by their older siblings. When these children were asked why this was so, they claimed their older siblings hated them.

Ethnicity played a prominent role in the nature and severity of physical abuse. For instance, of the 31 cases of beating with horsewhip, 21 were Hausa children, while 5 out of 13 cases of rubber usage were also Hausa, most of whom were from the City.

Horsewhip is made from animal hides, when used it inflicts severe pain on the victim often resulting in laceration of the skin. Yet the open sale of such weapons by older Hausa men attests to the salient encouragement of its use.

Parental Supervision

In order to find the extent of parental supervision, children were asked the question, "who is home with you most of the time?" The majority of the children, 118 (77.6%) reported mothers compared with only 12 (7.8%) who reported fathers; while 18 (11.8%) said they were without any parental or adult supervision most of the time. One case of sexual intercourse between two school children was traced to the factor of supervision. The boy in question, a primary six pupil from a low income family said his father was hardly home while his mother was busy trading in the "bush" market, that is, markets which hold on certain days of the week at regular intervals in some rural areas.

Medical Neglect

It is a known fact in Nigeria that most parents would out of economic necessity first try out some form of self-medication before consulting a doctor if it becomes necessary. The reliance on self medication by parents was therefore prominent in all social classes: 47 (56.6%) high, 23 (95.8%) middle, and 41 (91.1%) low class respectively. On the other hand of 152 children only 41 (26.9%) said their parents did not engage in self-medication, majority of these children 36 (43.4%) were from high social class and only 1 (4.2%) and 4 (8.9%) were from middle and low social classes respectively.

Almost half of those who engage in self-medication are from Samaru while 3 out of 4 children whose parents rely solely on traditional medicine are from Zaria City. This is to be expected given the heavy reliance on traditional medicine in the City and the proliferation of drug stores and clinics in recent years in Samaru.

Table 7 Type of Medical Care by Social Class

Type of Medical Care	High Class No (%)	Middle Class No (%)	Low Class No (%)	Total No (%)
Self Medication	47 (56.6)	23 (95.8)	41 (91.1)	111 (73)
Doctors Prescription	36 (43.4)	1 (4.2)	4 (8.9)	41 (27)
Total	83 (100)	24 (100)	45 (100)	152 (100)

As to whether the children eat enough food and if they eat before going to school, all but one girl answered in the affirmative. She is Hausa from a low class polygynous family though living with an aunt.

Sexual Abuse

Children were asked if anyone had ever played with or touched their genitals or breasts and how? One boy admitted having sexual intercourse with a younger girl a few times in the bathroom in the compound where they both live. In another case, a boy of about 8 years and a girl of about the same age were involved in sexual play, that is, fondling of the girl's breasts in his mother's room whenever the adults were out.

Another girl of about 12 years in Primary III said she has a boy friend (a trader) whom she visits regularly whenever she goes hawking (Talla) in Zaria city. She said she intends to marry the young man, she however would not admit to having any sexual activity with him.

In all, there was no reported case of sexual intercourse or abuse by adults, however, there were two cases of sexual play or exploration by children themselves; that is, sexual awareness and early coital relationship among children, which occurred due to non-/poor parental supervision.

Child Labour

Children were asked if they studied at home, the majority 142 (93.4%) said yes. However 10 (6.6%) said no, but when asked why they neglected their studies, they complained of too much work. Most of these children were from high income families. As to what they did after school, 13 (8.5%) of them said they engaged in hawking, but

only one of these was from a high social class, all the others were low class children.

In the process of hawking, the children hardly have time to rest, yet they live under the constant threat of being punished should they lose any money. During the course of this study, the researcher met one girl wailing one evening in a dark area on the Ahmadu Bello University Main Campus. Tired and hungry, she was sent away by her step-mother (she said her father had travelled) not to return home until she found her day's sales of twenty Naira (₦20.00).

Verbal Abuse

Children were asked how often they were verbally abused and three categories of responses were given: rarely, sometimes and always. Those who sometimes receive abuses - mostly insults (for example "stupid", "goat", "bastard", etc.) get these insults for wrong-doing such as disrespect, disobedience, fights or rough play (for girls) and theft. In all, 98 (64.5%) of these children said they were verbally abused; of these, 58 (59.2%) were from high class, 12 (12.2%) middle and 28 (28,6) low class.

It is not uncommon for parents to insult their children even for the slightest misdeed in the Nigerian culture, however, this is not to the extent of harassing them constantly, which was the case with the two children. One of the children who complained of constant harassment by their parents also complained of lack of parental affection, yet she had no grudge against them. The other girl claimed

that beating and abuse in this case often go hand in hand. In spite of this, she felt loved. Both girls were the eldest children in medium sized families of low socio-economic status.

Emotional Neglect

To determine if the children were emotionally neglected, that is, if they felt loved or not, a variety of questions aimed at knowing how they interacted with their parents were asked. They were specifically asked questions on problem solving like whom they sought advice from whenever they had a problem; whom they were emotionally attached to, whom they were negatively attached to (whom they feared) and why. Fifty four percent of the children said they preferred to go to their fathers and 42% to their mothers when they need advice. As to whom the children related to with greatest ease, mothers had the upper hand (46%) followed by those who related with ease with both parents (30.9%) and fathers alone (23.3%). More girls however said they felt close to their fathers than mothers.

The nature of emotional neglect became clearer when children were asked whom they feared most and why. Fathers more often than mothers were feared most by 32.8% and 19% respectively; while 17.7% feared both parents equally, 3.2% of the children feared their older siblings.

Girls generally were noted to indicate fear of mother more than boys. The reason may be the tendency by mothers to be more strict in supervising girls and their demands on girls to assist in performing household chores which deprive girls of play and leisure.

supervising girls and their demands on girls to assist in performing household chores which deprive girls of play and leisure.

On the part of children, the reason for fear they said was due to constant beating or fear of being beaten; in some cases, this was coupled with the lack of open affection which some of the children expressed in Hausa as "ba su wasa dani" meaning "they do not play with me". The later case is culturally sanctioned. For example, the Hausa culture discourages the open show of affection for children (and even spouse) for fear of spoiling them or losing respect, "reni" as is expressed in Hausa.

Verification of Hypothesis

In this section, the three types of abuse: physical, verbal and emotional abuse will be analysed. Of the 152 children, only 3 were not physically punished, neither were they verbally abused. With the exception of one, the other two of the three children were also not emotionally neglected. Two of these children were from high income families while only one was from a low-income background.

On the other hand, 98 (64.5%) of the 152 children at one time or the other were verbally abused while 111 (73%) of the 152 children were emotionally neglected. when all three types of abuse were considered 76 (50%) of the pupils in the sample experienced all three types of abuse.

Table 8 Prevalence of Child Abuse

	No	%
1. Physical Abuse	149	98
2. Verbal Abuse	98	64.5
3. Emotional Neglect	111	73
4. No Abuse	2	1.3

Hypothesis 1

The higher the social class of the parents, the lower the frequency of child abuse.

The frequency of abuse was compiled first for each of the three categories of abuse (see Table 9) and later pooled to obtain cumulative incidences of abuse. When the sample of 152 is multiplied by 3, the sample size becomes 456. The categories of abuse have been arranged in descending order of severity with emotional neglect being the most severe.

Table 9 Incidence of Child abuse by Social Class

Severity of Abuse	High Class No (%)	Middle Class No (%)	Low Class No (%)	Total No (%)
Emotional Neglect	57 (28.8)	17 (39.5)	37 (34.6)	111 (31.9)
Physical Abuse	83 (41.9)	24 (55.8)	42 (39.2)	149 (42.8)
Verbal Abuse	58 (29.3)	2 (4.7)	28 (26.2)	88 (25.3)
Total	198	43	107	348 (100)

The hypothesis was not confirmed, rather the incidence of abuse was higher among highclass children as confirmed by a gamma value of -0.1. Although the relationship between class and frequency of abuse was weak, both chi-square and contingency coefficient values give significant results. More injuries were also sustained by high class children (see table 10).

39. If yes, to who did you report?.....

40. If no, why did you not report?

Because I was afraid [ ]

Because I was ashamed [ ]

Because I like it [ ]

V. EMOTIONAL ABUSE

41 How often do they abuse you?

Always [ ] Sometimes [ ] Almost never [ ]

42. For what offences do they abuse you?

.....

43. Give examples of the abuse:.....

.....

VI EMOTIONAL NEGLECT

44. When you have a problem who do you go to? Father [ ]

Mother [ ] Nobody [ ]

45. Whom do you feel closest to? Mother [ ] Father [ ]

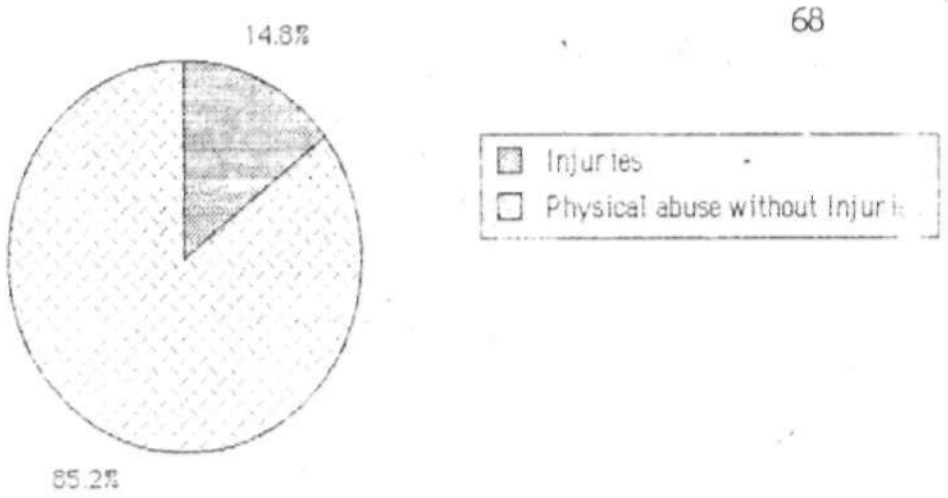
Both [ ]

46. I am afraid of my father [ ] Mother [ ] Both of them [ ]

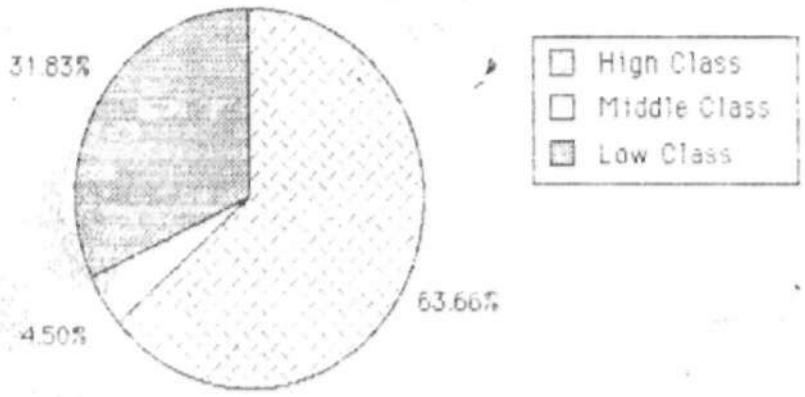
Neither of them [ ]

47. Why? Beating [ ] No play [ ] Both [ ] Nothing [ ]

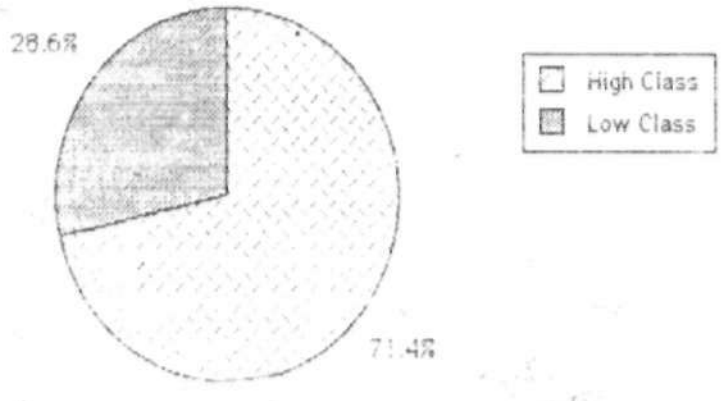
48. Tribe: Hausa [ ] Yoruba [ ] Ibo [ ] Others [ ]



Physical Abuse and Injuries (149 - 98%)



Social Class by Injuries



Social Class by Repeated Injuries

Fig. 3: Incidence of Injuries in Physical Abuse

Since mothers more often than fathers punish children, their mode of punishment in relation to their educational qualification was analysed. As earlier pointed out in this work, the use of horsewhip is more prominent among the Hausa, this however is a cultural practice among the Hausa who form the bulk of the low socio-economic status families in this study.

Table 11 Mothers' Education by Incidence of Abuse

Type and Severity of Abuse	High No (%)	Medium No (%)	Low No (%)	Total No (%)
Emotional Neglect	25 (25.8)	21 (30.0)	65 (34.0)	111 (31.0)
Physical Abuse	42 (43.3)	28 (40.0)	79 (41.4)	149 (41.6)
Verbal Abuse	30 (30.9)	21 (28.0)	47 (24.6)	98 (27.4)
Total	97	70	191	358 (100)

From Table 11, it can be seen that more abuse occur among the low educated mothers which would seem to confirm the hypothesis; the association however is negligible. Although physical punishment was higher in the higher social class, the use of horsewhip is more prevalent among the low educated mothers.

The figures in the table 12 show the frequency which gives a total of 188 as the numberof times all these various modes of punishment were mentioned.

The figures in the table 12 show the frequency which gives a total of 188 as the number of times all these various modes of punishment were mentioned.

Table 12 Mothers' Education by Incidence and Mode of Physical Punishment

Mode of Punishment	High No (%)	Medium No (%)	Low No (%)	Total No (%)
Use of Rubber and Horsewhip	16 (17.4)	10 (27.0)	32 (54.2)	58 (30.8)
Caning, Kneeling and Beating	68 (73.9)	24 (64.9)	27 (45.8	119 (63.3)
Attention withdrawn Starvation and use of Pepper	8 (8.7)	3 (8.1)	-	11 (5.9)
Total	92	37	59	188 (100)

Gamma = -0.54

Hypothesis 2

The larger the family size, the higher the incidence of child abuse.

Table 13 shows there was no significant differences between larger and smaller families, in occurence of abuse. A gamma analysis gives a positive but weak association between family size and abuse.

Table 13 Incidence of Child Abuse by Family Size

Type and Severity of Abuse	Large (>6 children) No (%)	Medium (4-6 children) No (%)	Small (1-3 children) No (%)	Total No (%)
Emotional Neglect	52 (34.0)	35 (27.1)	24 (31.6)	111 (31.0)
Physical Abuse	64 (41.8)	53 (41.1)	32 (42.1)	149 (41.6)
Verbal Abuse	37 (21.2)	41 (31.8)	20 (26.3)	98 (27.4)
Total	153	129 59	76	358 (100)

Gamma = 0.1

Hypothesis 3

Children in polygynous families are more likely to be abused than those from monogamous families.

The above hypothesis was supported by the data analysis which shows that in proportion, the more severe cases of abuse were more frequent in polygynous families. The association was however low based on gamma analysis.

Table 14 Incidence of Abuse by Family Size

Incidence and Severity of Abuse	Family Type Polygyny No (%)	Monogamy No (%)	Total No (%)
Emotional Neglect	44 (40.0)	67 (27.0)	111 (31.0)
Physical Abuse	42 (38.2)	107 (43.1)	149 (41.6)
Verbal Abuse	24 (21.8)	74 (29.9)	98 (27.4)
Total	110	248	358 (100)

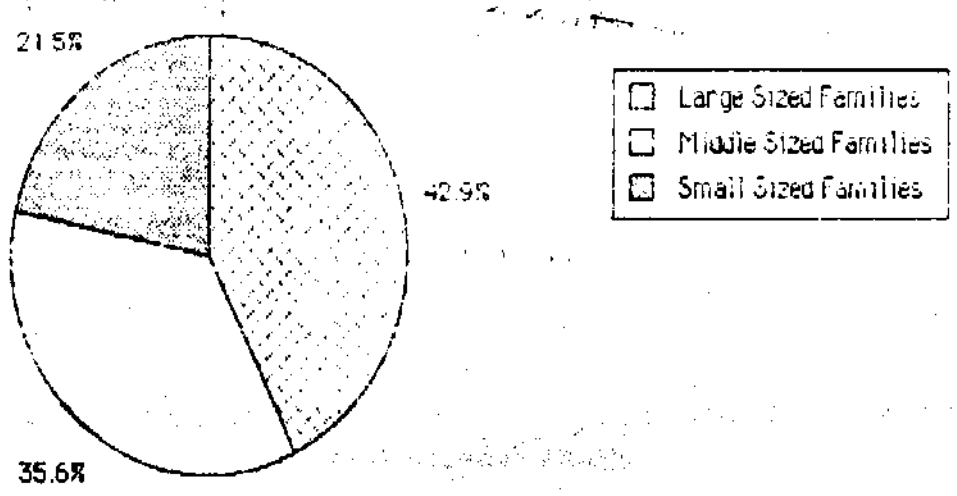
Gamma = 0.2; X^2 = 277.2 at α = 0.05
Contingency coefficient value = 0.80

The higher incidence of emotional neglect may be due to the lack of individual attention of the fathers and the constant rivalry between the mothers in polygynous families. Emotional neglect in this study encompasses both physical (the fear of actual beating/being beaten) and the psychological suspense which the child is subjected to. Thus a child may be physically punished and yet not suffer the agony of living in fear of parents. The former then is more sever than the later case of physical abuse alone.

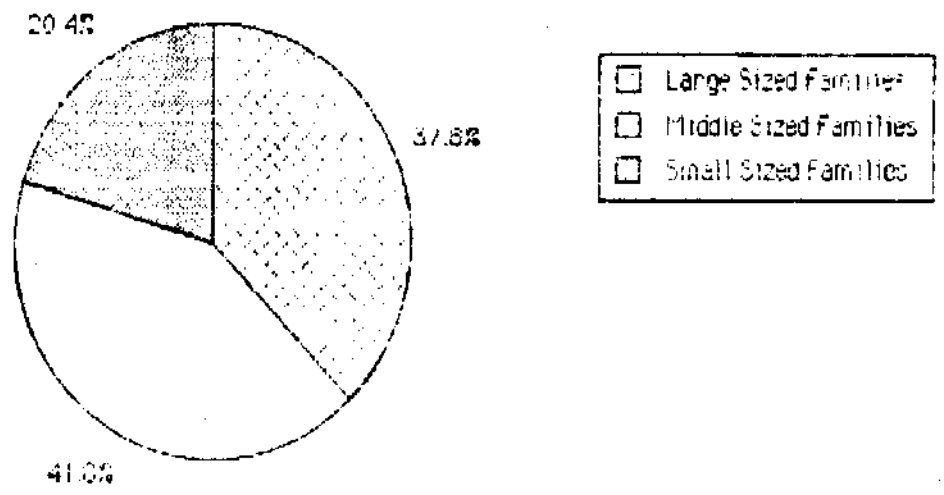
Hypothesis 4

Child abuse will reflect the extent to which the marriage is in harmony as reported by the children.

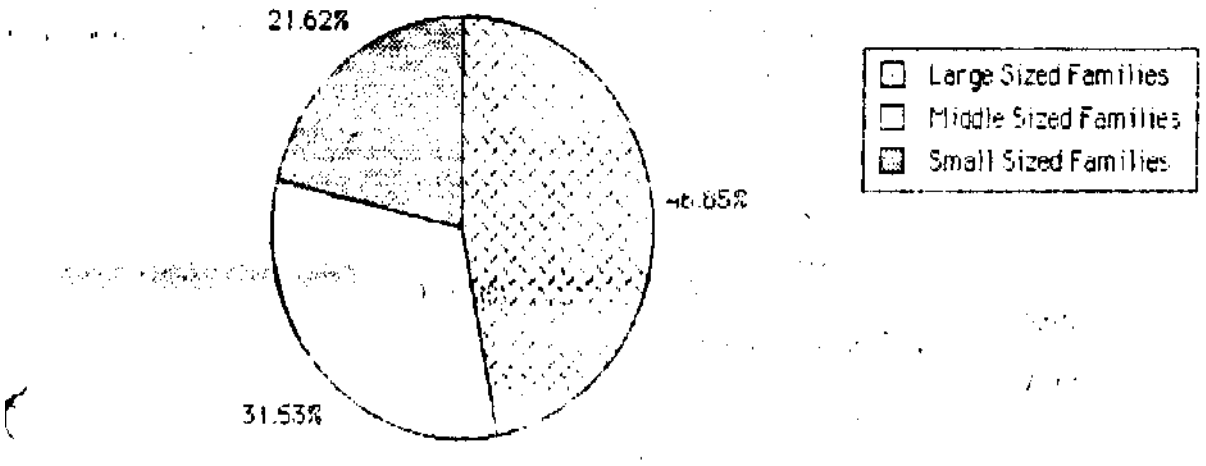
All the children said their parents were living in harmony when asked if their parents were always fighting. If it is true that there is no marital disharmony among parents of children studied, the hypothesis cannot be tested on this sample of study.



Physical Abuse by Family Size

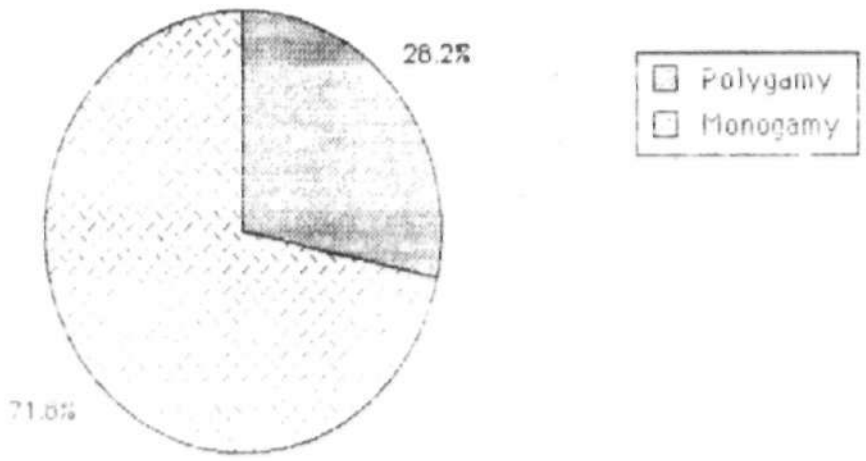


Verbal Abuse by Family Size

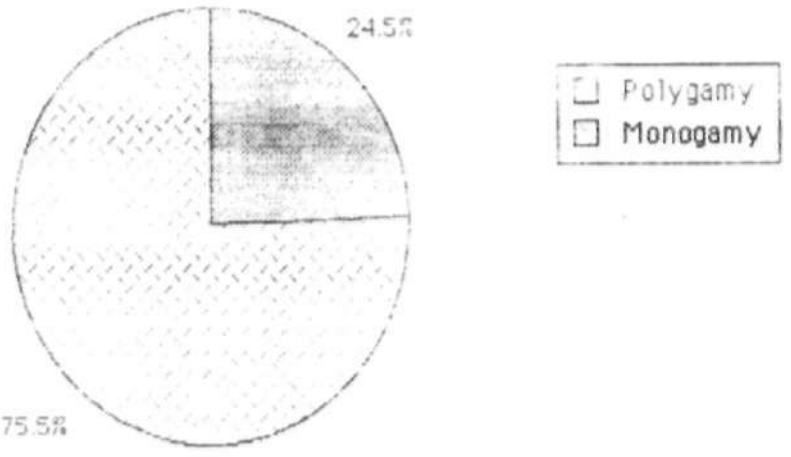


Emotional Neglect by Family Size

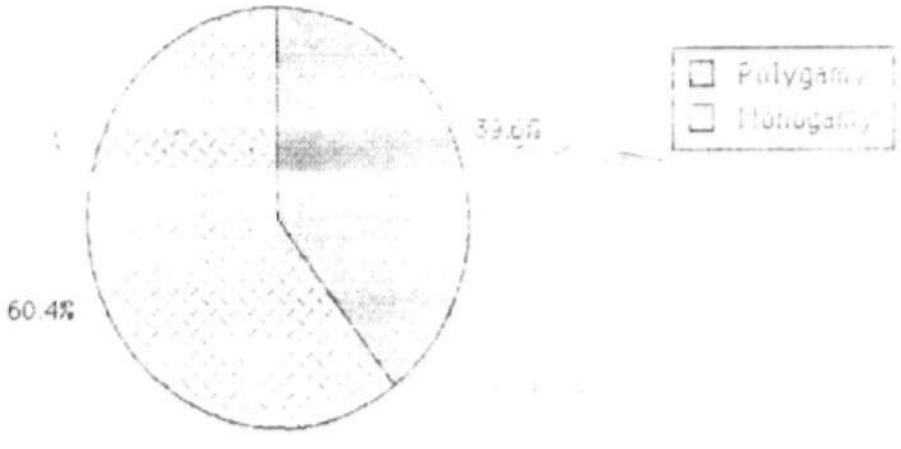
Fig. 4: Incidence of Child Abuse By Family Size



Physical Abuse by Family Type



Verbal Abuse by Family Type



Emotional Neglect by Family Type

Fig. 5: Types of Abuse By Family Types

FINDINGS FROM HOSPITAL VISITATION

Report on Hospital Visitation

During the months of October and November, 1991, several hospital visitations were made. I was in the Pediatric ward of the Kofar Gaya Hospital (Zaria City) to observe the patients on admission as well as to obtain data on children's illnesses. Data from hospital proved difficult as most admissions were recorded on daily basis in a register and no further effort was made to compile the statistics for various children's illnesses. The Ahmadu Bello University record was then used because of availability of statistics which were computed and updated at regular intervals during the year.

During my visit to the Kofar Gaya hospital, there were about 20 children on admission out of whomthe majority, 16 of them, had diseases that are preventable. They included 7 cough/fever cases, 3 Pneumonia cases, 2 meningitis and 4 cases of malnutrition. In most cases, the illnesses occurred in combination with other symptoms e.g. fever and cough or kwashiokor/marasmus/fever. All of these children were from low socio-economic background of Hausa Fulani origin.

This finding was similar to that of the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital. Of the few children on admission during this study, only one had a middle class background. The father, married with two wives is a lecturer in Arabic Studies in one of the Universities, while the mother, a primary six certificate holder is a housewife engagedin petty trading. Suffice it to say, this woman at this time was carrying her eight pregnancy while the seventh child of

about three years was on admission because of malnutrition. This child died a few days after my interview with the mother.

Cases of less severe forms of malnutrition are taken care of at the A.B.U. Teaching Hospital Annex on Hospital Road, Sabon Gari, Zaria, where at the nutrition clinics, mothers are given practical lessons on soybean meal preparation to improve the diet of their children. As in previous observations, these women were from poor socio-economic background. However, that is no excuse for the condition of their children.

Interviews with some of the mothers, reveal that most of the children suffer because of ignorance. When asked what their children were fed with, the response was always the same - pap without milk and other solid foods like tuwo (thick corn meal eaten with soup) rice, yams, etc. The fathers on their part think they have fulfilled their obligations as breadwinners once these foods are available. In some cases the social welfare officers and nurses have had to make home visits only to confirm the ignorance and apathy on the part of parents as seen in fathers' refusal to respond to summons by hospital officials, and the general unhealthy environment in which the child is brought up.

In the pediatric ward of the University hospital, at the time of my visits there were few cases of burns (2) and limb injuries (2). When parents were interviewed on how children sustained their injuries, one of the burn cases was said to be accidental (a nine-years old girl carrying hot water to the bathroom stumbled and fell)

but the other was neglectful. The mother of this toddler left water on the fire and left the child unsupervised. This confirms Sowemimo (1983) and Kalayi's (1989) warnings on the danger of cooking at ground level. In one of the injured limb cases, abuse was suspected, however, there was no proof. The boy in question, a 3 year old twin was said to have fallen from the bed and at the time of this interview, he was being looked after by a relation.

The medical personnel do not seem to concern themselves with further investigation even where abuse would have been the case. However, on rare cases as was seen in the State Social Welfare Department records, one case of abuse was actually referred to the department by a medical doctor. Upon noticing several scars on the girl's body, the doctor alerted the State Social Welfare Department. It was later found that the girl was living with an abusive aunt and was then returned to her biological parents to avoid further abuse of the child.

Social Welfare Records

Records were obtained from both the State Social Welfare Departments in Samaru and Tudun Wada as well as the Medical Social Welfare Department of the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital, Tudun Wada, Zaria. Investigation of the state welfare records revealed that most cases handled were those related to truancy, disobedience and other behavioural problems. The other cases were lost but found cases and settlement of disputes between parents and/or with their children.

TABLE 5 CASES OF CHILDREN'S ILLNESSES AND DEATHS IN A.B.U. TEACHING HOSPITAL BETWEEN 1987 AND 1990.

Diagnosis	1987				1988				1989				1990			
	M	F	Tot	Death	M	F	Tot	Death	M	F	Tot	Death	M	F	Tot	Death
Burns	189	192	381	34	221	137	358	93	76	56	132	7	45	31	76	11
Injuries	77	75	152	46	86	53	139	10	70	37	107	17	34	55	89	16
Poisoning	25	20	45	6	37	20	57	12	45	12	57	9	15	9	24	6
Gastroentritis	343	154	497	105	312	295	607	104	244	168	412	101	243	267	510	37
Typhoid	244	187	431	45	127	185	312	32	102	65	167	22	182	209	391	68
Malaria	312	239	551	102	120	98	218	23	245	265	510	77	241	169	410	66
Septicaemia	85	213	298	15	151	142	293	56	77	80	157	22	264	127	341	63
Whooping cough	37	30	67	24	26	20	46	16	11	17	28	3	26	18	44	5
Measles	181	151	332	52	361	390	751	172	179	175	354	111	213	111	323	59
Tuberculosis	63	59	122	33	36	61	101	24	46	47	93	12	40	23	63	28
Meningitis	220	185	405	72	324	300	624	53	195	197	392	45	158	82	240	66
Kwashiokor	114	136	250	32	182	176	358	50	64	106	170	13	47	67	114	33
Grand Total	1890	1641	3531	566	1983	6381	8364	646	1354	1225	2579	469	1447	1184	2631	518
Percentage death				(16.8%)				(7.7%)				(18.1%)				(19.6%)

In the search of records covering the period between 1987 and 1991, there were only two cases of physical abuse, one of which was the case of physical abuse reprted by a doctor mentioned above, and another in which the father chained his daughter; and 1 cases of neglect. Two of the neglect cases were actually reported by the children themselves as their uncle with whom they were living was not providing food for them.

From the Medical Welfare Department of A.B.U. Teaching Hospital, records of *Vesico Vaginal Fistula* (VVF) and *Recto Vesico Fistula* (RVF) were obtained. In all, there were 13 cases between the ages of 14 and 35. (At least the 14 year old falls within our definition of child) All but one were Hausa/Fulani by tribe; the only exception was a 16 year old Kanuri girl who at the time she contracted both R.V.F. and V.V.F. was single and a student. A visit was also paid to the V.V.F. hostel in Wusasa, Zaria. At the time of the interview, there were only two inmates who had come for surgery, one had been successful but the other was not. Like most V.V.F. cases, they both lost their children at birth. Only 3 of the 12 oldest women on record were fortunate to have children ranging from 2 - 7 years of age.

For most of these women, it is bad enough not to have control over their bladder (V.V.F.) or bowel (R.V.F) movement, worst still is the rejection they suffer from people especially husbands who divorce them and families who neglect them. As a result of these problems coupled with feeling of insecurity, the social welfare officer said many were forced into prostitution to make a living.

This feeling of insecurity was observed during the interview with the inmates; 17 and 18 years of age. They preferred to sit far away from me for fear that I would not be able to stand the stench of urine from their bodies, neat though they appeared.

The 4 year data on table 14 confirms previous findings about the prevalence of preventable diseases, most of which are causes of children's death. Malaria, gastroenteritis, typhoid, meningitis, measles kwashiokor rate very high:- as the first six most common causes of children's illnesses and death.

REPORT ON INTERVIEW'S CONDUCTED WITH PARENTS

During interview with Parents, Teachers, Doctors, Social Workers and Nutritionists, the following questions were asked:

1. What is your own view of child abuse and neglect?
2. What are the causes?
3. Have you heard or witnessed any, if so did you intervene. If you did not intervene why did you not?
4. What can be done to help these children?

The findings from these questions revealed that most respondents interviewed already had ideas as to what child abuse means. The only problem they had initially was with the concept, child abuse. They understood simpler word like maltreatment. The Hausas even have terms for child abuse - "Azabar" or "Pitina". Once an explanation was given, they were able to contribute meaningfully to the discussion. As is to be expected, doctors, nurses, social workers, nutritionists and teachers, had no problem defining child

abuse. Their definitions tally with the various categories enumerated in the literature review.

In most cases, however, teachers more often associated child abuse with excessive beating though they were not against the use of corporal punishment in schools and at home for disciplinary purposes. Similarly, most parents did not see anything wrong with corporal punishment as long as it is not excessive. Having horsewhip some parents even say, in Zaria City, serves as a deterrent. We would recall that Zaria City is particularly noted for using horsewhip in whipping children.

One highly placed civil servant in the City, said he has a horsewhip, which he said he rarely uses, except for deterrent purposes. At official level however, he said such should be discouraged and that there has been a shift on emphasis from corporal punishment to manual punishment. This was confirmed by teachers. However, it was observed that while teachers rarely beat their pupils, a lot of bullying by classroom monitors even at the lower classes of public schools was tolerated by teachers.

The reduction in corporal punishment may not be unconnected with the findings of the welfare department which was communicated in a letter to the Deputy Director, Zonal Education office Zaria.

> We have observed from reports from parents that the number of pupils playing truant in schools is on the increase. In a few cases the children say their teachers beat them often. We therefore tried to see if there could be a correlation between beating and truancy, and our observation showed a positive correlation. This office

> has watched small children of between 8 - 12 years old being given 9 - 15 real lashes with the "Koboko (horsewhip) for being late to school. We have appealed on behalf of the children and got instant full co-operation. The lashes were reduced to 3 very light koboko strokes

Like most parents, particularly teachers, the welfare authorities felt despite their findings that corporal punishment was necessary and desirable in child rearing. One for instance observed as follows:

> It is difficult to quarrel with the principle and rationale behind corporal punishment. If anything, we believe that the non use of the cane tends to make many children grow weedy. The school child needs [not love but] the cane at least once in a while. Thus it's rational and purposive use appears to be a powerful instrument in the character building of many a child and needs to be used in the learning process.

Yet they, having said this, acknowledge that:

(1) frequent and severe use of the cane scares children from school.

(2) Children could adapt to caning thus rendering it ineffective as an instrument of correction both at home and at school.

(3) The teacher who delivers the cane, his needs at the time of delivery, the time and mannerin which he delivers the goods may work together or separately to drive fear into the pupil for the rest of the day, week or even the term. Such fear may interfer with the rate of absorption and learning of the pupil.

(4) Some of the pupil may learn to see and to use the cane as the only form of correction".

Having accepted this danger, there was no need to contradict themselves in the first two of the following suggestions, that:

(1) flexible whips be abolished for solid canes

(2) the upper limit of general ordinary normal punishment be brought down to the most humane limit [whatever that means]

(3) alternative physical exercise and manual labour be administered instead

As to what causes child abuse, the most frequent answer was the result of disciplinary action. The tone of the above letter quite captures the feelings of most people concerning discipline. However, in the bid to correct children, the beating may be excessive and this is where it becomes abusive.

Other causes given were hot temperedness particularly where the child is not the parents' biological child. Polygyny may also give way to abuse particularly where the mother is dead or separated from the father, the other wives are unlikely to accord the child the same love and affection as their own children. The Idoma saying according to a parent that "another woman's child is like a log of wood" explains why children who are not staying with their own biological parents have a higher risk of being abused.

A groupof youths, blamed the government for creating stressful conditions of poverty and blocked opportunities which they said can trigger abusive behaviours.

Almost everyone interviewed except for a parent claimed they had seen cases of child abuse and that they did appeal to the individuals concerned. The parent who claimed not to have any knowledge of child abuse ironically did not know that in a separate interview, his wife had earlier on admitted to having been herself a victim of child abuse. She said her mother had died when she was only about 10 months old and so was brought up by relations under loveless conditions. But according to her by the grace of God, she had

outgrown the pain of her childhood experiences and now tries to the best of her ability to give love and affection to her own family.

A further question was asked - what should people do if after appealing to an abusive parent, he or she does not stop would they call the police? Many of them said they would have nothing to do with the police but would keep on appealing to them. One parent a Pastor said he would befriend such individuals with the hope of eventually conquering them with his love, which is lacking in such people and is the cause of their behaviour.

Two parents said they would only call the police after their pleas have fallen on deaf ears and if there is danger something harmful might happen to the child, to avoid being arrested for conspiracy, they would anonymously alert the police.

Most people had fatalistic tendencies regarding how abused children can be helped. They said you just leave the parents to God having on your own part done your talking, and if God wills, the child will survive.

A few however, did suggest that the welfare departments be better be administered and well funded so they can adequately care for such children who are in need of care and protection. As it were, such facilities are either non-existent, or else inadequate.

CHILD ABUSE: CASE STUDIES AS REPORTED BY PARENTS

1. Larai, a girl of about 9 years lived with her childless aunt. Everyday she goes to sell pap (porridge) without herself having taken any breakfast. she was not allowed to play with other children and was always tense whenever her aunt was around.

   One day the aunt decided to teach her the lesson of her life by pouring pepper into her private part for an offence she committed. Larai almost went mad in her pain, yet neighbours did not dare to intervene. A neighbour however picked up courage and told her husband about the happenings in Larai's house and together with her husband this neighbour (the narrator) contacted the welfare department.

   The father of the girl (Larai) was sent for and she was rescued from her abusive aunt.

2. The parent who narrated this story, watched a neighbour beat his son until he had a mental breakdown. The child, a boy, started running around uncontrolled and had to be rushed to the hospital where he was admitted. That was a big lesson for the father.

3. A little girl of about 4 years old was beaten by her guardian and in the process the child lost some teeth. fortunately neighbours intervened and the little girl was returned to her biological parents.

CASE STUDIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE FIELD

1. Kate is a 7 year old primary one pupil of a private schoól, the most expensive of all. At the time of the interview, she had both old and new wounds on her fingers, the result of koboko lashes which she said her mother, a secondary school teacher often used.

   The mother was interviewed in her place of work and she admitted to being hot tempered, but that she was also making efforts to control her beatings.

2. Bode is a primary one pupil also of the above school. He had pepper rubbed on his stomach by his mother for an offence he had committed.

3. Sanni, a boy of about 10 years old in one of the public schools had horsewhip scars all over his abdomen. Unfortunately, due to the problems explained earlier about children and parents' suspicion of medical students, this boys parents could not be reached.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Findings

This study was another avenue to investigate the on-going debates about causes of child abuse and to see how relevant they are to the Nigerian situation. It was found that in Nigeria, although child abuse did not occur because of poverty, certain forms of punishments such as the use of horsewhip was more prominent among the lower social class. Moreover, being from the upper class did not give children immunity from child abuse; in fact, in some cases the incidence of physical, verbal and emotional abuses were applied more frequently and severely on high class than low class children, resulting in more physical injuries in the higher class.

In most cases, punishment was effected as a corrective measure and not as an act of resentment or the result of pressure from poverty, thus nullyfying the hypothesis that abuse is more likely to occur in the lower socio-economic groups and unhappy marriages. That child abuse is more likely in larger families was confirmed. All three types of abuses - physical, verbal and emotional neglect were reported more often by children from larger families, while more severe forms like the emotional neglect and physical abuse also were represented more in polygynous families than monogamous ones, the difference was however not significant. However, more children from monogamous families reported more verbal abuse.

On physical neglect, there was no significant differences between children from various socio-economic classes, types and size

of family although mainly low income children were involved in hawking. As in physical abuse, verbal abuse cuts across all variables. Even though it appears that more of the high class children were more abused, this is normal within the Nigerian context. However, where abuse is regular as reported by two girls from low socio-economic background, then there should be cause for alarm. As for verbal abuse, children are able to discern between abuses meant as corrections for minor follies and those meant to degrade them particularly if they interact freely with their parents. High class children in this study, in this case interact more positively and with greater ease with their parents. They more frequently indicated absence of fear of parents thus faring better emotionally than their counterparts in other social classes. There was no reported case of sexual molestation of children by adults, rather, there were two cases of sexual experimentation by children themselves.

Interviews carried out indicates a widespread support for corporal punishment and to a large extent, the indifference of some professionals and the public at large as seen in their reluctance to intervene in cases of child abuse. These cultural factors do pose obstacles to child abuse crusaders especially when there is no organised form of monitoring child abuse.

Conclusion

In conclusion, cultural factors - the widespread tolerance and support for corporal punishment in child training and the pressure on

the child to conform to expectations more than poverty are responsible for child abuse in Zaria.

Recommendations

In view of the widespread tendency to tolerate child abuse in Nigeria, it is recommended that school authorities be involved in the monitoring and handling of abuse cases. This can be done by teachers' extra vigilance and prompt reporting of suspected cases to the schools' counsellors who will then contact the parents of such children with a view to helping both parents and children through counselling.

Another avenue could be the involvement of religious leaders. Such information like addresses (residential and place of work) next of kin, religious and other voluntary associations to which parents belong can also be kept by the schools for easy identification when required. Relations and leaders of associations could be incorporated in the bid to solve individual problems. Where children are at risk, relations can temporarily take charge of such children with some financial aid from the government as well as follow-up from social welfare officials.

Finally, in view of the tendency to treat girls differently in terms of household assignment and leisure, schools have a better chance of discouraging social attitudes which promote abusive and sexist behaviours. This can be done by systematically discouraging the stereotyped gender roles which require females to do most household work, by making home economics compulsory for all pupils from primary to secondary school levels.

REFERENCES

Afamefuna, C.C. (1986) "Modification in the Concept of Child Abuse and Neglect: A Cross-Cultural Perpective". pp222-231. A Paper presented at the First Bi-Annual National Conference of the African Network for the Production and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect in Nigeria (ANPPCAN), Enugu, Nigeria.

Agricultural Extension, Research and Liason Services (A.E.R.L.S) (1975) Soybeans in the Nigerian Diet Extension Bulletin, No. 21 Home Economics Series. Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Gaskiya Corporation

Ahire, P.T. (1981) "Juvenile Justice and Corrections in Kaduna State: A Critical View pp.152-168. In Kisekka, M.N. (ed). Children in Kaduna State, Nigeria: Problems and Needs Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria.

Ainsworth, M.D. (1980) "Attachment and Child Abuse" pp.33-47. In: Gerbner, G, Ross, C.S. and Zigler, E (eds). Child Abuse: An Agenda for Action New Oxford University Press, New York.

Amaro, H., Zuckerman, B. and Cabral, H. (1989) "Drug use Among Adolescent Mothers: A Profile of Risks" Pediatrics, Vol. 81 No 1, July: 41-51

Beautrais, A.L., Ferguson, B.A., Shannon, F.T. (1982) "Life Events and Childhood Morbidity: A Prospective Study". Pediatrics Vol. 70, No 6, December: 935 -940

Berger, L.R.,and Kitzes, J. (1989) "Injuries AmongNative Americans" Pediatrics, Vol. 81, No 1, July:152-156

Black, R. and Mayor, J (1980) "Parents with Special Problems: Alcoholism and Opiate Addiction" pp. 101-114. In: Kempe, C.H. and Helfer R. (eds). Child Abuse and Neglect - The Family and the Community Ballinger, Pub. Comp. Cambridge, Massachusetts U.S.A.

Blager, F. and Martin, P. (1976) "Speech and Language delays of Abused Children" pp. 83-92 In: Martin, P. (ed). The Abused Child: A Multidisciplinary Approach to Developmental Issues and Treatment. Ballinger Pub.Comp. cambridge, Massachusettes

Bourne, R and Newberger, E. H.(1979) Critical Perpective on Child Abuse. D.C. Heath and Comp. Lexington, Massachusettes.

Bourne, R. (1979) "Child Abuse: An Overview" pp. 1-11 In: Bourne, R and Newberger, E. H. (eds). ibid.

Burgess, R. L. and Conger, R. D. (1978) "Family Interaction in Abusive, Neglectful and Normal Families". Child Development Vol. 19: 1163-1173.

Burlington, D. and Freud, A. (1955) Infants Without Families. George, Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Cantwell, H. B. (1980) "Child Neglect" pp. In: Kempe, C. H. and Helfer (eds). Child Abuse and Neglect - The Family and the Community Ballinger, Pub. Comp. Cambridge, Massachusettes U.S.A. pp. 183 -197

Caudill, N. and Weinstein, H. (1972) "Maternal Care and Infant Behaviour in Japan and America" pp. 78-87 In: Lavatelli, C.S. and Standler, F. (1972) (eds) Readings in Child Behaviour and Development. 3rd Edition HarCourt Brace, Javanovich Inc. New York.

Christiansen, J (1980) Educational and Psychological Problems of Abused Children. Century 21 Pub. Saratoga, Califonia, U.S.A.

Coleman, J.C., Butcher, J.N. and Carson, R.C. (1981) Abnormal Psychology and Modern Life Scott Foresman and Comp. Glenview Illinois, U.S.A.

Convention on the Rights of the Child - Information kit. (United Nations Centre for Human Rights. UNICEF).

De Courcy, P. and DeCourcy, J. (1973). A Silent Tragedy: Child Abuse in the Community. Alfred Pub. Comp. Inc. U.S.A.

Dietrich, K.N., Starr, R.N. and Weisfeld, G.E. (1983). "Infant Maltreatment: Caretaker-Infant Interaction and Developmental Consequences at Different Levels of Parental Failure" Pediatrics, Vol. 72, No. 4 October:532-540.

Doi, A.R (1981) "Quranic Education: Problems and Prospects" pp. 9-20. In: Kisekka, M.N. (ed). op. cit.

Ezeli, H.C. (1990). "Socio-Legal Consequences of Child Abuse" pp. 129-157 In: Kalu, A.U. and Osinbajo, Y (eds). Women and Children UnderNigerian Law Vol. 6 of the Federal Ministry of Justice Law review Series. Intec. Printers Ltd Ibadan.

Ebele, S., Muazu, S. and Smith, V.G.P. (1981) "Burrow Pits, Schistosomiasis and children's Health in Zaria City" pp. 92-100. In: Kisekka, M.N (ed)., 1981. op. cit.

Egharevba, R.K.A. (1986) "The Nutritional Importance of Locally Available Fruits and Vegetables In the Diet of Children". pp. 101-109 In: Kisekka, M.N. (ed). op. cit.

Ekpe, G.P. (1986) "The Need for Child Protection Policy" pp. 212-218 Conference Paper of the African Network for the Protection and Prevention of child Abuse in Nigeria (ANPPCAN), Enugu, Nigeria.

Elmer, E. (1979). "A Follow-up Study of Traumatized Children" pp. 11-52. In: Bourne, R. and Newberger (eds) 1979. op. cit.

Engels, F. (1975). The condition of Working class in England. pp. 295-598. In: Marx, K. and Engels (Collected works) Vol.1 Lawrence and Wishant, London.

Essien, E.S. (1981). "The Incidene of Gastroenteritis among Children, (0-10yrs) in Malumfashi" pp. 116-135. In:Kisekka, M.N. (ed) 1981 op. cit.

Etim, P.S. (1990). "Socio-Legal Consequences of Child Abuse" pp. 166-174. In Kalu, A.U. and Osinbajo (eds). op. cit.

Fafunwa, B. (1980). History of Education in Nigeria London, George Allen and Unwin. Ltd.

Federal Ministry of Health and National Population Bureau, Nigeria, (April 1985) The Effects of Population Factors on Social and Economic Development of Nigeria.

Feldman, K.W. (1980). "Child Abuse by Burning" pp. 117-162. In: Kempe, C.H and Helfer, R. (eds). op. cit.

Feldman, K.W., Schaller, R., Feldman J.A. and McMillion, M. (1978). "Tap water Scald Burns in Children" Pediatrics Vol. 62, No. 1, July:1-7

Feshbach, S (1980). "Child Abuse and the Dynamics of Human Aggression and Violence". pp. 48-60. In: Gerbner, G. *et al* (eds). op. cit.

First Call for Children - World Declaration and Plan Action from the World Summit for Children: Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF).

Fontana, V.J. and Besharov, D. J (1977). "The Maltreated child: The Maltreated Syndromein Children - A Medical, Legal and social guide" Charles C. Thomas Pub. Spring field, Illinois, U.S.A.

Helles, E. (1980). : A Profile of Violence Towards Children in the United States" pp. 82-104. In: Gerbner, G. *et al* (eds). op. cit.

Gerbner, G., Ross, C.S, Zigler, E. (1980). (eds). Child Abuse: An Agenda for Action New Oxford University Press, New York.

Gils, D.G. (1979) "Unravelling Child Abuse" pp.69-79. In: Bourne, R. and Newberger, E.H. (eds). op. cit.

Golden, N.L., Sokol, R.J. Kuhnert, B.R. and Bottoms, S. (1982) "Maternal Alcohol Use and Infant Development" Pediatrics Vol. 70, No. 6, December: 931-934

Granthan-McGregor,S., Schofield, W. and Harris, L. (1983) "Effects of Psychological Stimulation on Mental Development of Severely Malnourished Children: An Interim Report. Pediatrics Vol. 72, No. 2, August: 239-243.

Grothus, J.R., Altemeir, W.A, Robarge, J.P. O'Connor, S, Sandle, H., Vietze, P. and Lustiq, J.V. (1982) "Child abuse in families with Twins" Pediatrics Vol. 70, No 5, 769-773.

Hake, J.M. (1972). Child Rearing Practices in Northern Nigeria. Ibadan University Press. Ibadan, Nigeria.

Haralambus, M. and Heald, R. (1980) Sociology: Themes and Perspectives. University Tutorial Press. 842 Yeovil R.S. Slough S.L 4 J.Q.

Harris, E.S., Weston, D.R. and Lieberman, A.F. (1989). Quality of Mother-Infant Attachment and Pediatric Health Care Use". Pediatrics Vol.84. No. 2: 248-253.

Helfer, R. (1980). "Development Deficit Which Limit Interpersonal Skills" pp. 104 114. In: Kempe, C.H. and Helfer, R. (eds). op. cit.

Helfer, R. and Kempe, C.H. (1976) (eds). Child Abuse and Neglect - The Family and the Community Ballinger, Pub. Comp. Cambridge, Massachusettes U.S.A.

Hess, R. and Shipman, V. (1973) "Parents as Teachers; How Lower Class and Middle Class Teach". pp.436-446. In: Lavatelli, C.S and Standler, F. (eds). Readings in Child Behaviour and Development. 3rd Edition HarCourt Brace, Javanovich Inc. New York.

Inglis, R. (1978) Sins of the Fathers: A Study the Physical and Emotional Abuse of Children. St. Martins Press. New York.

Kalayi, G.I. (1989). Burn Injuries in Zaria M.M.B.S Thesis. Ahmadu Bello University teaching Hospital, Zaria. Medical Library.

Kalu, A.U. and Osinbajo, Y. (1990). Women and Children Under Nigerian Law Vol. 6 of the Federal Ministry of Justice Law review Series. Intec. Printers Ltd Ibadan.

Kalu, W.J. (1986). "Emotional abuse and Neglect in Comteporary Nigerian Family: A Reassessment of Workshop on Child Labour and Child Abuse and Neglect". pp. 96-103. African Network for the Protection and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect in Nigeria (ANPPCAN) Conference Paper.

Kempe, C.H. (1980) "Incest and other forms of Sexual Abuse". pp. 198-214 In: Kempe, C.H. and Helfer, R. (eds). op. cit.

Kempe, C.H. and Helfer, R. (1980) (eds). The Battered Child, Revised and Expanded Edition. The University of Chicago U.S.A.

Kempe, C.H. and Kempe, R. (1978). Child Abuse: The developing Child The Open Unversity Press. Great Britain.

Kempe, R.S., Cutler, C. and Deap, J. (1980) "The Infant with Failure-to-Thrive". p. 163-182. In: Kempe, C. and Helfer, R. (eds). op. cit.

Keniston, K. and the Carnegie Council on Children (1977) All Our Children HarCourt Brace, Jovanivich, N.Y. London.

Kisekka, M.N. (1981) "Socio-Cultural Tradition and the child" pp.169-175. In: Kisekka, M. N. (1981) (ed). op.cit.

Kisekka, M.N. (1981) (ed) Children in Kaduna State, Nigeria: Problems and Needs. Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria.

Korbin, J.E. (1976). The Cross-Cultural Context of Child Abuse and Neglect" pp. 31-35. In: Helfer, R. and Kempe C.H. (eds). op. cit.

Lavatelli, C.S. and Standler, F. (1972) (eds) Readings in Child Behaviour and Development. 3rd Edition HarCourt Brace, Javanovich Inc. New York.

Lindskog, P. and Lundquist J. (1989) Why Poor children Stay Sick - The Human Ecology of Child health and Welfare in Rural Malawi. Research Report No 85. Scandanavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala.

Lynch, (1976). "Risk Factor in the Child: A Study of Abusedchildren and Their Sibling". pp. 43-54. In Martin, P. (ed). op. cit.

Macauley, J.I. (1979). Motherhood and Child Care Ethiope Pub. Comp. Benin City.

Maden, M.F. (1980). The Disposition of Reported Child Abuse. Century 21 Pub.

Maduewesi, E. (1986). "Child Rearing: Acculturation and Neglectful Strategies in Childhood Education" pp. 104-113. African network for the Protection and Prevention of Child abuse and neglect in Nigeria. (ANPPCAN), Enugu, Nigeria.

Martin, P. (1976) (ed). The Abused Child: A Multidisciplinary Approach to Developmental Issues and Treatment. Ballinger Pub.Comp. Cambridge, Massachussettes

Martin, H.P. (1976). "Factors Influencing the Development of the Abused Child" pp. 139-162. In: Martin P. (ed). ibid.

Martin, H.P. (1976). "Which Children Get Abused: High Risk factors in Children" pp. 27-39. In: Martin, P. (ed). ibid.

Martin, H.P. (1980). Consequencesof Being Abusedand Neglected: How the Child Fares". pp. 347-360 In: Kempe, C.H. and Helfer,R. (eds). op. cit.

Martin, H.P. and Rodeheffer, M. (1976) "Learning and Intelligence" pp. 93-104. In Martin P. (ed). op. cit.

Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1975); Collected Works Vol.1 Lawrence and Wishant, London

Mensah, E. (1977). "A Note on the Distribution of Beggars in Zaria". Savanna Vol. 6, No.1 June: 73-76

Mensah, E. (1984). Children as Beggars: A Study from Zaria/Nigeria. Sociologus - Journal for emperical Ethno-Sociology and Ethno-Psycholgy Duncker and Humblot, Berlin pp. 30-46.

Mitchell, A.R.K (1978). Violence in the Family Wayland Pub. England.

Mussen, P.H., Conger, J.J., Kagan, J. and Huston, A.C. (1984). Child Development and Personality, Harper Row Pub. New York

Mwanamwanb, C and Tadesse, Z. (1979). The Situation of Children in Zambia. S.I.D.A. Information Division.

Newberger, E.H. and Daniel, J.H. (1979). "Knowledge and Epidermiology of Child Abuse: A Critical Review of Concepts" pp. 19-25 In: Bourne, R and Newberger, E.H. (eds). op. cit.

Newberger, E.H. and Hyde, J.N. (1979). "Child Abuse: Principles and Implications of CurrentPediatric Practice". pp. 27.40 In: Bourne,R and Newberger, E.H (eds). op. cit.

Nye, F.I. and Berardo, F.M. (1973). The Family: Its Structure and Interaction. MacMillan Pub.Comp.

Obiako, M.N. (1986). "Eardrum Perforation as evidence of Child Abuse" pp.252-254. Conference paper. African Network for the Protection and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect in Nigeria. (ANPPCAN), Enugu, Nigeria.

Odutan, S.O. (1971). The Health of Nigerian Children of School age (6 - 15) London University, London.

Oguwuike- Ekwe, A. (1986). "Health Hazard of Child Labour: A Case study of Juvenile Hawkers" pp. 17-26. African Network for the Protection and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect in Nigeria. (ANPPCAN), Enugu, Nigeria.

Okoro, J. (1986) "Kindergaten - Neglect of children" pp 125-130 Conference Paper African Network for the Protection and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect in Nigeria. (ANPPCAN), Enugu, Nigeria.

Organization of African Unity (OAU) - The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. pp 14 - 37

Orville, G.B. (1957) "The Parent Child -Interaction as a social System: Parent and Child Roles" Child Development: Vol. 28, No. 3 September: 343-364

Otesanya, B. (1987) The Psycho-Social Dimension of Sexually Transmitted Disease: A Case Study of A.B.U. Teaching Hospital, Zaria. M.Sc. Sociology Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria.

Oyajobe, A. (1990). "Better protection for Women and Children under the Law." pp. 15-20 In: Kalu and Osinbajo (eds).

Parsons, T. (1964). Talcott Parsons and Personality The Free Press. Collier MacMillan, London.

Parsons, T., Bales, R.F., Olds, J., Zelditch, M. and Slater, P.E. (1968). Family Socialization and Interaction Process. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. London. (The International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction).

Pearlstein, L.S., Brill, C.B. and Mancall, E.L. (1982). "Child Abuse in Huntington's disease" Pediatrics. Vol. 70, No. 4, October: 630-633.

Pela, O.A. (1980). "Drug Abuse as a Correlate of Child Abuse and Neglect" pp. 204-207 African Network for the Protection and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect in Nigeria. (ANPPCAN), Enugu, Nigeria. Conference Paper.

Pittin, R. (1981). "Fostering of Children in Katsina." pp. 176-185. In Kisekka, M.N. (ed) op. cit.

Radbill, S.S. (1980). "Children in a World of Violence; A History of Child Abuse." pp.3-20 In: Kempe and Helfer (eds). op. cit.

Ringler, N., Trause, M.A., Clause, M. and Kennell,J. (1978). "The Effects of extra Post Partum Contact and Maternal Speech Patterns on Children's I.Q's, Speech and Language Comprehension at Five" Child Development. Vol. 49, 862-865.

Rivara, F.P., Kamitsuka, M.D. and Quan, L. (19880. "Injuries to Children Younger Than 1 year of Age." Pediatrics. Vol. 81, No. 1, 83-93.

Rosenberg, N.M., Meyers, S. and Shackleton, N. (1982). "Prediction of Child Abuse in an Abulatory setting" Pediatrics. Vol.70, No. 6 December:879-882.

Rosenfeld, A.A. and Newberger, E.H. (1979). "Compassion versus Control: Conceptual and Practical Pitfalls in the Broadened definition of Child Abuse" pp. 81-88. In: Bourne and Newberger (eds) op. cit.

Sanyu, S. (1983). Maternal Education as a Factor in Infant and Child Mortality. M.Sc. Thesis Sociology Department, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

Schmitt B.D. (1980). "The Child With Non-Accidental Trauma." pp. 128-146. In: Kempe and Helfer 9eds). op. cit.

Seaberg, J.R. (1980) Physical Child Abuse: An Expanded Analysis. Century 21 Pub. box 8 Saratoga, Califonia.

Shelleng, R.J. (1991). A Study of the Street and Working Children in Zaria town: Psycho-Social Implications for Child Labour. M.Sc. Thesis. Sociology Department, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

Shima, A.B. and Dauda, P.C. (1981): "Attitudes, habits and the opportunity of the child: In search of the administrative measures." PP. 186-191. In: Kisekka, M.N. (ed.). op. cit.

Silverman, P. (1978): Who speaks for the children? The plight of the battered child. Musson Book Comp. Don Mills Ontario

Singha, P. and Motha, B. (1981): "Levels of infant Mortality and its causes in Kaduna State" P.P. 136-151. In: Kisekka, M.N. (ed.).

Smith, M.G. (1960): Governmentof·Zazzau: A study of governmentin the Hausa Chiefdom of Zaria in Northern Nigeria from 1800-1950: International African Institute, Oxford University press. London.

Sowemimo, G.O.A. (1983): "Burns in Lagos" Burns Vol.9 March: 280-283.

Standing, H. and Kisekka, M.N. (1989): Sexual Behaviour in sub-saharan Africa: A Review and Annotated Bibliography. Overseas Develpment Administration. Eland House, SWIE SDH London.

Steinmetze, S. (1977): The Cycle of Violence Assertive, Aggressive and Abusive Family Interactions: Praeger Pub. U.S.A.

Sufola, J.A. (1983): African culture and the African Personality: What makes an African an African Person: African Resources. pub. Comp. Ibadan, Nigeria.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. (Reproduced by UNICEF) pp 1 - 16.

Thompson, K. and Tundstall, J. (eds) (1971): Sociological Perspectives: Selected Readings Pengium books, open University Press.

Urquhart, A.N. (1970): "Morphology of Zaria" In: Moltimore, M.J. (ed). Zaria and its Region. 14th Annual Conference of the Nigerian Geographical Association Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, No.4: 123 - 128.

Verma, O.P. (1981): " The State of Health of Children in Areas of Malumfashi District." pp.144-157. In: Kisekka, M.N. (ed.) 1981. op. cit.

Vinola, M.S. and Fubara, M.S.W. (1986): " Street Hawking as an Apsect of Child Abuse and Neglect" PP64-69. Conference Paper of the African Network for the Protection and Prevention of child Abuse and Neglect in Nigeria.

Vogel, E. and Norman, W.B , (1980): "Child Abuse as Functional" P.334. In: Haralambus, M and Heald, R. (eds). op. cit.

Weston, J.T. (1980): "The Pathology of child Abuse and Neglect" PP.241-272. In: Kempe and Helfer (eds.). op. cit.

APPENDIX I

Application for the Release of Data

Mrs. P. Mudiare,
Sociology Department,,
Ahmadu Bello University,
Zaria.

December 3, 1991

The Medical Officer In-charge,
Sabon Gari Comprehensive Health Centre,
Department of Community Medicine,
Ahmadu Bello University,
Zaria.

Dear Sir,

Application for the Release of Data on Child Nutrition

I wish to request your assistance in obtaining some information on the nutrition of children.

I am a Post graduate student of the Sociology department of the Ahmadu Bello University. I would be grateful if you could assist me in my project.

Thank you for your anticipated co-operation.

Your Faithfully

Patience Mudiare (Mrs.)

APPENDIX II

Letter of Introduction from Department

Department of Sociology
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

Date.....

Your Ref:
Our Ref:

To Whom It May Concern

Mrs Patience Ukiri-Mudiare is a student conducing research through Department of Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria in connection with his/her degree. Any assistance you can give him/her will be much appreciated.

.....
Postgraduate Co-ordinator

Research Topic: Socio-Economic Correlates of Child Abuse Among Primary School Children in Zaria

APPENDIX III

Introduction of Research to Pupils and Parents

Child Abuse in Zaria

Dear Pupils/Parents,

This is a study on children and how they are treated by adults. It is meant to discover the factors that could be responsible for the maltreatment of children with a view to finding solutions to such children's plight.

All information given will be treated confidentially. You need not write your names. Where appropriate, could you please help us complete a questionnaire on children by furnishing us with the following information.

1. Fathers occupation
2. Fathers highest educational qualification e.g. Koranic Education. Primary school, Secondary, degree etc.
3. Mothers occupation
4. Mothers highest educational qualification

Thanks for your anticipated cooperation.

Mrs. P. Mudiare

Fill the gap, circle or tick where appropriate.

1. Name of School.....

2. School fees per term:.....

3. Age: 5-9 [ ] 10-14 [ ] 15-19 [ ]

4. Sex: Male [ ] Female [ ]

5. Father's occupation:.....

6. How many rooms are there in your house? .....

7. Does your father /mother, own any of the following

Car [ ] Motor cycle [ ] Bicycle [ ] None of the above [ ]

8. Father's highest education qualification:

Post Secondary School [ ]

Secondary School [ ]

Primary School [ ]

Koranic School [ ]

None [ ]

9. Mother's highest education qualification

Post Secondary [ ]

Secondary [ ]

Primary [ ]

Koranic [ ]

None [ ]

10. Mother's occupation:.....

11. Religion of parents: Christianity [ ]

Islam [ ] Traditional [ ] Others:

Specify.....

12. With whom are you living?

Father and Mother [ ] Father's Relatives [ ]

Mothers relatives [ ] Father alone [ ]

House help [ ] Mother alone [ ]

13. How many wives has your father?

None [ ] One [ ] Two or more [ ]

14. How many children are there in your family? .....

15. What position are you in the family, e.g.

1st born [ ] 2nd born [ ] last born [ ]

16. Are there step brothers and sisters or relatives living with you? Yes [ ] No [ ]

17. Are your parents always fighting? Yes [ ] No [ ]

18. Who is home with you most of the time? Father [ ], Mother [ ], None of them [ ]

II PHYSICAL ABUSE

19. Whom do you hate most:.....

20. Who punishes you more often at home?

Father [ ] Mother [ ] Both [ ]

Brothers and Sisters [ ]

21. How do they punish you? .....

22. Why do they punish you.....

23. Do they punish you for no reason? Yes [ ] No [ ]

24. Have you ever been injured as a result of the punishment? Yes [ ], No [ ]

25. If yes, specify what type of injury:.....

26. Were you given medical treatment? Yes [ ] No [ ]

27. Was it immediately [ ] or after some days [ ]

28. Who took you to the hospital.....

III MEDICAL NEGLECT

29. What happens when you are sick?

They don't give me any medicine [ ]

They give me native medicine [ ]

They buy medicine from the store [ ]

They take me to see a doctor/nurse [ ]

30. Do you get enough food to eat at home? Yes [ ]
No [ ]

31. Do you take breakfast before going to school?
Yes [ ] No [ ]

32. Do you study at home? Yes [ ] No [ ]

33. If no, Why?

I do too much work at home [ ]

I go to sell things [ ]

I like to play or watch T.V. [ ]

34. Has any one played with your private part before?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

35. Who did it? .....

36. How did the person touch you?

Played with my private part [ ]

Had sex with me [ ]

Only looked at it [ ]

37. Is she still doing it to you? Yes [ ] No [ ]

38. Did you report to anybody? Yes [ ] No [ ]