Child Protection in Crisis

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Community-Based Child Protection Mechanisms in Refugee Camps in Rwanda: An Ethnographic Study

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
AHA	Africa Humanitarian Action
ARC	American Refugee Committee
ARDHO	*Association Rwandaise Pour La Defense Des Droits De L'Homme*
AVSI	*Associazione Volontari per il Servizio Internazionale*
CBCPM	Community based child protection mechanisms
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECD	Early Childhood Development
GBV	Gender-based violence
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus infection / acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
KAP	Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices
MAJ	*Maison d'Acces à la Justice*
MIDIMAR	Rwanda Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugee Affairs
MINEDUC	Rwanda Ministry of Education
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PRM	Participative Ranking Methodology
PRM	Bureau of Population Refugees and Migration
NFI	Non-food item
UNHCR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WFP	World Food Programme

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Despite the increasing population of refugees stuck in protracted situations and our awareness of the vulnerability of children and adolescents growing in up these contexts, relatively little is known about community based child protection mechanisms (CBCPMs) in refugee communities. CBCPMs, defined broadly, include all groups or networks that respond to and prevent problems of child protection and vulnerable children. These mechanisms may include family supports, peer group supports, and community groups such as primary and secondary schools, non-formal education and vocational training structures, women's groups, religious groups, and youth groups, as well as traditional community processes, government mechanisms, and mechanisms initiated by international or domestic non-governmental organisations (NGOs). In diverse contexts, CBCPMs represent front-line, day-to-day efforts to protect children from exploitation, abuse, violence, and neglect and to promote children's well being. This study, together with a parallel study conducted among the urban refugee population in Uganda, is the first study of CBCPMs undertaken in refugee settings.

The purpose of this research is to learn about community-based child protection processes and mechanisms in two refugee camps in Rwanda – Gihembe and Kiziba. In particular, the research seeks to identify what refugees see as the main harms or risks to children, what CBCPMs exist and how they are used, what protective factors enable children's positive coping and resilience, and whether and how the CBCPMs link with elements of the formal aspects of the child protection system, led by the Rwandan government and Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This study places special emphasis on the linkages between CBCPMs and education-sector groups and structures in order to assess modalities of interaction and collaboration between the two sectors for the strengthening of children's protective environment.

Methodology

This study used a methodology of rapid ethnography that aimed to provide a rich, grounded picture of local beliefs, values, and practices in regards to harms experienced by children, and the community mechanisms that have evolved for their protection and well-being. Although the methodology is largely qualitative in nature, recognising the advantages of a mixed methods approach, the research also collected quantitative data regarding participants' ranking of various risks and the pathways of response. The tools and general methodology were developed by or based on the Inter-Agency Learning Initiative on Strengthening Community-Based Child Protection Mechanisms and Child Protection Systems.

This study was conceived by UNHCR, who approached the Child Protection in Crisis (CPC) Network for collaboration. The research team included national and international researchers. The international researchers were researchers and faculty affiliates of the CPC Network; the national researchers were recruited by

AVSI Rwanda. Fourteen local research coordinators, researchers and translators, participated in the data collection phase, following a 10-day training workshop.

The research tools used were: group discussions of child protection risks and typical responses (with male and female adults and young people); semi-structured in-depth interviews (with male and female adults and young people); key informant interviews; and a 'body mapping' exercise with young children, designed to elicit sources of children's distress and wellbeing. The body mapping approach uses a large stencilled outline of a child, which researchers use to engage children with questions designed to learn about their perspectives.

Gihembe and Kiziba refugee camps were selected as the research sites because they are the largest and longest established and provide a good representation of the camp-based refugee population in Rwanda. The study population included adult men and women, young men and women (aged between 12 and 20 years old)[1] and young children (aged between 7-10 years old). In addition, key stakeholders in child protection in the camps were interviewed including staff from UN agencies, NGOs, Rwandan Government institutions, camp authorities, child protection committees, school staff and religious leaders. In total, 278 people participated in the research through 22 group discussions (GD), 74 in-depth interviews (IDI) and 37 key informant interviews (KII). In addition, approximately 140 young children took part in a body mapping exercise.

A summary of the findings

What role is education perceived to play in children's development and protection?

There was a broad consensus among respondents that the biggest protective factor for children and young people living in the refugee camps was their attendance at school. Respondents reported that when children were in school they were safe from negative influences and kept busy which prevented them getting into trouble. In addition, education was perceived to give children and their families better economic prospects (even though in reality few opportunities to make a living existed, even for children who had finished secondary school) and hope for the future. At school, children gained not only an academic education but also learnt about their rights, were taught some life-skills and given 'moral guidance' by teachers. The dependence on aid, and loss of traditional livelihoods and cultural systems of inheritance among communities living in the camps placed an added importance on education as it was seen by respondents as being one of the only avenues available for children to build a future.

[1] Respondents aged from 12-20 years old participated in group discussions and in-depth interviews. This group are referred to as 'adolescents' or 'young people' in this report

What are the main child protection risks or sources of harm to children? Are these the same for in-school and out-of-school children?

During group discussions respondents took part in a participatory ranking exercise to name and rank the main 'harms to children' in their communities. Across both camps, the top four harms were clearly identified as: children out of school, delinquency, early pregnancy and prostitution. Other lower ranked harms were identified as sexual abuse, malnutrition, abandoned or orphaned children, lack of accommodation space, lack of refugee registration, lack of entertainment, lack of health care, lack of freedom and lack of opportunities to develop talent.

Respondents very clearly identified children out of school as being at greater risk of harm than those in school. In particular, it was frequently reported that being out of school after secondary three level (S3) placed children at significant risk of harm. However respondents also reported that children sometimes dropped out of school earlier (from both primary and secondary school) due to factors such as poverty or neglect. Respondents reported concern that younger children were not accessing Early Childhood Development (ECD) centres and nursery care available within the camps because they could not afford the financial contribution required.

How do child protection risks vary by gender and age?

Child protection risks varied by gender and age. Younger children were less exposed to risk because they were more closely supervised, although those out of school were said to be at increased risk of neglect or accidents because they were more likely to wander around the neighbourhood. Young girls were said to be at risk of sexual abuse at the hands of older children and adults. Particular concern was expressed about the risks faced by boys and girls once they reached adolescence (typically described as age 12 and above). Children at this age were seen to be less accepting of their living situation and more able to try and do something to change it. It was reported that adolescents had particular needs for things like clothes, shoes, soap, makeup and sanitary pads and those whose parents could not provide these things sought them through risky behaviours such as engaging in transactional sex (referred to by respondents as prostitution) and stealing. There were gender differences in that girls were more likely to engage in prostitution or seek employment as housemaids and babysitters, putting them at risk of sexual exploitation. Adolescent boys were more likely to engage in delinquent behaviour such as drug and abuse, and stealing and mugging.

To whom do girls or boys turn to for help when protection threat X arises? Who are the natural helpers and what networks do they have? Are these natural helpers and networks linked to the education system?

In most cases the primary helpers for children were their parents. For every type of harm discussed, it was reported that parents (especially mothers) were the first to become aware of their child being at risk from a particular threat through observing changes in behaviour or being alerted by the child's friends or by neighbours. In some cases such as early pregnancy or dropping out of school, children would turn to their parents first for help. Parents were supported by

their extended family and clans who also kept an eye on children and provided guidance and support to both children and their parents.

Parents were linked to the education system through Parent Teacher Associations[2] (widely referred to as parent's committees or PTA committees) in schools, made up of parents and teachers. According to respondents, parent's committees were mostly engaged in dealing with school management issues. Although community members said that children would sometimes report harms that occur in school to a teacher, schools were not generally perceived as a point of entry for reporting of protection threats.

What processes or mechanisms are used by families or communities to support children who have been affected by various protection threats?

The processes and mechanisms used by families and communities to support children include both community based and formal structures. Within both camps extended family members and clans provided support and guidance for both parents and their children affected by protection threats. This was mostly in the form of moral support and advice, but could also sometimes include financial support, for example when extended family members paid school fees enabling children to complete secondary school. Churches also extended some support through providing guidance to children and parents, and occasionally financial aid. Churches also provided space for Early Childhood Development (ECD) sessions and secondary school classes. Refugee children were assisted by AVSI when they faced protection risks, and by other NGOs, including Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), Africa Humanitarian Action (AHA), and American Refugee Committee (ARC). Community members also engaged with Camp Committee members to report child protection problems or try and get help to change adolescent's risky behaviour. Schools were involved in the support process when the risk related to the school environment. For example, when children stopped attending school, teachers either talked to parents directly to try and find a solution or reported this to the person in charge of education within the camp committee structure.

What processes or mechanisms are used by families or communities to support out-of-school children? What are the outcomes of those mechanisms, and how satisfactory are the outcomes in the eyes of different stakeholders?

Respondents strongly believed that children should be in school for as long as possible in order to both improve their future prospects and to protect them from harms. When children were out of school families and community members tried hard to get them back into school. It was reported that children often dropped out because they lacked the things they needed or the school fees to allow them to progress past S3[3] level, which their parents were unable to provide. This was a source of frustration and shame for parents as the only response they were able to provide in most cases to children being out of school

[2] PTA committees are supported by Adventist Development Relief Agency (ADRA) who are UNHCR's implementing partner in charge of education in the refugee camps.

[3] Refugees receive free education up until the third year of secondary school (S3), in line with the 'Nine Years Basic Education' policy of the Rwandan Government, which states that every child should have six years of primary school education and the first three years of secondary school

was to talk to their children and to try and convince them to return. It was reported that sometimes parents were able to sell rations or work to save money to pay school fees but this was not common.

Despite limited resources and strong dependence on aid there were examples of community-based responses to child protection issues in the camp settings, including the Hope School in Gihembe, which was initiated in 2008 by camp residents in response to the withdrawal of educational support after S3 level[4]. In addition, churches supported Hope School through providing classroom space, space in both camps for ECD centres, and regularly disseminating child protection messages through their church networks. Churches also reportedly provided some financial support to families in need, such as those without refugee registration.

What are the endogenous, 'traditional' mechanisms of protection and how are they regarded by different groups?

The traditional child protection mechanisms described by Congolese refugees were mostly family-based, although it was also reported that friends and neighbours played a role. These traditional mechanisms have been maintained within the camp setting to some extent. Parents were still regarded as responsible for their children's protection and well-being and were still the first to respond to protection threats. Extended family and clan groups also supported children, while friends and neighbours sometimes reported child protection threats to parents or the authorities.

However, the protracted refugee experience and dependence of families on aid had eroded some of these endogenous mechanisms. Children had less respect for their parents, while parent's expressed a sense of powerlessness to help their children and lack of authority because of their situation. Friends and neighbours were less interested and able to look out for others, as they were also dealing with the same issues.

Apart from endogenous mechanisms, what groups or structures (e.g., Child Protection Committees or community based child protection mechanisms facilitated by NGOs) exist in refugee camps?

Organisations working in the camps, including NGOs and churches, played a significant role in educating and sensitising refugees on child protection issues.
Four child protection structures are supported within the camps by AVSI:

- *Nkundabana* (I like children): volunteers who support children without appropriate parental care, such as child headed households and orphans;
- *Ishuri inshuti z'abana* (ECD): safe spaces where children aged 2-6 years old are cared for by community volunteers;
- *Ijwi ry'abana* (Voice of Children): a forum enabling children to participate in decision-making;

[4] International NGO Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS) supported education in the Rwandan refugee camps until January 2013, including sponsorship for young people to finish their secondary school education

- *Abaregerabana* (Protect Children): community volunteers who monitor children's rights enforcement and abuses and report serious cases to AVSI and the Child Protection Forum.

These mechanisms have different aims and responsibilities and have been developed to strengthen the protective environment by building on community based protection mechanisms. While some of these structures were seen as useful interventions (such as the ECD centres) by respondents, others were rarely mentioned (such as *Abaregerabana*) highlighting the need to find ways of increasing their relevance and forming stronger links with community based mechanisms.

In addition, the Child Protection Forum is a monthly meeting of stakeholders in each camp including representatives from NGOs, UNHCR, Rwanda Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugee Affairs (MIDIMAR), police, parents' committees, camp committees and child protection structures. The aim of the forum is to enable all those working for the well-being of children and young people in the camps to discuss child protection threats and cases in order to work together to address these holistically.

What do communities do to support or advocate for children's access to school and safer schools?

Communities sometimes contributed financially to assist out of school children but, as mentioned, their resources were limited and generally it was difficult for them to enable children to return to school. Camp committee and child protection structure members were made aware of children who were out of school in their neighbourhoods and could either resolve the problem directly with family members or report it to AVSI or the Child Protection Forum.

What are the linkages of community mechanisms with the formal elements of the child protection system? How do communities perceive formal mechanisms and structures and do they use them? If not, why not?

Some aspects of the formal and informal systems are working well together, while there are also blockages in the linkages between others, hampering the effectiveness of child protection mechanisms and interventions. For example, one of the positive examples described above is the Child Protection Forum, which was mentioned by formal stakeholders as well as informal stakeholders (including church and camp committee representatives) as a valuable way of sharing information and ideas, and discussing specific cases requiring the involvement and cooperation of different stakeholders. The ECD centres, which were initiated in response to needs identified by communities, were supported by AVSI with the input of local volunteers providing a safe space for young children within the camps. This link between an international NGO and community members was generally working well, despite some complaints. The role of the churches in the camps and cooperation with NGOs and international actors to disseminate child protection messages and host educational initiatives such as the ECDs and Hope School, is another positive example of linkages functioning well.

On the other hand, perceived corruption within the camp committee system was one clear blockage, reducing the level of trust that some community members had in this system. Other blockages were in the form of negative perceptions about certain interventions, which limited their effectiveness. For example, the child protection structure *Nkundabana* was perceived by several respondents as being ineffective. Some child protection interventions seemed to be 'invisible' to community members, or at least respondents did not mention them. For example, UNHCR's protection focal points and security focal points were not mentioned and some of the child-protection structures managed by AVSI were not highlighted by respondents, which is interesting because they are intended to be important linkages between the formal and informal mechanisms in the camps. Likewise, respondents did not mention the various children's and youth clubs run by AVSI.

Implications and recommendations

1. The lack of support for education after secondary three (S3) greatly increases the vulnerability of adolescents to harms.

The results clearly indicated that when adolescents had to end their studies at S3 level, their vulnerability to various harms significantly increased. Harms were different according to gender (although also interlinked); for girls the primary risks were early pregnancy and prostitution (sexual exploitation), while boys were vulnerable to falling into delinquent behaviours, including drug and alcohol abuse, stealing and fighting. Being in school was a strong protective factor, providing children with both occupation and a sense purpose and of building a future.

Once out of the school system, young people reported feeling hopeless, bored and lacking personal agency or options to improve their own lives. Parents and community members reported feeling powerless to help their children, as they could not pay school fees. Once children had finished free schooling, parents felt they had little support from formal child protection stakeholders in disciplining children engaged in harmful behaviours or providing alternative activities.

Despite recognising the special needs and harms facing adolescents, and the protective nature of education, UNHCR is challenged by the fact that their operational budget is decreasing in Rwanda.[5] However, there are relatively cheap and simple initiatives that could be supported. For example, the community-created Hope School is able operate on around US$ 240 a month, funded solely from contributions made by refugees using part of their food rations.

[5] In fact UNHCR's overall budget in Rwanda increased slightly with the construction of a new refugee camp to cope with the emergency influx of refugees from DRC in 2012 and 2013, the budget for activities and services in the existing camps decreased.

Recommendations:

- UNHCR should promote its mandate for secondary education in line with children's right to education up to the age of 18 years old as per the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Children (UNCRC). Working in collaboration with UNICEF and other education-sector actors, it should advocate with education-focused NGOs to implement such programming and jointly fundraise for such programming in collaboration with them.
- UNHCR, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should advocate strongly for school support with the Government of Rwanda for refugee adolescents to ensure that all students are able to study to the end of secondary school (S4-S6) in recognition of the specific protracted refugee context, the associated harms and risks for adolescents and the lack of alternative activities or livelihoods available to this group. In undertaking such advocacy, it may be helpful for these organisations to highlight as well the societal costs that the host country incurs, such as increased criminal behaviour, by not ensuring secondary education for refugee children.
- UNHCR, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should prioritise collaboration with and support community-based education initiatives for secondary school after S3, using Hope School as a model.
    - UNHCR, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should support Hope School with financial assistance towards its very basic costs and improving the learning environment for students. Technical support could also be offered by ADRA.
    - In collaboration with the Hope School in Gihembe, UNHCR, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should explore the feasibility of replicating this initiative in other camps in Rwanda where residents express their need and support for such a school.
    - ADRA and other refugee-assisting organisations should work with Government of Rwanda ministries (MIDIMAR and MINEDUC) to ensure that Hope School and any others like it are able to meet national education standards and gain recognition as official education institutions, enabling their students to receive recognised qualifications.
    - ADRA and other refugee-assisting organisations should advocate for teachers to be able to access trainings provided by MINEDUC.
- ADRA should strengthen school's abilities to prevent dropouts by building teachers capacity to support the most vulnerable children, through training on providing life skills and resilience guidance, and how/when to refer children to available services;
- UNHCR, AVSI and other NGOs should prioritise and increase the provision of vocational training and income-generating activities for young people who are out of school to promote self-reliance, build self-esteem and reduce their vulnerability to protection risks. A market (feasibility) study looking at opportunities for young refugee men and women should be conducted and used to tailor vocational training and IGA support to the specific realities of the context in and around each camp, with the aim of creating real opportunities for self-sufficiency. Vocational training opportunities near or within the camps should be sought in order to keep

costs down. The Women's Refugee Commission's tools for market assessments and youth vocational training for refugees can serve as a useful starting point for such programming.

- UNHCR and NGO partners should engage in advocacy with the Government of Rwanda to allow refugees the right to work. Such advocacy would likely need to be undertaken with the support of the broader United Nations presence in Rwanda and be based on additional quantitative research on the socio-economic costs to the nation of hosting these refugee populations.
- UNHCR and NGO partners should explore the feasibility of introducing micro-credit or group savings schemes for parents to enable them to regain a sense of agency and contribute to supporting their families, including paying for ECD and secondary school fees[6].
- CBCPMs could facilitate links between organisations and individuals willing to sponsor education. AVSI already links Italian families with Rwandan families through a 'Distance Support Programme' and could consider adapting a similar approach to support children's education in the camps. It may also be efficient to link with Rwandan diaspora communities in countries like Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya, which collectively host nearly 200,000 members of the Rwandan diaspora, according to government statistics (Orozco 2009). It will be important to have clear criteria in place for administering a programme like this and for decision-making processes to be transparent.
- An education fund for S4-S6 education could be established and managed by UNHCR. A committee of stakeholders could be formed to fundraise and distribute scholarships. Again, it would be important to have clear selection criteria and transparency in decision-making.
- MIDIMAR and UNHCR should strengthen linkages who MINEDUC in order to improve educational provision for adolescents in the camps.

2. Despite the vulnerability of young people to serious harms, there is a lack of programming targeting this group.

A key finding of this research was that community members overwhelmingly reported that the main harms against children, which concerned them related to adolescents and young people (from aged around 12 – 20 years old). The top harms identified through in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and group discussions included early pregnancy, prostitution, delinquency and being out of school after S3.

Although community members were seriously concerned for the wellbeing and safety of young people living in the camps, and formal stakeholders also reported their concerns for this group, there was a distinct lack of services and programmes targeting young people. There is an urgent need to support young people in creating livelihoods opportunities, strengthening life-skills, supporting

[6] It was reported by one respondent that a cooperative saving scheme had helped some parents to pay school fees.

family and clan structures and tailoring interventions to address young people already involved or at greater risk of prostitution, delinquency and early pregnancy.

Recommendations:

- Parents should be more involved in programmes targeting young people in order to strengthen communication within families and encourage mutual accountability. AVSI should strengthen parents' participation in children's sports and educational clubs, for example through encouraging parents to take responsibility for managing the clubs.
- ADRA should increase efforts to enable young mothers to remain in school, through supporting childcare arrangements, such as community nurseries, while girls are attending classes, especially for those lacking family support.
- AVSI, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should increase support to education for children and youth on life skills, for example, working with teenage fathers on positive parenting and responsible fatherhood, and building children and young people's self-esteem, resilience to peer pressure and ability to support one another. Teachers reported providing 'moral' lessons as part of their teaching; NGOs could build on this and work with schools to introduce specifically adapted life-skills modules as part of the curriculum. UNICEF and other organisations have developed a number of life skills curricula for refugee youth that could be adapted to the Rwandan setting.
- AVSI, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should prioritise active outreach work targeting young people already engaged in harmful behaviour such as delinquent teenagers and girls and boys involved in prostitution. For example, engaging them in vocational training, life skills courses, and supporting family mediation.
- AVSI should ensure that extracurricular activities, including sport, art, social clubs and educational clubs, which include psycho-social elements such as life skills and improving parent-child relationships, are widely available and accessible to children who are both in and out-of-school. These kind of child and youth focussed activities should be prioritised over resources put into more "formal" child protection structures—such as committees and fora—that this research would suggest have limited impact and buy-in from communities.

3. The protracted refugee camp situation has led to the breakdown of normal family and community structures.

A key observation is the link between child protection harms and the protracted refugee situation. Most of the camp residents in Gihembe and Kiziba have been living as refugees for protracted periods in overcrowded camps, reliant on handouts and under the shadow of constant uncertainty and lack of control over their futures. With little sign of the situation in DRC becoming peaceful enough to allow them to return home and few prospects for integration into Rwandan society or resettlement elsewhere, they are effectively trapped in a kind of no-

mans land, where they are not able to move back to where they came from in DRC nor move ahead where they are in Rwanda.

Adult respondents and community members reported that they felt distressed by their inability to provide for their children and to protect them from harms. There was a strong tension observed between the widely held understanding in the population that parents were responsible for the well-being of their children, the focus by many international actors on the need for refugees to address child protection issues themselves, and the reality of the protracted refugee experience which had left parents and communities distinctly disempowered.

Young people also expressed their distress at the perceived 'weakness' of their parents and saw very few alternatives available to them outside of school. The lack of options after S3, or extreme poverty or neglect at home lead them to try and look after themselves through engaging in transactional sex, stealing or other delinquent behaviours. They also sought to forget their worries through delinquent behaviour and abusing drugs and alcohol. The stresses and realities of the protracted refugee situation were magnified after children left school and were clearly linked with risks and harms increasing.

Recommendations:

- UNHCR, AVSI, and other agencies should review their programmatic frameworks to more realistically reflect the living conditions that the refugees in protracted settings face. The 'protective framework,' for example, promotes that children and families find solutions 'themselves' to protection issues when - in fact - protracted refugee situations greatly undermine that very capacity to protect. While it is—generally speaking—advisable to discourage a culture of dependence on outside aid, these refugees have little choice but dependence: to insist they take responsibility for protection issues when they have limited resources to do so can contribute to their further disempowerment.
- UNHCR and partner NGOs should prioritise the identification and support income generating and livelihoods activities for adults and young people, based on the realities of the protracted refugee context, in order to help to re-build an individual and collective sense of control and empowerment. The nature of these livelihoods would depend largely on the market analysis mentioned in the recommendations for finding number two above, and their quantity would of course rely upon the financial resources available. As livelihoods programs can be quite expensive, an alternative option—again, already described in finding number one above—would be for United Nations and other agencies to collectively advocate with the Government of Rwanda for the refugees' right to work, thus allowing them access to existing livelihoods opportunities in the growing national economy. If the right to work is not perceived to be an attainable goal, then UNHCR and partner NGOs should advocate with donors, including those in the private sector, for increased funding to support livelihoods programs that will help to restore a sense of dignity and agency for the refugee populations living in camps in Rwanda.

- UNHCR and partner NGOs should support psychosocial programming for children, adolescents and adults tailored to addressing the specific issues faced by camp residents living in a protracted refugee situation, including strengthening resilience, exploring identity and insecurity about the future, re-gaining a sense of individual agency[7] and building mutual support. The types of activities could include those already mentioned, such as life-skills, positive parenting and parent-child communication sessions in schools, through churches and as part of out-of-school activities for children and young people. Using a model that builds upon the community mechanisms and leaders already in place, this psychosocial support could be relatively inexpensive and might represent a starting point for new child protection and family welfare programming in these camps. Nonetheless, it is important to note that unless the refugees' ability to earn their livelihoods changes, psychosocial programming's impact will remain limited in its ability to dramatically restore dignity, hope, and protection to these populations.

4. Important preventive factors existed in the refugee camps, which should be identified and built upon in all interventions.

Children themselves displayed significant resilience and strong coping mechanisms, helping them to navigate and survive in a very difficult and restricted environment. Adolescents were able to take some control of their lives through pursuing albeit potentially harmful activities such as transactional sex and stealing in order to support themselves, when caregivers were not able to. All of the children and young people who participated in this research were eager and motivated to change their situation and improve their lives.

Parents emerged as one of the most important preventative factors, teaching their children good behaviour, encouraging to them to stay in school and often supporting them through troubled times, such as early pregnancy. Many parents worked hard to try and provide their children with more that what they received through aid, for example by trying to augment young children's diets by selling parts of their rations to keep them healthy and trying to find support for their older children to continue in school beyond S3 level. Clan groups were seen to provide important support to children and families. This finding reflects other case studies showing that refugees and IDPs are often able to demonstrate remarkable resilience in protracted refugee situations, particularly through the use of clan and kin networks to diffuse risks among family members. (Long, 2011)

Other significant preventive factors were churches who spread important child protection messages through their congregations, organised economic support for vulnerable members and allowed their buildings to be used for ECD and secondary school classes (in the case of the Hope School).

[7] 'Agency' can be defined as the capacity for individuals to act independently and make their own free choices.

These and other impressive community-driven initiatives such as the Hope School and ECD activities in the camps demonstrate that even in the most risk-intensive environments where social norms and agency had been severely eroded, important assets exist. By identifying and building on these assets, those working with refugee communities can take steps to protect children and prevent harms before they happen.

Recommendations:

- UNHCR, AVSI, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should strengthen their engagement and collaboration with parents, extended family structures and church leaders in preventing harms to children, through training and awareness-raising activities on issues including child protection and child rights, child protection law, the role of the community (and in particular men) in child protection. Such activities could include supporting community members to develop and disseminate accurate messages about risks and protective factors for children and to develop bottom-up referral systems for responding to protection issues when they arise.
- UNHCR, AVSI, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should increase their outreach to parents, specifically providing training and awareness-raising (in various forms such as street theatre, community debates and visual materials, and working with schools, churches, alongside the distribution of rations etc) about child protection issues including how to access services available and the importance of education.
- UNHCR, AVSI, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should develop programming which increases the dialogue between children and parents in order to build mutual respect and trust. For example, practitioners could train and support parents on parenting skills, inter-generational communication and child protection. Existing mechanisms like Parent's Evening could be strengthened through adapting its structure to enable parents to better support each other and share experiences.
- UNHCR and AVSI should identify ways to strengthen the child protection capacity of indigenous extended family and clan/tribe structures. For example, support could be given to family elders to play their traditional role in advising and protecting young family members, while helping them to adapt this role to meet the needs of young people growing up in the camps. Specific training sessions could be targeted this group and include discussions on subjects such as intergenerational differences, child rights, and culture, for example the risks of the tradition of 'ceceka' (not speaking out about problems) which could harm children.

INTRODUCTION

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) identifies a major protracted refugee situation as one where more than 25,000 refugees have been in exile for more than five years. Protracted refugee situations refer to those that have moved past the emergency phase, but for which there seems to be no possibly of safe and durable repatriation in the foreseeable future. They are not always static populations; there are often periods of increase and decrease in the numbers of people displaced and changes within the population. Today in the world there are around 30 major protracted refugee situations. Populations are living in this state of limbo for an average of 20 years - an increase from an average of nine years in the early 1990s. There are not only more people living in protracted refugee situations, but they are lasting much longer. (Milner & Loescher, 2011)

Protracted displacement often originates from states whose chronic insecurity lies at the centre of wider regional instability. (Milner & Loescher, 2011) This is certainly true in the case of the population living as long-term refugees in Rwanda, almost all of whom originate from neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Since the early 1990's the African Great Lakes Region has been torn apart by conflict.[8] The 1994 Rwandan genocide and its consequences served as a catalyst precipitating further breakdown and crisis in the region including across Eastern DRC, where ongoing conflict and displacement continue today. (Prunier, 2011)

Rwanda currently hosts a population of 72,856 refugees[9]. Of this population, 99% of refugees come from the DRC, with small numbers of others coming from Burundi, Chad, Angola, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia and Uganda. Recent renewed violent conflict over land and ethnic tensions in North and South Kivu in Eastern DRC has seen large numbers of newly displaced Congolese flooding across the borders into Rwanda. Since April 2013, UNHCR have registered 26,700 new refugees mostly relocated to the newly established Kigeme Camp and Nkamira Transit Centre (while they await transfer). (UNHCR; Government of Rwanda, 2013)

The protracted caseload of refugees in Rwanda is much older and represents a population of 46,545 refugees; many have lived in camps since they fled DRC in the mid 1990s. The majority of these refugees live in three camps; in Gihembe, Kiziba and Nyabiheke, with a small number residing in the capital, Kigali. (UNHCR, 2013) (UNHCR; Government of Rwanda, 2013) All refugees are encouraged to move to the camps according to the Government of Rwanda's "encampment policy." The UNHCR Byumba Field Office covers two camps,

[8] An area including the countries of Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda.

[9] Figures as of June 2013. The decrease in population figures is due to: absenteeism at the refugee verification exercise, double registration, persons inactivated pending resolution of Rwandan ID issue, and persons inactivated because of lack of adequate documentation.

Gihembe (14,538 refugees) in Gicumbi District and Nyabiheke (13,901 refugees) in Gatsibo District. The UNHCR Kibuye Field Office provides assistance and protection to 16,104 persons in Kiziba camp in Karongi District. There are also two transit sites at the border points with the DRC at Cyangugu and Gisenyi respectively, where new arrivals and returnees enter the country.

A recent study of Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices (KAP) relating to child protection in refugee camps in Rwanda reported two significant 'gaps' or areas for improvement in child protection. The first was observed in the area of child-parent relationships. The study found that physical violence was commonly used against children and that respondents expressed a need for increased support to improve parent-child communication. The second area identified was a gap between the respondent's knowledge of child protection committees (CPCs), NGOs and International Organisations and the use of these mechanisms for actually reporting abuses or improving child protection in the camps. (InfoAid, 2013)

The consequences of protracted displacement, especially the requirement to live in specially designated camps, have significant human rights and livelihoods implications. Several generations of the same families spend their entire lives in refugee camps. As many of the young people participating in this research reported, they have grown up in the camps and are now starting their own families in the camps – all with a limited understanding of where they came from and little idea about what the future could bring. Also of great concern are levels of sexual and physical violence in refugee camps. (Milner & Loescher, 2011) Vulnerable groups including children and adolescents, women and the elderly, all face particular protection challenges and make up a large proportion of populations in protracted refugee situations. (Crisp, 2002)

It is clear that the traditional 'durable solutions' approach promoting return, local integration and resettlement is unable to function in many contexts where protracted displacement exists. Despite the changing landscape of protracted refugee situations, both host and donor states are too often attached to the primary 'solution' to exile being permanent physical returns of the displaced. The options of local integration and resettlement have often been downgraded. (Long, 2011)

Despite the increasing population of refugees stuck in protracted situations and the acknowledgement of the vulnerability of children and adolescents growing in up these contexts, relatively little is known about community based child protection mechanisms in refugee communities. CBCPMs represent front line efforts to protect children from exploitation, abuse, violence, and neglect and to promote children's well-being. Without knowledge of how these mechanisms work within the particular context of refugee camp life, we have limited understanding of how to contribute to protecting and preventing harms against children living in these environments. In 2009, a global inter-agency review of 160 programme evaluations reported that the evidence base regarding the effectiveness of CBCPMs is extremely weak. (Wessells, 2009) Many countries are currently undertaking mapping of CBCPMs as a critical step in strengthening

child protection systems. Previous research conducted on CBCPMs has looked at rural areas (Sierra Leone) and urban slums (Kenya). However, this type of mapping has yet to be undertaken in refugee settings. This study, together with a parallel study conducted among the urban refugee population in Uganda, is the first study of CBCPMs undertaken in refugee settings.

In diverse contexts, CBCPMs represent front-line, day-to-day efforts to protect children from exploitation, abuse, violence, and neglect and to promote children's well-being. CBCPMs, defined broadly, include all groups or networks that respond to and prevent problems of child protection and vulnerable children. These mechanisms may include family supports, peer group supports, and community groups such as primary and secondary schools, non-formal education and vocational training structures, women's groups, religious groups, and youth groups, as well as traditional community processes, government mechanisms, and mechanisms initiated by international or domestic non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Rwanda presents a unique context to study CBCPMs and their linkages with the national child protection system and the education sector. Mainly because of the 1994 genocide, numerous community-based initiatives have been supported to respond to the care and protection needs of thousands of orphans. The national government has recognized one of them, the *Nkundabana* model (a mentoring programme for vulnerable children) as a national best practice for the provision of care and support to highly vulnerable children. The model has been replicated in all refugee settings in Rwanda. Guidelines on the establishment of committees to fight against sexual and gender-based violence and for the protection of child's rights have also codified into law the use of community-based mechanisms to provide social support to vulnerable families, including monitoring school access and safety.

The Government of Rwanda is supportive of the use of an integrated and community-based approach to providing support to refugee children and is eager to exchange knowledge on the processes aimed towards strengthening child protection mechanisms initiated in refugee camps. In order to respond to the protection needs of refugee children, UNHCR established a partnership many years ago with UNICEF. UNICEF started to work in refugee camps through its implementing partner organisation, Save the Children, which began development of child protection programmes in the three refugee camps in 2005. UNICEF and Save the Children's intervention strategies were to build the capacities and support the work of community-based child protections groups. This work ended in December 2008, and the NGO AVSI took over in December 2010. The current programmes, the goal of which is to reinforce child protection systems in refugee camps, have a two-fold objective: a) to build the refugee community's knowledge and capacity to protect and take care of children at risk; b) to establish and provide holistic rehabilitation services for children victims of abuse, neglect and exploitation. Education considerations are integrated in the CBCPM's activities and are an priority concern for this refugee population, thus providing potentially useful learning about what is working and what is not concerning effective collaboration between the education sector and CBCPMs to

identify at-risk children, report child protection cases within and outside school settings, ensure access of children to school, and build capacities of children and their families to protect themselves and their peers.

The purpose of this study is to learn about community-based child protection processes and mechanisms in two refugee camps in Rwanda – Gihembe and Kiziba. In particular, the research seeks to identify what refugees see as the main harms or risks to children, what CBCPMs exist and how they are used, what protective factors enable children's positive coping and resilience, and whether and how the CBCPMs link with elements of the formal aspects of the child protection system (led by the government and UNHCR). This study places special emphasis on the link between CBCPMs and education-sector groups and structures in order to assess modalities of interaction and collaboration between the two sectors for the strengthening of children's protective environment.

METHODOLOGY

This research seeks to enhance the sustainability and effectiveness of child protection and education efforts by UNHCR and NGOs working with refugee camp populations. To attain this end, the research used a methodology of rapid ethnography that aimed to provide a rich, grounded picture of local beliefs, values, and practices in regards to harms experienced by children, and the community mechanisms that have evolved for their protection and well-being.

The aim of ethnography is to describe scientifically a specific society or culture. Its approach is to understand the world and the beliefs and practices of participants through participants' own eyes (the "emic" approach), without the imposition of outsider categories such as "child protection." Although researchers often undertake ethnographic studies over a period of years to obtain highly detailed descriptions, relatively brief ethnography has also proven useful in humanitarian settings. The ethnography conducted in this project is brief - some 20 days of data collection by a team of nine national researchers and three translators with oversight from team leaders - due to a focus on action to improve the lives of children.

The research uses a set of tools adapted from those developed by Drs Lindsay Stark and Mike Wessells for conducting mapping of CBCPMs in rural communities, including Participative Ranking Methodology (PRM). The research team used these tools to draw upon relevant learning from past experience while adapting them to focus more specifically on refugee populations and on the linkages between child protection and education interventions.

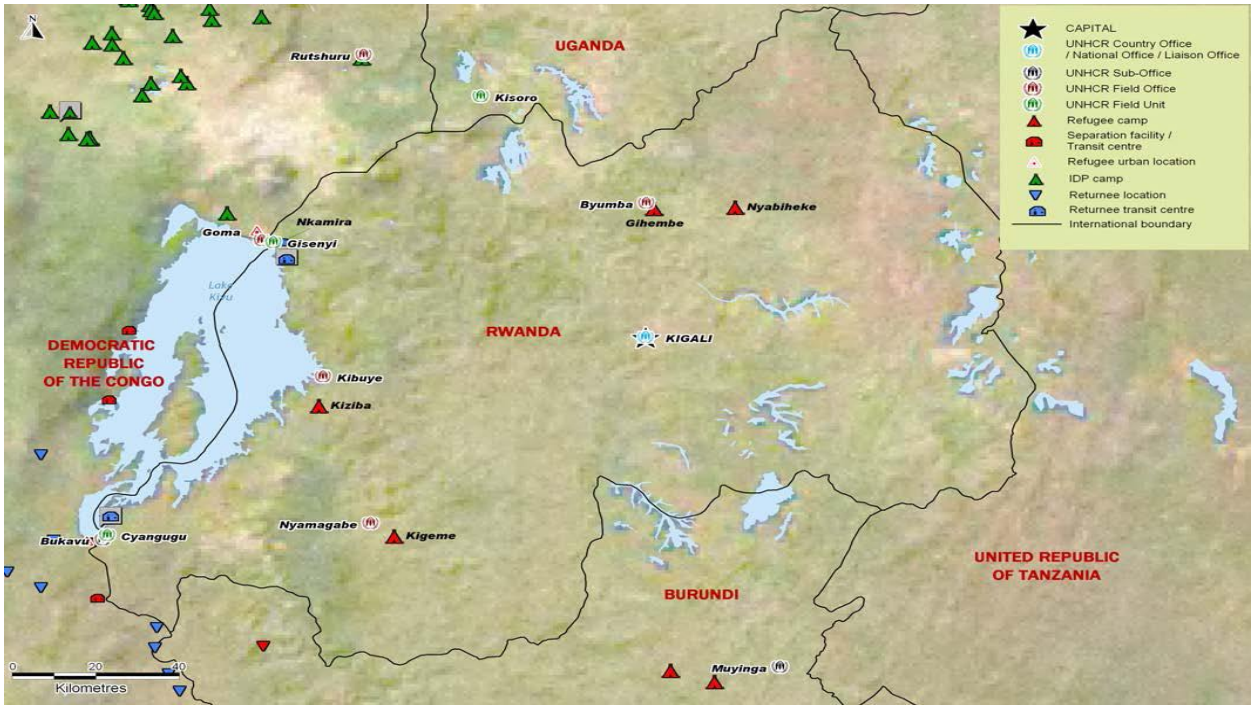
Although the methodology is largely qualitative in nature, recognising the advantages of a mixed methods approach, the research also collected quantitative data regarding participants' ranking of various risks and the pathways of response.

Site selection and descriptions

Two of the four refugee camps (plus a transit centre) in Rwanda were chosen as research sites – Gihembe and Kiziba Camps. The local research coordinators in consultation with AVSI and UNHCR selected these camps, because they are the biggest and longest established and provide a good representation of the camp-based refugee population in Rwanda. Within each camp, research focussed on two specific *quartiers:* one *quartier* perceived by international agencies to have relatively stronger community support and a safer environment for children, and one *quartier* perceived by international agencies to be more insecure and to have more perceived child protection risks. The research team decided to focus the research on contrasting *quartiers* in order to identify any differences in harms and community-based responses in the different areas within the camps in order to help service providers to focus and tailor their support better at the intra-camp level.

Because of the limited research period and also the nature of ethnographic research, which aims to gather rich, nuanced data, it was preferable to ensure that the teams had enough time to investigate one quartier deeply, with the idea that a smaller amount of data collected in the second *quartier* could provide interesting contrasting information.

Map of Rwanda showing the location of refugee camps



Source: UNHCR

Structure and Organisation

The Gihembe and Kiziba Refugee Camps are managed by the Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugees (MIDIMAR), the Rwandan government's authority on matters involving refugees, in coordination with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the lead international agency charged with supporting refugee aid efforts.

At the community level, camp committees are the administrative body; committee members are elected by community members and liaise with national and international level partners as the primary representative of refugee concerns. Camp committees are composed of seven members from the community including President (or Chief), Vice President (or Vice-Chief), Secretary, and members in charge of Gender, Education, Youth, and Security). Committees exist at camp (executive) level, at *quartier* level and at village level.

Other key organisations and structures in the camps include:

United Nations Agencies:

- UNHCR: Works with the Government of Rwanda and several international NGOs. It collaborates with WFP to provide food rations in the camps and transit

centres and with UNICEF on child protection. UNHCR Protection Officers work in the camps.
- World Food Programme (WFP): Provides food aid
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF): Supports child protection through implementing partner, *Associazione Volontari per il Servizio Internazionale (AVSI)*

International NGOs:
- Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA): Supports formal education at primary and secondary until the third year of secondary school for all children in both camps.
- American Refugee Council (ARC): Supports medical services, shelter and construction, water and sanitation, and environmental protection in both camps.
- African Humanitarian Agency (AHA): Distributes food and firewood at Gihembe Camp and supports medical services at Kiziba Camp.
- AVSI: Responsible for child protection monitoring and coordination in both camps; coordinates the community-based child protection committees.

Rwandan NGOs:
- *Association Rwandaise Pour La Defense Des Droits De L'Homme* (ARDHO): Provides support for legal aid

Rwanda Government Institutions:
- Police
- Immigration and migration,
- Courts,
-*Maison d'Accès à la Justice* (MAJ),[10]
- Health facilities,
- District and sector authorities.

Child protection committees:
The community child protection committees including *Nkundabana*, *Abaregerabana* and ECD (described below) were established in the camps by Save the Children, the international NGO previously in charge of overseeing child protection activities, and are now managed by AVSI. Following the addition by AVSI of *Ijwi ry'abana*, there are now four different structures all reporting to AVSI and participating in the camp Child Protection Forum. Each structure has a specific mandate:

- *Nkundabana* (I like children): Volunteers support children without appropriate parental care in the camp communities, for example children in foster care, child-headed households, and neglected and abandoned children. *Nkundabana* members are selected by children and foster families themselves and keep an eye on members of this particularly vulnerable group through mentoring and helping them to access the services available.

[10] The Rwandan government's main strategy for decentralizing justice is the establishment of a Maison d'Accès à la Justice (MAJ) in every district throughout the country. They are limited to only offering legal advice without actual representation in the criminal courts of Law.

- *Ishuri inshuti z'abana* (Early Childhood Development, ECD): A community initiative, supported by AVSI, aiming to prevent harms against young children by providing safe spaces where children aged 2-6 years old are cared for by community volunteers while their parents are working.

- *Ijwi ry'abana* (Voice of Children): A forum aiming to allow children to participate in decision-making. Forums at village, *quartier* and camp level involve six children, including marginalised groups such as disabled children. These forums aim to raise children's awareness of their rights, roles and responsibilities, ensure child participation in child abuse reporting, and represent and advocate for other children.

- *Abaregerabana* (Protect Children): Community volunteers (at least three in each *quartier*) who monitor children's rights enforcement and abuses and report cases to relevant structures in charge, including AVSI and the Child Protection Forum. A*baregerabana* members identify vulnerable children, investigate issues that can affect the wellbeing of children, such as the selling or 'renting' of ration meal cards. The aim is that children are able to report problems to *Abaregerabana* members in their neighbourhoods.

Gihembe Camp

Gihembe Camp was established in 1997 following an attack on refugees living at the spontaneously created Mudende Camp in Gisenyi, a town bordering the DRC, in Rwanda's Eastern Province. According to UNCHR statistics for June 2013, Gihembe Camp has around 3,019 inhabited houses and is home to a population of 14,538 refugees. Among these, 7,638 were children, including 3,828 girls and 3,810 boys (aged 0-17 years) representing 52.5% of the camp population.

GEOGRAPHY

Gihembe Camp is located near the Ugandan border in Northern Province, around 60km from the capital Kigali. Gihembe is located on a small hill on an area of around 270,000m2. The movement of refugees in and out of the camp is generally not restricted during the daytime. Gihembe Camp is located near Gicumbi town (formerly known as Byumba town[11]), which is the commercial and administrative centre of Gicumbi District. This proximity to the town provides economic opportunities and attractions which are not available within the camp and may facilitate some of the problems experienced by refugees, including prostitution, alcohol and drug use, and conflict with non-refugees.

Within the camp a main road from Gicumbi leads directly to the camp's centre, where small snack shops and mobile phone airtime vendors line the way. At the camp's entrance, members of the community (sometimes a small boy) tend to a rope which is lowered to allow vehicles passage into the camp. At the core of Gihembe lies a handful of large buildings, which form the primary link between refugees and the aid community. UNHCR's distribution centre is located here, as is the main community centre – a long building with a hall for large meetings and

[11] The names of many towns and districts in Rwanda have been recently changed, however many people still use the old names. Therefore, Gicumbi town, near Gisenyi, is sometimes referred to as 'Byumba'.

several adjacent rooms. The community centre is maintained by NGOs who host camp-wide events and meetings. NGO workers note the higher flow of vehicle traffic at the centre of camp is a source of problems because refugees are sometimes lured by the economic and social attractions that are only a short drive away from camp. "Caberets", or bars, where homebrewed sorghum beer is served are located near the camp's centre.

HOUSING

Gihembe is divided into twelve quartiers and 62 villages. Each village has between 75 and 80 families. (InfoAid, 2013) The camps are divided into densely packed "quartiers", each divided into villages, which include approximately 70-75 houses. Houses are constructed with wooden poles; the sides are covered with mud and the roof with plastic/metal sheeting. The hard-packed dirt ground becomes a muddy and slippery surface during rains. As much of the country goes through two lengthy rainy seasons, people in the camps must sometimes navigate through difficult terrain. Depending on location on the hill, homes may be either precariously perched on steep terrain or on relatively level surface. This difference may impact safety as well as ability to cultivate small family gardens, as steep terrain is both difficult to navigate on and difficult to farm.

EDUCATION

Gihembe Refugee Camp has the following educational structures:

- 10 ECD centres: the initiative of refugees, supported by AVSI
- 1 primary school: supported by ADRA
- 1 secondary school: (secondary levels 1 to 3) supported by ADRA
- 1 secondary school: (secondary levels 4 to 6) founded and supported by Camp residents (called Hope School)

Table 1: Children registered in education, Gihembe Camp, July 2013

Level	Girls	Boys	Total	Observation
ECD	467	436	903	In the camp
Primary School	1894	2011	3905	In the camp
Lower Secondary School (senior 1-3	672	687	1359	In the camp
Upper Secondary School (senior 5 and 6) scholarship[12]	43	-	43	Outside the camp
Upper Secondary School (senior 4 -6) Hope School	86	160	246	In the camp
Total	**3,162**	**3,294**	**6,456**	

Source: ADRA, July 2013 (Primary and Secondary Education); AVSI, July 2013 (ECD and Hope School)

[12] Supported by ADRA through a donation from Howard Buffett, a private donor

In addition, children study outside the camp in various Rwandan public and private secondary schools, in particular those who are in the final years of secondary school. These children are not supported through the formal system, and are therefore not captured in the above data.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITES

Gihembe Camp is located 5 km from Gicumbi town. Although refugees rely mostly on aid, there are a few economic activities based on petty commerce. Within the camp, there are small shops, bars and restaurants, market stalls, and the production and sale of sorghum beer. Refugees sometimes sell parts of their food rations inside the camp and others buy them to sell in the markets outside of the camp. The refugees attend different markets found in Gicumbi such as the Gicumbi, Yaramba, Gaseke, and Rebero markets buying products for their own use, or for re-selling in the camp. There are some who are engaged in commercial activities such shoe repairs, carpentry and tailoring. A few refugees are employed within the camp as teachers, gardeners, and NGO staff.

Kiziba Camp

Kiziba Camp was established in December 1996 following the closure of Umubani Transit Camp near Gisenyi, in order to cope with the huge numbers of refugees arriving from eastern DRC. According to UNHCR statistics for June 2013, the population of Kiziba Camp is 16,337, including 8,416 children aged 0-17 years old (4,085 boys and 4,331 girls). Children make up over half of the Kiziba's population (51.5 %).

GEOGRAPHY

Kiziba Camp is located in a relatively isolated position, on a hill around 2000m above sea level and overlooking Lake Kivu. It is around 15 kilometres from Kibuye town, Karongi District, in Rwanda's Western Province. The camp sits on a slope and therefore rainy seasons complicate movement throughout camp with the main thoroughfare becoming extremely muddy and slippery. Otherwise Kiziba's climate is temperate like much of the rest of the country.

Kiziba Camp does not have the close proximity to a town that Gihembe has, and a trip to Kibuye takes approximately 30 minutes by vehicle. Public buses make daily trips to and from camp, but the cost of transportation is prohibitive to many refugees. Various buildings where refugees can go to for services provided by NGOs, flank the main road that runs through Kiziba Camp. These include for example, the health centre and the AVSI office. There are also small refugee-run restaurants, barber salons, and bars. Further into the camp there is a covered marketplace where camp residents sell fruits, vegetables and other goods such as leaf tobacco, soap, and miscellaneous items. It is common to see teenagers working as porters in the centre of the camp, normally hauling firewood or other heavy items on their wooden push scooters.

HOUSING

Kiziba Camp is divided in 10 *quartiers* and 54 villages. Each village has average of 75 families. (InfoAid, 2013) Houses are semi-permanent mud structures with

thin log frames. They are small homes with very little space for privacy. Some homes have sufficient outdoor space for small gardens and for wooden cages for raising small animals like rabbits, as was the case in some homes.[13]

EDUCATION:
Schools are located away from the centre of camp, toward the lower end of the hill. Children walk through the camp to school and often find themselves trudging through mud during the rainy season. In Kiziba Refugee Camp there are the following educational structures:

- 4 ECD centres: the initiative of refugees with the support of AVSI
- 1 Nursery school: supported by ADRA
- 3 Primary schools: supported by ADRA
- 1 Secondary school (secondary level 1-3): supported by ADRA

Table 2: Children registered in education, Kiziba Camp, July 2013

Level	Male	Female	Total	Observation
ECD	49	91	140	In the camp
Nursery school	408	319	727	In the camp
Primary school	1,944	1,984	3,928	In the camp
Lower secondary school (senior 1 to 3)	599	649	1,248	In the camp
Upper secondary school (senior 5 and 6) scholarships[14]	0	206	206	Outside the camp
Total	**2,951**	**3,158**	**6,109**	

Source: ADRA, July 2013 (Nursery, Primary and Secondary Education); AVSI, July 2013 (ECD)

As with Gihembe Camp, in addition to those recorded in the data above, children study outside the camp in various Rwandan public and private secondary schools, in particular those who are in the final years of secondary school. These children are not supported through the formal system, and are therefore not captured in the table above.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITES
The Kiziba Camp is located around 15 km from Kibuye town. Within the camp there are small shops, bars and restaurants and small-scale production and sale of sorghum beer from houses. There is a large market where you can find basic products, used by both refugees and locals from outside the camp. The refugees also buy and sell goods in the Mubuga, Bwishyura and Rubengera markets in Karongi District. In the camp there is an association called *Mawenderewo* ,which buys and re-sells rations and brings good from outside the camp to resell within the camp. This association also runs a taxi bus service from Kiziba to Kibuye town. There are also *'tontine'* associations in which people pool their savings on

[13] The kitchen garden and rabbits are provided part of NGO initiatives.
[14] Supported by ADRA through a donation from Howard Buffett, a private donor

a weekly or monthly basis and take turns distributing the funds to individual members. As in Gihembe, some people work in income-generating activities such shoe repairs, carpentry and tailoring. Some have paid work in the camp as teachers, gardeners, and NGO staff.

In addition, AHA provides vegetables and livestock to supplement the diets of families. 281 households have vegetable kitchen gardens and 133 households have small rabbits. The primary beneficiaries are families with children under 5 years

Study Population and Participants

The study population included adult men and women, young men and women (aged between 12 and 20 years old) and young children (aged between 7-10 years old). In addition, key stakeholders in child protection in the camps were interviewed including staff from UN agencies, International NGOs, Rwandan Government institutions, camp authorities, child protection committees, school staff and religious leaders. In total, 278 people participated in the research through 22 group discussions (GD), 74 in-depth interviews (IDI) and 37 key informant interviews (KII). In addition, approx 140 young children took part in the body mapping exercise.[15]

In some cases the research team benefitted from the assistance of *quartier* chiefs and village chiefs to schedule individual interviews and group discussions, at times that were convenient to respondents who were available and willing to participate. Efforts were made to include a range of people representing the camp population including potentially marginalised groups such as disabled people, young mothers and child heads of households.

The research was conducted in two *quartiers* in each camp. With the advice of AVSI Rwanda focal points the lead researchers identified one *quartier* which was perceived to have a higher proportion of problems affecting children and a second *quartier* that was perceived to be better than average with regard to problems in the camp.

Research Team and Organisation

A research team of Rwandan data collectors was recruited by AVSI prior to commencing training on research methods. Lead researchers initially conceived of the data collection being done by two small teams of data collectors composed of one team leader on each team who would oversee their respective team of researchers. All researchers were originally expected to conduct data collection during the day and then translate their audio recordings from Kinyarwanda to English every evening. However, the limitations in the level of English language competence of most researchers was apparent early during training, and the original plan was modified to include full-time translators who would transcribe audio recordings as data collectors returned from the field with data.

At the national level, a research coordinator and assistant research coordinator oversaw the team of researchers, managed the distribution of work, ensured the

[15] This is estimated on an average of seven children participating in each Body Mapping exercise.

quality of data collected and ensured adherence to professional and ethical guidelines. One team leader in each camp oversaw the data collection and translation/transcription work. Further, the team leaders also took lead responsibility for conducting key informant interviews and liaising with camp leadership. Researchers stayed outside the camps in the evenings, as per the camp management security rules, and journeyed into the camps each day to lead interviews and group discussions. The audio recordings of these interview and discussions were delivered to translators at the end of each workday. Upon completion, transcripts were delivered to the national research coordinator for review and submission to the lead international research consultant.

The makeup of the respective teams of researchers in each camp were as follows:

Gihembe Camp: 1 Team Leader (male); 3 Researchers (2 males, 1 female); and 1 Translator (female)

Kiziba Camp: 1 Team Leader (male); 4 Researchers (3 males, 1 female); and 2 Translators (2 males)

Due to the odd number of full-time translators and data collectors, it was determined that the team with more data collectors should also have an extra translator to assist with the larger workload. As needs arose during data collection, and as individual strengths and limitations within the teams became apparent, roles were shifted to accommodate the needs of the research. For example, data collectors were sometimes tasked with assisting with translations when needed. Also, because there were fewer women than men on the team, the assistant research coordinator sometimes undertook interviews, and group discussions in order to ensure women's experiences were properly included.

Research Tools and Questions

During training the lead international researchers worked with local researchers to adapt research tools already developed for similar research in other settings. The lead research advisor shared lessons from past experiences of using the tools in distinct and challenging environments to help participants shape the tools for use in Rwanda's refugee camp context. Many of the field researchers also brought their past experiences working in Rwanda's refugee camps, which helped greatly in adapting the research tools, in particular in suggesting approaches to formulating the language of key research questions in interviews and group discussions.

Ethnographic methods, which are largely qualitative in nature, were used to map community-based child protection mechanisms. Using a collection of questions designed to explore community understandings of child protection concerns and practices, researchers were able to lead interviews, group discussions, and body mappings to identify endogenous child protection mechanisms, prevalent harms, and pathways of grassroots response to common harms. In all cases the questions asked were open-ended and not read from a script so as to allow for

natural interactions and to allow for participants to touch on areas which the researcher may not have been aware of.

The following were the main tools of data collection:

- In-Depth Interviews (IDI): One-on-one interviews conducted with male and female teenage and adult participants. The interviews were designed to probe people's understanding of children, threats to children's well-being, how they perceive education as a protective mechanism, harm prevention, and community responses to threats to children.

- Key Informant Interviews (KII): One-on-one in-depth interviews conducted with important stakeholders and child protection workers from formal and informal sectors. Key stakeholders interviewed included: MIDIMAR, UNHCR, AVSI, AHA, ARC, teachers, parent's committees, child protection committees (including *Nkundabana*, ECDs, *Abarengerabana*, and *Ijwi ry'abana*), camp committee structures, police and religious leaders. The interviews were designed to learn about the informants' views of child protection threats and linkages between these threats and schools, as well as linkages between community-based child protection mechanisms and formal mechanisms.

- Group Discussions (GD): Researcher facilitated discussions of approximately 90 minutes with 7-10 participants in homogeneous groups of adult males, adult females, teenage males, or teenage females[16]. Group discussions were composed of two parts. During the first part, participants free-listed harms to children, then identified by vote the three most serious or frequent harms affecting children; during the second part, researchers guided participants in outlining functional response pathways to each of the three main harms.

- Body Mappings (BM): Using a large stencilled outline of a child, researchers engaged children with questions designed to learn about their perspectives. For example, after colouring the drawn figure and naming it, the children were asked questions such as "What do the eyes see that they like?" and "What do the eyes see that they don't like?" This questioning was repeated for the ears, mouth, hands, etc.

It was fundamental that the key research questions were properly translated into Kinyarwanda to ensure that both researchers and research participants understood the questions and provided information, which would be useful in achieving a deep understanding of community-based child protection mechanisms.

[16] Teenaged males and females are referred to as 'young men' and 'young women' in quotes from interviews and group discussions used in this report.

NOTE: Please see Annex 1 for details about the training and capacity building of the research team, data collection and workplan, and data capture and recording.

CBCPM: REFUGEES IN RWANDA

KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How do local people understand:

1. What are girls' and boys' normal activities, roles, and responsibilities?
2. What role is education perceived to play in children's development and protection?
3. What are the main child protection risks or sources of harm to children? Are these the same for in-school and out-of-school children?
4. What processes or mechanisms are used by families or communities to support children who have been affected by various protection threats?
5. What steps do {families, communities, schools} take to prevent or avoid these harms from happening to children?
6. What processes or mechanisms are used by families or communities to support out-of-school children? What are the outcomes of those mechanisms, and how satisfactory are the outcomes in the eyes of different stakeholders?
7. How do child protection risks vary by gender and age?
8. To whom do girls or boys turn to for help when protection threat X arises? Who are the natural helpers and what networks do they have? Are these natural helpers and networks linked to the education system?
9. What are the endogenous, 'traditional' mechanisms of protection and how are they regarded by different groups? Apart from endogenous mechanisms, what groups or structures (e.g., Child Protection Committees or community based child protection mechanisms facilitated by NGOs) exist in communities and/ or refugee camps?
10. What do communities do to promote school enrolment? Are CBCPMs actively involved in supporting or advocating for children's access to school? Are CBCPMs actively involved in supporting or advocating for safer schools?
11. Who has or does not have access to existing protection mechanisms (e.g., do refugees have access to the same mechanisms as their host populations)?
12. Who has or does not have access to education (e.g. do refugees have access to the same mechanisms as their host populations)
13. Are there benefits of education to the protection of children? If so, what are they? What are the linkages of community mechanisms with the formal elements of the child protection system? How do communities perceive formal mechanisms and structures and do they use them? If not, why not?

Data analysis

The international researcher, Imogen Prickett, conducted the main data analysis using a methodology based on grounded theory(Charmaz, 2004) and inductive analysis.(Johnson & Christensen, 2004) In a rigorous process, the lead researcher read and re-read the whole data set until natural categories (e.g. types of child protection risks), patterns (e.g. the pathways of response to certain risks) and interrelationships (e.g. the links between education and child protection) emerged within the data. The common categories and patterns were defined inductively, that is, by observing them at whatever levels they appeared. These were cross-checked with the local research coordinators to ensure common understandings of the data and revised as necessary. During the entire data analysis process, the local research coordinator and assistant coordinator were consulted to obtain information, to check if categorisations were fitting and to discuss the key research findings.

Challenges and Limitations

The team experienced some challenges during the data collection phase, which limited the quality of the data to some extent.

Ethnographies by nature reveal more over time and a rapid ethnography has inherent limitations concerning the kinds of information that interlocutors are willing to reveal to researchers in a relatively short period.

None of the local researcher team had previous experience in using the data collection tools that were used in this research. Some of the skills needed for ethnographic style research can take a lot of time and practice to master properly, such as attentive listening and asking probing questions in interviews and managing group discussions. The two-week training and capacity building period was not sufficient to ensure that researchers had become proficient and confident in the research methodology. Ongoing mentoring over the course of the study served to mitigate this limitation to some degree.

Due to the limited capacity of most of the local researchers in the English language, additional team members were recruited solely for the purposes of translating and transcribing audio recordings from Kinyarwanda into English. Despite the extra team members, the data transcribing process was still slow, which meant that the team did not manage to complete the number of interviews and group discussions originally planned.

It proved difficult to recruit skilled local female researchers, partly because the fieldwork meant spending significant periods away from home. As a result the team included only three women (including two field researchers and the assistant research coordinator). As a result, the team completed less in-depth interviews and group discussions with women and accordingly the depth of the data set for women was perhaps not as rich as the data set for men.

Finally, the inability to stay in the camps overnight for security reasons also limited the research team's capacity to observe daily life outside of "working hours" from 9am to 5pm.

KEY FINDINGS

Childhood

Respondents were asked in group discussions and in-depth interviews about how they perceived a child. Researchers avoided framing this question in terms of age and instead asked 'who is a child'? The different activities of boys and girls were also explored.

Who is a child?

When asked 'who is a child?' many participants responded with a variety of age-related classifications including:

From birth to 4
1 to 15 or 16 years old
1 to 18 years old
1 to 20 years old
1 to 30 years old

If answering in terms of chronological age, it was most frequently reported that a child was under the age of 18, in line with the Western-style definition, and this was true across men, women, adults and youth. However, a child was more widely defined in both camps, in terms of their level of dependence, ability to make their own decisions, and roles and responsibilities, which were not necessarily age-bound. Someone who was dependent was seen as still relying on their parents or caregivers for their survival and wellbeing.

> *Only educated people know who is a child. For us we only raise them to grow up well and accomplish their tasks or duties.*
> (Adult woman, Kiziba)

> *A child is a person who has to be taken care of by their parents, especially when they have the financial means. A child is a non grown-up person depending on their parents* [for things such as] *teaching, feeding and dressing him or herself.* (Young man, Gihembe)

> *From when he is born to the age of 20, a child can't make decisions about his own life. However, someone may reach the age of 30 before taking any decisions about his life. Depending on the place where he was raised, he may also be called a child. But in general a child is anyone who is not able to make decisions. All those children I have mentioned are in different categories: there are babies, teenagers and others*. (Adult man, Kiziba)

> *A child is person who can't make his or her own decisions. They need their parent's advice*. (Young woman, Gihembe)

The importance of roles and responsibilities was illustrated by the fact that many community members saw childhood as ending when a person was married or

had finished school. The legal age of consent to be married in Rwanda is 21 years old[17], although it was not clear from the data collected in this research what the average age for marriage is in the refugee camps.

> *After marriage they are considered grown up. If a boy he becomes a man, if a girl she becomes a woman.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

> *R: A child is characterised by being young and needing others to provide everything for them.*
> *I: When is a child no longer called a child?*
> *R: When he or she is married, a child is no longer called so*. (Adult woman, Kiziba)

> *According to me, a child is someone who still depends on his or her parents for everything; someone who does not make their own income or who doesn't have his own roof to stay under. Even if they are 20 and are still not married, I think that person is still a child.* (Young woman, Gihembe)

While several respondents felt that a child became independent after they finished secondary school, this was not necessarily linked to a particular age. While most children completing secondary school (S6) are around 18-19 years old, an 18 year old could potentially still be in primary school, while a 17 year old could have completed secondary school; children 'finished' school at various ages.

> *I think a child has to be well cared for from birth until they are able to take care of themselves. Let's say you know when a child finishes high school he or she can become independent and take care of him or herself.* (Young woman, Gihembe)

Some respondents saw childhood ending at the point where a person has their own children, which could be as early as 12 or 13 years old[18].

It should be noted that for the purposes of analysis in this report, the category of children includes adolescents, even if sometimes the local definitions of 'childhood' would preclude this.

Different roles of boys and girls

Very young children were generally treated the same and all children were expected to go to school. However, when children reached the age of around seven or eight years old, girls started to help their parents with chores within the household and became more responsible at around 10 – 12 years old. Girl's tasks included cooking, cleaning, washing, collecting firewood and water, and looking after younger children.

[17] Rwandan law applies in the refugee camps.
[18] Respondents also noted that even when a person was seen as an adult in the wider community, they could still be seen as children by their parents.

R: Here in camps, we do not cultivate, so a girl has to cook, wash clothes, fetch water, clean the house and other things.
I: What does the boy do?
R: The boys here do nothing.
I: How so? When he wakes up what does he do?
R: He gets up, he takes a bath and eats when the food is ready and then he goes out. What else does he have to do?
I: Are all the boys in this camp like that?
R: He may find a small job but boys here don't do the housework. (Young woman, Kiziba)

I: What are the duties children have here within the camp?
R: Their work is to go to school, then after school, around 3pm, they go back home to fetch water and split wood or look for firewood.
I: Is the work the same for boys and girls?
R: No. Boys fetch water because it requires much more physical strength and girls wash dishes, sweep and clean, and also do the laundry for her young sisters and brothers. Boys fetch water and split firewood. (Young man, Gihembe)

Let me start with boys. Apart from going to school they don't do other hard work concerned with providing for families only fetching water and other normal physical work. Girls are more responsible for their families. If they live with their brothers somehow girls take orders from them; boys become like parents to girls. You know people like me who live within the quartier*, we sensitise them on gender and tell them how things are supposed to be according gender. Most of the time they say that they understood but we always get complaints.* (Nkundabana volunteer, Gihembe)

While generally respondents said that most tasks were the responsibility of girls and that boys could not share these tasks, some others reported that boys could do things like fetching water and splitting firewood, as they were stronger and more able to do so. Several respondents in Kiziba Camp said that there were no longer gender divisions in tasks; that in fact boys could take on the household jobs of cooking, cleaning and collecting firewood. The awareness of gender equity could be a result of sensitisation activities in the camps carried out by NGOs[19].

The boy should also help his mother, as there are no girls or boys tasks anymore. He can deal with fetching water, cooking as well; he can just do everything that the girl has been doing. The only exception for boys is that they cannot deal with firewood collection; it is difficult. However, he can carry out usual work related to fetching water, cooking, cleaning the house. (Adult woman, Kiziba)

[19] Although gender equity among children was only mentioned by respondents in Kiziba Camp, residents in Gihembe normally receive the same information. Due to the open-ended and participant-led nature of interviews, certain issues may have emerged among some respondents, but not with others.

R: We try to make sure that every child does the same work as each other.
I: You have been saying that you try. Is that to mean there are some who work more?
R: That depends on the age of the child. When a male child has an older sister and then starts to say whether this or that is not my work, then we direct children on how to help each other at home, because we listened to the news saying that all children must be treated alike and they should all work at their own level. (Adult man, Kiziba)

MAIN HARMS TO CHILDREN

During group discussions respondents took part in a participatory ranking exercise to name and rank the main 'harms to children' in their communities. Across both camps, the top four harms were clearly identified as being children out of school, delinquency, early pregnancy and prostitution. During the process of naming and ranking harms, facilitators took care to use the names participants had used themselves. However, where there is significant overlap among the issues, making separating them out very difficult, some harms have been grouped together for the purposes of this report. In the discussion below, the nature of each harm according to respondents and its effects or consequences will be discussed.

Respondents identified being out of school after secondary three (S3) as being of top concern. However, additional risks identified included children dropping out of school before S3 and younger children lacking early childhood education, therefore all these issues are included under the category 'out of school children'. The harms of 'delinquency', 'drugs and alcohol' and 'stealing' have also been grouped together under the theme 'delinquency' as respondents almost always talked about these issues in relation to each other.

Other lower ranked harms were identified as sexual abuse, malnutrition, abandoned or orphaned children, lack of accommodation space, lack of refugee registration, lack of entertainment, lack of health care, lack of freedom and lack of opportunities to develop talent.

Respondents in both camps identified the same main harms, however there were some harms which were only identified in a particular camp. For example, respondents in Kiziba group discussions with young men identified lack of freedom, lack of opportunities to develop talent, lack of entertainment and lack of refugee registration as top harms. In Gihembe, abandoned children or orphans and lack of healthcare were identified by specific groups.

Table 5: Top harms identified in group discussions by refugee camps.

Type of harm	Kiziba (N=13)	Gihembe (N=9)	Both camps (N=22)
Out of school children	62% (n=8)	56% (n=5)	59% (n=13)
Early pregnancy	31% (n=4)	67% (n=6)	45% (n=10)
Delinquency	31% (n=4)	67% (n=6)	45% (n=10)
Prostitution	46% (n=6)	33% (n=3)	41% (n=9)
Malnutrition	31% (n=4)	22% (n=2)	27% (n=6)
Lack of accommodation space	23% (n=3)	0	14% (n=3)
Lack of entertainment	15% (n=2)	0	9% (n=2)
Lack of freedom	8% (n=1)	0	5% (n=1)
Child sexual abuse	8% (n=1)	0	5% (n=1)
Abandoned children or orphans	0	11% (n=1)	5% (n=1)
Lack of health care	0	11% (n=1)	5% (n=1)
Lack of opportunities to develop talent	8% (n=1)	0	5% (n=1)
Lack of refugee registration	8% (n=1)	0	5% (n=1)

Note: The main harms to children as rated in the group discussions. Percentages refer to the percentage of all groups conducted in camp (including young women, young men, adult women, adult men) that ranked a particular item among the top three harms identified. The figures in parentheses refer to the absolute number of groups. The average number of participants in group discussions was 8.7.

If the data is examined according to the gender of discussion groups, there are a few interesting differences. For example, more women identified early pregnancy as a top harm (67%) than men (31%). As noted above, men also identified harms such as lack of freedom, lack of opportunities to develop talent, lack of entertainment and lack of refugee registration as top harms. Lack of accommodation space was also rated as a top harm by men (23%), and not at all by women.

Table 6: Top harms identified in group discussions by gender

Type of harm	Women (N=9)	Men (N=13)	Total (N=22)
Out of school children	44% (n=4)	69% (n=9)	59% (n=13)
Early pregnancy	67% (n=6)	31% (n=4)	45% (n=10)
Delinquency	44% (n=4)	46% (n=6)	45% (n=10)
Prostitution	44% (n=4)	38% (n=5)	41% (n=9)
Malnutrition	22% (n=2)	31% (n=4)	27% (n=6)
Lack of accommodation space	0	23% (n=3)	14% (n=3)
Lack of entertainment	0	15% (n=2)	9% (n=2)
Lack of freedom	0	8% (n=1)	5% (n=1)
Child sexual abuse	11% (n=1)	0	5% (n=1)
Abandoned children or orphans	11% (n=1)	0	5% (n=1)
Lack of health care	11% (n=1)	0	5% (n=1)
Lack of opportunities to develop talent	0	8% (n=1)	5% (n=1)
Lack of access to registration	0	8% (n=1)	5% (n=1)

Note: The top three harms to children as rated in the group discussions on harms. The percentages refer to the percentage of all groups conducted for women and men that ranked a particular item among harms identified. The figures in parentheses refer to the absolute number of groups. The mean of participants of all groups is 8.7.

Out of School Children

Respondents very clearly identified children being out of school after S3, as the most significant harm to children in the two refugee camps studied. Access to school in the refugee camps is free and compulsory starting with six years of primary school, and then the first three years of secondary school. This is funded by UNHCR and is in line with the Rwandan Ministry of Education policy of Nine Years of Basic Education. 'Nine Year Basic Education' is nine years of free compulsory education for all Rwandan school children. It consists of six years of primary education and the first three years of secondary school (*Tronc Commun).* It is defined as: "All children to be able to get education in nine years, this is made up of six years of primary education and three years of general cycle of secondary education without paying school fees." (Rwanda Ministry of Education (MINEDUC), 2008) Children start primary school at the age of seven. After the first three years of secondary school (a period referred to as *Tronc*

Commun) free education finishes, meaning that for many refugee children there is no choice but to drop out of school, at around an average age of 16 years old, as their parents cannot afford the fees to allow them to continue.

> *We've got a primary school and primary is six years as you know according to the Rwandan programme and we've got secondary school where they study until third year. That's where our education finishes. The reason it's like that, or we don't carry on until the last year of secondary school, is that ADRA is an international NGO but a stakeholder of UNHCR therefore we've got a contract with them. According to UNHCR's plan, they help education depending on which country they are in, emphasising basic education. The basic education in Rwanda is now up to nine years, but before that, UNHCR only helped in primary school level. Now it's limiting itself to third year high school because in Rwanda there is* [a policy of] *Nine Years Basic Education, which they are proposing to become twelve, but until today the legal level is nine years. This is why UNHCR supports nine years of education.* (ADRA staff member, Gihembe)

Lack of schooling after secondary three (S3)

Dropping out of school at S3 because of the inability to pay school fees, posed serious risks for teenagers, leaving them vulnerable to many of the other main harms identified, namely prostitution and early pregnancy for girls, and delinquency and drug and alcohol abuse for boys.

> *We have plenty of problems, but the most distressing problem here is that children are schooled but when they complete senior three, support is no longer provided. The child drops out of school even if she was very willing because the parents cannot pay; this briefly is the most worrying problem. (*Adult man, Kiziba)

> *For children who complete senior three, if the parent is unable to cater for their school fees, the child falls in delinquency or becomes pregnant. This causes harms to children.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

> *Girls get pregnant at an early age. They get pregnant before they are 16 years and that's because they are not at school, because when a child is at school the harms that he or she faces are reduced. Boys go on the street and wander everywhere; there is nothing to do and no entertainment.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

Respondents reported that when children were in school they were protected and safe, but when they were out of school parents could no longer protect or control them. Children attending school were kept occupied all day long and did not have time to be idle or get into trouble.

> *Schooling is of great use in this camp. When a child is going to school, he or she becomes smarter, and the delinquency trend is alleviated since there is occupation. They go to school, go back home for lunch and go back home*

again in the evening at 4pm, so you see it is almost night. Schooling is life. (Group discussion of adult women, Kiziba)

When children are at school you may be able to control them, but it may be impossible to do so when they don't go to school. (Adult man, Kiziba)

We try to sensitise them on the benefits of school, because …schooling is like a shield against troubles. If the child agrees, and goes to school, you feel relaxed and assume that teachers will follow-up, and they will not get into trouble. (Adult man, Kiziba)

As well as preventing children getting into trouble, getting an education was perceived to give children and their families better economic prospects and hope for the future.

They have hopes like, "If I continue with my studies, God willing, I might have a better life with my future family." (Adult woman, Kiziba)

When a child is schooled, they are well mannered. What is more, with schooling they can sustain their parents and themselves as well. (Group discussion of adult women, Kiziba)

Education is very necessary for our children, it occupies our children so that they can't wander everywhere and get into trouble. Another thing is that they gain the knowledge, which can help them to construct their future. (Adult woman, Gihembe)

Along with a formal education, at school children learnt about their rights, good behaviour and life-skills too.

Education at school allows a child to know his or her rights and to plan for his or her future. (Young man, Kiziba)

Schools play a big role. Teachers in general give children moral lessons and teach them their rights. Teachers also tell them how to proceed if they are abused. I mean how they can get help. Teachers sensitise children on how to behave to avoid abuses. (Adult woman, Gihembe)

A few adult women noted that children now had the educational opportunities that they did not have when they were young. In previous generations, it was reported that parents were often not interested in sending girls to school. Culture dictated that when a girl was married, she would become part of her husband's family. Therefore, any increase in income or status she achieved as a result of her education would only benefit her husband's family. As sons would be responsible for caring for their parents in later life, boy's education was seen to be a better investment. Sons were expected to follow in their father's footsteps and inherit the family land. Many refugees come from pastoralist cultures, but no longer had farms or livestock to pass on to their children. The

loss of traditional livelihoods and cultural systems of inheritance gave an added importance to education.

> *I think that education is very important for our children in different ways. For example, us women when we were young our parents were not happy to let us go to school, because they were afraid that when we became someone we would help our new family. So they wanted us to cook and help our mothers in household tasks. What we want to give to our children is what we didn't get in our childhood.* (Adult woman, Gihembe)

> *If you look at all of my generation, you can see that only few have been at school, not because our parents weren't able to pay school fees for us but because their ideology was that when you let a young girl be educated she will not help you, she will help her husband and her family-in-law. Our parents were really rich, they were farmers with 100 cows, so their ideology was that a son has to follow his father, become a father like him, and a daughter should do what her mother did. That's why we are illiterate. So we want better for our children than what we have.* (Adult woman, Gihembe)

> *Children study and when they complete senior three, UNHCR and other organisations that support education in the camp declare that support is over. For instance, a female child drops out of school, while parents have nothing, neither a piece of land nor anything to sell to raise money for schooling their child for a better future. We all know that education is the only one legacy that a parent can provide to their child. We are not at home where we have land or assets that they can inherit from us. Therefore, when there is no longer schooling, life is stationary. A boy or girl who reaches senior three, if they stop without a piece of land for them to farm, without any support, they become worried and can fall into mischievous habits.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

The fact that parents could not support children to continue education after S3 caused conflict between parents and children.

> *When the child doesn't go to school, parents may have troubles with him or her because there are some of the child's activities that may not please the parents. That results in conflict*. (Group discussion with young men, Kiziba)

> *People here cannot pay for their schooling outside… as their only resource is food if they have no other supportive family. These children are always at odds with their mothers, blaming them for their incapacity to pay for school. Consequently, parents are seen as useless to them….When they are not going to school, there is always pressure on parents. They keep on asking why they are not at school while other children go to school. The parents blame poverty and explain that they are not happy with the situation either. But children never understand their parents' poverty.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

When a child leaves school, not because they are not able but because you can't pay their school fees, you are not respectable in front them as a father or mother. (Adult man, Gihembe)

Here in the camp, unless you have someone in your family that may help you to pay the school for fees for your children, there may be nothing you can do. That is where the most violence is coming from. Some of them are on the street although they are intelligent; they don't have anyone to help them. Problems start in the family. (Adult man, Kiziba)

Education finishing at S3 had different consequences for boys and girls. For boys, delinquency and drug and alcohol abuse were the main issues.

R: For boys, we mentioned living in tiny house, a one-room house, and this leads to misunderstanding. When he reaches senior three and has no way to pay school fees to continue, he feels unhappy. He then quarrels with those he lives with.
I: What happens to him next?
R: He leaves the house once for all.
I: Where does he go?
R: He leaves and people do not know his whereabouts; others get into various troubles. (Adult woman, Kiziba)

R1: Our scholarship goes to the third year of secondary school, so when your parents are not able pay the senior session for you, you stay home or others become delinquent.
I: So for boys what happens?
R2: They get involved in drugs or become professional thieves and they put them in jail. (Group discussion with young women, Gihembe)

When the child finds that parents are not able to pay school fees, the child starts to be delinquent. He will use drugs like marijuana, and take part in other bad behaviours because there is no possibility to continue studies. (Group discussion with young men, Kiziba)

Girls were more likely to be drawn into engaging in transactional sex within or outside the camp. Respondents reported that if girls left school at S3, they were more vulnerable to sexual abuse and prostitution, early pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections.

You see we've got a very huge problem in this camp. When children have got nothing to do in this camp, you know outside children cultivate and do other things, but here if they don't have something to do they come up with weird things … girls become uncontrollable and prostitutes. They do some bad things due to the bad conditions they are living in. Girls seek Shuga Dadis[20] who abuse and pay them. (Adult woman, Gihembe)

[20] The terms 'Shuga Dadi' and 'Shuga Mami' refer to older men or women who seek out often-vulnerable young women or men and give them money and gifts in return for sex. According to the Rwanda Ministry of Youth, the practice is prevalent in Rwanda. IRIN News. (2013). *Sugar*

> *After the child drops out school, she falls into sexual intercourse and prostitution. She disappears from the camp and goes to Kigali for prostitution. We as parents, we feel very miserable with the fact that children start prostitution because they can't attend school anymore.* (Group discussion with adult women, Kiziba)

A few participants also mentioned that girls looking for 'sponsorship' to continue their studies after S3 were vulnerable to sexual exploitation.

> *Once they meet somebody with good or bad intentions proposing to pay the remaining years of high school for them, they won't think twice, they accept.* (Adult woman, Gihembe)

Dropping out of school

Children also dropped out of school because of reasons other than the ending of free education at S3 level. It was reported that children dropped out in both primary and secondary school, mainly due to factors of poverty or neglect.

> *Can you go to school without wearing shoes? There is sometimes poverty beyond the imagination in the family. There is no way you can go to school without shoes.* (Young woman, Kiziba)

> *Due to poverty children drop out of school on their own will and become street wanderers among whom you have been hearing about in the time you have spent here, like the Thirsty Rastas[21]. Some seek temporary jobs and others are selling MTN airtime[22] and so on due to poverty. When we try to reason with these children and try putting them on the right track they refuse. When you tell their parents they say that they also gave up because their children became uncontrollable.* (President of the parents committee, Gihembe)

> *Children sometimes feel full of complexes and then ask their mothers about how they are seen by others when they lack shoes or body lotion. So they drop out of school just as result of inferiority complexes. Parents keep on urging them to cope with the situation. For instance, my son repeated a year at school just because he lacked good shoes; I was urging him to go back but he insisted and said he was worried about the way he was looked down on by schoolmates.* (Group discussion with adult women, Kiziba)

Young children not accessing education

In both Gihembe and Kiziba Camps, Early Childhood Development (ECD) centres run by volunteers from within the camp and supported by AVSI, provide care for children aged three to four years old in Kiziba and three to six years old in

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Daddies and Mummies have bitter consequences. Retrieved 2013 12-June from IRIN News: http://www.irinnews.org/report/85113/rwanda-sugar-daddies-and-mummies-have-bitter-consequences

[21] The term 'Thirsty Rastas' refers to children or groups of children involved in stealing, beatings, drugs and alcohol. This concept will be discussed in more detail below.

[22] Mobile phone credit

Gihembe. At Gihembe Camp, the access is free of charge while at Kiziba the parents have to pay Rwf 200 each month. Besides the ECD centres, Kiziba also has a nursery school which is managed by parents and caters for children aged five and six years old; fees are Rwf 500 a month.

Respondents reported concern that younger children were not accessing ECD centres and nursery care because they could not afford the financial contribution required.

> *R: We cannot all afford this amount. My child is currently not enrolled because I cannot get 500 francs.*
> *I: Now that he is not in school, what does he do during the day?*
> *R: He wanders around. He is five years old now. Since I was unable to pay the 500 francs, he has stopped attending nursery. I'm waiting for him to turn six so that he may join primary one since in primary we do not pay school fees.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

> *R: Some children stay home because their parents can't afford it.*
> *I: What are the consequences for the little children who don't go to nursery school?*
> *R: They stay at home and live in bad conditions.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

One or two respondents also expressed their discontent at the quality of early childhood education, in particular with the perceived policy of hiring single mothers as carers.

> *Children between the ages of 3-5 years old have a daycare* [ECD] *centre, mostly in the churches within the camp. These children are being looked after at the daycare centres by ladies who have given birth out of wedlock. Many times we send children to these centres but after few minutes, they come back home saying they been told to return home since their carers won't turn up. These carers having given birth twice or three times out of wedlock are not responsible people, neither do they turn up to these centres on a daily basis. This should give you a picture of what kind of daycare is being run within the camp. They are appointed by Nkundabana despite parent's disapproval and discontent.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

According to AVSI, the volunteer carers in the ECD centres are selected based on their capacity to manage the ECD (reading, writing and personal integrity, etc). During community mobilisation activities on ECD, people are encouraged to propose members of the community to work as carers, and then the population chose them according to the criteria mention above.

Delinquency

Teenage delinquency was reported as a major source of concern in terms of both the harms to the children themselves as well as the impact on their families, camp security and their influence on other children in the community. The harms of drug and alcohol abuse and the lower ranked harm of stealing were all significantly interlinked with understandings of 'delinquency'. As discussed

above, it was widely reported that boys who were not in school, mainly because they could not continue after S3, became involved in anti-social behaviour or turned to drugs and alcohol to 'forget their problems'. Not being able to continue their studies left boys feeling helpless and frustrated, as well as bored with little to keep them occupied.

Delinquency, including drug and alcohol use, was identified primarily in relation to teenage boys, and girls to a much lesser extent. Respondents reported that delinquent children were engaged in drug and alcohol use, stealing, fighting, sexual abuse and other anti-social behaviours. It was explained that delinquent children would often spend much of their time on the streets. They were frequently described by respondents as 'street kids' or 'street wanderers'. Boys sometimes stayed together (at least for sleeping at night) in the same place referred to as a 'ghetto'.[23] It was said that girls who wandered the streets or stayed out overnight in ghettos were involved in prostitution (including transactional sex and consensual sex). Younger boys and girls were involved in stealing but less in the other delinquent behaviours.

Poverty and neglect

The main factors pushing children into delinquency were poverty, neglect or abuse at home. Respondents reported that children stole food from the market, houses and fields outside the camps; they also picked pockets, and mugged people for their bags and mobile phones on the streets. Children often resorted to stealing because they were hungry. This was frequently attributed to poverty or to the death of one or both parents. It was also linked to parental neglect, such as parents being drunkards, selling their rations to buy alcohol or not providing for their children.

> *I*: [What are the] *issues that can make a child feel insecure and unhappy?*
> *R: Death, like losing you parents and becoming an orphan. Or if you have drunk parents, they sell the ration they are supposed to take home and children get nothing to eat.*
> *I: Does it happen here?*
> *R: Yes, there are so many drunken people here.*
> *I: So in such cases how do children survive?*
> *R: By stealing sweet potatoes and other things from people in the fields.*
> *I: What's the main thing that pushes them to steal?*
> *R: Hunger issues.* (Group discussion with young women, Kiziba)

> [Delinquent behaviour] *is somehow in his character or he is born in the worst family and when he comes back from school and finds out that there is no food he goes out there and steals.* (Young woman, Kiziba)

[23] 'Ghettos' are small houses that are built for or by boys beside the main house of their parents, or secondary family shelters used by boys. In general, young boys don't like to sleep in same house with their parents, but prefer to stay alone when they can. In many cases parents don't have control over what their children do in these 'ghettos'.

Peer pressure

Respondents somewhat frequently blamed the influence of 'bad' friends for otherwise good children becoming involved in delinquent behaviours. The feeling they needed to have certain clothes and items was also seen to encourage children to steal.

> *As you know taking drugs is due to peer influences. When a child has bad companions they do the wrong things, but if he or she has good companions they do good things.* (Secondary school teacher, Kiziba)

> *Because we live close to one another, our children get bad and suspicious behaviours from their colleagues, like stealing or insulting people. It's somehow a challenge that we have here.* (Adult woman, Gihembe)

> *For young boys, when they need modern things, which cost a lot like trousers, shirts, t-shirts and shoes called 'Air Force' and they don't get it, they become very desperate. They think that their parents have refused to provide for them, so they become involved in delinquency. They take drugs, drink strong beer, move from home and go to stay with Shuga Mamis.* (Young woman, Gihembe)

Thirsty Rastas

Teenagers (mostly male) who intimidated the camp community in Gihembe with stealing, violence and drug and alcohol abuse were very often referred to as 'Thirsty Rastas' by respondents. Less frequently, respondents in Kiziba Camp called children involved in delinquent behaviour 'Rastas' or 'Niggers'.

> *Thirsty Rastas are delinquents. They take drugs and beer they even steal when they don't get to money to buy those things*. (Adult man, Gihembe)

The expression 'Thirsty Rastas' was applied to a particular gang in Gihembe Camp but also used along with the terms 'Rastas' and 'Niggers' to describe children or groups of children involved in stealing, beatings and drugs and alcohol in both camps.

> *I: Who is a Rasta?*
> *R1: As I heard a Rasta is someone who likes peace with everyone, but here in the camp for the children who dropped out of school they use the name Rasta in the wrong way, that is to mean people with bad behaviours, people who smoke marijuana and so on.*
> *R2: The name is just for one person according to what he does day after day.*
> *R3: It is a group of people that do the same things. Someone may start to smoke marijuana and then encourages others to smoke it. There will be a group of marijuana smokers so the group may be called Rasta.*
> (Group discussion with young men, Kiziba)

It was reported by respondents, including boys identifying themselves as former Thirsty Rastas, that the original group had largely disbanded as they had been

enrolled by NGOs in vocational training courses and this had helped them to change their behaviour.

> *R1: That group is like a group of children who rebelled against their parents. Some rebel due to their parent's financial incapacity saying that they can get what they want through strength. I am already strong, so I can afford this or that through stealing. Others join the crew so that they can smoke weed and drink a lot.*
> *I: Is that group still around?*
> *R2: Yes it's around and it's like it's undercover because some members went to different schools and the remaining ones it's like they lost they strength and their motivation.*
> *I: Can you tell me when the group was in its climax and when it started?*
> *R2: The Thirsty Rastas is a recent name but we used to hang around smoking weed, taking drugs and drinking without a name. Afterwards we had newcomers who used to do that and fight and beat people; they called them Thirsty Rastas due to the fact they have been drinking the whole day.* (Group discussion with former members of Thirsty Rastas, Gihembe)

A group discussion with former Thirsty Rastas revealed that most had dropped out of school early (many in primary school) due to various reasons including not having refugee registration papers, poverty, parental neglect or being orphaned. As well as former Thirsty Rastas being helped off the streets by NGOs, in was also reported that delinquent boys in Kiziba went back to school as a result of sensitisation efforts.

> *I: How are children encouraged to go to school?*
> *R: I only see camp authorities posting announcements like that. I see most of the time AVSI and our head teachers write announcements.*
> *I: What is the outcome of that? Do children like coming to school?*
> *R: This year many drug takers and drunken guys came back to school.*
> *I: Did they have gangs or crews?*
> *R: Yes*
> *I: What are their names?*
> *R: There are Rastas and Niggers.* (Young man, Kiziba)

Drug and Alcohol Abuse

Drug and alcohol abuse was a major concern for respondents from both camps. Drugs and alcohol reportedly used by children in the camps included:

- Cigarettes
- *'Trente Six Oiseaux'* (translated from French to mean 'Thirty-Six Birds', a mixture of drugs)
- Weed/Marijuana
- Ethanol
- Sorghum and Banana beer
- 'Gasusu' or 'Garagazoc' (strong beer)
- Prescription drugs

The researchers heard that boys were mostly associated with drug and alcohol abuse, with girls less frequently mentioned. Respondents reported that children used drugs and alcohol to feel good and forget their problems. Drug and alcohol use was very closely connected with other delinquent behaviours including living on the streets, stealing, fighting and the sexual abuse of younger children.

> *If you do not keep your phone secure, you may get it stolen and this is by underage children… He does not keep it to use, but sells it for sorghum beer - three cups of the brew.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

Fighting and violence

Delinquent boys were regarded as violent and reportedly fought each other or with others outside the camps. This was attributed to their general 'out of control' behaviour and lack of fear of elders or camp authorities. It was also linked to being drunk or high on drugs. It was said that boys beat people when they were mugging them or could attack teachers or family members if they felt disgruntled about something.

> [After S3] *boys become street kids. They spend their days walking around the streets and the countryside; they fight and beat each other. (*Young woman, Kiziba)

> *I: What is the bone of contention between children here* [inside the camp] *and local ones?*
> *R: Nothing but alcohol addiction. This fighting erupted when they were drinking and one native guy grabbed an empty bottle from a refugee boy and he responded with a spade strike on the native guy's head and fighting went on. Some were stabbed with knives in their backs; they were seriously wounded.* (Young woman, Kiziba)

Lack of activities and entertainment

Respondents in both camps reported that the absence of appropriate activities or entertainment for children and adolescents within the camp lead to bad behaviour. In Gihembe and Kiziba respondents reported that many children left the camp (sometimes stealing from their parents or skipping school to do so) in order to watch what parents considered to be violent or pornographic movies. Children would then replicate the behaviours they had seen.

> *Children steal money off their parents and go out to watch movies. They see guys fighting, having sex, and when they return they put in practice what they were watching*. (Adult male, Gihembe)

> *You see we've got a very huge problem in this camp when there is nothing for children to do. I mean there is nowhere to have fun. So they go outside to watch TV and they come across weird things like drugs, alcohol, weed. Girls become uncontrollable and prostitutes, even boys.* (Adult male, Gihembe)

> *R: Actually there are different things they may watch on video, like sex movies. Those videos and other activities that take place here in the camp are the reasons for their bad behaviour.*

I: What would you see as the consequences of those films?
R: You realise that the child has changed her behaviour and starts use street language. (Adult male, Kiziba)

In Kiziba, it was reported by young men that the lack of access to sports facilities concerned them as they felt that sport prevented them from becoming involved in delinquent behaviour, and helped them concentrate on schoolwork and solve issues between themselves.

R: Games occupy young people and then they feel comfortable. Games help young people to avoid drugs and other bad behaviours.
I: Do you really think that sport may help children avoid bad behaviours?
R: Yes, we do. Because when someone is playing sport or a game, he will not go to smoke or take part in any other bad activities. Games may also help the child to review notes from school properly. (Group discussion with young men, Kiziba)

I: What is the role of playing basketball?
R: It allows us to meet and discuss our matters after playing and see how we can resolve them. (Young man, Kiziba)

Young men also highlighted the lack of opportunities for children to 'develop their talents' which they reported caused feelings of frustration and hopelessness and lead to delinquency. This was also linked to their status as refugees and the restrictions of the camp setting. It was felt that as long as they lived within the camp they were constrained and stigmatised, while locals outside the camp had more opportunities and resources which could allow them to develop their potential.

Effects of Delinquency

Delinquent behaviour had many consequences within families and the wider camp communities. Families were often the first to be effected by their children's behaviour. Respondents explained that children stopped respecting their parents, stole from or even beat them and their delinquency was a source of worry and shame. For those at school when they started experimenting with drugs or stealing, they could spend more and more time on the streets, eventually dropping out of school.

It was reported that drug-taking and drinking alcohol was associated with sexual abuse and consequently the risks of early pregnancy and HIV for girls.

Thirsty Rastas, in the range of 15-20 years old, take drugs and alcohol and then they tell young girls, even grown up ones, to come visit them and sleep together otherwise "you see this knife? I'll kill you". (Adult man, Gihembe)

When [young boys] *have been drinking or smoking drugs, they misbehave and sexually abuse girls.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

At the community level delinquency caused insecurity in the camps and respondents were clearly intimidated by delinquent young men who 'weren't scared of anything'. It was also reported that camp security men were not able to keep control as they were too old and 'could not run after them'.

> *Most bad activities occur in the night, especially in bars. Some pick pockets, other steal phones, and there are also others who go and make barriers in the streets and get people who have money with them. They may even kill.* (Adult male, Gihembe)

> *Sometimes you can be walking at night with your cell phone and they can snatch it. When you want to complain they can beat you easily.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

> *R5: Boys get confused, lose their mind, get mad and do things that they are not responsible for.*
> *I: So what impact* [does the community] *face from those children?*
> *R2: When they take drugs those children become very dangerous. They fight, destroy things, injure people; they cause insecurity in the camp.* (Group discussion with young women, Gihembe)

Early Pregnancy

'Early', 'unwanted', 'illegitimate' or 'underage' pregnancy was considered a widespread phenomenon in both camps. Respondents saw early pregnancy as a grave risk for adolescent girls, carrying heavy consequences for her and her family. Respondents almost always linked early pregnancy specifically with pregnancy out of wedlock, whether the pregnancy was as the result of the rape of a young girl or from a consensual relationship between two teenagers. Girls were especially susceptible to early pregnancy once they had finished school (especially after S3) and/or if they had problems at home such as extreme poverty, neglect or abuse. Early pregnancy was strongly connected by respondents to prostitution, which is further discussed below.

Lack of activities

Early pregnancy was often seen as stemming from children engaging in sexual activity because of having nothing to do in the camp environment, being 'idle' and 'just wandering around.' This was closely associated with not being in school and particularly with school finishing at S3 level. School is widely perceived by respondents to protect girls from possible early pregnancy by keeping both boys and girls occupied.

> *Girls and boys are always together and then when they are unschooled, they can easily fall into sexual activities and sexual delinquency…for instance a 16-year-old boy can be in his own house*[24] *and imagine what happens if a girl pays a visit to him.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

> *The people who impregnate girls here in the camp are the young boys that have nothing to do. There is nothing to do here in the camp so they walk*

[24] Such as a 'ghetto', as described above.

together, and when a boy has got say 50 francs, then he offers [a girl] *a gum or anything - that's the way boys do it.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

It is interesting to note a perception among some respondents that girls had been selected for a programme providing scholarships to continue with secondary school after S3 outside Kiziba Camp on the basis of the gender-specific risks they faced, including early pregnancy.

> *Most of the NGOs come and pay school fees for girls only and not for boys, because this helps to avoid girls getting pregnant.* (Group discussion with young men, Kiziba)

> *I: For children who continue to study in different secondary schools in Rwanda, who pays for them and how are they selected?*
> *R: There was an individual, a missionary, who visited the camp and took the decision to help about 300 girls here after having listened to their problems. The programme will take end in 2015…because the programme pays until S6. The selection was focussing on the group at risk.* (MIDIMAR official, Kiziba)

Cultural changes due to protracted refugee situation

Respondents talked about the changes in family structure and community values, which were a direct result of living in the camp environment for so long. Many felt that over time, early pregnancy had become 'normal' in the camp context as it was so frequent, but that it was a shameful thing for their communities.

> *You can even see by yourself every family here has an illegitimate grandchild. (*Adult man, Kiziba)

> *In my view, here this behaviour is deeply rooted; everyone does so. No one cares anymore. When a girl gives birth there is nothing new; it is as if a mature woman has delivered.* (Young woman, Kiziba)

Some blamed early pregnancy on children's lack of respect for their parents and general bad behaviour. This was linked again to the breakdown of traditional family structures and relationships due to living and growing up in a protracted refugee situation.

> *Parents here in the camp are no longer respected. Even those who are newcomers, they find that behaviours here differ from outside ones because of the misconduct, rudeness and disrespect that negatively impacts on us. For instance when a young girl* [leaves] *the camp and arrives in Gisenyi or Kigali, she is often asked if she has given birth yet! "Which camp are you from?" "Kiziba". Because they know that Kiziba Camp has the highest number of single underage mothers. This has a very negative impact on us - we feel humiliated.* (Young woman, Kiziba)

Lack of appropriate accommodation

Numerous respondents reported that the lack of appropriate accommodation, and the 'ghetto' phenomenon in the camps contributed to girls falling pregnant.

> *You see here in the camp, there are families that have 7 to 8 children. Because the house is very small, sometimes they go to their neighbours to spend the night. So they sometimes meet boys there and have sex with them. So they can get pregnant.* (Group discussion with young women, Gihembe)

> *Most of them have sex with other children like them. For example, a girl may go to visit her cousin and then they sit together on bed because there is no chair or anywhere else to sit in the very small house and then they have sex there.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

> *The problem related to small houses is that when the family where you sleep has more children, they say that you have to leave. After your parents house you try to find another family. A child may find other houses where there are boys. This leads to early pregnancy.* (Group discussion with young men, Kiziba)

Drug and alcohol use

Drug and alcohol use was a factor in young girls falling pregnant both through boys and men getting drunk or high and then abusing girls or girls themselves taking drugs or drinking and being more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviour.

> *When a girl takes drugs, she loses control of herself. She feels high and does whatever the one who gave her drugs said, so I think she can get pregnant easily.* (Group discussion with young women, Gihembe)

> *I can't say that the boys and girls that are involved in the pregnancy are the same age, because there are also some adults that impregnate girls too. Here in the camp there is so much drugs and alcohol and for adults when they get drunk they don't know if this one is a little girl or not. Adults may drink for the whole day and then in the evening they start to search for girls*. (Adult man, Kiziba)

'Encouragement' by NGOs

Several respondents felt that support given by UNHCR and NGOs, such as AHA, to young mothers encouraged the phenomenon of early pregnancy as they were seen as being 'rewarded' for having babies. Although not widely reported, some respondents said that girls wanted to have babies in order to benefit from additional rations, and that families were happy to have the increased rations when a new baby arrived.

> *We are not sure of the reason but instead of leaving them to learn from their mistakes or helping us in counselling the girls, it is like they are encouraging them, especially when they are in the wrong. In essence they are taking them to AHA offices and giving them basins, clothes and umbrellas for having children out of wedlock. Why not call for only the*

children who have abstained and are well behaved, the ones who didn't give birth out of wedlock so they can be rewarded? Don't you think if this were the approach the ones who had children out of wedlock would feel ashamed and correct themselves? Don't you think these habits would stop? (Adult woman, Kiziba)

Parents may say that there is no problem because when the girl delivers, UNHCR adds a quantity of food to the family. Parents may feel bad when the child is pregnant but they feel like they are lucky when they get more food when their daughter gives birth. It is the habit here in the camp that no one cares about. (Young man, Kiziba)

It was also reported by a few respondents that giving birth out of wedlock meant a girl could set up a new home with the support of UNHCR within the camp after either returning from outside the camp or being forced out of her family home within the camp. It was said that once established in a home of their own, girls sometimes continued to engage in transactional sex in order to provide for themselves and their children.

R: Most of them do not have husbands; they only come back from towns when pregnant. They never live with the guy who fathered her child, where would she get the guy from? They return here after getting pregnant without the father.
I: Once she moves out of the family home, does she change her behaviour?
R: If she is the settling down type, then she will. Sometimes she will drop her habits and becomes a better child. But the other one, she will start living alone and in the end, all men become her husbands
I: Meaning men frequent her house?
R: Yes. (Adult woman, Kiziba)

Only one or two respondents reported that girls were using birth control to avoid pregnancy. Some respondents noted that taking the pill did not necessarily prevent pregnancy, as girls often did not use it correctly.

These days they take pills to prevent unplanned pregnancy, but this can't prevent HIV. They get infected with HIV and other infections. But there are some who even if they take pills, they get pregnant because they don't know how to take this medicine. (Adult woman, Gihembe)

Another issue that arose less frequently was that girls did not have adequate education on sex and their 'anatomy', and this lack of understanding of how their body worked and naivety also left them vulnerable to early pregnancy.

Consequences of early pregnancy

Whatever the reason, early pregnancy was seen a serious issue as the men or boys responsible frequently either denied their role, or were not willing or able to provide support to the girl and her baby. This left the responsibility to the girl's family putting pressure on already stretched family resources and accommodation. While it was reported that some girls were ostracised by their

families when they fell pregnant and some left home because of it, many respondents said that once the baby had been born, they were accepted and loved in the family. Early pregnancy caused girls to drop out of school to look after their babies. Among those who did not return to school, the lack of financial capacity and childcare issues were cited, however many respondents said that girls were encouraged to continue their education and were not treated any differently as young mothers if they did return to school.

Prostitution

In both camp communities prostitution was identified as a significant risk and concern, primarily for girls, and linked closely with the previous harm of early pregnancy. Girls engaged in transactional sex (referred to by respondents as prostitution) in return for money, school fees and items such as clothes, shoes, soap, body lotion, sanitary pads, food, milk and even a place to sleep for the night. Prostitution happened within the camps and also outside the camps in nearby Rwandan towns or the capital, Kigali. In some towns particular areas were cited as known places where girls from the camps engaged in prostitution. For example, Cyambati in Kibuye town, near Kiziba Camp, is an area well-known for its bars and sex workers.

Poverty

Prostitution was strongly associated with poverty. It was reported that families were not able to provide either basic needs and/or desired items for their children, leading girls to seek these things themselves.

> *You see sometimes girls need body lotion, shoes and other things so she is tempted with any person here within the camp who is providing those things.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

> *A girl needs to be taken care of more than a boy. You see girls need* [sanitary pads] *for their periods, they need body lotion and they need to dress well like others. If they don't get those things they cause insecurity at home and if they drop out from school they can get involved in prostitution*. (Young woman, Gihembe)

> *Now if teen girls are not getting soap for their laundry and lacking other things obviously they'll be sleeping all over in order to get them.* (Adult woman, Gihembe)

Although it was mostly reported that girls themselves made the decision to engage in transactional sex to get the things they could not get from their parents, it was less frequently reported that parents could also encourage their daughters to engage in prostitution in order to bring money into the family.

> *You may sometimes find parents who encourage their children to be in prostitution for the reason that they bring some money from the boys and men who sleep with them, and then the money is used for the benefit of the family. Yes the parent may not be bad, but they don't have any possibility to buy food, clothes or shoes and that's why they can't avoid the prostitution of their child.* (Group discussion with young men, Gihembe)

Working outside the camps

Many participants reported that when girls finished school after S3, they left the camp to go to nearby centres or the capital, Kigali. They looked for housemaid or babysitting jobs, where they would often end up being raped or sleeping with the husband or someone in the household. They also found 'Shuga Dadis' who would give them gifts and money in exchange for sex.

> *Children drop out of school when they get to S3. But they are still young, so because they stay here with nothing to do and they are at a difficult age they get tempted by outside boys who come here. We have some information showing that some of those girls go outside the camp and have sex with men for Rwf 500. …Another issue for girls who drop out of school in S3, is that they go and become housemaids…they often come back pregnant, sometimes raped by their employer or their colleague. We have many cases here of girls who go to search for jobs and come back pregnant.* (ARC staff member in charge of community services, Gihembe)

> *After S3 girls need lotion and they decide to go to Cyumbati for prostitution so they can earn money to buy clothes and lotion. Or girls go to town to be a housemaid; there are Shuga Dadis who have shops and they impregnate girls.* (Group discussion with young men, Kiziba)

> *You know teenagers need many things. They need modern things like clothes, body lotion, soap and so on. So when parents don't fulfil their needs it becomes a challenge in the family. When a parent doesn't get them those things, there are Shuga Mamis or Shuga Dadis who tempt children with money and ask them to have sex with them. (*Adult man, Gihembe)

In a similar way as with girls, it was also reported that boys could be exploited by Shuga Mamis. They went outside the camps and had sex with older women in exchange for food, clothes and someone to 'look after' them. The main harm associated with boys and prostitution was the risk of contracting HIV.

> *R2: A young boy can quit school, move from here, go outside* [the camp] *then meet a Shuga Mami. Then this Shuga Mami gives him money and asks him to stay with her so the boy stays there and becomes her husband. If she gives him whatever he desires, do you think that boy will return here?*
> *I: It happens here?*
> *All: Yes it happens often.*
> *R3: They infect them with HIV and this happen also to girls.* (Group discussion with adult women, Gihembe)

The organised sexual exploitation of children was an issue mentioned by a few people, although not raised as a major issue among respondents. It was reported that in Kiziba children were being trafficked to nearby towns for sex work.

> *Our children are moving out of the camp and are trafficked and sold like commodities. In this camp, children are traded; motorbikes are used to transport them from here to Cyumbati. They go and spend a whole week*

without us parents knowing where they are. [The traffickers] *are communicating with people from Kibuye town and they agree to organise any number of girls their contact in Kibuye town needs. This is when they will get picked up and taken to Kibuye town. This is common here. There was a time children aged 12 were taken by someone from here who would pay for their transportation to Kibuye. They were later discovered when they tried to sneak back in the camp. We found them getting off the motorbikes. They were unable to stand on their feet and complained of pain between their legs.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

HIV/AIDS

The risk of contracting HIV through prostitution was reported in both camps.

> *They even get infected with HIV/AIDS. When they go to towns, it is always the same: they either get pregnant or infected with HIV/AIDS. They meet someone who gives them petty things in exchange for sex and they give in.* (Adult woman, Gihembe)

> *Because of poverty girls go out to sell their bodies. I mean they become prostitutes in order to get money. In those cases they get HIV/AIDS.* (Adult man, Gihembe)

> *A big percentage of young girls in this camp get pregnant. Someone comes and gives them 500 francs and they become pregnant or get HIV/AIDS.* (Young woman, Kiziba)

HIV/AIDS was reported less as a risk than early pregnancy, which could be due to the fact that pregnancy was more physically obvious to others than HIV infection, therefore perceived as more of a risk. Some girls said that while they were very afraid of getting pregnant, they were not as worried about contracting HIV. This indicates the seriousness of the consequences of pregnancy out of wedlock for adolescent girls.

> [Girls] *are mostly prone to pregnancy. For HIV, it is known only by few of us; she can't disclose this and others are only aware when she becomes very sick. For pregnancy, they get pregnant and come back home and deliver there.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

Consequences of prostitution

Girls and boys involved in prostitution were a source of shame for family and community members and were often seen as 'lost causes'. The main risks reported to be associated with prostitution were pregnancy or contracting HIV, although physical violence was also seen as a risk for girls engaging in transactional sex. In one case a girl from Gihembe Camp was reportedly killed by a man from outside the camp who she was engaged in 'relationship' with. Prostitution was closely associated with either causing girls to drop out of school as they became more used to a different lifestyle and timetable which was not compatible with going to school, or as an activity that girls who out of school were more likely to engage in as they were more vulnerable to street influence and men looking to exploit girls.

Additional harms

Additional to the four main harms ranked by discussion groups it is useful to consider some of the other lower ranked harms including sexual abuse, malnutrition, abandoned or orphaned children, lack of accommodation space, lack of refugee registration and lack of entertainment.

Sexual Abuse

Sexual abuse and rape was reported as mostly affecting younger girls (up until around the age of 12 years old) with the perpetrators being both adult men and boys from within the community. A fairly common perception was that younger children were victims of sexual abuse, but sexual activity during the mid-late teenage years more likely to be classed as prostitution.

> *Many children here are abused. You can find a child of ten years old who is abused by a married man. Or a five year old who is abused a mature man, which also bothers us.* (Adult woman, Gihembe)

> *It is a sorrowful incident for a small child. The ones who are mostly sexually abused are very young children - three to six year olds. Like there was a three year old who was sexually abused and later taken to hospital in Kibuye for medical aid. The mother was agonized by what had happened to her child. The person responsible was never caught; an investigation was conducted but didn't yield anything. The child received medical attention, was treated and that was it. (*Adult woman, Kiziba)

There were various reasons cited for sexual abuse against children including drug and alcohol abuse.

> [Boys] *take drugs to calm themselves down and they lose their minds. They can sexually abuse anyone they meet. That's how it is.* (Young man, Kiziba)

> *Here sexual violence increases because of the drugs that boys take. Young boys of 20 years old take drugs and abuse girls of five, ten years old.* (Adult man, Gihembe)

The household chores assigned to girls such as fetching water and collecting firewood outside the camps left them vulnerable to rape and sexual abuse as well as beatings.

> *Another crucial problem is about firewood. In fact firewood is distributed to refugees, but people always have firewood in short supply before the next distribution is carried out. So children are sent to collect firewood in nearby wooded areas. Once they are there they may be hurt by the owners and parents are not aware of what happens to children there, unless smarter children make it known to parents.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

> *Sometimes the firewood finishes before its time to get more, so children go into our neighbour's forest to search for firewood. Then the owners beat them or rape them.* (Young woman, Gihembe)

Malnutrition and hunger

Malnutrition affecting very young children and general hunger among other children was linked to the general living situation of refugees, which was one of poverty and reliance on food rations. Although researchers tried to encourage focus group discussion participants to move beyond generalised poverty to specific issues of child and family welfare, the issues of malnutrition and hunger still frequently arose. Most parents' sole family income is in the form of the food rations they receive from UNHCR and these were reported to often be inadequate to feed whole households, as families stretched what they got to feed additional unregistered family members or sold parts of their rations to pay for other expenses including clothes and school fees.

> *Young children are suffering from various diseases like kwashiorkor and the mother cannot take care of him or her. This is due to the lack of food and when the child falls sick, they lack treatment. This is the problem stressing people here.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

Respondents reported that for school aged children, hunger was a problem preventing them from studying as they fell asleep at their desks or skipped school to look for food.

> *So for little children when there is no SOSOMA* [Soya, Sorghum, Maize] *for them, it's a problem because they go to school hungry.* (Adult man, Gihembe)

> *When the ration is finished, because it cannot last the whole month, due to hunger children don't go back to school and even if they do, they are always dozing in classes. When teachers realise that they are dozing they send them back home. Briefly that's what harms education at school.* (President of Parents Committee, Gihembe)

Abandoned or orphaned children

It was widely reported that abandoned or orphaned children were more vulnerable than those living with parents. Family members took some of these children in, but those without caregivers were extremely vulnerable to other harms including prostitution, dropping out of school and early pregnancy.

> *The first issue is children who don't have parents. Here in this camp we have orphans. For example, if I'm responsible for a family and I'm still a teenager, I'll tell my younger sister to drop out of school and look for a housemaid job so that she can provide for the family. Once there, she'll work and earn some money and as you know anything can happen with her boss. If she does become pregnant she won't be able carry on in her job, so she'll come back and give birth to the child.* (Adult woman, Gihembe)

> *I: What happens to a child without parents?*
> *R: When they are registered they may have access to food and also have a house. But the food may not be sufficient or they don't manage it well, because they are children. And then comes the problem of poverty that may*

result in prostitution so they can get clothes and meet their other needs. (Adult man, Kiziba)

Respondents reported that abandoned or neglected children had parents who were not willing or able to care for them, often due to their own drug or alcohol problems, mental health issues or inability to cope.

Children are left to themselves, as parents are drunkards. This happens here and sometimes meetings are held to tackle this issue of parents who waste the food the get in drinking and make children starve. (Adult man, Kiziba)

There are times mothers don't care for their children. Mothers are busy with their business and because they don't know children's rights, when they get the ration they sell it. Afterwards they get drunk and get home late at night and the children are dying of hunger. If her children try to reason with her they get beaten. That's harm. If children try to report, their mother denies everything, and authorities won't have time to investigate. Then the case is closed. So some children give up and quit school. (Young woman, Gihembe)

Orphans live in very tough conditions. When they come back from school they have to cook for themselves and take care of their siblings and that's why they give up their studies. They can also have parents who are responsible, but hunger makes children quit school. Due to all those reasons they prefer to go and make their lives outside the camp and that's how they meet with Shuga Dadis and Shuga Mamis and face many consequences you know. (Secondary school teacher, Kiziba)

All families in the camps are provided with a standard shelter by UNHCR, but because of the small size of this shelter, families of more than eight members are allocated a second 'house'. In some cases, families with the necessary means, also construct a smaller shelter behind their main house. In many cases, parents give these second houses to their older boys to live in and these are referred by young people in the local slang as 'ghettos'. In many cases, parents have limited control over what their children do in 'their' houses. Friends and other children may stay over in ghettos.

There are children who are obviously orphans because they don't have parents. But there are children who live alone because their parents don't take care of them as they are supposed to so children chose to live alone - those are the ones who live in ghettos. (Young woman, Gihembe)

One or two respondents mentioned the issue of family breakdown – when one parent re-married, the new spouse or members of the step-family could mistreat or reject the original children forcing them to fend for themselves.

Children are being evicted from their households for instance when the mother has been thrown out by her husband and he brings in a stepmother. In these cases the child is thrown out as well or suffers from worse hardship. (Adult man, Kiziba)

Lack of accommodation space

The cramped living conditions within the camps and lack of appropriate accommodation space were linked with many harms to children. It was reported that adults and children of different ages having to share rooms and beds, was associated with incidences of sexual abuse. Children were said to witness sexual activity at home, which encouraged them to start sexual activity themselves at a young age, also leading to early pregnancies. Respondents felt that early sexual activity or sexual abuse often occurred when children had to share sleeping spaces.

> *Concerning the shelters that are 3 x 4 metres - it is not a big area. Those who have a family of ten children, you understand that they will all share the house and a teenager in the house, he should not listen and know what is happening in the house. When he hears this, he will grow up wanting to do it. There are times when the children are sent to spend the night at their paternal aunt's house, but since we are not with them there and don't know what goes on there, they may also learn and be affected by becoming sexually active.* (Village President, Kiziba)

The overcrowded camp environment was reported to make children more vulnerable to bad influences and harms and many adults lamented that these problems children faced would not have happened in their normal society outside the camps.

Lack of refugee registration

Children without official UNHCR refugee status were reported to be unable to access the support such as food rations and schooling that were available to others in the camps.[25] Respondents reported that families caring for children with a parent from outside the camps (for example a child with a mother from outside the camp who had left her baby with the father's family inside the camp) could not claim food rations for that child, placing them under added strain.

> *AVSI care for orphans or children that aren't registered because their fathers or mothers are from outside the camp, and children that have been left by their parents. For example this child is not mine, he is my brother's so he is not registered because his mother is from outside.* (Young woman, Gihembe)

It was somewhat frequently reported that children who could not enrol in school without refugee registration were left with nothing to do, commonly falling into delinquent behaviour to survive and/or pass the time.

[25] It is the responsibility of the Rwandan Government to register all individuals on its territory however UNHCR can assist/take on this role, where necessary. In Rwanda, UNHCR works with the Government to register all new arrivals on an individual basis, using biometrics and fingerprinting. All information is recorded on UNHCR's database - ProGres - and shared with the Government.

Lack of activities and entertainment

It was reported that the lack of activities or entertainment to keep children occupied left them both bored and frustrated, especially if they were not in school. Both adults and young people mentioned this as a cause of the major harms identified, including prostitution and delinquency. It was felt that children were not able to enjoy their childhood.

> *Children don't have anywhere they can relax and forget about their problems. Even if we are refugees, we need something to entertain us; it's not good for us to stay there thinking about our problems from January to December, the whole year. Back in the time when JRS[26] was here, they used to bring toys for children, so children were enjoying their childhood.* (Group discussion with young women, Gihembe)

RESPONSE PATHWAYS

Response to Out of School Children

OUT OF SCHOOL AFTER S3

Since the end of free schooling after the first three years of high school (*Tronc Commun*) was the main reason that children were out of school, there were limited responses available as the sole income for most refugees was in the form of food aid. Coming up with extra money to pay for school fees (and other related costs such as school materials and transport) was extremely challenging for most parents**,** even if they were very committed to their children's education. The first response was that parents would try to raise the fees for their children to carry on their schooling although seldom with much success. Some relatively well-off parents (for example those working for NGOs) could afford to pay. Others tried to raise money through selling their rations.

> *Better-off parents hunt for means, through selling their maize or cooking oil for instance, in order to pay tuition fees for their children.* (Young woman, Gihembe)

> *Parents do their best; for example I wish my child could make it too. Parents try really, and this is reason one may put a bag of maize aside, just to sell it for the schooling of one's offspring.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

> *Here there are associations; if a family gets five litres of cooking oil, one litre is saved in associations and after one year a family gets the school fees for one term. If the father or mother has a job in ARC they add in order to find school fees.* (Young man, Kiziba)

Participants noted that a few other families had relatives from outside the refugee camps, sometimes living in Western countries, who could help them; however, that this was not very common.

[26] Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS)- an international NGO who used to work in the camp

> *Mostly parents and families are the first ones, and they try to raise funds jointly for the re-schooling of the child if they are better off; otherwise, the child stays unschooled if families and parents are both deprived of resources.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

> *Unless the child has an educated uncle that may come and help him; apart from that there is no way* [they can pay school fees]. *Also there are not many relatives who can help.* (Young man, Gihembe)

> *Only some may have their brothers and sisters who live abroad, such as in Australia or anywhere in the world to help. The number of children who are helped by their brothers and sisters is very limited because most of them don't continue their studies*. (Adult man, Kiziba)

A few respondents said that children desperate to continue their studies after S3 were helped by 'sponsors' or worked and returned to school when they had saved enough money.

> *Once they meet somebody with good or bad intentions proposing to pay for the remaining years of secondary school they won't think twice, they accept.* (Adult woman, Gihembe)

> *The child starts seeking employment just to make money in town; if they are smart, they save enough to pay their schooling the following year. They may work for one to three years or just leave schooling forever if they don't see any future in going back.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

Many respondents reported that options provided by formal stakeholders were available for certain groups of children only. For example, it was reported that some girls had been able to continue their education thanks to sponsorship through ADRA although this programme was coming to an end. Respondents actually saw the programme as discriminatory because girls had had the chance to continue while boys, even if they had better grades, could not. In Gihembe Camp, the Hope School was started by young adults who had benefitted from previous JRS programmes that had been cut, and funded by parents to allow their children to continue their final years of secondary school. Because of its limited size and resources, only the pupils with the best grades were admitted to Hope School. It is interesting to note that there are currently almost twice as many boys as girls registered at Hope School (160 boys and 86 girls). Some vocational training opportunities were also mentioned as positive initiatives offered by NGOs.

It was widely reported in both camps that children ending their schooling after S3, who did not have family able to pay fees and/or could not access the other formal support mentioned above, dropped out of the education system for good. It was reported that these children often 'lost hope' and felt life was 'over' for them.

OUT OF SCHOOL BEFORE S3

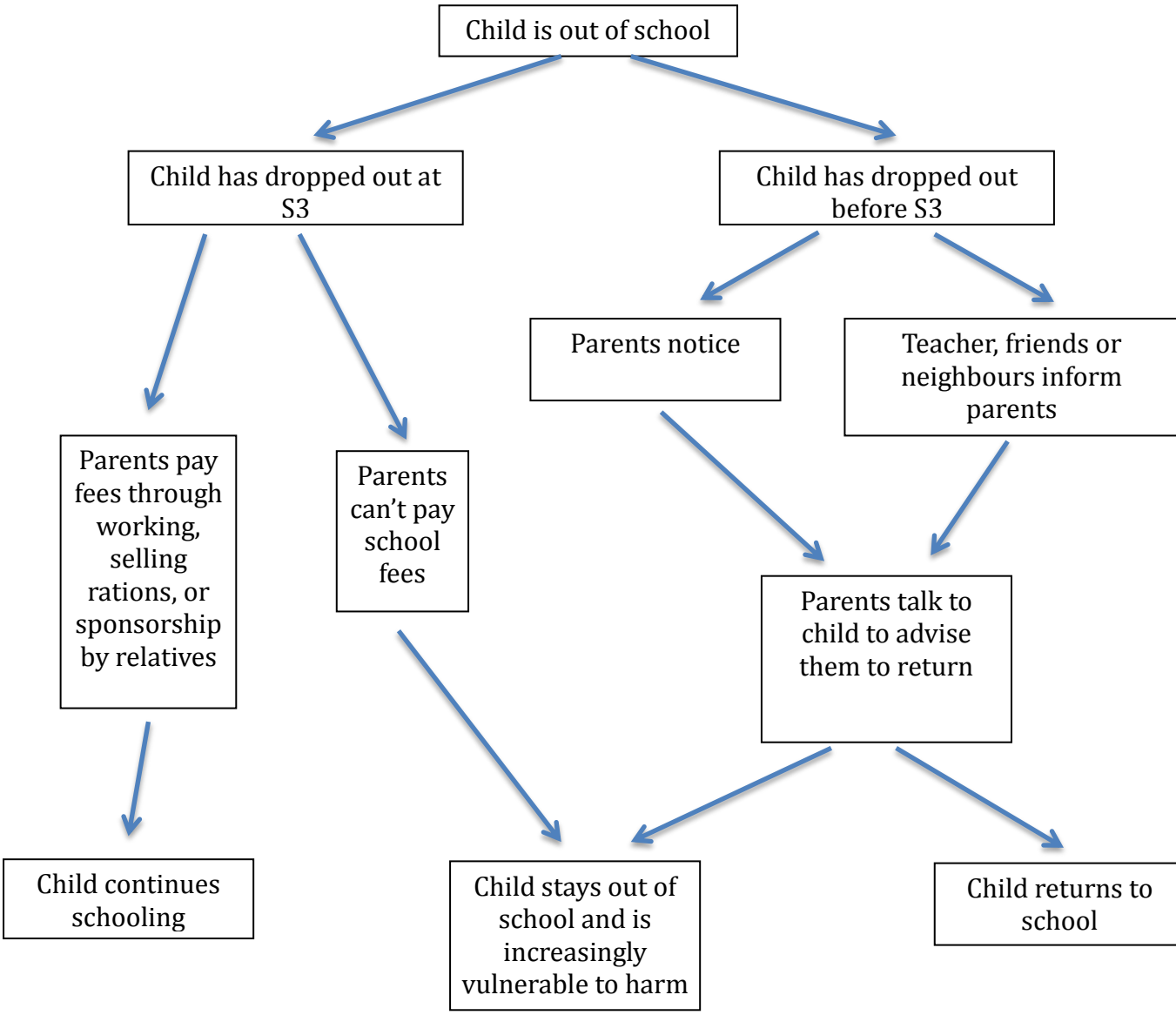
For children who were not in school or who had dropped out for various reasons before S3, the first response was that family members tried to get them back to school. Respondents (including parents and other key informants) widely reported that it was primarily the responsibility of parents to make sure their children attended school and if a parent failed to enrol their children in primary school and ensure they attended this was seen as parental neglect. Out-of-school children could be identified and reported to school or camp committees by family, community members or neighbours; as well as by members of formal child protection structures.

If a child was enrolled at school but had stopped attending, the first to notice was a teacher who usually informed the parents. Parents' dominant response was to first talk to their children – to reason with them trying to convince them to go back to school. If this didn't work they tried threatening them and sometimes beating them. Parent's committees at the schools worked with parents and teachers to address issues of children dropping out and raising the awareness of parents about children's rights. A school feeding programme managed by ADRA in the schools provided porridge for pupils in order to address the issue of children sleeping in class and dropping out of school because of hunger. Parents support this initiative by volunteering to cook and serve the porridge at school.

It was also somewhat frequently reported that children's friends could influence them to go back to school or not, depending on whether they were a 'good' or 'bad' friend. With older teenagers, it was said to be hard to convince them to go back to school especially if they had started earning money or were involved in delinquency, drug or alcohol abuse; at this point most parents gave up.

> *There is no other way. If he is no longer obedient to his parents, you just leave him. Especially when he is 16 to 18 years old, you can't do anything about him whereas you try your best when they are young. For older children, you leave him alone; he decides by himself.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

Figure 1: Dominant Response Pathway for Out-of-School Children.



Response to Delinquency

The dominant response to children's delinquent behaviour was for the parents to first talk to them, to advise them or to punish them (through beating) to try and change their attitudes and behaviour. If this was not successful, the parents then commonly sought the help of the extended family (aunts, uncles, grandparents) to advise the child and correct their behaviour. If still unsuccessful, the family would take the issue to a clan meeting. Sometimes they reportedly sought the help of the police or camp authorities to punish the child or scare them in the hopes of changing their ways.

It was widely reported for instance, that if a child was caught stealing, they could be beaten by their victim or handed over to their parents, camp security or the police, who would also beat them. With younger children, beating could be an effective punishment, but for older teenagers, it was felt that parents had little control. In this case, they could be sent to the police to be corrected/beaten and incarcerated for up to a day in temporary cells within the camps.[27]

> *I: You have been mentioning that the child may sometimes be sent to the police station. What happens for a child when he is sent there?*
> *R: The child is arrested for a few days and given some other punishment to correct him and then he is liberated.*
> *I: What happens when the child comes back after being liberated by the police?*
> *R: The child is controlled in his family or in the community generally and then changes slowly.* (Young woman, Kiziba)

> *I: What do parents do after realising that their child smokes marijuana?*
> *R: Sometimes parents may punish the child, but there are cases when the child beats his mother or father.*
> *I: What happens when a child beats his mother or father?*
> *R: The security people come and punish him or the child may be arrested for two days and then comes back here in the camp and continues his activities.*
> (Group discussion with young men, Kiziba)

Respondents frequently reported that it was very difficult to change the attitudes and behaviour of children once they had become accustomed to stealing, drugs and alcohol and life on the streets.

> *The big problem is their mindset that has been ruined, so it's very difficult to help them. We don't know what we can do for them. There are times that the whole family meets and discusses the child's problems; they give him advice. Sometimes the child agrees that he or she will not return to those things but when the family turn around they go back where they were.*
> (Young woman, Gihembe)

[27] The camp committee members in charge of security managed the temporary cells located within the camps. When a crime had been committed (such as rape), suspects are incarcerated outside the camps in district police cells, and if convicted, held in the same prisons as Rwanda citizens.

[Parents] *try to teach and educate, but it is like spilling water on a metal sheet because in the evening you may find them behind the classes near the bridge, in their house smoking marijuana or drinking alcohol.* (Young man, Kiziba)

Some vocational training was reported to be available through NGOs for children, including those with problematic behaviour. It was noted by a few respondents that in serious cases, boys were said to be taken for long-term rehabilitation and vocational training at the government residential centre on Iwawa Island[28]. Respondents who mentioned Iwawa identified it as a positive option with the potential to really change the lives of delinquent teens.

I: What do parents do to help their children?
R: Sometimes they tell the police, and they take them to Iwawa.
I: How are they when they come back?
R: They come back behaving themselves having given up the drugs. (Young man, Kiziba)

Respondents somewhat frequently reported that parents who had tried all the response pathways mentioned just 'gave up' on their children and officially cast them out.

I: How does the family take it if the child doesn't change?
R1: It is a shame on the whole family because he or she is a useless child. We just wish his or her death instead of keeping shaming the family!
R2: Sometimes parents publically and legally cast out the child due to what they have been doing. (Group discussion with adult men, Gihembe)

I: What happens when they are legally cast out?
R: "Barakabimisha"
I: What is that?
R: They become independent and act according their free will without any worries! (Young man, Gihembe)

Response to Early Pregnancy

Most typically, a girl's mother was reported to be the person who found out about her daughter's pregnancy first, either suspecting it herself or being told by a neighbour or friends of the girl. She would ask who was responsible, and if the girl refused to tell her, the mother sought the help of other family members to try to get the girl to speak. Her mother took her to the health centre to have the pregnancy confirmed and test for HIV.[29] At the health centre, social workers would also ask the girl who was responsible for the pregnancy. It was said that

[28] The Iwawa Rehabilitation and Vocational Training Centre rehabilitates disaffected and delinquent male youth in a residential setting. A total of 2056 youths have graduated at the vocational centre since its establishment in 2010, the majority of them former drug addicts and dealers, orphans and street children. Rwanda Ministry of Youth and ICT website accessed 1 July 2013 http://www.myict.gov.rw/pressroom/events/

[29] There is one health centre located in each camp providing GBV assistance, care and treatment for people living with HIV, general services, nutrition, Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT), family planning, etc. Social services include psychosocial counselling.

when the girl identified who had impregnated her as someone from the camp, the girl's father or older brother would go and talk with family of the boy or man and ask them to take responsibility. If they accepted the two families would come to an agreement for them to get married, or to share responsibility for looking after the baby. However, it was frequently reported that that the boys or men were very poor and could not provide any support. The girl would remain at home, drop out of school and then give birth.

Numerous respondents reported that it was common for teenage girls who became pregnant to refuse to reveal the identity of their child's father. Girls often refused to say in order to protect the identity of the boy or man because he had promised to help her. In some cases the girls themselves did not know who was responsible for her pregnancy.

Response to Early Pregnancy in Kiziba Camp

The neighbour will inform her parents. They both then call the daughter and ask her of the pregnancy. At first she denies this if it has not started to show. If it has, she will admit being pregnant. She will then, on her mother's request, be escorted to hospital for a pregnancy and HIV test. If lucky, the child will test positive for pregnancy and negative for HIV. We then take the child home, look after her till she gives birth. There are times when the guy who fathered the child is impoverished; in such a case there is no need of going after the guy. If lucky and the guy who impregnated her is well off and is willing to provide for the child, then difficulties and cost of raising plus looking after the young mother will be lessened. Sometimes they deny having fathered the child even in front of the families. He defends himself by saying that the lady is used to sleeping around with everyone. Other times when the authorities within the camp are involved, they do admit to take responsibility of providing for the child whenever possible. For parents this is as good as it can get since the father of the child might only have the ration card, nothing on the side that earns him money, and it is different when the man works. There are times when a teacher from the camp is responsible, and he will be demanded to pay a certain percentage of his salary to cater for the child's need. Occasionally, we have seen some reluctantly agreeing to provide for the child but flee the camp before they can undertake their responsibilities.

(Adult woman, Kiziba)

Most of the time girls don't reveal the identity of the men who impregnate them. I don't know why and this is a challenge. (Adult man, Kiziba)

When you try to reason with them they say that they keep the real father secret because they promised to help each other. The girls refuse to say who the real fathers are, thinking that their promise will be jeopardised! (Adult woman, Gihembe)

There are some who don't even know the father of their baby, they have sex with so many boys that they don't know who did that to them. (Adult woman, Gihembe)

When the girl identified the man or boy responsible as someone from the camp, it was reported that this typically led to the girl's family talking to the boy or man's family and asking them to accept responsibility for the pregnancy. Trying to come to an agreement between the families was seen as desirable so as to avoid taking the matter to court, which would cause ongoing conflict.[30]

> *When you have a talk, you just point out mistakes…so to avoid long lasting disagreement. You just sit together instead and accept your fate. Then harmony is restored and you avoid being at odds as a consequence of children's misconduct. When this issue is tackled in families, you all end up cleared blamelessly, compared to the case brought to court. When you appear in the courts, you are always in contention: "your bad-mannered child got pregnant because of you" one accuses another, and "no I am not responsible!" refuses the accused.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

> *I: What happens if girls say who is the impregnator?*
> *R: It eases the situation and both family can meet and find a way out of that issue because here families are much respected.*
> *I: What happens when both families are negotiating?*
> *R: They ask the boy if he wants to be responsible for his actions and marry the girl or he can choose other alternatives to help raise his child.*
> *I: What does the community think about those kinds of agreements?*
> *R: They see it as a good thing and it reduces all kinds of hate, anger, and conflict between families.* (Group discussion with young men, Gihembe)

Participants widely agreed that the best-case scenario was if the boy or man agreed to marry the girl although this did not happen often (in part because under Rwandan law the legal age for marriage is 21 years old). More often they came to an agreement and the girl was supported at home by her family.

> *Its a good thing within the society when the boy accepts his responsibilities, and he becomes much more reliable. It gives him more credibility when he marries the girl.* (Group discussion with young men, Gihembe)

> *The girl's family go to talk to the boy's family. Then they sit down and say, 'Your boy has impregnated our girl, so we want her to marry him'; but mostly they reach the agreement that the boy will be providing assistance to the girl. Then the girl is back home*. (Group discussion with young men, Kiziba)

> *No one is taken by the culprit man. You can have about 200 underage mothers here, but no one ends up marrying anybody.* (Group discussion with adult women, Kiziba)

[30] Criminal cases involving refugees are addressed in the nearest Rwandan courts. For those under 18 years old, the cases are addressed in a tribunal for minors and for adults in intermediate courts.

Participants also reported that the family of the baby's father sometimes took responsibility for raising the baby. When a father who originally did not recognise his child at birth, decides to recognise him or her later, he may go the baby's mother's family for forgiveness and offer beer, cows or money as sign of recognition of his child.

> *R: The man will leave the camp, and the parents will look after their daughter and her child. Months later, he will come back to claim his child.*
> *I: How can he claim the child and does he take the mother too?*
> *R: The child's father leaves a certain amount of money to the child's mother as a sign of appreciation. Most of the time, the father claims the child and leaves the mother behind. It happens a lot, they give birth to the child later give the child up; it is like a transaction. What is even worse is that after a short while, the girls will again give birth to another child out of wedlock.* (Adult Woman, Kiziba)

> *Most of the time they aren't yet mature enough to be having a family; they are most of the time 15 to 17 years old. The two families agree that when the child is born they will bring him or her to the boy's family so they will take care of them. That is what happens most of the time.* (Quartier Chief, Gihembe)

It was reported somewhat frequently that even when a man or boy does accept responsibility for the pregnancy, he is often too poor to be able to provide any financial support to the girl.

> *No they do not move in together! If they happen to move in together, how would the boy be able to provide for them? There are times when the guy responsible has no clothes or shoes* [respondent laughs at own response]. *Would you allow your own child to move in with such a person? He is a destitute.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

> *If a girl has an illegitimate pregnancy and she reveals the man who did it, when they arrive in front of the judge, the boy has to care for the baby and her mother. But normally they don't have the financial capability to do that. But they agree in front of the judge to make it easy. They can try hard to do that in the two first months but after, they don't continue. The judge thought that everything is all right because the man has signed and recognised his baby, but after that they disappear.* (Group discussion with adult men, Gihembe)

It was reportedly common for boys or men to deny responsibility for a pregnancy, or to run away. Lack of support from the baby's father caused problems for girls because they struggled to support their babies and continue their education and also meant their child was illegitimate, leaving them open to discrimination within the community. In addition, it was reported that without official UNHCR registration the child could not access food rations and other aid within the camp.

The main problem is that the baby will grow up without knowing its father and will be offended by the members of the community because he is a child born out of wedlock. (Young woman, Gihembe)

R: When the one who impregnated her accepts her, he gives money to help, but when he doesn't recognise her that's when problems arise.
I: What kind of problems?
R: The baby is called an illegitimate child, and the baby doesn't know the identity of their father. (Young woman, Kiziba)

Sometimes a student makes his schoolmate pregnant - what can they do? They don't have money to care for their baby, so the boy prefers to run away so that they will not put him in jail. And most of the time boys go in the army. (Group discussion with young women, Gihembe)

Respondents commonly stated that if the boy or man refused to accept his responsibility, this refusal resulted in conflict between the two families. It was said that at this stage the girl's family often sought help through the formal mechanisms available such as AVSI, who offer advice and referrals through social workers. AVSI receive cases and depending on the specific circumstances, make referrals to health centres, inform MIDIMAR, UNHCR and the police. If this was not successful and the boy's family still refused to help, the case could be referred to the police, or judge, who could force the boy to sign an agreement to provide financial support for the baby.

I: You said that when there is evidence, the boy gets jailed. What happens when he is jailed?
R: The boy who is jailed may agree to provide support to the child, and later on, the boy is released. When he keeps denying, he stays in jail until he recognises his responsibility. He is not freed unless he agrees.
I: What happens if he denies endlessly and stays in jail?
R: Most of time, he ends up accepting, because when he does so, problems are alleviated. He comes back and helps the girl. The girl may think twice and - seeing the way her family endeavours to pull through - decides to advocate for the boy to be released, just to have support from him.
(Group discussion with young men, Kiziba)

The research team heard often that it was easier to deal with cases where the man or boy responsible is from within the camp community. Reportedly, if the man or boy is from outside the camp, it is much more complicated as the girls family are not able to negotiate for support or even take the case to the authorities. The other issue was that the children would not be registered.

On this question of who makes her pregnant: if he comes from here inside the camp, the problem is easier because you can bring him to the local governance so that they can deal with it. What disturbs us is when it is someone from outside the camp. It's not easy to identify him, even the girl sometimes doesn't know who he is. They just met and the boy used some temptation like money or a cell phone. They had sex, and it's all. The impact

is that the girl gets pregnant and infected with HIV, and we don't even know who did it. (Group discussion with adult men, Gihembe)

A child is registered because his father has been discovered, but when the father is from outside the camp it is a problem. The baby can't be registered because the father is not there. (Group discussion with adult men, Gihembe)

It was somewhat frequently reported that girls falling pregnant out of wedlock were badly treated by their families and could be beaten and insulted by their parents when they learned of the pregnancy.

R1: You see she is beaten and insulted. She doesn't have any rights back at home.
R2: You know when a person is pregnant, she is really weak, and when she not doing anything at home due to her weakness, that's when she is beaten.
(Group discussion with young women, Gihembe)

When a girl gets pregnant out of wedlock, sometimes in the family she lives in they torture her, mistreat her, insult her, and you can see she is not comfortable in being there. (Adult woman, Gihembe)

However it should also be noted that many respondents reported that once the parents had overcome their initial shock and disappointment and the baby was born, they were often accepted into the girl's family.

R: Parents can't take any relevant action nowadays; they just surrender. She may even bring one or two kids, but no action is taken whatsoever. I have a sister in that situation; you do nothing but accept her. Previously parents used to harass their pregnant children; eventually they were even sent out of home, evicted. Children would often run away to friends or relatives homes. Then later on, after a couple of months or years, they would cautiously decide to go back home.
I: Aren't there now some girls who have stayed at home after their pregnancy or childbirth?
R: Yes, parents are always shocked and express dismay certainly, but they have no option but surrender to allow those children back home. This is the only thing they can do.
I: What prompted parents to calm down and accept pregnant children back home?
R: I think parents were sensitised by UNHCR agents. I do not have evidence, but their teaching might have led parents to be more lenient. (Adult man, Kiziba)

Participants reported that mothers were typically more understanding and supportive of their pregnant daughters than fathers and shouldered most of the responsibility for caring for the girl and her baby. It was said that fathers typically reacted badly and were abusive towards their pregnant daughters.

Parents react differently as some of them just accept the situation and regard the child as worth caring for again. Especially mothers who take it as a misfortune, which falls upon them and there is nothing they can do about it apart from supporting the girl up to childbirth. Fathers mostly react aggressively with beating, harassment and stigma. So, you as a mother, you stand by the child's side whereas the father abandons her. (Group discussion with adult women, Kiziba)

Mothers mostly watch over their female children. So when she is pregnant, it is up to the mother to care. (Group discussion with adult women, Kiziba)

Still, it was fairly frequently reported that some girls were 'chased' from their parent's homes and lived alone as single mothers.

R: I don't live with my parents.
I: Why?
R: Because I have seen that they were not comfortable with me.
I: What do you mean by being comfortable?
R: I have seen that they were ashamed, and they mistreated me and my child every day, so I preferred to move away from them. (Young woman, Gihembe)

Here when you give birth once, twice and three times, if parents cannot stand it anymore, they report this to UNHCR and request houses for those single mothers, and they go to live independently. (Young woman, Gihembe)

Early pregnancy impacted on girl's education as they reportedly almost always dropped out when their baby was born. Participants reported widely that girls were encouraged to go back to school when the baby was old enough to be left with someone else (usually the girl's mother) and that many were able to return to school. However in some cases, because of a lack of childcare or lack of money, girls were did not recommence their studies.

R: I left my study in S2 because I was pregnant.
I: After you give birth, have you thought to return back and finish your study?
R: Because my mother has other little children at home, I can't leave my baby too; it will be hard work for her. That's why I didn't return. (Young woman, Gihembe)

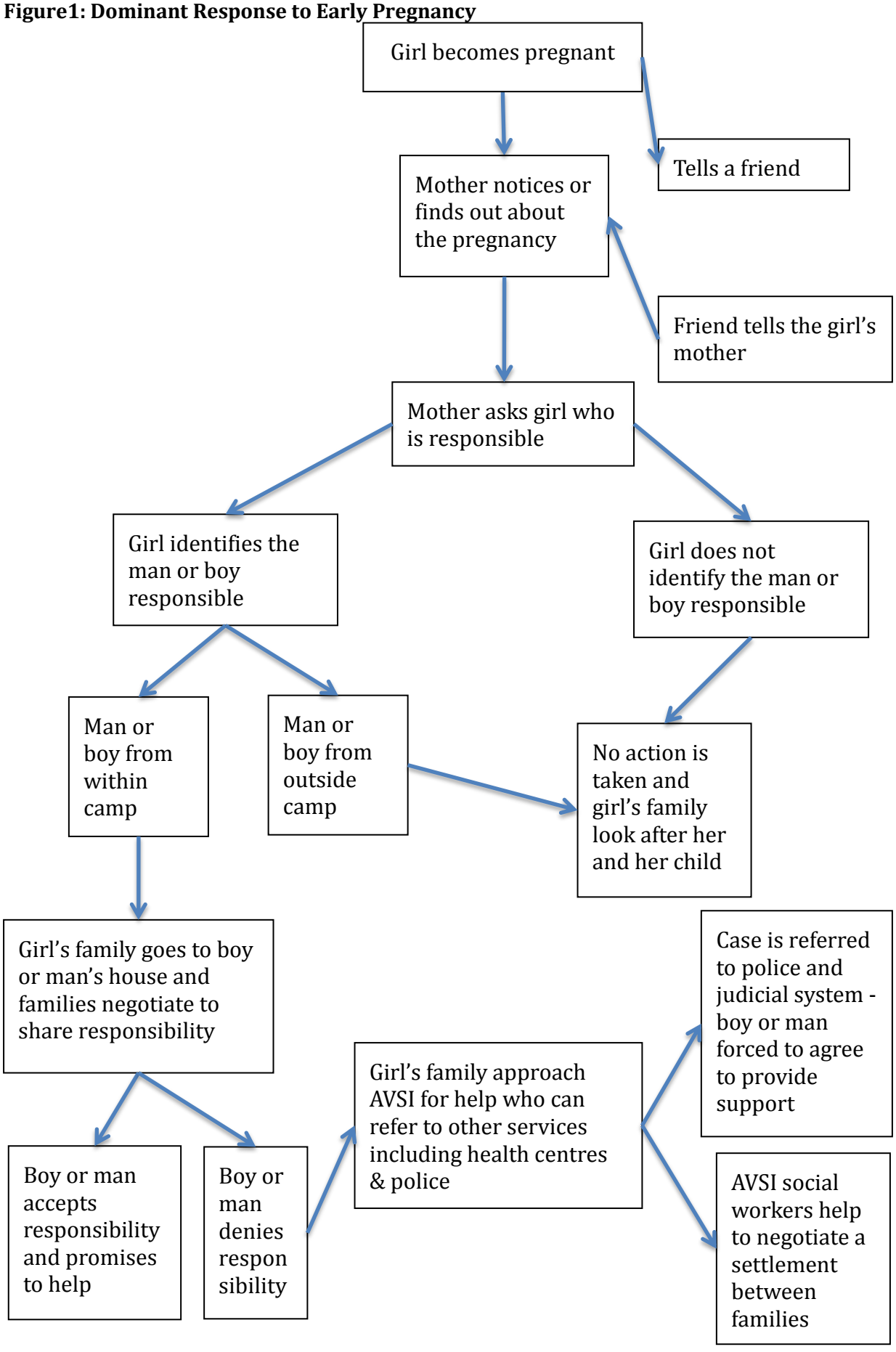
As a parent, you just urge her to go back to school, and you babysit her child. You take the baby for breastfeeding every day at 10 am, and take the baby back home afterwards; the daughter goes back to class as well. On the other hand, some girls breastfeed for one year, and when their babies quit breastfeeding, they go back to school. (Group discussion with adult women, Kiziba)

Finally, some participants in Kiziba Camp reported that there were different cultural traditions within the camp population affecting how early pregnancy was viewed and responded to.

> *Here in the camp we are all refugees but we are like three groups that may put us into categories. We have people from Masisi, we have Banyamulenge, and we have Congolese. For Banyamulenge when a girl gets pregnant and then gives birth, they decide to marry the girl to the boy, but people from Masisi, even if you are old or young the baby and the girl stays with her parents. Then for Congolese, they don't often do that because if their boy loves a girl, he decides to marry her immediately*. (Young man, Kiziba)

> *As I see, it stems from customs from various places; some see teenage pregnancy as normal. They do not sue the offending boy; they even raise the child.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

Figure1: Dominant Response to Early Pregnancy



Response to Prostitution

It was reported that a girl's mother, friends or neighbours would commonly first notice when girls had started engaging in prostitution. They would observe that she had clothes, shoes or other items that she could not previously afford and her behaviour had changed.

> *R1: This will be indicated to you through the fact that your child does not arrive until very late in the night. On her arrival, when you inquire she abuses you verbally, one day, two days …until she leaves you. You are told later on that she was seen across Kibuye in an area called Cyumbati with young men. She starts painting her nails, and you conclude that she is now a prostitute.*
> *R2: There are many changes in her behaviour. Items such as phones, clothes, make up, etc., you did not cater for; changes of* [what she wears]; *she becomes disrespectful towards peers. Then you have all the details that your daughter is now in danger here in camp.* (Group discussion with adult women, Kiziba)

The dominant pathway of response reported was that when the girl's mother saw signs that she was 'in danger' of all the risks related to prostitution, she would first counsel her daughter. If this did not help to change the girl's behaviour, the father, extended family and/or clan members became involved. The girl could be advised, counselled, threatened and punished (through beatings) in attempts to prevent her from continuing. If this was not successful, parents could throw their daughter out, or she could leave on her own accord staying with friends or family within the camp or seeking work outside the camp.

VIEWS OF YOUNG CHILDREN

In the body mappings exercise, children in mixed groups of boys and girls between the ages of 7 to 10 years old in both refugee camps identified a wide range of things their 'child' either liked or disliked. When identifying the things that please or displease the eyes, ears, mouth, and head children showed a keen interest in learning, communication and obedience, and a dislike of physical threats, conflict, uncertainty, and filth. For the nose, heart, stomach, hands, and feet, children listed numerous foods and physical activities, which give them pleasure, and highlighted poor health and hygiene, and physical discomforts, as their main dislikes.

Children liked seeing cars, animals, teacher's writing, studying, and seeing what was written on a classroom board. They disliked seeing animals (note: specific types of animals and generally "animals" were identified throughout the categories, both as likes and dislikes), faeces, killers, Satan, thieves, people undressing or washing themselves. The ears liked to hear "the word of God", obedience, stories, news, and what their parents say. During one session children identified hearing news of resettlement (to go to another country) as pleasing to the ears. In contrast, they disliked hearing evil things, conflict, disobedience, people fighting, Satan, and abuse to each other.

In addition to the long list of different foods children identified as pleasing to the mouth, they also identified speaking, including speaking with parents and using "the word of God" as things the mouth liked. Conversely, the mouth disliked cold food, eating bad things, speaking bad things, abuse to others, and to talk about others in a bad manner. They said the head was happiest when getting a haircut, wearing a good hat, and when hair was being washed. Beyond physical well being, the head also liked hearing the teacher, knowledge, thinking, memorizing, obedience, and "putting your brain in order." The head disliked disobedience, fighting, hand beating on the face, landing on the head, thinking about bad things, being unclear, and dirty hair.

The smells of food made children happy, while "bad smells", alcohol and drugs, drunkards, faeces, and runny noses made children unhappy. In similar fashion, the stomach was happiest with food and not being sick, and unhappiest with alcohol, when feeling hungry, eating bad things, and when it has a disease. Children identified cooking, eating, fetching water, working, washing, playing, and writing as strong likes for the hands. Fighting, to be beaten, a broken hand, theft, touching bad things, and touching food with dirty hands were common dislikes. Feet seemed most satisfied when clean, wearing shoes, and walking, such as when fetching water. Unsurprisingly, dirty feet, stepping in bad things like mud, compost, or faeces, and long voyages were most unpleasant to the feet. Finally, children said the heart liked not to be broken, to not feel bad, obedience, playing, reconciliation, and to be happy. The heart did not like alcohol, fighting, illness, thieves, and to have pain.

LINKAGES BETWEEN CBCPM AND FORMAL ASPECTS OF THE CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEM

As well as discussing harms to children and the responses to these, the research also explored the child protection system (both informal and formal) and the linkages between them through group discussions and interviews. A key finding was that that the primary sources of protection and response to harms were informal CBCPMs, that is they were child protection mechanisms coming from the community or they were community-lead. However, as seen in the discussion on response pathways, there were also significant linkages between the informal and formal aspects of the child protection system in responding to harms. There were also several community-based mechanisms, which were supported through stakeholders such as UN agencies and NGOs, and aiming to link the informal and formal together with varying degrees of success.

> *The first approach taken by parents is to know children's rights. Secondly parents work together with the camp authorities and police so if children are abused they can take the case step by step to authorities.* (Adult man, Gihembe)

> *I: When the problem of being unsafe or insecure for children appears, what happens?*
> *R: When you have problem, you go to find [X] who works in UNHCR.*
> *I: Directly you go to look for [X]?*
> *R: No, first of all you have to deal with your family before going to UNHCR.* (Adult woman, Gihembe)

Community based child protection mechanisms

Community-based child protection mechanisms (CBCPMs) in Gihembe and Kiziba revolve around the family, clan and community members such as friends and neighbours. The communities also developed new initiatives themselves to address child protection concerns.

Family

The main source of protection from and response to child protection harms was the child's immediate family - specifically their parents. This finding is in line with the widely held view among respondents that a child was someone who depended on his or her parents, and could not make their own decisions. Respondents told us that in nearly all cases it was the child's parents who first counselled and supported their children. More often it was the mother that children, especially girls, would turn to if they needed help as fathers were less understanding and more likely to respond harshly.

> *Parents are the ones who provide the first support; no one else comes from outside to lend a hand.* (Young woman, Kiziba)

> *They seek help from their mothers more than their fathers because culturally men are seen as 'supreme beings' in families. Girls are afraid of them because they think once their father finds out they'll chase them; better to talk to my mother.* (Group discussion with adult men, Kiziba)

If parents had a good relationship with their children and communicated well with them, it was said to be a strong protective factor making it less likely they would become involved in harmful activities and more able to seek appropriate help when needed. Giving advice or counselling was the main way that parents guided and protected their children.

> *The only solution for parents is just to talk with children, to provide counselling every evening*. (Young woman, Kiziba)

> *In general parents give their children advice on how they must conduct their lives every day, they show them good things to do and bad things to avoid.* (Adult man, Gihembe)

> *I: What would you do as parent after having realised that the child has started to use street words?*
> *R: Well, as a parent I do my best to know where the child is getting those bad words and then I start to advise him, in general showing him the polite way.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

It was widely agreed that parents bore the ultimate responsibility to protect and care for their children. However, meeting their children's needs was challenging for parents living in a refugee camp setting where they were dependent on aid for almost every aspect of their lives. On one hand they were responsible for their children's wellbeing while on the other hand they felt disempowered by their situation.

> *We always educate them. We tell them the consequences of being pregnant while they are still young. We warn them about HIV/AIDS. But I think due to poverty and bad living condition, they don't get us well.* (Adult man, Gihembe)

> [Children are harmed by] *this long stay in a foreign country. If we were home, you can farm your land just to raise your child, or you can do some other work.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

> *You try to ask the child and advise him, but there is a weakness because there is no possibility to help the child in one way or another. If you ask the child where he has been, he may tell you for example that he was in Kibuye, Gisenyi or Kigali to search for little jobs like carrying baggage. When he tells you that, you may feel weak because you are not able to cover his needs and after you keep silent.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

> *We try to advise them, tell them that we understand that life here is hard. Someday God will help us, and we shall have a better life. Children do not*

listen to us as they think it cannot get better than this; they have lost all hope for better future, and in the end they get involved in bad behaviour. (Adult woman, Kiziba)

Parents protected their children in other ways. For example, they accompanied them to school, nursery or daycare, and arranged that older children looked after the younger ones when they could not. They sold parts of their rations to buy vegetables and other foods for their children in order to provide a more balanced diet. As reported in the section relating to orphans and unaccompanied children, the risks for children who were not cared for by their parents were greatly amplified.

The extended family including aunts, uncles and grandparents were important sources of advice and provided support to parents when trying to address problems relating to their children.

In the evening before they go to bed, the whole family sits together and discusses their situation and grandparents give advice to their grandchildren. They tell them how they have to behave and that they have prepare their future, so you see that there is a natural structure in the family. (Young man, Gihembe)

Wider clan/tribe meetings were also held regularly, which enabled these larger family groups to monitor any problems arising among their children and provide advice and counselling. One respondent said that money could sometimes be raised within the tribe for contributing to school fees for children.

R: Recently we had meeting in our family. I invited all boys and girls, and sometimes we meet on Sundays. We discuss while giving them advice, telling them what we used to do back then even if we weren't in school because it is cultural helpful to children. They are uncontrollable these days. We tell them whats good and bad, and they like it, so we're really interested and committed to do so. And I think parents need some training so that they may take time to talk with their children.
I: You mean you use a traditional way to discuss with children?
R: Yes because their parents don't do it.
I: You said you hold meetings as family chief. Which family is this one?
R: It is [X] *family.*
I: What outcome do you get from those discussions you hold with children?
R: It does help us not only regarding prostitution but also regarding Thirsty Rastas because the group is made up of girls and boys. Thus we know what's going on among them and know how to deal with them. We elected a chief among [the Thirsty Rastas] *so that he can sensitise them to do good things. There are some thieves; we also deal with them*. (Adult man, Gihembe)

OK there are tribes, for example: Abaha, Abasinga, Abene Yuhi, Abakatsa tribes. We meet from the eldest one to the littlest one, and we discuss the issues that affect our tribe. When there is a child who is incontrollable for their parents, they bring him or her to the meetings. When there is a child

who does not have money to continue his or her studies, they bring him or her, and we do fundraising so that the child can return to school. (Quartier Chief, Gihembe)

Friends and Neighbours

Friends, neighbours and other community members also played a role in protecting children by alerting parents to issues that they had become aware of, such as drug and alcohol use, and prostitution. Often they were the first to become aware of a problem. Community members also took action when they noticed issues relating to children in their neighbourhoods and reported these to authorities.

The community plays a major role; first of all a child is not allowed to miss class without the permission of the committee in charge of education. But the illiteracy of some parents doesn't help much; when parents see a child wandering on the street in time of class, they take her to school, and they try and find out why the child is out instead of being at school, even if the parent doesn't know the child. (Young man, Gihembe)

Community Initiatives

Despite limited resources and strong dependence on aid there were examples of community-based responses to child protection issues in the camp settings.

HOPE SCHOOL

The Hope School in Gihembe Camp was initiated in 2008 by camp residents in response to the closing of the JRS programmes. JRS was the international NGO, which had supported education past S3 in the camp up until then.

JRS announced that they would no longer take care of the education of children. JRS supported children's education after tronc commun*, so the three last years of secondary school. We were really touched by this news. I was in secondary six, and my colleague was in university. We sat together and we thought, "What can we do?" At this time children circulated everywhere; they were wandering with nothing to do, in hairdressing salons, in bars, and we said, "What we can do for these children?" We were fortunate to study and had the time and willingness to help our comrades, so we called them, and we told them we wanted to establish a training centre. We also contacted the parents; we communicated our ideas, and they were delighted. The priests helped us; we began in secondary four with the option of HEG section: History, Economics and Geography. After becoming interested in the forum parents organised to give 70 francs each per month to buy the materials.* (President of the Hope School Forum)

I: You have said that you created this school to help children with their problems. What problems? At least how you can help the children resolve their problems?
R1: There were the problems of children who come from families from Mudende in Rwanda, where there were two massacres of refugees in 1997; the first time it was in August, the second in December. It was after the

second that the Government and UNHCR took a decision and brought us here. There were orphans, children who do not know where they came from because they were too small, but now they are big. You see that it is a problem that a young person does not know the history of where they came from? We speak Kinyarwanda, we are in Rwanda, and we say that we are Congolese. We must clarify this.
I: And what are the other problems that you are helping to solve?
R5: You see it's very easy for teenagers to get involved in bad practice when they do not have something to do they start delinquent behaviours. They go in the cinema, and there you need to pay for access, but they do not have money, so they steal money to go there. When they go to school they are busy with that. Even when they come home from school they are busy with their study. We teach them how to behave as well. (Group discussion with Hope School forum members, Gihembe)

The Hope School forum, which manages the school, currently has 263 members, including teachers, parents and supporters. Adventist and Catholic churches have allowed the Hope School to use their space for classrooms. Parents contribute Rwf 70 a month towards running costs and teachers (who also come from the camp community) are paid a token amount, working mostly in a voluntary capacity.

I: To the teachers, why did you get involved in the forum and Hope School?
R1: For me I have got involved in the forum because I agreed with their objectives. I am one of the supporters of the forum, because I am among the first students at the school. The school helped me when I lost hope, which is the reason why I am in the forum and I do great work with it.
I: So you attended Hope School?
R1: Yes I did.
I: Which year did you attend?
R1: 2009. I attended Hope School because I did not have anywhere else to go. I started in Senior 4 and I finished in 2011.
I: And where did you go after that?
R1: I came here. I was elected to continue as a teacher.
I: Thank you. And you?
R2: Me, I came here to help my brothers and sisters who did not get the opportunity to continue their studies. So that's why I am here as a teacher to help them. It does not take so much energy, and I help myself to learn more. (Group discussion with Hope School forum members, Gihembe)

Respondents, including children, parents and other stakeholders, unreservedly regarded the Hope School as an excellent initiative.

Hope School is an initiative of the community, organised and directed by the community, but what is great is that parents contribute each month to make sure Hope School is working. The remunerations and the sustainability come exclusively from parents. On my behalf, I think that's a very good sign of involvement of the community in doing something good for their children. In 2012 the success rate of children from Hope School

who passed the S6 national exams was 100%! You see they were aware of what they have to do. (UNHCR Child Protection Manager, Gihembe)

However, the school could not cater for all students and only the students with the best marks are given a place due to limited space and resources.

I: So what do the local governance to avoid school dropouts?
R6: They started the Hope School to help. Those who have succeeded and with the support of the camp go in Hope School.
I: Do you think that it's fruitful?
R5: Yes it is. But they accept students according to their marks. (Group discussion with young women, Gihembe)

R: You see there is Hope School, which was established by the parents in order to help their children to continue their studies but all children cannot go to Hope School.
I: What are the criteria to go to Hope School?
R: Children that have the best points. Others are going to stay at home. (Adult woman, Gihembe)

The Hope School is a unique initiative, which exists only in Gihembe Camp. The Hope School has little support from external donors, but UNHCR reported that they were helping to find funding for the school. However, in order to become an officially registered school within the Rwandan education system, they need to meet certain criteria regarding things like buildings and the qualifications of teaching staff, which was challenging. Although UNHCR support the Hope School initiative in theory, their main objective is that refugee children attend Rwandan schools. Refugee children are free to attend Rwandan schools outside the camps, however schooling after S3 of course is not free, preventing many from doing so.

CHURCHES

As noted above, Seventh Day Adventist and Catholic churches in Gihembe supported Hope School through providing classroom space. Adventist and Pentecostal churches also provided space in both camps for ECD centres. All the church authorities taking part in the research reported that they had received training from NGOs, including AHA and AVSI, on child protection issues and regularly disseminated child protection messages through their church networks. Children participated in study groups, choirs and Sunday School through their churches, providing activities keeping them occupied, as well as spreading messages relating to child protection including abstinence from sex, alcohol and drugs and promoting good relationships between parents and children. Parents were also taught about child protection and fostering good communication with their children.

I: Can you tell me about your responsibilities? What are the duties of the Adventist Church in protecting children here in the camp?
R: We have different forms of preaching and scriptures intended for each category of children: we have preaching for younger children, medium children and older ones or teenagers. Preaching covers obedience to God

and to parents; on the other hand, parents are taught how to treat their children. Groups of followers are separated for specific preaching, and if need be, we hold also preaching with all groups gathered together. So on basis of the group, from youngest children to parents, subjects include: good child-parent relationships, and mutual understanding between children and parents etc…(Adventist church leader, Kiziba)

I: Can you please compare for me the role of the church and school in child protection?
R: We often tell parents to treat their children well, we tell fathers and mothers to be on good terms so that children won't get traumatized due to parents' fighting and quit school and we also give them certain support. We cannot ignore education at school because children are raised there from nursing school on until university, so we acknowledge education at school. But when we speak from the church, people get if faster than what's said at school. At school poverty somehow may cut in but here we help poor people. (Adventist church leader, Gihembe)

I: Is there any mechanism that officials put in place in order to liaise with you to sensitise Christians on children protection?
R: Yes, this happens frequently; for instance I am the church representative in AVSI meetings or forums for child protection. We are planning to gather more parents and teach them about children protection.
I: So does it mean that you are trained for training others afterwards?
R: Yes it a sort of training of trainers in fact, we take messages to followers. According to schedules that we are given by officials, we invite followers to attend sensitisation events. (Pentecostal church leader, Kiziba)

It was reported by church leaders that children sometimes came to them to discuss problems or things that were worrying them and these were then referred on to relevant authorities if needed.

I: Do you refer followers towards officials?
R: Yes, when there are infringements and abuse that children may be subject to.
I: Does this mean that when you get complaint from children and you can't address it…
R: Yes, I give recommendation about whom they may turn to in order to address the situation better. (Pentecostal church leader, Kiziba)

Churches also reportedly provided some financial support to families in need, such as those without refugee registration.

I: What does the church do to help children in the community?
R: The church takes care of vulnerable families by giving them a part of offerings to help those children but due to there being so many people within the camp we cannot do much.
I: Can you give examples of families you helped?

R: That's confidential information, but we do help families. For example there are people who don't get rations, maybe because they haven't been registered. The church takes care of people in that situation. We do our best but we lack capacity. (Adventist church leader, Gihembe)

Finally, although respondents widely reported that using informal family and community based mechanisms to address child protection issues was positive and should be used before dealing with the formal system, it was also noted that there were weaknesses in traditional approaches. Respondents largely cited the protracted refugee situation as the reason that informal mechanisms no longer functioned properly. For example, children no longer had respect for their parents because of their disempowerment Cultural concepts such as 'ceceka', which is the notion of keeping quiet about problems, were also cited as negative ways that communities dealt with child protection issues. Some key informants reported that solving problems within communities could mean that serious crimes remained unpunished, potentially causing more harm to the child.

These informal mechanisms are based on Congolese traditions or culture; this consists of how they used to solve their conflicts and problems through chiefs or family leaders. These structures are well rooted and have not vanished but from time to time we oppose to them in one way or another when their way of looking at things is detrimental to children's rights. For instance, they may resort to extraneous arrangements to deal with an infringement of children's rights, which should be actually be legally punished. So this may turn into impunity, which may foster recurrence of such a crime and trauma of the child who does not get reparation. (UNHCR representative, Kiziba)

Linkages with formal aspects of the child protection system

CBCPMs were linked in various ways and through different structures in the formal system; here some of the key linkages are discussed.

CAMP COMMITTEES

The administrative structures in each camp are supported by MIDIMAR and UNHCR and consist of village, *quartier*, and executive-level committees, with seven members each: Gender, Youth, Health, Distribution, Security, Parents and Sports. Committees were implicated in both prevention and response to harms and members are camp residents and volunteers in their respective roles. Committees receive reports of child protection cases from different members of the community and the victims themselves and refer cases to the organisations formally responsible for different aspects of child protection, such as schools, health clinics, NGOs, police and courts. Committees also work with the NGOs with responsibilities in their respective fields (for example, the youth committee work with AVSI who are in charge of child protection in the camps)

Committee members, especially those at village level, have a very good knowledge of what goes on in the every-day lives of community members and are therefore able to identify family issues like children being out of school and

neglect, either through noticing themselves or being approached by other community-members. Respondents reported that where possible issues were solved directly by committee members, such as in the case below, where a Quartier Chief successfully negotiated with someone who had 'rented' a meal card from a mother[31]. Issues were generally taken higher within the committee structure for problems beyond their capacity, or referred to other child protection actors. For example, if children did not change their behaviour after being advised, or their delinquent behaviour was dangerous or serious, this would be taken up to *quartier* or executive camp committee level, or referred to formal authorities such as the police.

> *The village leader, since he is the one who is close to the child, he is the one who would know if the child changed or corrected their behaviours. If no change is observed, they notify the committee, explaining that the child did not correct their behaviour and then they take the child to other authorities like AVSI. If they continue to behave badly, for example, sometimes when drugs cause him to become violent or delinquent or even go missing in the camp, and then there might be a need to inform the police.* (Village President, Kiziba)

> *R: Children feel free to talk to me; they seek my advice even those abandoned by their parents. Recently I helped a young girl abandoned by her mother after renting her meal card* [to somebody else]. *This is because she felt free to talk to me.*
> *I: You mean here there is an issue of parents who abandon their children after renting their meal cards?*
> *R: This is because parents have no way out; that's why they leave their children behind. About that abandoned girl, I took her case to the Quartier Chief. He called the guy who was holding the meal card of the girl abandoned by her family, and they sorted out the issue well.* (Adult woman, Gihembe)

> *I: So sometimes you have a meeting to discuss child protection before asking for help from the leaders?*
> *R: We try to find somewhere to sit and have conversation first. Then after if someone doesn't agree, we send him to the Village President. If he still doesn't agree, we send him to the Quartier Chief, and when they don't accept, then we report to AVSI, saying that this child has no rights, and they do they do their best to solve the problem.*
> *I: As Quartier Chief what do you do, and who are your partners to help children who don't study to return back to school?*
> *R: There are seven people who lead the* quartier, *and every one deals with his tasks, but the Village Chief gets to know those children who do not study and reports them to the person in charge of education in the village. He in turn reports to the person in charge of education for the* quartier *and he*

[31] Sometimes camp residents 'rent' out their food ration (meal) cards in order to make quick money. This means someone pays them a fee in exchange for receiving their ration for a certain amount of time.

reports to the person in charge of education for the whole camp. (Quartier Chief, Gihembe)

When a child is violated, you inform immediately the police or the local governance; that's how parents help their children. (Adult man, Gihembe)

It was reported that committees played a role in responding to insecurity, which was both a cause and a consequence of delinquent behaviour and prostitution affecting children. In both Gihembe and Kiziba Camps the camp committees had initiated an 8pm curfew. In Gihembe this was said to function well, but in Kiziba, less so.

R: You see, the camp authorities changed, even the Camp President, so the newcomer with his committee installed a system of curfew, saying no one is allowed to be outside the camp after 8pm. Secondly, they installed some guys at night to patrol within quartiers *to ensure security. They also collaborate with the government so that they can eradicate sexual abuse.*
I: You mentioned some patrolling guys - who are they, and where do they come from?
R: Its like community policing here within the camp; they are from here within the camp. It's an initiative from within the camp to ensure our own security. They have been installed by the executive camp committee, which is an internal organisation. (Adult man, Gihembe)

Respondents reported that parents sought the help of camp security if they felt they could no longer control their children - mostly in the case of boys involved in delinquent behaviours. The security men reportedly disciplined children through beatings or giving advice.

I: What happens when parents cannot control them anymore?
R: They call families and try to reason and correct the child. If they keep being tough-headed, they take them to the people in charge of security.
I: What do those people in charge of security do?
R: They punish them.
I: How do they punish them?
R: They beat them.
I: After this punishment does the child does the child change?
R: Most of the time the child doesn't change. Instead the child gets deeply involved and committed to their wrongdoing, stealing and getting imprisoned. (Young man, Kiziba)

R: Parents turn to the security men when there is a child affected by alcoholism.
I: How do parents realise their child is affected?
R: They cannot ignore that; they notice changes in their child's behaviour. They can see their child is intoxicated, and when they try to ask him about it, instead of listening to them, he showers abuse on his parents. Then the parents understand that things are at a level that they should be reported

to the security men to help handle. The security men then come and try to counsel him against this misconduct. (Adult woman, Kiziba)

R: They steal anything possible to steal like bags and break into houses.
I: What happens when they break into houses?
R: They catch them and send them to committee and then beat them.
I: Do they change after being beaten?
R: Most boys change their behaviour and get back on the right track. A few others don't change. (Young woman, Kiziba)

Although respondents said that they reported cases to committee members, there were widespread concerns raised about corruption in the camp committee system and that cases raised with committees were not addressed fairly.

R: The head officers of the camp are not fair. When you aren't in the same ethnic group they don't care about your problem.
I: So what do you do when they refuse to solve your problems?
R: Of course we give them corruption; if you give something to him, he immediately puts your case in priority and puts aside the other one he was working on before. So it's very difficult here. (Adult woman, Gihembe)

*'Child protection' - we hear that on the radio but here in the camp there is no child protection. When a child is abused, no one can help him, and if you report the case of an abused child to the one who is in charge, they tell you to keep what are you saying quiet while your child is suffering. Those who are in charge are the ones who are negligent. They tell that you are not allowed to report your case to the leaders, and it ends there without any help. The child remains without help even after being abused. (*Adult man, Kiziba)

R: Another problem is the insecurity.
I: The insecurity? What is the cause of this insecurity?
R: Chiefs cause the insecurity here in the camp.
I: How do they cause that?
R: They are corrupted. (Adult man, Gihembe)

Camp committee members themselves reported that they played a role in the identification of out-of-school children and their reintegration back into the schooling system. Once identified, committee members in charge of education would report children who were out of school to ADRA and work with parents, counselling them about the need for children to be in school. They also heard from teachers if children were out of school in their communities and followed the case up as needed with children, their parents and relevant authorities.

I: What is your role in making children committed to their studies as much as possible?
R: Together with parents we're really interested and committed in making children going to school.

I: What do you do and with whom do you collaborate to send children who dropped out back to school?
R: Now ADRA has done something really great and we appreciate it because back then due to the school rules, they used to not allow children to come back. Now ADRA together with UNHCR have allowed children to go back to school. Even the ones who are uncontrollable and obviously they are the thieves you're hearing about, but they said any child interested can go back to school.
I: Who finds those [out-of-school] *children in the* quartier *and what happens?*
R: The Quartier Chief gives the list of those children to ADRA.
I: How do the Quartier Chiefs collaborate with the community?
R: They give an order. For example the Quartier Chief says that they have to make a list of out-of-school children and at which level they dropped out.
I: Who do you collaborate with in the quartier*?*
R: We collaborate with social workers from AVSI. UNHCR authorities facilitate us and in turn we give them a report. (Quartier Chief, Kiziba)

Although few respondents mentioned it, youth committees (part of the camp committee structure) with the support of AVSI, were involved in organising recreational events in the camps for various age groups including young children up to teenagers, and researchers observed a karate class taking place in Gihembe Camp involving adolescents.

R: Normally my tasks are gathering youth in groups, so that they can discuss or get occupied instead of becoming involved in bad practices.
I: Can you tell us some of those groups?
R: There is karate club, football, volleyball club, music club, and more clubs that we want to launch.
I: Can you estimate the ages of the members of those groups?
R: In karate we accept every person from 6 years old. In football club there are various ages from the youngest child to eldest…There is another group we called "Organisation" which teaches English. (Camp committee member in charge of youth, Gihembe)

As noted already in this report, widespread frustration was described at the lack of support available to youth, and the significant risks to them given the lack of activities and job opportunities in the camps. While children aged up to 18 years old were supported with activities by agencies such as AVSI and schooling was funded up to S3 level, young people older than 18 seemed to fall into a gap. Respondents reported confusion about which of the formal stakeholders were responsible for supporting youth.

I: So you tell us that before you had JRS to support you, these days you don't have any stakeholders?
R: Until now they told us that youth are under the responsibility of UNHCR, but we are somehow confused, it's not clear till now how we'll work with them. UNHCR work with AVSI, but AVSI focus on children less than 18 years

old only. So we are in the process of contacting UNHCR, and ask them how they will help us. (Camp committee member in charge of youth, Gihembe)

PARENTS COMMITTEES

Parent Teachers Associations (PTAs), widely known as 'parents committees', provided an important link between parents and school staff.

First a parent must play a big role in the education of a child at home and school. When a parent is really interested and committed working together with the parents committee and the executive committee, they report children who don't want to go to school. We collaborate together with all those committees to help the child, and obviously the child is then somehow out of options; thus they come back at school. But first a parent has to play a big role by reporting his/her child. (Primary school teacher, Gihembe)

The parents committee works closely with children and teachers, and when a serious issue occurs and it is beyond our capacities, we take it to the executive committee, and the person in charge of education to that level gets involved. (President of the PTA, Gihembe)

Parents are really involved. Apart from this involvement there is parents committee, at school where certain parents gather together and discuss in a proactive way with the leadership of the school, the director and teachers and also the operational partners, among which is UNHCR. If there is an ongoing problem they try to solve it. (UNHCR Child Protection Manager, Gihembe)

SCHOOLS

It was broadly recognised by all respondents that schools were a fundamental part of community life in the camps, providing education, occupation, hope and crucially preventing and addressing child protection concerns. As already discussed, attending school was a significant preventative factor for children effectively reducing their vulnerability to multiple harms such as early pregnancy, delinquency and prostitution. Teachers were trained in child protection issues and provided 'moral guidance' to students, also working with parents, including through the Parents Teachers Associations, to ensure that children went to school and stayed in school.

Some teachers, after noticing that children have been missing from school they come and inform parents. Then together they sensitize children to go back to school. (Adult woman, Gihembe)

FORMAL CHILD PROTECTION STRUCTURES

AVSI monitors and coordinates the activities of four child protection structures in the camps. Of these structures, respondents mainly mentioned *Nkundabana* and *Ishuri inshuti z'abana* (widely referred to as ECD).

Nkundabana

It was reported that members of *Nkundabana* raised awareness in communities through sharing information and identified out of school children.

> *When we've got information on those issues, we sensitise people within the* quartier*…We gather together people in all categories* [to tell them] *what is going on about those harms and tell orphans their value within the community because as you know they don't really open up to the community. We try to help them by convincing them to open up to the rest of the community so that we can be helpful to them. What we do most of the time is to intercede for them, and when it's an urgent case, we take it to the monthly meetings. Then NGOs try to sort it out together with the government representatives.* (Nkundabana representative, Gihembe)

ECD centres

The ECD centres were initiated by parents concerned with the lack of activity and care for young children and the increased risk of sexual abuse and other harms this caused. Churches in the camps support the ECD centres by providing space and volunteers from the community staff the centres. AVSI provides materials, training in child protection and monitoring support. ECD centres provide a safe space for mothers to leave their children while they work and give children opportunities for play, learning and social development. ECD staff members were also trained to identify and respond to cases of abuse by talking to parents and referring cases to hospitals for medical care and AVSI for further follow up. One ECD staff member reported how cases could be identified and how they responded, although this was not confirmed by other respondents.

> *I: How does ECD get involved or help if a child has been abused?*
> *R: We are sometimes the first to know. There are some* [children] *who will walk different and if we notice, we ask the child or others come to our centres without having been bathed, for such we will bathe them and in the process we end up finding out their wounds or pain around their private parts and when we question them, they tell us what happened. We ask them who did it to them, what he did and after we ask the child if he remembers the person. If he does, we will go find the person. If it is a fellow child, we counsel them; tell them that it is a bad habit and flog them if necessary. If they seem rude and defiant, we notify his parents. The parents may counsel him further or sometimes the small girl's parents may decide to take the matter to their village leaders who will take a final decision or refer the case to his superiors. If a grown up, we notify the child's parent, the camp authorities who in turn capture and hand him over or just call on police to deal with such issues.* (ECD volunteer, Kiziba)

The main challenge for ECD centres highlighted by respondents was the lack of payment for staff that worked as volunteers. Concerns about the quality of childcare were also mentioned by one or two participants, while the difficulty for many parents to pay the fees was reported more often.

> *I: How do you feel leaving your children with the caretakers at the ECD?*

R: We do not feel comfortable but again we do not have any other option. In the past, we requested AVSI to intervene but all they did was to provide children's uniforms. This year, children have gone to the daycare centres only twice. The church leaders, who also work with ECD and provide their churches on weekdays to be used as daycare centres, announced that there was a plan to remove the fee of 200 francs per child, which was paid on a monthly basis. He said that Nkundabana and the church intended to fully sponsor all the ECDs and no fee would be charged. This was welcomed but never materialised. (Adult woman, Kiziba)

Other challenges noted by the researchers included the need for training on child development and monitoring and oversight of the volunteers.

CHILD PROTECTION FORUM

The child protection forum is a monthly meeting of child protection stakeholders coordinated by UNHCR and AVSI. The meeting is attended by both stakeholders from the formal system, including government institutions (for example MIDIMAR, police, courts, hospitals), UNHCR and NGOs, and community-based actors including those from AVSI-supported child protection committees, churches and camp committees. The forum is a space to discuss policy and strategy, share information, and strengthen communication and collaboration. One of the main functions that the forum serves is to enable diverse child protection stakeholders and practitioners to discuss specific cases in order to identify and agree upon appropriate responses from the services available. Many key informants including community members volunteering in ECD centres and the camp committees referred to this meeting as an important collaborative tool linking different actors.

Child Protection Forum, Gihembe Camp. Image: AVSI

INTERNATIONAL NGOS

If it was not possible to resolve a problem within the family, community members referred children to NGOs responsible for different aspects of child

protection. These referrals were often made through camp committees, but also directly to NGOs. For example, it was widely reported that AVSI were in charge of child protection and that cases were referred to them.

> *R: We just give advice to children that are taking the wrong way of life and search for solutions for children that have been affected by harms.*
> *I: So after the meeting with the family when a child doesn't change, what do you do?*
> *R: We contact AVSI because they are in charge of child protection here.* (Quartier Chief, Gihembe)

In cases of conflict between families relating to early pregnancy, it was reported that the girl's family sought help from AVSI who would mediate and try and negotiate an agreement. If this was not successful and the boy's family still refused to help, AVSI could reportedly refer the case to the police, who refer the case on through the court system. In some cases a judge could force the boy to sign an agreement to provide financial support for the baby.

> *R: When the impregnator is from the camp, you go and have conversation with him, and when he is denying it, we report the case to AVSI or something like that. After being reported sometimes the boy says that he is not able to take care of the child, and obviously we realise that those boys are always wandering everywhere. There is nothing they can do; thus we raise the child on our own because the father is not helping.*
> *I: So if the boy denies everything, what does AVSI do?*
> *R: AVSI does take care of it somehow, and sometimes when the boy denies everything they end up in tough hearings.*
> *I: Where do those hearings happen?*
> *R: AVSI gives him a séance psychoeducative*[32] [psychoeducational session], *and when he refuses they report the case to police.*
> *I: So police get involved?*
> *R: Yes and when the boy has the financial capacity and he is refusing to marry the girl, he promises to give some money to take care of the child.*
> (Adult woman, Gihembe)

Respondents also reported that families contacted 'GBV'[33] for rape or sexual abuse. Cases were reported to sexual health clinics (the clinics themselves were also often referred to as 'GBV') or hospitals outside the camps. Children who had suspected pregnancies were also taken to sexual health centres for pregnancy and HIV tests. The health centres are located within the camps and are therefore fairly easy to access. Health centres could also refer patients on to government-run hospitals outside the camps when necessary. In the case of Kiziba the hospital is relatively far away in Kibuye, but closer for Gihembe.

[32] A *séance psychoeducative* is a meeting facilitated by AVSI with the families of the boy and girl. Meetings are first held separately and then together. They try to help families resolve their conflict and discuss positive ways to support their children.
[33] Respondents referred to gender based violence interventions by NGOs, namely AHA in Kiziba and ARC in Gihembe, as 'GBV'.

R: When they get pregnant, children come here [to the health centre] *to get tested. If necessary they bring the fathers if they are committed, if not and if they have evidence, girls seek the help of AVSI's attorney. The attorney takes the case to police, and the police start an investigation.*
I: So if the police dig deep, what happens?
R: The police investigate until the girl get compensation.
(AVSI social worker, Gihembe)

[In cases of sexual abuse] *health advisers are the first to intervene. When people realise that there is such problem, they give a call to health agents - we have their number posted at hospital doors - who take the concerned child to hospital for diagnostic test.* (Young woman, Kiziba)

Many respondents - including refugees, church leaders, teachers and camp committee members - reported that they had received child protection training or learned through sensitisation about child protection issues.

The local authorities and other NGOs involved in child protection meet with parents and talk about those harms. They even give them training on how to protect children so that they can share them with their families and children, showing them bad things that can lead to sexual abuse. Teachers within the camp, parents, even police work together to eradicate that harm. (Adult man, Gihembe)

Factors facilitating or blocking linkages

Some aspects of the formal and informal systems are working well together, while there are also blockages in the linkages between others, hampering the effectiveness of child protection mechanisms and interventions. For example, one of the positive examples described above is the Child Protection Forum, which was mentioned by formal stakeholders as well as informal stakeholders (including church and camp committee representatives) as a valuable way of sharing information and ideas, and discussing specific cases requiring the involvement and cooperation of different stakeholders. The ECD centres, which were initiated in response to needs identified by communities, were supported by AVSI with the input of local volunteers providing a safe space for young children within the camps. This link between an international NGO and community members was generally working well, despite some complaints. The role of the churches in the camps and cooperation with NGOs and international actors to disseminate child protection messages and host educational initiatives such as the ECDs and Hope School, is another positive example of linkages functioning well. Factors that facilitated linkages between the systems were the existence of clear roles and responsibilities and open and transparent communication between actors who were working together.

On the other hand, there were clear blockages observed in the links between formal and informal mechanisms. Corruption was one clear blockage, reducing the level of trust that community members placed on certain actors and preventing them from working well together. Other blockages were in the form of negative perceptions among community members and informal actors about

certain services and stakeholders, which limited their effectiveness. Some child protection services were somewhat 'invisible' to community members, or at least they were not mentioned by respondents in the research. For example, UNHCR's protection focal points and security focal points were not mentioned and some of the child-protection structures managed by AVSI were not highlighted by respondents, which is interesting because they are intended to be important linkages between the formal and informal mechanisms in the camps. Likewise, various children's clubs run by AVSI was not reported by respondents.

Finally, the importance of parents and extended family as the first responders to issues affecting children was not adequately reflected in appropriate programming by practitioners, prevented strong linkages between CBCPMs and formal aspects of the system.

Weaknesses in the child protection system

There were various weaknesses in the system raised by respondents. For example, the camps do not have an official police presence, which some respondents found frustrating as they felt there was no punishment for children under 18 involved in serious incidents. As mentioned, volunteer camp security officers were looked to by community members to provide to discipline to wayward children, but this was not their official role. Many complained they were not able to provide real security as they were too old and had no powers. The lack of formal mechanisms for punishment or consequences for children who seriously misbehaved was seen as a serious issue.

> *When they misbehave, we can't do anything about that. Authorities should help us and take the misbehaving child somewhere to deal with him. If he is stubborn, we have to let him go as a rogue boy.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

> *R: There is no punishment administered to children under 18; I have never seen this here. In our view, as I see here, when officials are referred to, they qualify the matter as reckless of parents* (Young woman, Kiziba)

The research team often heard that there was a lack of advice and education for parents themselves on child protection and wellbeing. The lack of education and 'illiteracy' of parents themselves was cited as contributing to child protection problems.

> *Another problem that children face here in the camp is also the lack of advice from the committees in charge of the child protection here in the camp that is not able to collaborate with the parents for the welfare and the child protection.* (Adult woman, Gihembe)

Respondents somewhat frequently reported that those responsible for the protection of children were ineffective or not acting to address issues, when they had the means. For example, some felt that there was a gap between what initiatives like *Nkundabana* claimed to do and what they actually did or achieved in real terms, while other cited the passivity of camp security in addressing

harms to children in the community and the lack of means for disciplining wayward children within the formal system.

> *When my girl gets pregnant, this becomes my own problem and I will deal with it alone. Who else will do it? At first when we heard* Nkundabana *we really had hopes that things will get better: reduction in number of school dropouts, children who abuse drugs, and delinquency. None of this changed. What they claim to represent and their objectives are totally different from what is on the ground.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

> *We have different levels of authorities who are passive; for example refugees in charge of security within* [the camp] *are no good as they never do anything when they see children and girls getting on motorbikes here in the camp. This is an indication that even though we have authorities in this camp, they are not playing their role in all this.* (Adult woman, Kiziba)

> *I: What of the NGOs working from the camp, what are they doing about* [the issue of drugs]?
> *R: Nothing so far. Take the example of UNHCR - they have the names of all children who cause chaos after using drugs. They have the means, which would ensure such issues do not come up but they are not doing anything about it.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

Other common complaints from respondents about the ineffectiveness of formal actors in addressing harms to children included the size of rations (causing hunger and malnutrition) and the lack of payment for volunteers involved in child protection. As has already been shown, the lack of schooling opportunities and activities for teenagers was cited as a serious problem in the community which respondents felt frustrated and angry that UNHCR and other formal stakeholders did not seem to be addressing the problem.

> *I think we have to be supported. From where UNHCR ends their support so that our children could finish their secondary school.* (Adult man, Gihembe)

THE EFFECTS OF PROTRACTED DISPLACEMENT ON CHILD PROTECTION

Respondents clearly felt that the situation of protracted displacement in which they lived in the Gihembe and Kiziba Camps (the two longest established refugee camps in Rwanda), had had a negative impact on endogenous, traditional community-based child protection mechanisms. Respondents blamed their refugee status and the camp environment for many of the harms identified, including sexual abuse, prostitution and delinquency. It was felt that these issues either did not exist (as in the case of teenage boys sexually abusing young children and prostitution) or were much less frequent in their normal cultural contexts.

A 3-year-old child can be raped by a 20-year-old boy. This has never happened before; we saw this only here. (Group discussion with adult woman, Kiziba)

Respondents reported that the cramped and restricted camp environment had changed the way people lived, as children were influenced by the customs and behaviours of others whom they normally would not have had contact with.

I mean this place is very overcrowded, and then we have different customs; children grow up here and acquire customs of others whom you did not live with before. Then they acquire all sorts of bad behaviours. As there are many people gathered in a tiny space, children risk getting inspiration from others and this leads to misconduct. If you look into the matter clearly, the problem is this overpopulation, and it is troublesome to us as parents. This is the most important factor that harming children's welfare. (Adult man, Kiziba)

The difficult living conditions and dependence on aid had changed adult's behaviour too, which had detrimental effects on children. The physical environment as well as family and community structures in the camps, were a complete change from life before becoming refugees. Most families came from pastoralist cultures living in Eastern DRC and were responsible for their own lives and livelihoods. In the camps, children were being raised by parents who had lost the ability to provide for their families, which meant that they were not learning the skills of self-sufficiency and responsibility they would normally get from their parents.

Normally children face harms, but here within the camp due to the living conditions, their parents are totally different from people outside the camp. Children here within the camp face many harms. There are harms, which can be caused by parents through their attitudes, and poverty where parents can take advantage of children to make them do heavy work. Children also face study issues again due to their parent's attitudes. That's why children can drop out of school, and the parents - due to the way they see things - can say, 'Let's send them back, there are people to help children here without getting really involved and concerned with our children's education'. Thus the children go to school empty-handed waiting for an NGO to give them school materials while the NGO does not supply the materials to children. (Adult man, Kiziba)

Children outside the camp are better, intelligent, and the ones within the camp I don't really know what's with them. Maybe it is because they have nothing to do, or I don't know; I think maybe it is because they take bad examples from us because us also we're not doing anything at all. We're unemployed and as you know children take examples from parents and older persons. (Adult woman, Kiziba)

I am not that old; I fled DRC when I was five years old. If I said I knew what life was like then, I would be lying; I wouldn't know. I don't know how they

used to take care of children. All I know about culture is what I have witnessed here; I don't know anything else. (Young woman, Kiziba)

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This section considers the implications of the findings presented above and makes recommendations that can help to guide the strengthening of child protection mechanisms and structures in refugee camp settings in Rwanda. The numbered statements below are not listed in order of priority and include a brief commentary and recommendations for action.

1. The lack of support for education after secondary three (S3) greatly increases the vulnerability of adolescents to harms.

The results clearly indicated that when adolescents had to end their studies at S3 level, their vulnerability to various harms significantly increased. Harms were different according to gender (although also interlinked); for girls the primary risks were early pregnancy and prostitution (sexual exploitation), while boys were vulnerable to falling into delinquent behaviours, including drug and alcohol abuse, stealing and fighting. Being in school was a strong protective factor, providing children with both occupation and a sense purpose and of building a future.

Once out of the school system, young people reported feeling hopeless, bored and lacking personal agency or options to improve their own lives. Parents and community members reported feeling powerless to help their children, as they could not pay school fees. Once children had finished free schooling, parents felt they had little support from formal child protection stakeholders in disciplining children engaged in harmful behaviours or providing alternative activities.

Despite recognising the special needs and harms facing adolescents, and the protective nature of education, UNHCR is challenged by the fact that their operational budget is decreasing in Rwanda.[34] However, there are relatively cheap and simple initiatives that could be supported. For example, the community-created Hope School is able operate on around US$ 240 a month, funded solely from contributions made by refugees using part of their food rations.

Recommendations:

- UNHCR should promote its mandate for secondary education in line with children's right to education up to the age of 18 years old as per the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Children (UNCRC). Working in collaboration with UNICEF and other education-sector actors, it should advocate with education-focused NGOs to implement such programming and jointly fundraise for such programming in collaboration with them.

[34] In fact UNHCR's overall budget in Rwanda increased slightly with the construction of a new refugee camp to cope with the emergency influx of refugees from DRC in 2012 and 2013, the budget for activities and services in the existing camps decreased.

- UNHCR, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should advocate strongly for school support with the Government of Rwanda for refugee adolescents to ensure that all students are able to study to the end of secondary school (S4-S6) in recognition of the specific protracted refugee context, the associated harms and risks for adolescents and the lack of alternative activities or livelihoods available to this group. In undertaking such advocacy, it may be helpful for these organisations to highlight as well the societal costs that the host country incurs, such as increased criminal behaviour, by not ensuring secondary education for refugee children.
- UNHCR, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should prioritise collaboration with and support community-based education initiatives for secondary school after S3, using Hope School as a model.
    - UNHCR, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should support Hope School with financial assistance towards its very basic costs and improving the learning environment for students. Technical support could also be offered by ADRA.
    - In collaboration with the Hope School in Gihembe, UNHCR, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should explore the feasibility of replicating this initiative in other camps in Rwanda where residents express their need and support for such a school.
    - ADRA and other refugee-assisting organisations should work with Government of Rwanda ministries (MIDIMAR and MINEDUC) to ensure that Hope School and any others like it are able to meet national education standards and gain recognition as official education institutions, enabling their students to receive recognised qualifications.
    - ADRA and other refugee-assisting organisations should advocate for teachers to be able to access trainings provided by MINEDUC.
- ADRA should strengthen school's abilities to prevent dropouts by building teachers capacity to support the most vulnerable children, through training on providing life skills and resilience guidance, and how/when to refer children to available services;
- UNHCR, AVSI and other NGOs should prioritise and increase the provision of vocational training and income-generating activities for young people who are out of school to promote self-reliance, build self-esteem and reduce their vulnerability to protection risks. A market (feasibility) study looking at opportunities for young refugee men and women should be conducted and used to tailor vocational training and IGA support to the specific realities of the context in and around each camp, with the aim of creating real opportunities for self-sufficiency. Vocational training opportunities near or within the camps should be sought in order to keep costs down. The Women's Refugee Commission's tools for market assessments for vocational training for youth can serve as a useful starting point for such programming (Women's Refugee Commission, 2011).
- UNHCR and NGO partners should engage in advocacy with the Government of Rwanda to allow refugees the right to work. Such advocacy would likely need to be undertaken with the support of the

broader United Nations presence in Rwanda and be based on additional quantitative research on the socio-economic costs to the nation of hosting these refugee populations.

- UNHCR and NGO partners should explore the feasibility of introducing micro-credit or group savings schemes for parents to enable them to regain a sense of agency and contribute to supporting their families, including paying for ECD and secondary school fees[35].
- CBCPMs could facilitate links between organisations and individuals willing to sponsor education. AVSI already links Italian families with Rwandan families through a 'Distance Support Programme' and could consider adapting a similar approach to support children's education in the camps. It may also be efficient to link with Rwandan diaspora communities in countries like Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya, which collectively host nearly 200,000 members of the Rwandan diaspora, according to government statistics (Orozco 2009). It will be important to have clear criteria in place for administering a programme like this and for decision-making processes to be transparent.
- An education fund for S4-S6 education could be established and managed by UNHCR. A committee of stakeholders could be formed to fundraise and distribute scholarships. Again, it would be important to have clear selection criteria and transparency in decision-making.
- MIDIMAR and UNHCR should strengthen linkages who MINEDUC in order to improve educational provision for adolescents in the camps.

2. Despite the vulnerability of young people to serious harms, there is a lack of programming targeting this group.

A key finding of this research was that community members overwhelmingly reported that the main harms against children, which concerned them related to adolescents and young people (from aged around 12 – 20 years old). The top harms identified through in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and group discussions included early pregnancy, prostitution, delinquency and being out of school after S3.

Although community members were seriously concerned for the wellbeing and safety of young people living in the camps, and formal stakeholders also reported their concerns for this group, there was a distinct lack of services and programmes targeting young people. There is an urgent need to support young people in creating livelihoods opportunities, strengthening life-skills, supporting family and clan structures and tailoring interventions to address young people already involved or at greater risk of prostitution, delinquency and early pregnancy.

Recommendations:

[35] It was reported by one respondent that a cooperative saving scheme had helped some parents to pay school fees.

- Parents should be more involved in programmes targeting young people in order to strengthen communication within families and encourage mutual accountability. AVSI should strengthen parents' participation in children's sports and educational clubs, for example through encouraging parents to take responsibility for managing the clubs.
- ADRA should increase efforts to enable young mothers to remain in school, through supporting childcare arrangements, such as community nurseries, while girls are attending classes, especially for those lacking family support.
- AVSI, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should increase support to education for children and youth on life skills, for example, working with teenage fathers on positive parenting and responsible fatherhood, and building children and young people's self-esteem, resilience to peer pressure and ability to support one another. Teachers reported providing 'moral' lessons as part of their teaching; NGOs could build on this and work with schools to introduce specifically adapted life-skills modules as part of the curriculum. UNICEF and other organisations have developed a number of life skills curricula for refugee youth that could be adapted to the Rwandan setting.
- AVSI, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should prioritise active outreach work targeting young people already engaged in harmful behaviour such as delinquent teenagers and girls and boys involved in prostitution. For example, engaging them in vocational training, life skills courses, and supporting family mediation.
- AVSI should ensure that extracurricular activities, including sport, art, social clubs and educational clubs, which include psycho-social elements such as life skills and improving parent-child relationships, are widely available and accessible to children who are both in and out-of-school. These kind of child and youth focussed activities should be prioritised over resources put into more "formal" child protection structures—such as committees and fora—that this research would suggest have limited impact and buy-in from communities.

3. The protracted refugee camp situation has led to the breakdown of normal family and community structures.

A key observation is the link between child protection harms and the protracted refugee situation. Most of the camp residents in Gihembe and Kiziba have been living as refugees for protracted periods in overcrowded camps, reliant on handouts and under the shadow of constant uncertainty and lack of control over their futures. With little sign of the situation in DRC becoming peaceful enough to allow them to return home and few prospects for integration into Rwandan society or resettlement elsewhere, they are effectively trapped in a kind of no-mans land, where they are not able to move back to where they came from in DRC nor move ahead where they are in Rwanda.

Adult respondents and community members reported that they felt distressed by their inability to provide for their children and to protect them from harms. There was a strong tension observed between the widely held understanding in

the population that parents were responsible for the well-being of their children, the focus by many international actors on the need for refugees to address child protection issues themselves, and the reality of the protracted refugee experience which had left parents and communities distinctly disempowered.

Young people also expressed their distress at the perceived 'weakness' of their parents and saw very few alternatives available to them outside of school. The lack of options after S3, or extreme poverty or neglect at home lead them to try and look after themselves through engaging in transactional sex, stealing or other delinquent behaviours. They also sought to forget their worries through delinquent behaviour and abusing drugs and alcohol. The stresses and realities of the protracted refugee situation were magnified after children left school and were clearly linked with risks and harms increasing.

Recommendations:

- UNHCR, AVSI, and other agencies should review their programmatic frameworks to more realistically reflect the living conditions that the refugees in protracted settings face. The 'protective framework,' for example, promotes that children and families find solutions 'themselves' to protection issues when - in fact - protracted refugee situations greatly undermine that very capacity to protect. While it is—generally speaking—advisable to discourage a culture of dependence on outside aid, these refugees have little choice but dependence: to insist they take responsibility for protection issues when they have limited resources to do so can contribute to their further disempowerment.
- UNHCR and partner NGOs should prioritise the identification and support income generating and livelihoods activities for adults and young people, based on the realities of the protracted refugee context, in order to help to re-build an individual and collective sense of control and empowerment. The nature of these livelihoods would depend largely on the market analysis mentioned in the recommendations for finding number one above, and their quantity would of course rely upon the financial resources available. As livelihoods programs can be quite expensive, an alternative option—again, already described above—would be for United Nations and other agencies to collectively advocate with the Government of Rwanda for the refugees' right to work, thus allowing them access to existing livelihoods opportunities in the growing national economy. If the right to work is not perceived to be an attainable goal, then UNHCR and partner NGOs should advocate with donors, including those in the private sector, for increased funding to support livelihoods programs that will help to restore a sense of dignity and agency for the refugee populations living in camps in Rwanda.
- UNHCR and partner NGOs should support psychosocial programming for children, adolescents and adults tailored to addressing the specific issues faced by camp residents living in a protracted refugee situation, including strengthening resilience, exploring identity and insecurity about the

future, re-gaining a sense of individual agency[36] and building mutual support. The types of activities could include those already mentioned, such as life-skills, positive parenting and parent-child communication sessions in schools, through churches and as part of out-of-school activities for children and young people. Using a model that builds upon the community mechanisms and leaders already in place, this psychosocial support could be relatively inexpensive and might represent a starting point for new child protection and family welfare programming in these camps. Nonetheless, it is important to note that unless the refugees' ability to earn their livelihoods changes, psychosocial programming's impact will remain limited in its ability to dramatically restore dignity, hope, and protection to these populations.

4. Important preventive factors existed in the refugee camps, which should be identified and built upon in all interventions.

Children themselves displayed significant resilience and strong coping mechanisms, helping them to navigate and survive in a very difficult and restricted environment. Adolescents were able to take some control of their lives through pursuing albeit potentially harmful activities such as transactional sex and stealing in order to support themselves, when caregivers were not able to. All of the children and young people who participated in this research were eager and motivated to change their situation and improve their lives.

Parents emerged as one of the most important preventative factors, teaching their children good behaviour, encouraging to them to stay in school and often supporting them through troubled times, such as early pregnancy. Many parents worked hard to try and provide their children with more that what they received through aid, for example by trying to augment young children's diets by selling parts of their rations to keep them healthy and trying to find support for their older children to continue in school beyond S3 level. Clan groups were seen to provide important support to children and families. This finding reflects other case studies showing that refugees and IDPs are often able to demonstrate remarkable resilience in protracted refugee situations, particularly through the use of clan and kin networks to diffuse risks among family members. (Long, 2011)

Other significant preventive factors were churches who spread important child protection messages through their congregations, organised economic support for vulnerable members and allowed their buildings to be used for ECD and secondary school classes (in the case of the Hope School).

These and other impressive community-driven initiatives such as the Hope School and ECD activities in the camps demonstrate that even in the most risk-intensive environments where social norms and agency had been severely eroded, important assets exist. By identifying and building on these assets, those

[36] 'Agency' can be defined as the capacity for individuals to act independently and make their own free choices.

working with refugee communities can take steps to protect children and prevent harms before they happen.

Recommendations:

- UNHCR, AVSI, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should strengthen their engagement and collaboration with parents, extended family structures and church leaders in preventing harms to children, through training and awareness-raising activities on issues including child protection and child rights, child protection law, the role of the community (and in particular men) in child protection. Such activities could include supporting community members to develop and disseminate accurate messages about risks and protective factors for children and to develop bottom-up referral systems for responding to protection issues when they arise.
- UNHCR, AVSI, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should increase their outreach to parents, specifically providing training and awareness-raising (in various forms such as street theatre, community debates and visual materials, and working with schools, churches, alongside the distribution of rations etc) about child protection issues including how to access services available and the importance of education.
- UNHCR, AVSI, ADRA, and other refugee-assisting organisations should develop programming which increases the dialogue between children and parents in order to build mutual respect and trust. For example, practitioners could train and support parents on parenting skills, inter-generational communication and child protection. Existing mechanisms like Parent's Evening could be strengthened through adapting its structure to enable parents to better support each other and share experiences.
- UNHCR and AVSI should identify ways to strengthen the child protection capacity of indigenous extended family and clan/tribe structures. For example, support could be given to family elders to play their traditional role in advising and protecting young family members, while helping them to adapt this role to meet the needs of young people growing up in the camps. Specific training sessions could be targeted this group and include discussions on subjects such as intergenerational differences, child rights, and culture, for example the risks of the tradition of 'ceceka' (not speaking out about problems) which could harm children.

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Annex 1. Methodology - Capacity Building, data collection and recording

Capacity Building

During a two-week period from 25 February to 8 March 2013 the lead international research advisor, Dr. Mike Wessells, and lead research consultant, Imogen Prickett, oversaw the training of prospective research team members. The purpose of training was to prepare the national researchers to collect quality data in an ethical manner during the data collection phase of research. The objectives included:

1. To build the capacities of prospective national researchers to collect data using rapid ethnographic and related tools
2. Increase the sensitivity of participants to issues of research ethics and child safeguarding and prepare them to conduct research in a safe, ethical manner that respects the participants' dignity and human rights; and
3. Collectively review, translate, and finalize the methodological tools.

Dr. Wessells lead the first week of training, assisted by Imogen Prickett. The first week of training was focused on:

- Theoretical training regarding the ethnographic approach and methods. The use of data collection tools including in-depth interviews, group discussions, body mapping, and key informant interviews. Team members role-played using each of these tools and received feedback helping them to improve their skills and develop confidence.
- Discussion of UNHCR and AVSI perspectives regarding child protection in the refugee context in Rwanda. These sessions were facilitated by UNHCR and AVSI representatives.
- Discussion of ethical challenges (including informed consent and confidentiality) and how to manage these concerns.
- AVSI Rwanda's professional code of conduct.
- Child protection principles.

During the second week, Imogen Prickett lead the training which focused on practicing and developing research skills and planning the field research:

- Intensive practice and role-playing using research tools. Researchers also had a further opportunity to practice using the tools, during a field-testing day in Gihembe Camp.
- Planning and preparation of the fieldwork phase, including developing workplans, logistics and administrative tasks.

Training was held in English and French, with important translations and discussions taking place in Kinyarwanda as the primary language of most researchers and the language spoken by refugees who participated in the research.

Research Ethics

Throughout the research priority was placed on respecting the humanitarian imperative 'Do No Harm' and protecting the safety, dignity, and rights of the participants, especially in light of the multiple vulnerabilities that refugee children and communities face. Accordingly, a training module on ethics and professional duty formed a key part of the preparation of the research team. The training module was made up of broad core ethical principles including humanity, impartiality, neutrality, beneficence, non-maleficence, and the best interests of the child. Furthermore, AVSI provided an orientation on its organisational code of conduct, which includes elements of ethical responsibility and child protection.

Due to the delicate nature of engaging young children in research, care was taken not to probe what young children said since the intent of body mapping was to avoid exploring a particular child's own, possibly painful experiences. A similar working principle was used when interviewing adults and teenagers; researchers aimed to encourage respondents to avoid discussion of personal experiences, but rather to discuss common experiences. It was not always possible to avoid discussion of specific experiences as participants sometimes spoke about themselves. Some respondents reported that they appreciated the chance to discuss their experiences and concerns, and that it could be therapeutic.

> *My suggestion is that when you want to come here and talk to us, just take your time and let us know. When you talk to someone it allows you to be free because it's obvious you have some interest and you care for us. You see when we talk to people like you somehow we recover from the trauma we've experienced. You are also human. It is more helpful than someone who gives to you without listening to you.* (Adult man, Kiziba)

The use of consent forms was a regular part of data collection and in every case when adults and teens participated in the research they were read the consent forms and asked to sign before proceeding with the research. In the case of children during body mappings, teachers were recognized as caregivers with sufficient authority to consent for children to participate in the research because the questions were neither intrusive nor personal in nature.

During the data collection phase of the project, team members were regularly reminded to manage the expectations of research participants so as to not create unreasonable expectations about possible implications of the research on camp policy or any personal benefit connected with their participation. In addition, although AVSI facilitated the research, care was taken to distance the project and researchers from association with a particular NGO. It was stressed that the researchers were conducting an independent study.

Data Collection and Work Plan

During the second week of training the lead researchers developed a work plan to ensure the necessary amount of data would be collected and translated in a timely manner. Although the research teams working in each of the two camps were larger than originally conceived and full-time translators were also recruited, it was apparent that translation of audio recordings was going to be slower than planned, and the work plan would have to take this limitation into account. So as to not create a large backlog of data which would sit un-translated for weeks or months, data collectors were instructed to spend the initial days in the camps getting to know the local community and layout of the camp. This approach, along with focusing on group discussions early on resulted in a solid foundation on which additional data collection could expand.

With training scheduled to end on 8 March 2013, the research team agreed to a four-week work plan to start on 11 March and end on 5 April 2013. Data collection activities within the camp were ended prior to the beginning of genocide commemoration week, a national period of mourning which begins on April 7 and officially continues for one week, though genocide commemoration events can continue throughout the month of April and until Liberation Day on July 4, which marks the official end of the 1994 Rwandan genocide.

With the limitations in the team's capacity to produce translated transcripts in mind, the data collection phase of this research proceeded with a schedule, which remained flexible and adaptive to realities in the field:

DAY	TASKS EACH DAY
1	Introductions, getting to know people and area
2-6	TWO group discussions and TWO body mappings per day This allows time each day for relationship building, getting to know the area, etc.
7-10	ONE group discussion and THREE IDI/ KIIs per day
11- 14	FIVE IDI/KIIs
15-16	ONE group discussion and THREE IDI/KIIs per day
17-20	FIVE IDI/KIIs per day

According to the above schedule, each camp was aiming to achieve the following:

- 16 Group Discussions (four adult men, four adult women, four young men, four young women)

- 58 IDIs/ KIIs

- 10 Body Mappings

Table 3: Actual data collected by tool used in each camp

	Kiziba	Gihembe	TOTAL
Group discussions	13	9	22
In-depth Interviews	35	39	74
Key Informant Interviews	17	20	37
Body Mappings	10	10	20

Table 4: Breakdown of study population by research tool and group

	Gihembe				Kiziba			
Respondents	**IDI**	**GD**	**KII**	**Total**	**IDI**	**GD**	**KII**	**Total**
Adult women	11	29	5	45	9	28	4	41
Adult men	10	9	14	34	16	29	13	58
Young women	10	22	0	22	6	6	0	12
Young men	8	15	1	24	4	29	0	33
Total	***39***	***75***	***20***	***134***	***35***	***92***	***17***	***144***

Researchers worked in pairs on group discussions and individually on body mappings, IDIs and KIIs. The research coordinator and assistant research coordinator floated between the two sites inspecting transcripts, providing feedback, and monitoring quality and ethical issues. Interviews and group discussions with women were conducted by female researchers wherever possible. The assistant research coordinator also assisted in group discussions and interviews providing guidance and providing back up to the lone female data collectors on each team.

There were fewer group discussions held in Gihembe than in Kiziba, due to the smaller team in the former camp, restricting the amount of data they were able to process. The Gihembe research team included only one translator (as opposed to two in Kiziba) limiting their capacity to translate and transcribe the data they collected.

Data Capture, Transcripts and Records

To ensure comprehensiveness and accuracy, interviews and group discussions were—with the informed consent of participants—recorded using digital audio recording devices. In addition to recording audio, researchers took written notes during interviews and expanded on those notes soon after completing their interviews or discussions. Upon returning to town (outside of the camp), where

researchers lived during fieldwork, audio recordings and relevant notes were delivered to translators, who archived the audio files with identifying labels for future retrieval and translation.

Care was taken to ensure that confidentiality was maintained throughout the data capture and transcription process. Team leaders trained researchers and translators on confidentiality and regularly monitored their adherence to the guidelines. Team leaders were always present when data was transferred from audio recording devices to computers and files were then removed from the recorders. Respondents were never asked for their names and this information was not included in transcripts even if it was recorded in the audio files. All data was kept on password-protected computers in the possession of translators, and transferred via email to the research coordinator when completed.

Annex 2: Research Tools

Informed Consent Form

I am .....from Kigali in a group of researchers working for the CPC Learning Network, a research group that seeks to learn about the activities in child protection in this refugee camp.

STUDY PURPOSE: The purpose of this study is to find out more about the concerns of communities in relation to children, and how communities are addressing these concerns.

NO MATERIAL BENEFITS: The study findings will directly inform the CPC Learning Network on the best ways to support community attempts to improve the wellbeing of children. There are no direct material benefits to individuals participating in this research.

TYPES OF QUESTIONS: I will ask you some questions about life in this community, and especially how life is for children. I'll ask about some issues which affect them, and how you feel about those issues, as well as what people in this community might be doing to improve the wellbeing of children.

CAN SKIP QUESTIONS OR STOP ANYTIME: You can decide not to participate in the interview, or you can tell us when a question makes you uncomfortable and we will skip that question. There is no need to answer any question that makes you uncomfortable. If you like, you can end the interview at any time and this will not affect any assistance you get from any organisation.

CONFIDENTIAL: All your answers will be kept private and confidential, and the only people that will have access to this information are the researchers for this study. We will not write your names anywhere. When we finish this research, we will write a report which will be given to the CPC Learning Network and others concerned with the welfare of children, but no names will be included.

May we have your permission to ask these questions, and are you willing to participate?
Yes/ No

If respondent DECLINES TO PARTICIPATE: Why?
_____

If respondent agrees to complete questionnaire, the interviewer should sign below and continue.

I……. after receiving the explanation and the purpose of this research, I accept to give the information

Signature of interviewee: …….

Working Guide for Group Discussions on Protection Risks and Functional Responses

Purpose: To identify the main protection risks to children, the networks that support affected children, the outcomes of various channels of help and action, and the level of satisfaction with the networks and outcomes by children, parents, community.

Participants: Seven to ten participants with attention to diversity (for example, different economic status, including the poorest of the poor; different social status, those living in difficult circumstances, etc**.)**

Participants will be divided into groups according to gender, age, and other criteria as decided on during the training workshop.

Time: 2 hours

- Introduction: (15 minutes)
- Activity 1: (45 minutes)
- Break, (10 minutes)
- Activity 2: (45 minutes)
- Wrap up and thank group: (5 minutes)

Resources & Materials needed:

- 1 facilitator
- 1 note taker with notepad and pens
- Audio-tape recorder (test battery beforehand)
- Spare battery for tape recorder
- 10 different items (stone, stick, cup, etc.)

I. Introduction:

Good morning. I am very happy to see all of you. Your attendance shows how much you care about your children. And as I had said earlier, this meeting is about children‘s welfare, and we‘ll be discussing your children--not other children, but your children.

My name is XXX. I am a researcher, and I work for the CPC Learning Network. We work on children‘s issues and want to learn how communities and groups of people ensure their children‘s wellbeing, what they do when their children are in trouble, how they support their children‘s development. This is the goal of our research. The research is not limited only to your community, it has already been carried out in three other countries. In Rwanda, we have chosen a few groups of refugees, because we cannot talk to everybody. And your community was one of the communities we chose for the research.

But before we begin the research itself and begin to talk to you about how you care for your children, first, I want to tell you something very important. I want to request your permission to talk to you, to ask you questions, and record your answers. If there is anyone here who would prefer to not take part in this discussion, you are free to say that you would not like to participate. And you are free to leave.

In addition, everything that we will say to each other is confidential and will stay between us. We are not going to take anything that is said here and share it with anyone else. The people who will get a report of our discussions are the ones who will pick it apart and tell us what is good, what is helpful, or will tell us this is what happened, and that is what happened. And when we have collected information that will tell us how to better help children, we will not identify the speakers in our report and say Mr. Joe said this, or Mr. Y said that, whether we use it to teach or to inform others. The report will be about refugees in Rwanda and how people respond when things go wrong or when the wellbeing of children is at risk; these are the ways that people respond. This is the kind of research we do. It is confidential. So, I'm going to ask each of you for permission before we continue with our discussion. So, Mr. George, what do you say? Okay, Mr. George has agreed. Mrs. Isata has agreed. Everyone has agreed. So, we can now continue with our discussion because everyone had given their consent.

But again, before we start, it will be good for us to get to know each other. We cannot be here for an hour or an hour and a half, and we don't get to know each other, because we are one in this work on behalf of children. So, as I told you before, my name is XXX. Please introduce yourselves so I can get to know you. Okay, everyone has now introduced themselves. Thank you.

Now, we are going to begin the discussion we came here for about children and their wellbeing. Today, we are going to discuss what happens here, in your community, where we are now. That is what we want to discuss. We want to talk about the things that hurt children; we want to talk about the things that hurt their development. We want to talk about the things that happen to children that make them unhappy, that they do not like to experience. We want to discuss the things that happen to children that make even you their mothers and fathers unhappy. We want to talk about the things that make you as a community come together to discuss what you want for your children. So, all of those things that are not good for your children, that make you unhappy, that make your children unhappy, these are the things we want to discuss today.

But before we begin our discussion, I want you to know a couple of things. Everyone here is free to express themselves, and whatever anyone says it right. No one here is wrong, anything anyone says is right. That is the first thing. We should respect the views of everyone here because everyone is right, no one is wrong. Secondly, as I said, it is a good thing for everyone to express themselves. But if we all talk at the same time, my colleague who is taking notes here will not be able to write everything down. He will miss some of what you say. I myself will not be able to listen to all of you, and I will miss what you say. So please, as we speak, let us speak through the chairperson. Let us ask the chairperson, who is me, and we will call on who wants to speak. That way, the discussion will go well, and everyone will have a chance to speak, and everyone will get a chance to hear what their neighbor is saying. Please, don't be shy, I want all of us to be comfortable, and for all of us to speak freely. Whatever we say here will remain here.

II. Activity One: Listing and Ranking of Child Protection Risks (45 minutes)

Steps:

1. To provide a framework for the discussion, provide this explanation about the first part of the discussion:

So let‘s begin. The things that make children unhappy, that affects their development, that ruin their ability to be successful, that make us, their mothers and fathers, unhappy on their behalf. We don‘t want to talk about poverty, because poverty affects all of us. And we can talk about it today, or even for a month, and we can go on talking. So, let us put poverty aside for now. And the problems with health care and hospitals, we know that that is a problem everywhere. We, in fact, know that there aren‘t enough hospitals for all the areas that need them. So, please let us put that issue aside for now. Let us not discuss it, because those things are things that are out of our control. Those are things that people who do not live in this community are responsible for. They have not done what they should do. But let us look at our children, at the things that we do and that we do not do that make them unhappy, that affects their development. Those are the things we want to discuss. So, who wants to start? Who wants to be the first person to tell us about one of the problems?

2. **Ask participants**: *What makes children feel unsafe or insecure*?

3. **Ask participants**: *Are there additional problems that children experience: At home? At school? In the community?*

4. Continue until at least 5 risks have been identified. Let the process continue up to 10 items if the group is very energetic and then explain that we need to close this discussion now and decide which are the biggest or most important risks to children in their village/area.

5. Identify Objects. With the list of problems/threats/risks in hand, have the group identify for each problem an object that represents the problem (for example, a stick might represent a problem such as severe physical punishment). Place it on the floor/ground so that all can see it. As risks are named and objects identified, be sure that the objects are spread out to allow room for the subsequent voting/ranking process. The note-taker should record which object goes with which problem.

6. Ranking— Explain to the participants that they will using pebbles to rank the objects/issues in order of importance. Remind everyone what risk each item represents.

Give each participant one pebble (or locally available item such as a seed) and ask him or her to place the pebble in the basket (or circle) by the object they think is **most** important. The recorder should record how many pebbles had been placed in each basket or circle. If participants talk with each other or speak out loud, it is useful to record what they say since it can be revealing.

Identify the issue with the most votes, and report this to the participants. Then set the object representing the top ranked issue aside, and return all the pebbles to the participants (one per person). As this occurs, be sure to listen to (and record) what participants say, since some will likely make useful statements about why they see a particular issue as most important. You can also probe by asking out of curiosity why some people voted for a particular issue/object.

Ask participants to repeat the process at least two more times, with each person placing their pebble beside the remaining objects/issues that they think is most important. Continue to record how many pebbles had been placed in each basket for each object.

7. Announce the outcomes for the top-ranked issue, the second ranked issue, the third ranked issue, etc. At the end, there should be three at least three issues ranked as most important/biggest problem, second most important and third most important. If ties occur in voting, there should be another vote which involves only the tied items.

> **Short break (optional)** – Icebreaker and small refreshment (if available). Note that although participants are not asked to talk about child protection issues during the break, they may do so spontaneously. It is valuable to listen and capture through notes what people say.

III. Activity Two (45 minutes)

Purpose: This activity provides a broad, preliminary mapping of the functional networks for support/action/services available to children and the outcomes and levels of perceived satisfaction associated with each line of support/action/service. For each of the three top-ranked child protection threats identified in Activity 1 above:

The focus will be on:

- which steps would be taken
- the people who would be involved in making the decision
- the likely outcomes of the response
- the level of satisfaction of different stakeholders with those outcomes
- which other alternatives might have been available and why they were not utilized
- recommendations for improvement of supports for children exposed to the three top-ranked child protection threats that had been identified in Activity 1 above.

Steps:

1. Tell participants: *I'd like to ask you what would happen if a child were affected by one of the three main risks/sources of harm you identified. Let's take your first ranked item, which was—[NAME the top ranked item]. Suppose this had happened to an 8-year-old girl in your community.* (Or if the risk is specifically related to a boy, the example would be a boy).

2. Ask the group the following questions:

> *Q: Who can a child who has been affected by this issue go to for help? Who is told about the issue?*
>
> Make a list of all the people and places that may be told about the issue or that may respond. Ask which of these is MOST TYPICAL, and explore this one by asking the following questions.
>
> *Q: What are the key steps?*
>
> Probes: Describe what would happen step by step.

Who could the child go to for help?
What would the family do?
What would the community do?
Who would be involved?
What supports would actually be provided for the child and family?

Q: Who would be the key decision makers about what would happen?

Who would be involved?
What role would be played by people/services outside the community?
Who takes the decision?

Q: What would be the likely outcomes of the responses to the problem?

What would likely happen to the child?
What would likely happen to the family?
What would likely happen to the perpetrator?

Q: How satisfied with this outcome would various stakeholders (child, family, community, people outside the community) be? Why?

Q: What other options did the child/family have?

Probes: Describe what would happen step by step.
Who could the child go to for help?
What would the family do?
What would the community do? Who would be involved?
Who would be the key decision makers about what would happen?
What role would be played by people/services outside the community?

Q: Why wouldn't other named options be used?

Would children, families, community leaders know about this option?
Why or why not?
Would it be viewed as less safe? Less appropriate? Less effective? Please explain why.

Q: Is there a legal responsibility related to this problem?

Who would it be reported to? (for example, Police? Social workers?)
Who would report this problem?
What would be the response of the agency/person it was reported to?
If not reported, why not?

Q: What recommendations would you make for better ensuring that the child is protected from harm and that the risks of the harm re-occurring are minimized?

What might have made it easier for the child to seek or access help?
How could the help/services that the child received have been made better?

Who else should have been involved in the process? What could be changed so that they become involved in the future?
Is the risk that the harm will re-occur still present? If so, what could be done to minimise this risk?

3. Repeat the process, focusing on the second-ranked item.

4. Repeat the process, focusing on the third-ranked item.

Don‘t worry if you run out of time since other risks and responses can be explored in the in-depth interviews.
5. **Conclude** by thanking the participants for their time

Working tool for conducting in-depth interviews on local CBCPMs

Purpose: To have open-ended, in depth interviews with youth and adults about their views of childhood, the threats to children‘s wellbeing and the responses to those threats in their village or town; to use good listening and probing skills as you speak with adults and youth about how they respond to and prevent threats to children‘s safety.

Participants: A national researcher and individual members of a village, community group, local government or non-governmental organization.

Materials

- Notebook
- Pen
- Tape recorder

Length of Activity

The length of an in-depth interview should last long enough to answer the key questions of the research project. It is important to stop an interview if the interviewee is tired.

What is an in-depth interview?

An in-depth interview is an intensive exploration of an individual‘s perspective or experience of the key questions of a research project. It should give you detailed information about an individual‘s perception of childhood, children‘s safety, and the responses to threats to children‘s wellbeing that he or she is aware of.

What are the characteristics of an in-depth interview?

It is unstructured: This means it is guided by a set of questions, but it is not administered as a questionnaire. It is more flexible than the formal, structured format of the questionnaire. The questions are there to guide the conversation and to gather the information relevant to the purpose of the research. Translate the key questions to make them understandable while keeping them intact.

It is controlled by the participant: It follows the lead of the participant. Allow the interviewee to determine how he or she will respond, while you pay

attention to the key research questions. The goal is to give the participants a lot of room to express themselves and go into depth about their views, perceptions, and knowledge. Make use of good interviewing techniques to arrive at your answers, like, listening actively, using prompts, and asking interviewees to tell you more about a response.

The interviewee's responses have depth Simple yes or no answers are not adequate in an in-depth interview. Ask your questions in such a way that the respondent offers rich, complex answers. This can be achieved by asking good open-ended questions. A closed question only has a yes or no answer, whereas an open ended question gives the respondent the opportunity to fill in the content of his or her answer. Probes should be used as much as possible: to clarify issues or to understand more and elicit adequate answers from respondents; help to structure and direct the interview and reduce irrelevant and ambiguous answers.

What are the Key Questions of the research project?

The key questions of this research project are listed below and should guide your interviews. Read them as often as you can so that they inform what you listen for as you conduct interviews, and what you write down as you make notes.

The questions are **not** a questionnaire and should not be administered as such. Phrase the questions in the best way possible for your interviewees to understand them and be able to offer details.

How do local people understand:

1. What are girls' and boys' normal activities, roles, and responsibilities?
2. What role is education perceived to play in children's development and protection?
3. What are the main child protection risks or sources of harm to children? Are these the same for in-school and out-of-school children?
4. What processes or mechanisms are used by families or communities to support children who have been affected by various protection threats?
5. What steps do {families, communities, schools} take to prevent or avoid these harms from happening to children?
6. What processes or mechanisms are used by families or communities to support out-of-school children? What are the outcomes of those mechanisms, and how satisfactory are the outcomes in the eyes of different stakeholders?
7. How do child protection risks vary by gender and age?
8. To whom do girls or boys turn to for help when protection threat X arises? Who are the natural helpers and what networks do they have? Are these natural helpers and networks linked to the education system?
9. What are the endogenous, 'traditional' mechanisms of protection and how are they regarded by different groups? Apart from indigenous mechanisms, what groups or structures (e.g., Child Protection Committees or community based child protection mechanisms facilitated by NGOs) exist in communities and/ or refugee camps?
10. What do communities do to promote school enrolment? Are CBCPMs actively involved in supporting or advocating for children's access to school? Are CBCPMs actively involved in supporting or advocating for safer schools?

11. Who has or does not have access to existing protection mechanisms (e.g., do refugees have access to the same mechanisms as their host populations)?
12. Who has or does not have access to education (e.g. do refugees have access to the same mechanisms as their host populations)? Are there linkages between protection mechanisms and schools?
13. Are there benefits of education to the protection of children? If so, what are they?
14. What are the linkages of community mechanisms with the formal elements of the child protection system? How do communities perceive formal mechanisms and structures and do they use them? If not, why not?

Planning for and carrying out an in-depth interview

The following sections will give you some tips and tools on carrying out an in-depth interview. It is structured as a 'before', 'during' and 'after' guide.

Before the interview

You will meet the people of the village in different settings. Begin to think about and schedule your in-depth interviews.

- While you are conducting participant observation, you will have plenty of casual and open conversations with your informants. Pay attention to those children, youths and adults who will be good candidates for in-depth interviews. Choose them so that you will have a range of perspectives from different social groups: men, women, boys, girls, officials, traders, school teachers, etc. They may be members of community groups or they may be grandmothers or grandfathers who are knowledgeable about the goings-on the camp.
- Schedule your interview. Explain the purpose of the interview to the interviewee and why you have chosen to speak with them. Tell them approximately how long the interview will last.
- Also pay attention to work schedules for both men and women in the community and work around their schedules. For example, if a majority of women work around the clock and then come back home to prepare the evening meal, it would be useful to observe when they are a bit relaxed and to enquire about what they see as free time

What to bring to an interview

Tape recorder

- Before you arrive for your interview, always check your tape recorder to make sure that the batteries are charged. You do not want to run out of power during a very interesting or important conversation.

Notebook and pen

- Take running notes during your interview. Write down your interviewees' responses verbatim as much as you can. The tape will help

you fill in the blanks later. Running notes will save you time as you write up the transcript from the interview.

- Do not let time elapse between the time of the interview and the write up of the notes or transcript.

Beginning the interview

- **Find a comfortable place to talk** Make sure that you and your interviewee are in a quiet place, or in an environment in which you are both comfortable and can speak without fear or hesitation. Avoid secluded places.

The first tasks of an interviewer are ethical. Following the ethical protocol will help to build trust between you and the interviewee.

- **Informed Consent** Inform the interviewee about the purpose of the research. Ensure that the interviewee understands the aims and limits of the project. Get oral or written consent from the interviewee to participate in the research.
- **Confidentiality** Inform the interviewee that anything shared during the conversation will be kept confidential and be used only to meet the goals of the research project.
- **Permission to tape** Some interviewees may be uncomfortable about being taped. Ask the interviewee‘s permission to tape the interview.

As an introduction, you might want to say something like:

> I would like to learn from you about childhood and children’s development. I want to request your permission to talk to you, to ask you questions, and record your answers. You are free to say that you would not like to participate and you are free to leave. Everything that you will say is confidential and will stay between us. You are free to express yourself, and there are no right or wrong answers. Do you give your permission to be interviewed?

During the Interview

You will be able to have successful in-depth interviews if you use good and effective interviewing techniques.

The most effective techniques are **active listening skills** and **knowing how to ask good questions,** particularly the use of probing questions.

Active listening skills An active listener is an alert and engaged listener who communicates interest in and respect for what an interviewee has to say. Active listening

- Be attentive and alert – While the participant is speaking, use verbal and non-verbal expressions of attention that are appropriate for the setting. You can intermittently say ‘yes‘ or ‘uh-huh‘; use what is linguistically and culturally appropriate. Non-verbal cues often use body-language. This could be expressed by nodding your head, having an open facial expression and not crossing your arms.

- Use silence to listen effectively – Do not overdo the expressions of attention. Silence can allow space into the communication and give the interviewees room to hear themselves and think more clearly. While being silent, remain engaged and attentive by using open and friendly facial expressions and body language.
- Do not interrupt the flow of your interviewee‘s responses – Allow the speaker to get to the end of his or her sentence. Jot down an interesting or important question and ask it later.
- Keep your opinions and personal stories to yourself – Sharing your personal opinions takes the focus from the research project and the goals of ethnographic enquiry, which are the views and opinions of the people who live in Gihembe and Kiziba on childhood and the threats to children‘s safety

Asking good questions

- Ask open-ended questions – Open questions do not have yes or no answers. An example of a closed question is —Are girls more likely to work in the kitchen than boys? The answer here is yes. An open question would be —How do the responsibilities of girls and boys differ in the home?
- Do not ask leading questions – leading questions contain the answers in the question and do not give the respondent a choice in the answer. For example, a leading question would ask —Is child beating one of the ways in which children‘s well-being is threatened in the village? A non-leading question would be —Tell me about one of main child protection risks in this camp?
- Ask probing or exploratory questions – This is useful when you are looking for information that has been left out of a respondent‘s answer. For example, you can say, —Tell me more about that. —Anything else?— What do you mean?
- Use prompts – They can communicate that you are listening, like the non-verbal —*enh henh* or a more verbal prompt like —Really? They can also help the interviewee to continue their train of thought and deepen it.
  What are the prompts of the language you will be using?
- Use repetition as a form of feedback – Repeat the last word or phrase of interviewee‘s answer. This can encourage them to say more, and it indicates that you are listening.
- Don‘t editorialize i.e. do not add comments to the key questions that express your opinion about them. For example, an editorial question would say —It must be very difficult for children in foster care who are regularly punished. Is foster care a child protection risk? This is also a leading question.
- Ask naïve questions – Naïve questions allow you to set aside your prior assumptions about the subject you are researching. They are basic questions that can lead to in-depth answers with information you may not

get otherwise. For example, a naïve question is —What makes someone a child?

Some useful questions for in-depth interviews

Questions we might be interested in asking during in-depth interviews include the following. However, it is important to remember that these questions are not to be asked as though they were a questionnaire – phrase them in your own way, and be led by the interviewee and their interests.

CHILDHOOD

1. What is childhood like for boys?
2. How do boys develop?
3. What is childhood like for girls?
4. How do girls develop?
5. What are the normal activities, roles, and responsibilities for boys? For girls?
6. What can, and cannot, boys do? What are the taboos? For girls?
7. When do boys start working? When do girls start working?
8. How do boys begin working and what type of work do they do?
9. How do girls begin working and what type of work do they do?
10. What do boys do for recreation? When and where does it occur? For girls?

RISKS AND HARMS

11. What are the main child protection risks or harms to children?
12. How do child protection risks vary by gender?

PREVENTION

13. What steps do families take to prevent or avoid these harms from happening to children?
14. What steps do communities take to prevent or avoid these harms from happening to children? What do schools do to prevent harms happening to children?

RESPONSES

15. What mechanisms or processes are used by families or communities to support children affected by these harms?
16. What are the outcomes of these mechanisms or processes?
17. How satisfied are the parents with the outcomes?
18. How satisfied is the child?
19. How satisfied are community members?
20. Whom to boys turn to for help when a protection threat arises? Whom do girls turn to?

MECHANISMS, STRUCTURES & NETWORKS

21. Who are the natural helpers and what networks do they have?
22. What are the traditional mechanisms of protection and how are they regarded by different groups?

23. What other groups or structures exist in the community to protect children (for example, an NGO)?
24. How are these perceived by local people?
25. What are their roles, responsibilities, and functions?
26. What religious supports help to respond to various harms or to prevent those harms from occurring?
27. What do government and NGOs see as their main roles and responsibilities in regard to child protection in communities?
28. How do communities perceive government mechanisms such as police and the legal system?
29. How are very sensitive/complex issues addressed?
30. Who has or does not have access to existing protection mechanisms (for example, do the poorest of the poor or orphans or people not related to community leaders have access)?

LINKAGES

31. What are the linkages of community mechanisms with the national child protection system?
32. What are the gaps in those linkages?
33. How should those gaps be bridged, and by who?

Working with difficult informers

- Be patient – The most effective response to difficult interviewees is patience. Be patient and communicate empathy.
- Show respect for their time and opinions even if you disagree with them.
- What are their concerns? – If their concerns are about the project itself, give them some room to discuss their concerns about the research project. It could be helpful information.
- If an interviewee is resistant or unresponsive – Ask them questions about their lives or about another topic that is easier to talk about. Then return to the research questions.

Other things to consider

- When women/girls or men/boys cannot speak freely in front of the other group, arrange for separate interviews and, if necessary, arrange for each group to be interviewed by a researcher of the same sex/gender.
- Be sensitive to other factors that may influence gender relations in the families and communities-- lack of services, migration, politics, etc.
- Be aware of the power dynamics between researcher and participant, even if of the same gender and ethnic group.

Concluding the interview

- Thank your interviewee for his or her time
- Ask them if you can follow up with them if you need to make clarifications

TOOL ON BODY MAPPING ACTIVITY

Purpose:

To understand the perspectives of children, including younger children, with regard to their likes and dislikes, as well as sources of harm and support for them.

Parents' permission

Before beginning the body mapping activity, get informed consent from the child's parent/guardian before talking with the children. Explain to the parents that you will be playing a game with children that asks them what they like and don't like, to understand children's sources of well-being and distress.

Materials:

Sheet of paper, approximately 1 metre by 1.5 metres. 1 box of crayons

Participants:

Approximately 10-12 children ages 6 to 10, with separate groups for boys and girls.

Before beginning, get informed consent from the children.

Procedure:

1. Gather the group of children and ask for one child to volunteer to have their body traced

2. Ask for a child to volunteer to trace the outline of the child as s/he lies on the paper

3. Ask the children to colour the drawing (give each child one crayon)

4. Ask the children to make up a name for the figure that was drawn

5. Ask the following questions and write all the answers on a separate sheet of paper. Encourage all children to provide an answer. For each question, point to the part of the body that the question is asking about:

1. What do eyes like?
2. What do eyes not like?
3. What do ears like?
4. What do ears not like?
5. What do noses like?
6. What do noses not like?
7. What do mouths like?
8. What do mouths not like?
9. What does the head like?
10. What does the head not like?
11. What does the heart like?
12. What does the heart not like?
13. What does the stomach like?
14. What does the stomach not like?
15What do hands like?

16. What do hands not like?
17. What do feet like?
18. What do feet not like?

Thank the children for talking with you!

TOOL ON NOTE-TAKING: TIPS AND STRATEGIES

In order to take good notes, practice active listening.

Take notes during interviews and group discussions using one of the following strategies:

1. Running notes or a close-to-verbatim record of what has been said
2. Jottings of key words and phrases as the interviewee states them
3. Categories, e.g., (a) main points, (b) related points, (c) examples

What you should listen for:

The main points: When an interviewee responds to a question, what are the main points he or she makes?

Key words and phrases: What are the key words and phrases that express these points?

Elaboration: How does s/he elaborate on those points?

Examples: Does s/he give examples? Does she explain what she means?

Repetition: Does s/he repeat words? Repeated words and phrases are important. ***Do not*** reproduce them when you reconstruct your jottings or notes into a compressed transcript.

Non-verbal cues: What is the body language of the respondent? What does his or her body language express?

Writing a condensed transcript

The document you are expected to prepare for each in-depth interview or group discussion is a condensed transcript. A condensed transcript is an accurate, comprehensive, reconstruction of the respondent's own words from your jottings or running notes. Use the tape recorder to fill in omissions and to check that you have used the exact terms used by the respondent.

<u>Don'ts</u>

- Don't rephrase the respondent's words in your own words.
- Don't describe the interview.
- Don't omit vivid, concrete statements.

<u>Dos</u>

- Use the respondent's own words
- Use verbatim quotations
- Make running notes
- Use abbreviations to speed up your writing

The best way to understand how to build an accurate condensed transcript is to consider a verbatim transcript and examine possible jottings that an alert

interviewer might have taken during the interview. Then we will consider one unacceptable example and one acceptable example of a condensed transcript that was prepared following the interview. These are presented in order below.

Full Verbatim Transcript

I: Mary, I understand that, you told me that you had spent time with the RUF in the bush, and that now you're back home in your village of origin. I'd like to learn a little bit more about your situation. What can you tell me about your situation and the kinds of challenges you face.

R: It has been so hard since I came back. I came back I did not even have a piece of cloth to cover myself, and when I came back, the people they treated me like dogs. My baby is sick, he has malaria, and how can I get the medicine. The health post is far, and I don't even have 10 Leones. How can I take him to the health post? How can I get him to be well? My parents, they reject me and they reject my baby. They call him rebel child. They do not even call him by his name. And then his father, he does not help, he has gone back to the bush, but he comes around and he want me to come with him and to have sex with him. And what can I do I do not want to be with him. He raped me. He has treated me badly and has beaten me. But what can I do, I need something. Sometimes he has given me money but most times he gives me nothing, he just abuses me. He says bad words. He beats me. There was a man I met on my way back when coming to Freetown, he took me into his house and he gave me food and let me sleep on his bed, but now he went out and one day he was cutting a tree and it fell on him and now he's dead and I have nothing. And I come back and my parents won't even let me eat off the same plate, they throw me in the corner like dogs. They're afraid of me, and what have I done. They say that I'm . but what have I done, I'm a child, I'm only 16.

I: What does this mean, you cannot eat off the same plate? What does that mean to you?
R: They've rejected me. When they eat, they eat all the best parts and they just throw me in the corner like a dog.

Jottings – an example

- Understand. Time. RUF. Bush. Family. Challenges.

- So hard. Cloth cover. Treat like dog. Baby sick malaria. Health post. 10 Leones. Parents reject me. Baby rebel child. Father wants me sex. Treated badly raped. Sometimes money. Beats me. Abuses me. Man took me in. house. Food. Sleep in his bed. Man dead. Tree fell. Parents afraid of me. Throw me in corner. Eat off the same plate. Afraid of me. What have I done? I'm a child. Only 16.

- Mean? Same plate

- Rejected me. Throw in corner like a dog.

Below are two examples of reconstructed interviews. The first is an unacceptable transcript. The second is a condensed version of the full transcript. Notice the format of the second.

Unacceptable

The interview said to the respondent that he understood that she spent time in the bush with the RUF. He asked her, "What are the challenges of your situation?" She said her life has been difficult and she doesn't even have a blanket to cover herself and her baby at night. She looked angry and traumatized. She said she was treated like a dog and her baby was sick with malaria. She could not even take him to the hospital. The respondent said she had been rejected and disowned by her parents and her baby was called a rebel child. The father of her baby was a rebel man and he came around sometimes but he only came to have sex and he treated her badly. She came back to her parents but they said they were afraid she would bring them bad luck. They threw her food in a corner and gave her leftovers. She was treated like a dog. She has been rejected by her parents.

What is wrong with this reconstruction? Identify the following:

- What words are not the respondent's words?
- What important points did the interviewer leave out?
- What facts have been altered?
- What statements are inferences and reflect the analysis of the interviewer?

Acceptable

In-depth Interview 1.0
Freetown, Sierra Leone
January 26, 2011

I: I understand you spent time in the bush with the RUF. Now you are back in your village. Tell me about your situation and the challenges you face.
R: (Respondent is agitated. She is seated upright and speaks loudly.) It has been so hard since I came back. I do not even have a piece of cloth to cover myself. People treated me like a dog. My baby is sick with malaria, but I don't even have 10 Leones to take him to the health post. My parents have rejected me and my baby. My baby is called a rebel child. His father has gone back to the bush, and when he comes around, he wants sex, but I don't want to be with him because he raped me and beat me. Sometimes, he gives me money. On my way back to Freetown, another man had taken me in, gave me food and let me sleep on his bed, but a tree fell on him and he died. I came back but "my parents won't even let me eat off the same plate." They are afraid of me. "What have I done? I'm a child, I'm only 16."

Research often causes unintended harm by violating the principles of confidentiality or informed consent, or stigmatising particular groups of people. If conducted in an extractive manner, the research process may raise expectations, create frustration, and lead affected people to mistrust outsiders. In the process of exploring sensitive topics or issues, research may pick open people's wounds and leave people in a more vulnerable condition than they had been in previously. Research may also increase power imbalances that cause particular people or groups of people to be vulnerable. Researchers may also use their own power to exploit the research participants.

A high priority in this research is to respect the humanitarian imperative Do No Harm and to adhere to appropriate ethical standards. This section outlines these principles, the review process for insuring that they are upheld, and practical guidelines for implementation.

Ethical Principles

1. **Humanity.** The researchers and the research process shall respect the rights of all people and treat all women and men and boys and girls of all ages in a humane manner that supports their dignity, saves lives, and alleviates suffering.
2. **Impartiality.** The research will not discriminate against particular people or groups of people and will insure that assistance is provided according to people's needs and rights.
3. **Neutrality.** The researchers and the research process will neither take sides in hostilities nor stir or participate in political controversies or processes.
4. **Beneficence.** The research will have discernible benefits—including benefits that relate to information and social improvement—to the participants and affected people. As explained below, this principle requires that the research will not be extractive and will include specific steps that benefit the participants and other affected people.
5. **Nonmaleficence.** The research will take appropriate steps to prevent and mitigate physical or emotional harm to the participants and other affected people. The research process will include specific, contextually appropriate steps to prevent and minimize harm by protecting confidentiality, insuring informed consent, and requiring adherence to a Code of Conduct.
6. **Best interests of the child.** The research will respect and protect the best interests of children, defined under international law as people under 18 years of age. It is recognised that the well-being of children is closely interconnected with that of their parents, extended family, and community.

Child Safeguarding Policy

The researchers and any of their support staff (e.g., drivers, translators) who have contact with children will adhere to the Code of Conduct. Cases of abuse, exploitation, violence, or neglect will be reported to the AVSI Research Coordinator at the end of the data collection phase. The exception is when the abuse is extremely serious (i.e. an immediate life-or-death situation), in which case the researcher should use their judgement about how to best respond.

Specific steps to take include:

- Adhere to national laws and policies.
- Support the rights of children.
- Report suspected infractions of the child safeguarding policy to the Research Co-ordinator or the Lead Researcher.
- Avoid all actions that could count as abuse, exploitation, violence and neglect toward children.
- Avoid all forms of abuse, exploitation, violence and neglect in relations with adults since these, too, violate human rights and create an enabling environment for violations against children.

Supporting People's Dignity

The way in which researchers conduct themselves and interact with local people can support or undermine people's dignity and well-being. It is vital to respect local people and customs and to avoid behaviour, dress, or attitudes that local people may regard as demeaning or inappropriate. Specific steps for supporting people's dignity are to:

- Treat each individual in a respectful manner.
- Be friendly and kind in all interactions.
- Dress and behave in ways that are locally appropriate.
- Be aware of and respect gender norms.
- Take a stance of participant observation and learning about local practices, avoiding passing judgment on local beliefs or practices.
- Be sensitive to people's schedule. For example, it is best not to ask people for interviews at the time when they normally go to tend their fields.
- Avoid political debates, criticising others, or imposing your own views.

Informed Consent

Participation in research must be voluntary, and people must be free to decline or end participation without any negative consequences. Decisions to participate should be informed by an understanding of the purpose of the research, how and what information will be collected, how the information will be used, and potential risks and benefits to participants. Where participants are children, informed consent must be obtained from the children themselves and from their parents.

Obtaining informed consent is inherently difficult for many reasons such as the power imbalance between researchers and participants, the pervasive expectations that participation will bring material improvements now or subsequently, the prevailing norms of hospitality, and the perceptions of local people about the Chief's expectations, among others. In many situations obtaining written consent is not feasible because of low literacy levels and prospective participants' fears that written documents will be used against them. Because of the fluid, unforeseeable nature of the situation, it is important to treat informed consent as an ongoing process rather than a one-off action.

Specific steps to insure informed consent are to:

- Use a child friendly approach in explaining to children the purpose of the research, what and how information will be used, their right to say —No without negative consequences, etc.
- If the participant is a child, obtain the informed consent of both the child and his or her parent or caretaker.
- Tailor to local circumstances the approach to obtaining informed consent. Where appropriate, use letters and request signatures to indicate voluntary and informed consent.
- Do not accept a community leader's statement that everyone will participate as informed consent. The process of obtaining informed consent must be implemented for each individual.
- Avoid the tacit coercion that can occur, for example, if a parent tells a child 'you should participate' or if a community leader says 'we should welcome the researchers and answer their questions.' Explain informed consent to the person in power and ask them to explain to others that they are free not to participate and that there will be no disadvantages or penalties for people who elect not to participate.
- Manage expectations by explaining in simple, clear language that no material benefits will come through participation in the research.

Confidentiality

The research participants will be informed that the information they provide is confidential. The researchers will not share publicly information such as names that could be used to identify specific individuals or sources of information. Where identity information is collected, it will be maintained in a separate, locked file, and will be made available only to people who have a legitimate need to know. Specific steps to insure confidentiality are to:

- Conduct discussions in a private setting. If there are departures from privacy, make sure all the participants know who else is present and listening or observing and give their informed consent to continue.
- Keep any records of names and other identifying information in a safe, locked place that is not open for public access.
- Do not leave confidential files open on a desk or computer. Always close them and put them out of public access even if you leave your desk only for a minute or two.

- Use general descriptors (e.g., 13-year-old girl) rather than a specific name or other identifying information in writing up one‘s data and reports.
- Share information from one‘s field notes, including identifiers, with members of the research team but not with people outside the research team.
- Hold in strict confidence information about specific cases of abuse, exploitation, violence, and neglect, sharing information only with , the Research Co-ordinator or the Lead Researcher.

Psychosocial Support

The research is not designed to collect information about particular cases since the questions asked pertain to hypothetical situations. Nevertheless, it is possible that in the course of discussions, a participant might become upset because she recalls painful events such as having been abused herself. Key steps in preventing and handling such a situation are to:

- Identify in advance of the research a natural helper or social worker who could provide psychosocial support to someone who is distressed by the discussions.
- Attend to people‘s nonverbal reactions, and discontinue the discussion if the participant becomes upset.
- Provide compassionate listening and accompaniment to someone who is distressed.
- If a participant has been distressed by a discussion conducted as part of the research, notify the natural helper or social worker so that they can provide follow up support for the participant.

INFORMED CONSENT PROCEDURES

GROUP DISCUSSIONS

ADULTS

- Give them all the information on the ‘introduction and informed consent sheet’.
- Ask each member of the group, one by one, whether they are willing to take part.
- If they agree, continue with the group discussion.
- Once the group discussion is over, complete the informed consent record. Make sure you correctly record the Group Discussion Identification Number. Sign it to show that all participants gave their informed consent.

YOUNG PEOPLE (aged 13-18 years)

- Find out which adult is responsible for each of the young people who you would like to invite to participate, contact each responsible adult and ask them for permission to invite the young person to participate in the group discussion. You must give the responsible adult all the information on the ‘introduction and informed consent sheet’ before you ask for their permission.

- If you receive permission from the responsible adult, invite the young person to come to the group discussion.
- Once all the young people are together, at the beginning of the group discussion, explain everything on the 'introduction and informed consent sheet'.
- If they agree to participate, continue with the group discussion.
- Once the group discussion is over, complete the informed consent record. Make sure you correctly record the Group Discussion Identification Number, and how the responsible adults who gave you permission are related to the respondents (e.g. father, mother, aunt, grandfather).
- Sign it to show that all participants gave their informed consent.

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

ADULTS

- Give them all the information on the 'introduction and informed consent sheet'.
- If they agree to participate, continue with the interview.
- Once the interview is over, complete the informed consent record. Make sure you correctly record the Interview Identification Number. Sign it to show that the participant gave their informed consent.

YOUNG PEOPLE (aged 13-18 years)

- Find out which adult is responsible for the young person, and ask them for permission to invite the young person to participate in the interview. You must give the responsible adult all the information on the 'introduction and informed consent sheet' before you ask for their permission.
- If you receive permission from the responsible adult, give the young person all the information on the 'introduction and informed consent sheet'.
- If they agree to participate, continue with the interview.
- Once the interview is over, complete the informed consent record. Make sure you correctly record the Interview Identification Number, and how the responsible adult who gave you permission is related to the respondent (e.g. father, mother, aunt, grandfather).
- Sign it to show that the respondent gave their informed consent.

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

The procedure for obtaining informed consent from Key Informants is the same as for in-depth interviews (adult respondents). There is one important difference. Although we will not record their name, we will write down their role (e.g. religious leader, head teacher) and may refer to their role in the report. Make sure you tell them this.

BODY MAPPING (children aged 6-10)

- Find out which adult is responsible for the young person. If the activity is conducted in school this may be a teacher, if out of school it is likely to be their parent or guardian.
- Explain that you will be playing a game with children that asks them what they like and don't like, to understand children's sources of well-being and distress. Ask for their permission to invite the child to participate.
- If you receive permission from the responsible adult, invite the child to come to the group discussion.
- Once all the children are together, explain that you want to play a game with them, to find out what they like and don't like.
- If they agree to participate, continue with the body mapping.
- Once the body mapping is over, complete the informed consent record. Make sure you correctly record the Body Mapping Identification Number, and how the responsible adults who gave you permission are related to the respondents (e.g. father, mother, aunt, grandfather).
- Sign it to show that all responsible adults and the children gave their informed consent.

INTRODUCTION AND INFORMED CONSENT: GROUP DISCUSSION

Good morning. I am very happy to see all of you. Your attendance shows how much you care about your children. And as I had said earlier, this meeting is about children's welfare, and we'll be discussing your children--not other children, but your children.

My name is XXX. I am a researcher, and I work for the CPC Learning Network. We work on children's issues and want to learn how communities and groups of people ensure their children's wellbeing, what they do when their children are in trouble, how they support their children's development. This is the goal of our research. The research is not limited only to your community, it has already been carried out in three other countries. In Rwanda, we have chosen a few groups of refugees, because we cannot talk to everybody. And your community was one of the communities we chose for the research.

But before we begin the research itself and begin to talk to you about how you care for your children, first, I want to tell you something very important. I want to request your permission to talk to you, to ask you questions, and record your answers. If there is anyone here who would prefer to not take part in this discussion, you are free to say that you would not like to participate. And you are free to leave.

In addition, everything that we will say to each other is confidential and will stay between us. We are not going to take anything that is said here and share it with anyone else. The people who will get a report of our discussions are the ones who will pick it apart and tell us what is good, what is helpful, or will tell us this is what happened, and that is what happened. And when we have collected information that will tell us how to better help children, we will not identify the speakers in our report and say Mr. Joe said this, or Mr. Y said that, whether we use it to teach or to inform others. The report will be about refugees in Rwanda and how people respond when things go wrong or when the wellbeing of children is at risk; these are the ways that people respond. This is the kind of

research we do. It is confidential. So, I'm going to ask each of you for permission before we continue with our discussion. So, Mr. George, what do you say? Okay, Mr. George has agreed. Mrs. Isata has agreed. Everyone has agreed. So, we can now continue with our discussion because everyone had given their consent.

But again, before we start, it will be good for us to get to know each other. We cannot be here for an hour or an hour and a half, and we don't get to know each other, because we are one in this work on behalf of children. So, as I told you before, my name is XXX. Please introduce yourselves so I can get to know you. Okay, everyone has now introduced themselves. Thank you.

Now, we are going to begin the discussion we came here for about children and their wellbeing. Today, we are going to discuss what happens here, in your community, where we are now. That is what we want to discuss. We want to talk about the things that hurt children; we want to talk about the things that hurt their development. We want to talk about the things that happen to children that make them unhappy, that they do not like to experience. We want to discuss the things that happen to children that make even you their mothers and fathers unhappy. We want to talk about the things that make you as a community come together to discuss what you want for your children. So, all of those things that are not good for your children, that make you unhappy, that make your children unhappy, these are the things we want to discuss today.

But before we begin our discussion, I want you to know a couple of things. Everyone here is free to express themselves, and whatever anyone says it right. No one here is wrong, anything anyone says is right. That is the first thing. We should respect the views of everyone here because everyone is right, no one is wrong. Secondly, as I said, it is a good thing for everyone to express themselves. But if we all talk at the same time, my colleague who is taking notes here will not be able to write everything down. He will miss some of what you say. I myself will not be able to listen to all of you, and I will miss what you say. So please, as we speak, let us speak through the chairperson. Let us ask the chairperson, who is me, and we will call on who wants to speak. That way, the discussion will go well, and everyone will have a chance to speak, and everyone will get a chance to hear what their neighbor is saying. Please, don't be shy, I want all of us to be comfortable, and for all of us to speak freely. Whatever we say here will remain here.

INTRODUCTION & INFORMED CONSENT: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

Good morning, I am very happy to meet you here. Your participation shows me how much you care about children. My name is *[name]*. I'm a researcher working with the Child Protection in Crisis Learning Network, who have partnered with AVSI for this project.

The purpose of this meeting is to learn more from you about the risks and harms affecting children in this community, and the ways in which your community protects children. In our conversation we are not going to talk about poverty and health because they are everywhere, and we won't ask about your own personal situation, but about the situation for children in general in your community.

Before we ask you if you are willing to participate, we would like to let you know that whatever you tell us will be kept private. The only people who will have access to this information are the researchers for this study, and we will not take your names. When we finish this research, we will write a report which will be given to the CPC Learning Network and others concerned with the welfare of children, but no names will be included.

We will also be giving feedback to the communities that have participated, once we have finished the study, to share what we have learned about the situation of children in those communities. However, there are no direct material benefits to individuals or communities participating in this research.

You are free to decide not to participate in the interview, and this will not affect any assistance you get from any organisation.