

The Physical and Emotional Punishment of Children in Fiji

A research report

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Vinaka vakalevu
Save the Children Fiji

FOREWORD

Save the Children aims to raise the awareness of children's rights and responsibilities. We are also working to build the capacity of local communities to advocate for policy changes and to implement activities for children. Through research, awareness-raising and training we aim to prevent violence and abuse of children.

Our constant interaction with communities, people and children provide us with valuable lessons and learning opportunities. It is in this context that we observed the negative impacts of emotional and physical punishment of children in families, communities and institutions. We felt it was important to take time to document our observations, as well as the challenges and innovative solutions that were found during the course of our work.

This research project focused on enhancing our ability to recognise child abuse in its simplest form—the emotional and physical punishment of children. It reflects the concerns of people working with children and of children themselves. Emotional and physical punishment of children interferes with their growth and development. It further establishes violence as a societal norm and increases the risk of child abuse occurring in many forms in a cycle of violence.

Documentation is important and opens venues for sharing knowledge. By documenting our observations, we intend to enable people working with children to realise the concerns raised by children themselves. Through a structured survey format, the use of child-friendly tools and focus group discussions, the research team collated the experiences of adults and children. Many groups and organisations were involved in the extensive consultations.

We consider this project to be a contribution towards the work of our government agencies and non-governmental organisations engaged in the protection of children's rights. We hope that they will be inspired to join us in our efforts in putting a stop to the abuse of children and in ensuring that the rights of children are respected, protected and upheld at all times. Protecting children involves taking responsibility for prevention wherever we can, through education and support of parents and communities. We must actively be part of community initiatives to promote non-violent attitudes towards children. Collectively we must advocate for a public policy that will assist in the prevention of abuse of children at all levels.

It is only through experience that we learn.

Irshad Ali
Chief Executive Officer

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report aims to enhance the national understanding of physical and emotional punishment of children and its effects from the perspective of the children and adults who participated in this study. It is anticipated that the report will also inform the design of future policies and interventions aimed at reducing the incidence of physical and emotional punishment of children in Fiji.

Various participatory instruments, found to be highly effective in previous well-credited research, were selected for this study. Sampling of children between the ages of 10 and 17 years was carried out in schools in the Western, Northern and Central Divisions. In total, 536 children participated in this study. Responses to two survey instruments were sought from a total of 101 adults—teachers in the schools visited and members of four community settlements in the Central Division.

The vast majority of punishments experienced by the children in all groups were direct assaults and, in general, the younger children experienced more such assaults than the older children. Direct assaults included (in the words of the children) being beaten, hit, slapped or lashed, smacked, whacked, given a hiding, spanked, punched, “donged” (on the head) and pinched.

More than half of the adults defined punishment as a form of rehabilitation or discipline. While adults were aware of the value of counselling, in practice a significant proportion punished, usually physically. The researchers felt that some adult respondents assumed that the word punishment meant only physical punishment, i.e. a non-physical punishment is no punishment at all. There was, in the researchers’ view, a general lack of awareness that punishment could be non-physical.

Most of the children reported the school and home as the places where most punishments are administered, and the person who administered a punishment the most as a teacher. However, if the numbers for the immediate family (father, mother, parents and older siblings) are added, collectively the immediate family administers more punishment than the teacher. The majority of responses indicate that children were punished for disobedience, unsatisfactory academic performance and misbehaviour.

While the research suggests that a large proportion of the punishment children receive was from family members, often parents, within the home, the children also identified the home as a safe, happy place and their parents as the people they loved the most. Families are a mixed experience for children, and interventions need to provide parents with support to raise their children without physical or emotional violence because, for the majority of the children, families are a very positive influence.

A more collaborative approach must be adopted by relevant agencies, government departments and non-government organisations to address the issue of physical and emotional punishment in all settings, particularly the home and institutions, through law review, policy development and programme intervention.

The researchers recognise that, although the sample size is relatively small, the results can offer an indication of the situation and reinforce findings from other such studies, thereby adding to the increasingly loud voice of stakeholders calling for an end to the cycle of violence towards our children.

2 BACKGROUND

2.1 Justification

Save the Children Fiji has used the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child to guide its programming since 2001. The overall objectives of the Child Rights Portfolio are to improve national systems involved in the implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child so that good governance by international standards is institutionalised and practised, and to create positive change in the lives of children by enabling them to receive their rights.

Upon ratification, states are required to protect children against:

- All forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse (Article 19)
- Torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Article 37)
- And promote their physical recovery and social reintegration in the event of any abuse or maltreatment (Article 39)

Fiji as a ratifying state is committed to recognising its children's entitlements to protection as well as all other rights outlined in the Convention. Evidence from a number of sources indicates that abuse and maltreatment of children remains an issue of major concern. Reports in the local media and research conducted by local non-government organisations and academics indicate a worrying increase in frequency of child abuse in Fiji.

As an agency that promotes the rights of children, Save the Children Fiji is concerned with these reports of increasing violence towards children. One such form of violence of great concern to Save the Children Fiji is that of corporal punishment.

The term 'physical and emotional punishment' is used in this research, in preference to 'corporal punishment', which in the South-east, East Asia and Pacific region is frequently associated solely with the armed forces, police and judicial punishment. Physical and emotional punishment is defined as:

... acts carried out by adults causing physical and/or psychological pain in the belief that these are the correct means of disciplining, correcting, controlling, modifying the behavior of, educating or otherwise raising a child. It also includes acts carried out by another child who has been given (or assumed) authority or responsibility for punishment or discipline (Ennew and Plateau, 2004).

2.2 Physical and emotional punishment

- Direct assaults in the form of blows to any part of a child's body, such as beating, hitting, slapping or lashing, with or without the use of an instrument such as a cane, stick or belt;
- Other direct assaults on a child's body, such as pinching, pulling ears or hair, twisting joints, cutting and shaving hair, cutting or piercing skin, carrying or dragging a child against his or her will;
- Indirect assaults on a child's body, through using power, authority or threats to force a child to perform physically painful or damaging acts, such as holding a weight or weights for an extended period, kneeling on stones, standing or sitting in a contorted position;
- Deliberate neglect of a child's physical needs, where this is intended as punishment;
- Use of external substances, such as burning or freezing materials, water, smoke (including from smouldering peppers), excrement or urine, to inflict pain, fear, harm, disgust or loss of dignity;
- Use of hazardous tasks as punishment or for the purpose of discipline, including those that are beyond a child's strength or bring him or her into contact with dangerous or unhygienic substances; such tasks include sweeping or digging in the hot sun, using bleach or insecticides, unprotected cleaning of toilets;
- Confinement, including being shut in a confined space, tied up, or forced to remain in one place for an extended period of time;
- Any other act perpetrated on a child's body, for the purpose of punishment or discipline, which children themselves define as corporal punishment in the context of their own language and culture; identified through scientific participatory research with children;
- Witnessing any form of violent conflict resolution;
- Threats of physical punishment;
- Verbal assaults, threats, ridicule and/or denigration, intended to reduce a child's confidence, self-esteem or dignity.

This definition, from *How to Research the Physical and Emotional Punishment of Children*. (Ennew and Plateau 2004) is independent of whether the intention, implicit or explicit, is a 'benevolent' desire to improve a child's morals or behaviour, or whether it is designed to cause harm. It is the physical and/or verbal acts themselves that define punishment.

What is of greatest concern is the message that physical and emotional punishment sends to a child, it implies that the infliction of violence upon a weaker individual is acceptable. Physical and emotional punishment thus helps to perpetuate an inter-generational cycle of violence.

There is a definite need for reliable rights-based data, including data from children themselves to support a commitment to fulfilling the human rights of children and knowledge about the impact

of corporal punishment on individual children as well as on social harmony. Rights-based data must form the basis of direct rights-based programme intervention that aims to address the issue effectively and to promote the development and provision of adequate legislation and policies to protect the children of Fiji. This was a motivating factor behind Save the Children Fiji's initiative to partake in a regional comparative study initiated by Save the Children as part of an overall strategic intervention to promote the abolition of corporal punishment of children in Southeast Asia and the Pacific.

2.3 Country profile

The Republic of the Fiji Islands is made up of approximately 330 islands that total 18,333 square kilometres in land area. Fiji is regarded as the hub of the South Pacific, as its location makes it a key destination point for both air and sea transportation.

Fiji's population, according to the last census in 1996 was 772, 655. It is estimated that that number has since grown to 845,000. According to the 1996 census, Fiji has a relatively young population with approximately 53% below the age of 25.

Fiji is a multi-cultural and multi-religious country. The two main groups are indigenous Fijians (51.1%) and Indo-Fijians (43.6%). The remaining 5.3% of the population is made up of minority groups which include the Chinese community, the 'Part-European' community, people of Solomon Island descent and a Korean community. Fiji's religious diversity includes all the major religions of the world: Christianity, Islam and Hinduism. Christianity, which exists through many denominations, predominates. The three major languages of Fiji are English, Hindi and Fijian, and all have equal status, officially. While the majority of people live in rural Fiji, the urban population is growing fast due to the displacement of farmers and, especially, the search for employment.

The economy of Fiji, while diversified, relies heavily on tourism as its main earner of foreign exchange. The majority of tourists to Fiji are from Australia and New Zealand with growing expansion into the United States and Asia. Other well-performing foreign earners are: garments, sugar, fish, gold and mineral water.

Politically, Fiji has a democratically elected government. However, tensions remain between the various ethnic groups, particularly after the armed crisis in 2000.

Law and order are key areas of concern, particularly the increasing incidence of violent crime. Recently, according to police statistics for the period 2001 and 2005, robbery with violence has increased from 623 to 914 cases, assaults on police have almost doubled, and acts with intent to cause bodily harm have increased from 353 to 446. There has also been an increase in the number of reports of sexual offences, many involving children.¹

¹ Fiji Crime Statistics Annual Report 2004 and personal communication from Nabua Police Department for 2005 statistics.

2.4 Legal aspects of physical and emotional punishment of children in Fiji

Children in Fiji are protected from physical and emotional punishment under Fiji's Constitution. The 1997 Constitution of Fiji (Chapter 4 Bill of Rights) states that every person is entitled to "freedom from cruel or degrading treatment".

The Convention on the Rights of the Child, which Fiji ratified in 1993, requires all ratifying states to protect children. Article 19 protects children from all forms of physical and mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse. Further, Article 39 protects the child from torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Fiji's Penal Code (Chapter XXV) with reference to common assault and assault causing actual bodily harm is as follows:

Common Assault:

Any person who unlawfully assaults another person is guilty of a misdemeanor, and if the assault is not committed in circumstances, for which a greater punishment is provided in this Code, is liable for imprisonment for one year.

Assault causing actual bodily harm:

Any person who commits an assault occasioning actual bodily harm is guilty of a misdemeanor, and is liable to imprisonment for five years, with or without corporal punishment.

At present there is no separate or distinct law in Fiji that makes it unlawful to physically and emotionally punish children. Neither does there appear to be any formal proposal for a change to create a child specific assault law. However, there has been a report by the Fiji Law Reform Commission reviewing current legislation/procedure relating to:

- the protection of children
- offences committed against children
- evidence given by children.

Unfortunately the writer was unable to obtain a copy of Fiji Law Reform Commission report, as the report has been submitted to the Director of Public Prosecutions office and is due for another review. However, the writer noted that the Fiji Law Reform Commission report was cited in the National Coordinating Committee for Children report, which indicates that there does not seem to be any future plan for a reform of law relating to child assault. However the Fiji Law Reform Commission, during the Stakeholders Consultation Meeting in February 2005, identified relevant legislation to be reviewed to comply with the 1997 Constitution and today's social dynamics is a hopeful sign of law reform which will enhance the protection of our children.

Corporal punishment has been declared unlawful by a recent judgment of the High Court of Fiji. The Fiji Islands Draft Periodic Report 1995 – 2002 on the Convention of the Rights of the Child, reports (Appeal Case Naushad Ali v State) Mr Ali committed incest and was sentenced to five years in prison and six strokes of the cane. Mr Ali appealed against his sentence of corporal punishment. The High Court found that the judiciary's power to make sentences of corporal punishment, although permitted by the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedures Code, breached

Fiji's Constitution and is therefore unlawful. It further declared that the use of corporal punishment in schools is unlawful and in conflict with the Constitution of Fiji. Further, in the case of *Umesh Kumar v The State*, the Fiji Court of Appeal expressed the view that corporal punishment was unconstitutional and emphasised the supremacy of the constitution over other laws.

Following these judgments, the Ministry of Education banned the use of corporal punishment in schools. Previously, school principals/head teachers were allowed to administer corporal punishment and it was required that this be recorded in the school logbook.

The unlawfulness of corporal punishment has not been accepted universally by schools and communities. Recent media reports indicate that corporal punishment is still taking place in schools, and that certain teachers and parents encourage its use in disciplining children. In 2005 the Acting Chief Executive Officer of Education stated that the Ministry was working towards re-introducing corporal punishment in schools (Fiji Times, 17/01/05) and was supported by the Fijian Teachers' Association (Fiji Times: 23/01/05). Such statements illustrate to the writer the deeply ingrained belief in the use of physical means to discipline children.

There are other mechanisms in place for the protection of children. In 1994 the **National Coordinating Committee for Children** was established by the Cabinet of Fiji in order to advise the Government of Fiji on children's issues and oversee the implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The National Coordinating Committee for Children is made up of government and non-government organisations that are concerned with issues affecting children. This committee has coordinated a range of inter-agency collaborative projects to address the needs of children. Such projects include the production of a video on the issues faced by Pacific children; the preparation of vernacular versions of both the UNICEF and Government of Fiji report *Situation Analysis of Children in Fiji* and the National Policy, Strategy and Plan of Action for Children by the National Coordinating Committee on Children; the review of certain legislation to make it compatible with the Convention on the Rights of the Child; and the establishment of the Sexual Offences Unit which was set up within the Fiji Police Force to address child abuse cases.

The Fiji Police Force, the Social Welfare Department and the Ministry of Health have signed a **Memorandum of Understanding** to encourage the reporting of child abuse. However, there is no legislation that makes it compulsory for relevant authorities to report child abuse if it is suspected, although the Family Law Act, which came into effect at the beginning of 2005, makes provision for persons to report cases should one allege or suspect a child is being abused or at risk of being abused (Houng Lee, *Child abuse and the Law*, The Fiji Times 3/03/04).

There are limited available statistics on the incidence of physical and emotional punishment in Fiji. The **Police Department's Crime Statistics Report** has a section on Child Physical Abuse. The numbers show reports of cases where the victims are below the age of 16 and therefore categorised as a 'juvenile'.² The data in the Police Department Crime Statistics Report are presented according to the criminal charge e.g. assault with intent to cause grievous harm, assault occasioning actual bodily harm. For these reasons it is not possible to isolate the statistics that relate specifically to the incidence of physical and emotional punishment of children aged 10 to 17 years.

² The Police Department and Department of Social Welfare define a child, using the legal definition under the Juveniles Act, Chap 7, as a person under the age of 14 years, while a juvenile is a person below the age of 17 years.

The Department of Social Welfare provides statistics on categories defined as physical abuse and emotional abuse. The cases reported to the Department are normally referred to them by the police or health workers, as required by the Mandatory Reporting Protocol. In addition, concerned members of the public may make reports.

The Fiji Women's Crisis Centre provides counselling services for women and children who are survivors of violence. Numbers of reported cases can be found on their website www.fijiwomen.com and include child physical abuse cases, where a person 16 years or less has been physically assaulted, and cases of emotional abuse/neglect.

Again, it can be noted that the statistics provided by the Department of Social Welfare and the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre include the category emotional abuse, which is broader than the term emotional punishment. There are no statistics available on emotional punishment in Fiji.

2.5 The status of children in Fiji

In the two major cultures in Fiji (indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian) children tend to have a subordinate status in the community. They are at the bottom of the social hierarchy. According to the sociological study conducted by Mensah Adinkrah entitled *Crime, deviance and delinquency in Fiji* (1995) children do not play a role in decision-making within a family, even in decisions concerning them. Adults in general do not consult children in decision-making. In Fijian culture, children remain in the background and are often scolded for speaking in the company of adults. In general, children and young people have a dependent status. Their lives are determined by the socio-cultural structures that they live in. A report by the Government of Fiji and United Nations Children's Fund entitled *A Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Fiji* (1996) states that "in all Fiji communities, there are strong patriarchal traditions under which young people have little independent status until marriage or their early twenties."

The status of children as described above needs to be considered a factor in the physical and emotional punishment that is inflicted on them.

2.6 Cultural differences in the treatment of children

There is evidence to suggest that children are brought up differently in the different cultures in Fiji. Adinkrah (1995) states that:

- the Fijian community tends to allow more freedom to children but children may lack parental supervision and are encouraged to seek the company of their peers.
- Indo-Fijians and Chinese communities tend to be stricter with their children with closer supervision of children's movements and confining children to the home.
- physical punishment is a common practice in all communities, supported by culture and religion.

A report by the Pacific Children's Program (2003:90) also concluded that the Indo-Fijian community was stricter with their children and added that this was particularly true for female children. The Fijian community was more likely to "hit" its children.

2.7 Practice of physical and emotional punishment of children

In Fiji, violence is prevalent and there is a high tolerance of it. This is illustrated by a study conducted by the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre, *The Incidence, Prevalence and Nature of Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault in Fiji* (2001: 12-15) where 80% of the respondents had witnessed someone being beaten in the home. The report also stated that this indicated a general acceptance of the use of violence as a form of punishment. Daughters and sons made up 57% of those described by respondents as victims of violence in the home. Children made up 19.5% of those most frequently beaten. Further, 81.2% of the male respondents and 75.8% of female respondents reported being hit by their parents. However, the report did not state whether they were hit as children, adolescents or adults.

Physical punishment appears to be widely accepted and practised in Fiji as it is in many other parts of the world. "Factors most commonly associated with the use of corporal punishment on children by parents and other caregivers include experience of physical punishment as a child, anger reactions to conflict with the child, attributions of the child's behaviour to wilful defiance, marital and parenting stress and approval of corporal punishment and support of biblical misinterpretation" (Vailaau, 2005: 9).

Religious texts may be used to justify the physical and emotional punishment of children. Adinkrah (1995) cites the biblical "spare the rod spoil the child", which he says is used by some parents to justify beating their children. However, a teacher of theology in the Pacific region argued that there are other scriptures in the bible to support non-violent discipline of children. He argues that the above quotation should be interpreted metaphorically and that the rod was actually meant to "shepherd" or "steer" the child by "applying the rod of protection, guidance, care, comfort and nurturance" —not for beating (Vailaau, 2005: 10).

Other research conducted in the Pacific Region has found that many parents are not entirely satisfied with the effectiveness of physical punishment or the distress it causes. However many administer physical punishment because they are not aware of alternative forms of discipline (Vailaau; 2005: 7).

In the report by the Fiji Islands Education Commission/Panel, Tavola (2000:105) states: "There is a high level of tolerance of adult to child violence in society at large. Beating is sometimes justified as an indication of love for one's children ... A Fiji College of Advance Education lecturer witnessed a principal subjecting students to corporal punishment and described it as a 'public flogging'."

Parents and other caregivers administer corporal punishment as a form of discipline, as they believe it to be their parental duty and that it benefits the child. This is supported by sociological studies done by academics Monsell-Davis and Plange. Plange (2000), writing about Pacific youth, includes descriptions by students of corporal punishment at home and at school, while Monsell-Davis (2000:216), writing about social change, youth and violence in Fiji, states that senior students administer physical punishment to younger students, particularly in all-boys boarding schools where senior students/prefects physically assault younger students for breaching school rules. This behaviour is condoned and even encouraged by teachers to a certain extent.

Reports in the media show Ministry of Education officials and teachers' associations calling for the re-introduction of corporal punishment. One such report was "Teachers want the lash back" (The Fiji Times 23/01/05 p.2) and another quoted the acting Chief Executive Officer of the

Ministry of Education as supporting the re-introduction of corporal punishment in schools (Fiji Times 17/01/05).

The Government of Fiji and United Nations Children’s Fund report pointed out that, while teacher training colleges in Fiji teach behaviour management and positive guidance techniques, newly qualified teachers are influenced by older teachers to use corporal punishment (Govt. of Fiji and UNICEF 1996:47).

The research findings published by the Family Support and Education Group, A social perspective of students in Western Fiji (2001), highlighted physical and emotional abuse of children. Students of eight high schools participated in the study in 1998 and 16 in 2001. Students reported both physical abuse (48.5% of students in 1998 and 27.8% in 2001), and emotional abuse (32% of students in 1998 and 27.4% in 2001).³

In general, publications on this topic indicate that physical and emotional punishment is prevalent and tolerated in Fiji society. Some of the common types of punishment are hitting with hands, belts, sticks and other objects such as hosepipes and blackboard dusters (especially in schools) and “tweaking ears” (Tavola, 2000:105) with one teacher admitting to using his fists on male students (Monsell-Davis, 2000).

Some common types of emotional abuse as stated in a report by the Pacific Children’s Program entitled Community Responses to Child Protection in Fiji: Fiji Knowledge, Attitude, Behaviour, Practices (KABP) Baseline Survey (2003) are shouting/yelling/growling at children, calling them names (of a derogatory nature), locking them in a room or outside the house and making children miss a meal. The same report concludes that:

- Corporal punishment was a common form of discipline;
- Parents agreed that hitting children may be classified as physical abuse; and
- Parents have few ideas of alternative forms of discipline (Page 33)

The research report by the Pacific Children’s Program (2003) shows that children are mostly hit on their legs, arms, backs and head. This was reported by a group of children who were part of their research. The research used a method called ‘body mapping’, where the children were asked to draw diagrams of themselves and mark where they had been hit/smacked. The same group of children also marked these parts of the body where they thought they should not be hit— chest, head/face, spinal column and stomach, also illustrating their knowledge of vital organs of the body (heart, eyes, head/brain and spinal cord) and their need to protect themselves.

2.8 The effects of physical and emotional punishment of children

Physical and emotional punishment of children is shown to be very detrimental to a child’s emotional and psychological development. Monsell-Davis (2000) reported that such punishment of children teaches them that violence is an acceptable way to react to conflict and to get your own way. It tells children it is OK for a bigger person to hit a smaller person to get what they want. Studies conducted among street children in Fiji show that many of them are on the streets because they are running away from violence in their homes (Monsell-Davis, 2000).

³ The report did not discuss why, in 2001, a slightly lower rate of abuse was reported and was also unclear about whether the same schools were involved.

Studies by Monsell-Davis (2000) and Adinkrah (1995) indicate that physical and emotional punishment of children contributes to other social problems such as juvenile delinquency. Young males commit many of Fiji's violent crimes; this can be seen as a reflection of the violence they have experienced in their upbringing, whether it be from observing other members of their family being beaten and/or experiencing beatings themselves.

Physical punishment also leads to physical injuries, which are sometimes quite serious and can be fatal. For instance, in June 2003 the Fiji Times reported a case of a six-year old girl who was beaten unconscious by her father for sharpening a pencil past a point where she had been told not to. After being in a coma for seven days, she died. (Fiji Times 27/06/2003).

Other studies, including one by Save the Children Fiji (1998), one by the Ecumenical Centre for Research Education and Advocacy (2002) and one by Monsell-Davis (2000) show that children drop out of school due to their experience and fear of physical and emotional punishment in school. In focus group discussions, the researchers asked why children drop out of school, and corporal punishment was consistently given as one of the major reasons.

Physical and emotional punishment can also affect children's academic performance. It lowers their self-esteem and this, in turn, affects their academic performance. In Fiji much has been reported in the media concerning the lower achievement of Fijian students; some academics have pointed to the prevalence of violence and abuse as a possible cause. (Govt. of Fiji & UNICEF, 1996)

2.9 Strategies for reducing physical and emotional punishment of children

The publications earlier cited were unanimous that corporal punishment in schools should be abolished. Some of the reports also made recommendations or suggestions to help reduce/eliminate physical and emotional punishment of children. Some of these are given below.

Report of the Fiji Islands Education Commission/Panel (Tavola 2000:106):

- It is good practice for schools to provide clear guidelines on disciplinary matters so that there is a high level of awareness by all concerned;
- Schools should be promoting self-control and self-discipline;
- Students and teachers can be guided in conflict resolution; and
- Schools need to develop non-violent means of disciplining students.

The Fiji Women's Crisis Centre (2001: 69) recommends:

- the abolition of corporal punishment in schools; and
- more constructive forms of discipline or behaviour management to be implemented in schools.

The Pacific Children's Program (2003:15) recommends that parenting skills/child-care workshops be developed which would teach parents and child caregivers:

- alternative forms of discipline
- parenting skills including parenting roles and responsibilities
- how creative play is good for child development and
- how abuse affects child development.

Plange (2000:52) recommended:

- that awareness should be increased to link physical punishment to abuse.

The Family Support and Education Group (2001:56) recommends:

- that schools and organisations should have trained counsellors to provide children with support.

Reference is also made here to a section of the training manual published by Save the Children Spain (Goicoechea 2005) which is given below.

The difference between punishment and discipline

Discipline is a series of measures used by adults to correct the behaviour of children, imposing on them norms and limits and educating them. It does not imply the use of violence. Disciplinary measures can sometimes include non-violent ways of imposing a penalty, such as those listed in the right-hand column below. Physical and psychological punishment involves some form of violence. Violence harms a child's development and is a violation of their rights.

Physical and psychological punishment	Positive discipline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is a physical and/or psychological form of violence. • Targets the dignity of the person rather than their behaviour. • Does not offer an alternative behaviour. • Is out of proportion to and unrelated to the behaviour to be addressed. • Produces fear as the basis for compliance and does not promote learning. • Is an abuse of power. • Is usually enacted quickly and easily, without due consideration for the consequences. • Does not involve a child's participation in decision-making. • Conditions children to accept that people who love them can hurt them and people who have authority can abuse it. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Never includes violence (physical or psychological). • Addresses the action and does not target the person. • Provides options for different behaviour. • Is in proportion to and related to the behaviour to be addressed. • Positively promotes a child's learning and understanding. • Is based on positive authority. • Is always well thought-out and planned, with consideration for the consequences. • Involves a child's participation in decision-making as much as possible, whereby a child is at least informed of why disciplinary action is being taken. • Penalties may be applied, but never involving any form of violence.

Finally in this section: "Punishment's main goal is to stop the occurrence of inappropriate behaviour now" (Vailaau; 2005: 23). Punishment has nothing to do with teaching but with inflicting pain and relies heavily upon the notion of external control. Discipline on the other hand is concerned with teaching a person what to do instead of merely trying to stop the inappropriate behaviour. It not only stresses the ill that comes from harmful acts but highlights the good effects that come from good attitudes and good acts (Vailaau; 2005).

3 THE STUDY

3.1 Research problem

3.1.1 AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND NEEDS

The main aim of the study is to enhance the national understanding of physical and emotional punishment and its effects from the perspective of Fiji's children. Specific objectives include:

- A. To increase the understanding of children's perspectives on physical and emotional punishment, with particular reference to:
 - i. what children see as physical and emotional punishment
 - ii. children's experience of physical and emotional punishment
 - iii. how physical and emotional punishment affects children's lives and development
 - iv. children's strategies for coping with physical and emotional punishment
 - v. children's ideas for successful interventions to reduce such punishment.
- B. To increase the understanding of the perspectives of 'significant adults' in children's lives on physical and emotional punishment, with particular reference to:
 - i. what adults see as physical and emotional punishment
 - ii. why adults punish children
 - iii. adults' own experiences of punishment.
- C. To inform the design of future policies and interventions aimed at reducing the incidence of physical and emotional punishment.
- D. To test the effectiveness of the proposed methodology for obtaining information on children's perspectives on physical and emotional punishment of children.

In order to address these objectives, the following research questions were developed:

- 1 What punishment are reported?
 - i. What punishments do children report?
 - ii. What punishment do adults report?
- 2 What do adults and children think about punishment?
 - i. What are adults' and children's views about punishment?
 - ii. Which punishments hurt most?
 - iii. Is punishment necessary?
 - iv. Is punishment fair?
 - v. Are there alternatives to punishment?
- 3 By whom, where, why and how often are children punished?
 - i. Who punishes children?
 - ii. Where are children punished?
 - iii. Why are children punished?
 - iv. How often are children punished?
- 4 How do children protect themselves from the harmful effects of punishment?
 - i. Do children have coping strategies against punishment?

In the past, Save the Children Fiji, through its programmes in Early Childhood Development, School Development, Child Rights and Emergency Relief has advocated for child rights within the community. More recently, Save the Children Fiji has been instrumental in lobbying for changes in policy to enhance the lives of all children in Fiji. The lack of child protection policies and awareness within organisations and institutions currently impacts children at all levels in Fiji's society.

Save the Children Fiji's experience indicates that child protection policies need to be established in institutions to improve conditions under which children learn and develop and how they are treated within institutions and society as a whole.

A consultation meeting prior to the development of the research team's regional and national protocol was held on the 10 February 2005 in Suva, Fiji, where partners of government departments, agencies and non-government organisations echoed a similar concern for children's protection. Group discussions at the meeting highlighted the needs in four areas.

1. Baseline data in order to gain a true insight into the situation of physical and emotional punishment of children and tailor programmes, policies and laws accordingly;
2. Education on parenting skills and effective monitoring of programmes implemented thereafter;
3. Education of parents, teachers, caregivers and children on child rights and responsibilities; and
4. Sharing of existing information (deemed vital).

Stakeholders went on to identify certain gaps which were common to many if not all. Participants felt that these gaps were hindering effective program and policy development in terms of child protection and that once these issues were addressed accordingly, more positive changes would be visible within the wider community. Common gaps included:

1. Lack of community awareness on child rights and particularly child protection;
2. Lack of a collaborative approach by agencies, departments and organisations working on children's issues;
3. Lack of good parenting skills/knowledge and understanding on child development and family planning;
4. Lack of trained schools counsellors; and
5. Lack of counselling services in general.

3.2 Methods and research process

Representatives of research teams from all participating countries in the comparative study on the Physical and Emotional Punishment of Children in the South East Asia Pacific Region underwent training in Bangkok, Thailand in February 2005. There, the main research questions to be adopted by participating country teams were developed and relevant research instruments discussed. The overall research approach was action-oriented, participatory and children-centred. A regional protocol was circulated shortly thereafter and participating country teams were able to align their strategy, research instruments and ethical guidelines with what had been discussed and further developed by regional advisors. It was also necessary to adopt a protocol that best suited the local context.

A national protocol, complete with strategy, ethical guidelines and research instruments was then developed by Fiji's country team.

3.3 Participants

Following the Regional Workshop in Bangkok, Thailand in February 2005, researchers decided that sampling in schools would be the most practical method of obtaining responses from children. It would also ensure that the team obtained responses from a cross-section of the community in Fiji. Further, the researchers decided that the sample age group would be children between the ages of 10 and 17 years. The team would have needed specialised training if children younger than 10 years were to be included in this study. In gaining responses from child participants, numbers in each sample per school fell within 10 – 40 (with numbers per session averaging 8 – 10 participants) depending on classes/forms approved by the schools. In total, 536 children between the ages of 10 and 17 participated in this study.

The Ministry of Education was informed of the purpose of the study and schools were selected randomly from the rural and urban parts of the Western, Northern and Central divisions of Fiji. However, certain difficulties arose in obtaining entry into schools in the central area. School principals/head teachers stated that they needed approval from the either the Ministry of Education, school management or parents. At that stage of the research the team was pressed for time to complete all the fieldwork, in light of this, two schools in the central area were arranged by Save the Children Fiji.

Table 1: Number of child participants by age, gender and school composition

Age category by gender	Urban	Rural	Mixed	Total
Girls 10-13 years	94	30	21	145
Girls 14-17 years	43	22	82	147
Total	137	52	103	292
Boys 10-13 years	72	30	27	129
Boys 14-17 years	35	31	49	115
Total	107	61	76	244
Grand Total	244	113	179	536

Upon coding it was found that some schools fell into a ‘mixed’ category for, although they were located in an urban area or town, the students came from both urban and rural areas. The table above shows the number of children who participated in the study by way of age, gender and school composition.

Adult responses were collected from teachers in the schools visited by the team and members of four community village/settlements in the Central Division. Attempts to include parents’ and teachers’ associations in the sampling, as initially planned in the national protocol to gain a wider response, were unsuccessful. Further, due to time and funding limitations, the team was unable to seek responses from more than four communities, and these were all in the Central (Suva) Division. However, because some teachers in all divisions visited participated, there was an approximately equal number of teachers and community members (see Table 2).

Further, the teachers represented a range of background (rural/urban), gender, age, ethnicity and income-earning status (some teachers had just begun their career whilst others had been teaching for many years, which would place them in a higher-income earning bracket). All the participants from the four communities were in the low or medium income-earning brackets and most of them were either indigenous Fijian or Fiji Indian, the two major ethnic groups in Fiji. Community visits were arranged through Save the Children Fiji’s networks. Despite these contacts, the team encountered a level of reluctance to become involved, as shown by low levels of participation (an average of 12 – 15 participants at each village/settlement). A possible explanation offered by the community liaison officer was that perhaps children’s issues were not a matter of priority compared to other issues facing the communities. In total, 101 adults participated in the study.

The community settlements were home to people who were drawn to urban centres from the outer islands and rural areas in search of education (for their children) and employment opportunities. Indigenous Fijians made up a large portion of people in this category. Equally large portions were ‘displaced farmers’, mainly Indo-Fijian families whose land leases in the cane-farming areas have expired.

Table 2: Number of participating teachers and community adults by gender

Participants	Female	Males	Total
Teachers from urban schools	10	11	21
Teachers from rural schools	6	7	13
Teachers from ‘mixed’ schools	8	9	17
Total	24	27	51
Adults from four communities	28	22	50
Total	52	49	101

3.4 Instruments

The research instruments described below were selected as they had been highly effective in extracting information from both children and adults in well credited research conducted in the past. Following the use of each instrument, child participants were asked to include their age, school and gender at the bottom of the activity sheets. For each session, children were divided into groups based on gender and age categories. In each group, there was an average of 8-10 children, with boys and girls working in separate groups.

3.4.1.1 Individual drawing exercise

This instrument (see Appendix 1) was used to explore various types of punishments children of different ages received according to gender, who administers punishment, in what context it occurs, reasons for receiving a particular punishment and how receiving the punishment had made participants feel.

The research team undertook 51 sessions with children in the following groups:
In the 10-13 years age group: 13 sessions with girls and 13 sessions with boys.
In the 14-17 years age group: 14 sessions with girls and 11 sessions with boys.

The researchers worked in pairs. First they described to the children the purpose of the exercise and then distributed the papers. The children were asked to draw the type of punishment received and to write their responses to the other four questions in the correct column.

The researchers asked the children if they understood the task. When it appeared that they had not, a researcher would either ask one of the other children to provide an example or the researcher would provide an example for the group. The example used was recorded on the Standard Observation Sheet. Researchers asked the children if they had any questions before they began the exercise.

Researchers refrained from interrupting children while they were completing the exercise, but were available to answer questions. They recorded questions asked and also discussions between children. Extra sheets of paper were available for children who required them, although the team had also allowed children to draw more than one punishment on one sheet. This was allowed in case participants felt uncomfortable asking for an additional sheet in front of their peers.

3.4.1.2 Individual drawing—group ranking exercise

The main purpose of the ranking instrument (see Appendix 2) was to determine which punishments children identified as ones that hurt the most and why. Due to constraints on the children's time, on three occasions the team was not able to follow the individual drawing exercise with a group ranking exercise. However, when time permitted the team undertook the group ranking exercise as it provided valuable data as to which punishment children felt hurt them the most and reasons why.

The 48 sessions of group ranking exercises comprised the following:
In the 10-13 year age group: 13 sessions with girls and 13 sessions with boys.
In the 14-17 year age group: 12 sessions with girls and 10 sessions with boys.

Following the completion and collection of individual drawing sheets, all punishments identified by the participants were written out on cards by a researcher and laid out in front of the children. The researchers then asked children to place the punishment that hurt the most at the top of the list. The children were also asked to explain why they had ranked the punishments in that particular order. The researchers allowed the children time to discuss and change the ranking until each one was satisfied with the order. The ranking list and reasons provided were recorded.

3.4.1.3 Body mapping exercise

The purpose of this instrument was to explore the various types of physical punishment used on children of different ages according to gender. The exercise required the children to answer four separate questions concerning punishment. This exercise usually followed the individual drawing ranking exercise.

The research team undertook 49 body mapping sessions:

In the 10-13 years age group: 12 sessions with girls and 12 sessions with boys.

In the 14-17 years age group: 14 sessions with girls and 11 sessions with boys.

Each child was asked to draw an outline of a body—front and back—and to mark it with a cross the places where they had been punished, with the emphasis that they mark only punishments they had personally experienced. Then they were asked to include (on their body map) the name or type of punishment, who had punished them, the reasons for the punishment and how they had felt or thought about it.

3.4.1.4 Body mapping—group ranking

The main purpose of this exercise was to determine which punishments children identified as ones that hurt the most and why. Due to time constraints placed on the researchers, they were only able to complete the body mapping ranking exercise for 38 out of the 49 sessions.

The 38 sessions of body mapping ranking exercises comprised the following:

In the 10-13 years age group: 11 sessions with girls and 11 sessions with boys.

In the 14-17 years age group: 11 sessions with girls and 5 sessions with boys.

Following the completion of the body mapping exercise, the researchers wrote all punishments identified by the participants onto cards and displayed them. The children were then encouraged to discuss the punishments that were laid out before them and, as a group, rank them in order of which punishment hurt the most and why. The ranking sheet used was similar to that used in individual drawing group ranking exercises and can be found in Appendix 2.

3.4.1.5 Protection umbrella exercise

The protection umbrella research instrument was the final exercise of each session with child participants. The aim of this instrument was to protect children from potential negative feelings after the research process, leaving them with positive feelings after talking about rather difficult issues.

The research team conducted 53 protection instrument sessions. Groups were as follows:

In the 10-13 years age group: 13 sessions with girls and 13 sessions with boys.

In the 14-17 years age group: 15 sessions with girls and 12 sessions with boys.

The children were given two pieces of paper, both of which had a diagram of an umbrella (see Appendix 3). The children were asked to write on the umbrella the responses to the prompts written outside the umbrella. These were: *I feel safe with... The person I love most, I am best at, If I was President/King/Prime Minister/Party Chair.* The task was explained to the group, and the researchers had to ensure that the children understood it before they began the exercise. Upon completion, the researchers asked the children to copy their responses onto the second form for the researchers to collect. The children kept the original copy.

3.4.1.6 Attitude survey

This was one of the instruments undertaken with adults. It was used to explore attitudes to physical and emotional punishment of children amongst a variety of adult respondents. This instrument was always accompanied by a second instrument on sentence completion (see below).

The researchers first explained to the participants that 'physical punishment' included a number of physical and verbal actions, such as hitting, confining, pinching and hurting physically or mentally. The researchers then distributed standardised attitude survey forms containing 12 statements (see Appendix 4). The participants were asked to circle whether they agreed with, disagreed with or had no opinion about each statement.

Participants were required to work individually, with forms being completed by the participant or by the researcher at the participant's request. Groups of participants were asked to complete their forms without consulting each other. Researchers were available to clarify any questions that participants had, particularly when working with community groups. Any comments made by respondents concerning the statements were recorded in the researcher's notebooks.

The form was completed by 101 adults, comprising three or four teachers in schools that the research team visited during fieldwork and groups of adults in the four community settlements in the Central Division.

3.4.1.7 Sentence completion

This instrument was used to explore attitudes to physical and emotional punishment amongst a variety of adult respondents.

As this instrument normally followed the attitude survey instrument, researchers would have explained to adult participants what 'physical punishment' included. The researchers gave out the sentence completion forms, which comprised 11 open-ended sentences that the participants were asked to complete (see Appendix 6).

They were asked to work individually with forms being completed by the participant or by the researcher at the participant's request. Groups of participants were asked to complete their forms simultaneously, without consulting each other. Researchers were available to clarify any questions that participants had. Any comments made by respondents concerning the completion of sentences were recorded in the researcher's notebooks.

This form was completed by a total of 101 adults: three or four teachers in the schools that the research team visited during fieldwork and groups from the four community settlements where members were also asked to complete sentence completion forms.

3.4.1.8 Standard observation sheet

Following every research session each pair of researchers—a facilitator and a note-taker who had facilitated a session of activities and discussion with a group was required to fill in a form for every research instrument used in the session. Each pair compared notes and then together filled in a standard observation sheet (see Appendix 5) for the session as precisely as possible.

It was important that this was done immediately upon completion of a session. However, if sessions were back to back and children for the next session arrived before the researchers had time to complete the form, they had to wait until the end of the day. This happened on several occasions.

The purpose of this essential instrument was to make it possible for the data collected to be compared between different times, places, groups and researchers, as well as to keep track of data collected using each research instrument.

3.4.1.9 Notebooks

The researchers were provided with a notebook for data collection in the field. Discussions and general observations during sessions were noted in these notebooks. As a safety precaution, carbon copies were made and put in the envelopes containing the completed instruments, in case the notebooks were misplaced or lost.

The researchers divided each page into three columns: ID, Comments and Code. The ID column was to take note of the date, time, place, number of participants and gender at each session. The comments column was used to record discussions, observations and quotations from participants, and the third column was used for coding data.

3.4.1.10 Research diaries

Each researcher kept a personal research diary for the entire duration of the research process. It was used every day to record, as appropriate or relevant, the researcher's experiences, thoughts, tasks to be completed, reflections and ideas with regard to the research, especially the fieldwork sessions.

Each day's entry was dated and each page numbered. Researchers were encouraged to have their diaries with them at all times and to ensure that diary writing not be left to the next day. Some entries were made as they happened.

In instances where researchers had recorded feelings that they did not wish to share, they were advised to staple the pages together and others were asked to respect the privacy of these thoughts. However, researchers were encouraged to share as many of their ideas and thoughts as possible.

3.4.1.11 Challenges experienced during data collection

The research team encountered a number of challenges during data collection in the field. These challenges and difficulties were recorded in the standard observation sheets, notebooks and diaries. Difficulties experienced are described below.

Time constraint

Time constraint was one of the biggest challenges faced by the research team. The sessions with children and approximately half of the adults were conducted in schools, and the team was given only a certain amount of time by principals/management. More time was needed, especially with the children. The team was able to complete all the exercises successfully when given between an hour and a half and two hours per session. When there were time restraints, the team would be forced to select which exercises to conduct.

Internal noise

Schools usually allocated either the library or a large room for the researchers to work in. As there was a minimum of two pairs of researchers for every visit to a school, the pairs would work simultaneously (i.e. one pair would carry out a session with girls of one age group whilst the other pair would work with boys of the same age group). Researchers were expected to work at opposite ends of the same room and noise was frequently a problem.

External noise

Depending on the location of the school and the activities being conducted at the time the team visited, occasionally sessions were disturbed by noise from outside the allocated room. If the session carried on into lunch or recess, the children seemed noticeably distracted. On one occasion, the room in which the research exercise was being conducted was very close to a busy street so the research team experienced disturbance from the noise of traffic.

Peer influence

Peer influence was quite challenging for the researchers on many occasions. It was found that if there were prefects, or class/form captains amongst the group, the other children tended to be intimidated by their presence. At times, the researchers had to remind the children that the activities were to be completed individually. There were also a few dominant participants who tended to lead discussions. The researchers had, however, been trained to find ways of drawing other participants into discussions.

Language barrier

Language was a problem during visits to communities and at rural schools, where the researchers conducted sessions with children and adults in vernacular on more than one occasion. Researchers felt that there tended to be important loss of information through translation. It also took more time for researchers to explain the objectives of the research and activities to the group, and it was difficult for researchers who could not understand vernacular languages to take notes during discussions. Facilitators had to translate on these occasions.

Interruptions by adults/children

On several occasions, adults in schools walked into rooms where sessions were being held. The children usually took no notice of these interruptions but on a few occasions researchers observed that the children were noticeably uncomfortable when adults were observing the exercise. The researchers politely explained the objectives/nature of the research to the adults, emphasising the need for confidentiality, and would ask him/her to leave.

On some occasions researchers had to deal with children who were not part of the study calling through open windows and disturbing the children who were participating.

In communities, younger children accompanied their parents to the sessions and some sessions were conducted in rooms during pre-school activities.

Space

As mentioned earlier, two groups were normally assigned to one room for sessions. Apart from noise being an issue, groups often had to work in a small space. It was also noted that sessions were more effective when the participants were seated on the floor in a circle or round a large table. When seated at desks, the children probably felt that they were sitting an exam and it took a while to draw them into discussions.

Use of examples

There were a few children, in both primary and secondary schools, who copied each other's work or the examples that had been provided by the facilitator. Where possible, facilitators refrained from providing examples and, instead, asked participants to provide one or two examples. In instances where examples were provided, teams would record this in their standard observation sheets.

Gender of facilitator

On a few occasions, female facilitators had to work with boys groups. The researchers felt that, in the case of 14–17 year-old boys, this was a problem; the boys felt uncomfortable disclosing punishments to a female facilitator. Where possible this was avoided, as researchers did not wish to put participants in an uncomfortable position. Researchers attributed this problem also to the youthfulness of the researcher, most members of the team having only just left high school.

Sampling in schools

In most instances, children discussed the punishments they received in school. It is possible that this was because the sessions were conducted in schools and/or they felt embarrassed to discuss punishments at home as this would portray their parents in a negative manner.

3.4.1.12 Gaps in data and shortcomings of research

There were a few difficulties with some of the research instruments and also with the analysis. It is anticipated that researchers adopting similar methods will consider these difficulties.

Problems with the individual drawing instrument

Some children did not appear confident with drawing and it took them a while to get started on the exercise. Others found it difficult to understand the concept of drawing their experiences. A few children mentioned that they could not draw the punishment.

Some children were looking to give the 'right answer' and there were others who saw it as a test.

More than one punishment drawn on a single response sheet. Researchers concluded that some children were probably uncomfortable at having to ask for additional sheets. Once this

became apparent researchers handed out two sheets to each child instead of one. However, children continued to draw more than one punishment on each sheet. Researchers noted that on the individual drawing instrument, participants were asked to draw “as many punishments as they had experienced”. Therefore they treated each drawing entry as an individual response, even though it complicated the analysis. Each response on an individual drawing sheet was given a different index number, entered into an Excel programme and tabulated. The result of this method of analysis produced more individual responses than the number of children in the sample. This means that the percentage calculations for the individual drawing instrument represented the percentage of responses within a particular group. By way of a hypothetical example, if there were five girls between the ages of 10 and 13, and each girl provided two examples of a punishment, this would produce ten responses. If five of these responses reported a direct assault it would show that 50% of responses from girls aged 10–13 reported a direct assault.

A child completing more than one response sheet. A child reporting more than one punishment administered by more than one individual.

A child completing one sheet and handing it in, and then completing another sheet. This led to mixing of response sheets and the team was not able to ascertain which sheets belonged to the same individual. However, the sheets were not mixed by gender or age, so all individual sheets remained within the correct age and gender group.

Some children failed to write their year of birth or gender. Fortunately this could be determined, based on the envelopes in which they were contained.

Problems with the body mapping exercise

It was observed that participants naturally tended to concentrate on physical punishments when asked to mark where they had experienced punishment. However, some responses indicated other punishments.

Some older children were not very comfortable reporting/discussing punishments experienced at home.

In terms of the effects, **some children seemed to feel that they had to concentrate on the negative effects of the punishment** (in comparison when doing individual drawings).

One researcher observed that **the more outspoken children tended to take over body mapping sessions and discussions.** Facilitators in such instances monitored this and drew in the quieter children.

At times **children did not mark places** that were already marked because they stated it had “already been marked” by their peers. When the researchers probed, they found that, more often than not, the children had been punished in the same area but in a different way or they had been punished by a different person for a different reason. It was therefore important to remind children that they had to mark and write their own responses.

It was also found to be **a difficult instrument to code**, as participants tended to concentrate on the physical punishments they had received. This created difficulties in the use of categories for types of punishment provided to researchers during analysis because the vast majority of

responses recorded a direct assault, and did not record a variety of ‘other’ responses that could be easily placed within another category.

Initially, it was thought that there was something wrong with the team’s information-gathering technique. However, the fact that so many of the responses fell within the direct assault category eventually led researchers to believe that this indicated something about punishment of children in Fiji, rather than that researchers were doing something wrong or that the instrument was somehow flawed.

Problems with the group ranking exercises

Different groups of children recorded different numbers of punishments and therefore ranked different numbers of punishments. The range was from 3 to 17 punishments. This led to complications during the analysis. In order to analyse all the information gathered from participants, each set of rankings by each group was analysed separately. This took place with children of all age categories.

The team opted not to use the ‘gallery walk’. This required participants to lay out their drawings and discuss them following the individual drawings exercises. The ‘gallery walk’ was omitted because participants were found to be embarrassed and self-conscious. Instead, the researcher wrote the different punishments drawn on cards and this was used to facilitate discussion as well as ranking of punishments ie from most hurtful to least hurtful and why they had ranked it as such. There was often much debate amongst participants at times as children tried to justify why they ranked punishments as they did. It was evident that some children, who had received similar punishment, did so with varying severity.

The body mapping ranking exercise was very time-consuming, which was a problem in school settings. For this reason, only five sessions were conducted with boys aged 14 –17 years.

Problems with the umbrella protection exercise

Responses to the questions were extremely varied and **participants often provided multiple responses** to one question. For example, in response to “The person I love most...”, the children frequently recorded parents, friends and relatives. This made analysis rather difficult.

The research team categorised the participants’ responses in the coding/indexing process. They decided it would be best to use a large number of categories rather than to use a single “Others” category in order to comprise a large proportion of the responses.

It should be mentioned here that not all children saw the umbrella as a means of protection. In one group discussion, a child mentioned being beaten with an umbrella.

Problems with the sentence completion exercise

Translation into vernacular languages for this exercise was quite a challenge when working in the communities. For future reference, perhaps the exercise could be translated into the vernacular languages. Some responses were recorded in a vernacular language and researchers felt that some information may have been lost in translation.

Some respondents failed to include their dates of birth or gender on forms. In light of this, some forms were marked invalid.

The research team categorised the participants' responses in the coding/indexing process. Again, the team decided it would be more appropriate to use a large number of categories rather than an "Others" category that would comprise a large proportion of responses.

Data analysis proved quite difficult at times as researchers attempted to analyse what respondents were trying to say. Answers also tended to overlap at times, which made coding difficult. In these instances, researchers picked out only the answer to that particular question and any extra information provided was taken into account in the next question where answers were repeated.

Problems with research dairies

This instrument was found to be **difficult to code** and not all researchers handed in their diaries immediately upon completion of fieldwork, which held up coding and analysis.

3.4.1.13 Summary

The individual drawing exercise was undoubtedly an effective instrument, despite the problems. When children did work on their own, the results were a source of a lot of information. It was also an important exercise for sensitive topics, such as punishments that children found too embarrassing to mention in a group.

Initially, in schools where there was insufficient time to do all three exercises, the team would opt to use the body mapping and protection exercises. This was done because it was found that children were more responsive with this more participatory instrument. However, it was noted as having the opposite effect when carried out as the first exercise. Researchers found that children took a lot longer to disclose information when the individual drawings exercises were omitted.

Researchers felt that, when the body mapping exercise followed the individual drawing exercise, the children appeared more relaxed. It was an instrument worth using with children, as it was an exercise they enjoyed. Further, with regard to the Fijian context, the children worked more effectively as a group than individually. They felt quite shy working on an individual basis. Group work led to a richer amount of information.

The group ranking exercises that followed the individual drawing and body mapping exercises were essential for the purpose of this research, as they allowed researchers to draw conclusions regarding which punishments hurt the most and why. The protection exercise was important because it was a way of allowing children to reflect on the more positive aspects of their lives. The children kept the original as a reminder of these positive things in their lives.

Apart from difficulties with translation, the sentence completion exercise was an efficient exercise, as it was simple to follow and quite easy to understand. The attitude survey exercise was an efficient way to gauge adults' perceptions of punishment, children and discipline, and gave valuable quantitative data. However, it should always be accompanied by an instrument such as a sentence completion exercise as a means of gathering qualitative information.

Notebooks, standard observation sheets and research diaries were also essential instruments for the purpose of this research. The researchers recorded observations, direct quotes, thoughts, ideas and difficulties encountered during the research process, such as interruptions and distractions that may have affected results. They also suggested possible solutions. However, it was important to stress to researchers the importance of recording more about research sessions and research topics when it came to diary entries.

Overall, the researchers found that the methodology was effective in obtaining information on children's and adults' perspectives regarding physical and emotional punishment of children.

4 RESPONSES TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This chapter looks at the types of punishments that children and adults reported and analyses data that were collected. Various instruments were used with both children and adults and these are compared to allow conclusions to be drawn regarding what constitutes punishment and what punishments adults and children report.

4.1 Question 1: What punishments are reported?

4.1.1 WHAT PUNISHMENTS DO CHILDREN REPORT?

The data from the individual drawing exercise and the body mapping exercise are used in an attempt to answer this question. In Table 3 the body mapping figures are in brackets beside the figures from the drawing exercise.⁴

Table 3: Percentage of responses in each group relating to types of punishments children received, from the individual drawing exercise and, in brackets, the body mapping exercise

Groups	Girls 10-13 years	Boys 10-13 years	Girls 14-17 years	Boys 14-17 years
Physical punishment				
Direct assault	52 (84.5)	82 (83)	42 (67)	36 (70)
Other direct assaults	1 (0)	0 (14)	0 (3)	0 (7)
Indirect assaults	3 (13.5)	4 (0)	6(20)	13 (16)
Deliberate neglect of physical needs	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	3 (1)
Use of hazardous tasks	15 (0)	4 (0)	21 (6)	27 (0)
Confinement	0	0	1	0
Total	71 (98)	90 (97)	71 (96)	79 (94)
Emotional punishment				
Verbal assaults	8	5	18	14
Other emotional punishment	0	0	1	0
Alternative punishment/discipline				
Counselling	1	0	1	1
Grounding	0	1	2	1
Withdrawal of privileges	4	1	2	2
Extra work/chores	14	3	3	4
Other alternative punishments	1	0	2	0
Total	100	100	100	100

⁴ A few of the children included verbal abuse but, because the focus of the body mapping exercise was on physical punishment, those who reported verbal abuse were the exception and the numbers are insignificant. Therefore they have been omitted.

4.1.1.1 Physical punishment

The totals for drawing/describing some form of physical punishment are: 90% of the responses of 10–13 year-old boys, nearly 80% of responses of 14–17 year-old boys, and 71% of responses from girls in both age groups. The totals from the mapping exercise are even higher—all over 90%. This is probably due to the fact that the nature of this exercise led the children to focus on physical punishment.

Direct assaults

The vast majority of punishments experienced in all groups are direct assaults. Direct assaults included (in the words of the children) being beaten, hit, slapped or lashed, smacked, whacked, given a hiding, spanked, punched, “donged” (on the head) and pinched.

The drawing exercise figures show that the boys experienced more direct assaults than the girls in the 10–13 year-old group; 82% of boys’ responses and 52% of girls’ responses were of direct assaults. In the 14–17 year-old group, however, while the percentages drop, the position is reversed: 36% of boys’ responses and 42% of girls’ responses related to direct assaults.

In the body mapping exercise, the children reported direct assaults on their head, upper torso, hands, legs and back with sticks, rulers, dusters, *sasa* brooms, broom handles, wires, ropes, knives, spoons, scissors and hosepipes. They also experienced receiving ‘other’ direct assaults on a part of their body, such as flicking/pulling (of ears), hair pulling (especially girls with long hair) being pulled/pushed, pinched, pressed and squeezed. The highest percentage of such responses was from the 10–13 year-old boys.

Indirect assaults

From the drawing exercise data, among the boys there was an increase from 4% of the 10–13 year-old group’s responses about indirect assaults to 13% of the responses from the 14–17 year-old age group, whilst in the other groups there was little change. Boys reported that they experienced punishments such as running around the playground, doing press-ups and sit-ups (particularly during their physical education classes or cadet training) and “holding ears and going up and down”.

The body mapping data show that 13.5% of the responses of 10–13 year-old girls, 20% of the responses of 14–17 year-old girls and 16% of the responses of boys of the same age group indicate that they experienced indirect assaults. The 10–13 year-old boys did not mention any form of indirect assault as a form of punishment.

Hazardous tasks

The drawing exercise was the main source of data for this punishment. Doing hazardous tasks was the second most common form of punishment across all groups. In the 10–13 year-old girls’ group, 15% of the responses were of some form of hazardous task, e.g. cutting grass, digging, weeding, planting, picking up rubbish in the school compound and sweeping the yard. These tasks were deemed hazardous as the girls often suffered injuries, such as cuts on their hands and legs from weeding and cutting grass. In comparison, only 4% of the responses from boys of the same age group related to hazardous tasks. In the 14–17 year-old group, however, the boys reported more hazardous punishments than the girls (27% of responses and 21% of responses respectively).

In total, older children reported more hazardous tasks in comparison to younger children. The older children reported doing more strenuous tasks, such as scrubbing corridors/footpaths, and cleaning toilets and drains.

4.1.1.2 Emotional punishment

Verbal assaults

The drawing exercise provided most of the data for this type of punishment. (Figures from the mapping exercise are low due to the nature of the exercise.) Verbal assault was the third most common punishment reported, and was reported by more girls than boys—8% of responses from 10–13 year-old girls and 18% of responses from 14–17 year-old girls compared to 5% of responses from 10–13 year-old boys and 14% of responses from 14–17 year-old boys. The younger girls experienced being scolded/lectured/sworn at, also having to wear a sign/notice around their necks. Older girls experienced punishments such as a scolding/lecture, harsh words and having to stand under the “wisdom tree” (in the middle of the school courtyard in full view of the school) during class hours. The boys experienced similar punishments and, in addition, having to stand on chairs or in front of the class holding their ears, being asked to leave the classroom and being asked to sit in the middle of the school courtyard and do their homework.

There were two punishments which stood out from the others based. These were reported by a child in the age category 14-17 who had recently migrated to Fiji from Asia. The child reported “kneeling in sand 30 minutes during winter” as well as “on fists as upside down for 15 minutes” as a form of punishment. The researchers noted the cultural/social difference in the types of punishments that children experience in Fiji and the country this child came from.

4.1.1.3 Alternative punishment/discipline

Punishments that did not fit into the definition of physical and emotional punishment were non-violent disciplinary measures such as counselling, grounding, being given extra chores/tasks and withdrawal of privileges. Responses from girls 10–13 years old were highest in this category, with 20% showing they had experienced such ‘alternative’ methods of discipline. On the other hand, only 5% of the 10–13 year-old boys’ responses related to alternative punishments. The responses of the older boys and girls were almost equal, 10% and 8% respectively related to alternative punishments.

Extra work/chores

Of the girls aged 10–13 years old, 14% of responses related to extra work/chores, such as washing dishes/cars, mopping the house and tidying their rooms. In comparison, only 3% of the boys’ responses in this age group were about extra work. In the older age group, there was little difference; 4% of boys’ responses and 3% of girls’ responses were about this type of punishment.

4.1.2 WHAT PUNISHMENTS DO ADULTS REPORT?

This section explores what the adult participants’ perceptions were in relation to punishment of children. Relevant sections of the sentence completion instrument (Statements 1,2 and 6) are used here to extract adults’ views/opinions on types of punishment reported and methods of discipline. A complete table of responses can be found attached in Appendix 6.

Statement 1: For me punishment is...

More than half (53%) of the responses from the adults defined punishment as a form of rehabilitation/discipline. One respondent stated that punishment was "...a way to discipline the children and also is a way to pay the consequences of what you sow" (36 year-old man). Another respondent stated that punishment was "something which makes one improve on his wrong doings" (adult female, age unknown).

A smaller 14% of the adults felt that punishment was necessary or good for children. One respondent stated, "Punishment is good, as the Bible says teach your children the good way to live so when they grow up they will never go away from it" (38 year-old male). Another stated, "Punishment is good. It can control and behave children" (adult male, age unknown). A third respondent stated that punishment "needed to be given to the children when they do something wrong" (39 year-old female).

Ten per cent of the adult respondents favoured physical punishment, with one respondent stating that punishment was "very important in moulding a child but not too severe" (56 year-old female). A mere 5% of respondents disagreed with the punishment of children.

"Other" responses included instilling fear into children with one respondent stating, "Punishment will result in producing fearful students" (23 year-old female).

Statement 2: When children misbehave...

In response to statement 2, the 'favoured' method of discipline by adults was counselling/talking to children. The most common response was that the children must be counseled. Of the statements which supported counseling, 44% were statements such as "talk politely" and "tell them what they did wrong". However, 22% felt that children must be punished/disciplined when they misbehave. One respondent stated that, "it is better to give them punishment so that they can learn from it" (40 year-old female).

A smaller 7% of respondents acknowledged that children may be misbehaving due to a problem the child may be facing. One respondent mentioned that perhaps children were misbehaving because "they might be feeling neglected and need attention from elders" (40 year-old female). An even smaller percentage reported that when children misbehave it is a reflection on the child's upbringing or family, with responses such as "it will show us that the parents not teach them well" (42 year-old female).

Statement 6: I think the best way of disciplining children is...

The favoured method of discipline, counseling, mentioned in response to Statement 2 is further reiterated by responses to statement 6, with 38% stating: "discuss with them what the problem is", "talking out their problem" and "have a good talk with them".

Only 3% of respondents gave physical punishment as the best way of disciplining children, with one stating that "if they are hit by the cane, teach them why they are hit" (adult male, age unknown) and 11% responded that children should be counseled before they are punished with one recommending "giving them some kind of physical punishment after two counseling sessions" (47 year-old female).

4.1.3 SUMMARY

Children

- The vast majority of punishments experienced by the children in all groups were direct assaults and, in general, the younger children experienced more such assaults.
- The younger children (10–13 years old) appeared to experience more direct assaults compared to the older children.
- The older children (14–17 years old) recorded a higher percentage of responses relating to indirect assault than the younger children.
- The younger girls received more extra work/chores as a form of punishment compared to the other three groups.
- The younger girls received more punishments in the form of hazardous tasks compared to boys in the same age group.
- The older boys (14–17 years old) received more punishments in the form of hazardous tasks compared to the girls in that same age group.
- Overall, the older children (14–17 years old) received more hazardous tasks than the younger children (10–13 years old).
- The girls showed a higher percentage of emotional punishments than the boys of the same age group (from the drawing exercise).
- The younger girls had the most experience of alternative methods of discipline.
- The younger boys experienced the least alternative discipline and the most ‘other’ direct assaults.

Adults

- More than half of the adults defined punishment as a form of rehabilitation/discipline. A smaller percentage of adults also felt that punishment was necessary or good for children.
- The favoured method of discipline was counselling/talking to children.
- The second most common response was that the adults felt that children must be punished/disciplined when they misbehave.
- Only a small percentage of respondents gave physical punishment as the best way of disciplining children.

Remarks

The findings relating to direct assault of the children support Tavola (2000:105) who writes: “very obvious corporal punishment ... tweaking ears and smacking with blackboard dusters are common”, and also Monsell-Davis (2000:218), who states that “hierarchical suppression ... encourages [Fijians in} the use of their fists to resolve all their problems”. The emotional abuse findings support those of the Pacific Children’s Program 2003 study, which mentions shouting/yelling/growling at children, calling them names (of a derogatory nature).

4.2 Question 2: What do adults and children think about punishment?

This section aims to explore adults' and children's views on punishment and to compare and contrast these views. It highlights punishments that children have identified and ranked as the worst punishment received and their reasons for their ranking.

Adults are also provided with the opportunity to reflect, in the sentence completion exercise, on punishments which they themselves received as children. The researchers compared these responses with those of children. This section also explores views on whether punishment is necessary and fair. The final part highlights alternative forms of discipline.

4.2.1.1 The adults' views

Responses to Statements 4, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 in the sentence completion exercise provide the data for this section.

Statement 4: When I punish children I feel...

The majority of adults (45%) stated that they felt sad/unhappy when they punished children. One respondent stated she felt "...bad, because it shows that I am not capable of using other means of motivation to get the child to do something" (31 year-old female). Respondents also described feeling remorseful, depressed and unhappy.

32% of adult respondents stated that they felt positive emotions such as happiness when they punished children. One respondent reported, "...I do something which makes me love my children dearly" (adult male, age unknown). Another respondent stated that she felt "satisfied because they'll know that I don't agree with what they have done" (30 year-old female). A third respondent stated that he felt "...good because I am helping to mould a child into a responsible citizen" (25 year old male).

A smaller percentage (17%) stated that although punishment "hurt or was bad" they felt that the "punishment was for the child's benefit". One respondent stated that he felt "...sorry inside me because I love them but I have to hide it from them because I want them to be a good person" (42 year-old male). Another stated that she felt "...guilty but then again I want the child to be a better person in the future" (30 year-old female). A third respondent stated that punishing children made her feel "...down but then I do tell myself that a particular course of action was taken for the betterment of the child..." (26 year-old female). Responses from adults on how they felt when punishing children included feeling "...hurt but at the same time I know I have helped the child to behave morally and ethically".

Statement 3: Children are punished because...

Reasons cited by adults for punishing children were mostly misbehaviour or disobedience. The majority (77%) mentioned "swearing/stealing", "do not do homework", "naughtiness and disobedience" and "misbehave on purpose". One respondent stated that children were punished because "they not listen to their parents" (53 year-old male). Another stated that children were punished because "of bully, teasing, being stubborn or refusing to carry out a fair responsibility at home or school" (33 year-old female).

A reason given by 11% was that children are punished to teach them a lesson and improve their behaviour. The response from one adult was that children are punished because “we want to show them that they are wrong and we also try to improve them” (35 year-old male). Another stated that children are punished because “they don’t follow the rules of dos and don’ts. They are punishment...to make them discipline and learn from their mistakes” (36 year-old male).

Only a small percentage (8%) responded that children were punished as a last resort when dealing/confronted with undesirable behaviour. One adult respondent stated that children were punished because “they either don’t listen after several warnings or they have severe discipline problem” (female adult, age unknown).

Statement 7: When I was a child I was punished by...

Nearly a third (29%) of the adults stated that as a child they had been punished by their parents whilst another 29% stated that they had been punished by both parents and teachers. A further 11 % reported that they had been punished by “all of the above”, meaning father, mother, parents, teachers, siblings and other relatives. A few (9%) responses were either unclear or had been left unanswered.

Statement 8: When I was a child I was punished for...

The most common completion from the adults (75%) was “disobedience/misbehaviour” which included “hitting younger siblings”, “not obeying” and “taking things without permission”. Some (12%) mentioned being punished for a combination of “disobedience/misbehaviour and unsatisfactory academic performance”. A smaller percentage (4%) was punished for “unsatisfactory academic performance”, and 4% of responses were unclear or was left unanswered.

Statement 9: When I was a child punishment made me feel...

More than half the adult respondents (53%) reported that when they were punished as a child they felt emotional distress/upset. Responses described feeling unhappy, sad, bad, upset and embarrassed, shy, ashamed and suffering loss of self-esteem. One respondent stated that it “made me feel sad at that particular moment” (male, age unknown). Another reported feeling “hurt and upset” (31 year-old male), with a third respondent feeling “that my parents and teachers don’t like me” (male, age unknown). Another described feeling “sad, disheartened” (56 year-old male). A fifth stated that when punished as a child “...I am bad, not part of the family or I’m an inferior” (42 year-old female). One adult stated that she had felt “bad...I still think about it” (48 year-old female) and one said it was “...emotionally upsetting and a chilling sensation in the body and mind” (30 year old male). A small 3% expressed “emotional upset and fear.”

A small 14% felt positive change, with one respondent stating that it had made him want “to do good things” (male, age unknown). Another reported feeling “alert and attentive” (male, age unknown). A smaller 10% felt “emotional distress” accompanied by “disapproval”. One respondent reported feeling “angry and sad” (33 year-old female). A smaller percentage still (8%) felt “fear” with one respondent stating “frightened and made me complete my work on time” (25 year-old female).

A small proportion, 3%, expressed “aggression” or “anger”. One respondent stated feeling “angry, lonely and not loved” (38 year-old male).

Statement 10: A good child is...

The most common response from the participants was that good children “display ‘appropriate behaviour’—with an emphasis on obedience”. Some (7%) felt that a good child was a “reflection of parenting/home” whilst 6% reported that a good child “learns from mistakes”. A smaller percentage (4%) felt that a good child is “seldom or never punished” with 2% stating that a good child “thinks about his or her actions”.

Statement 11: A bad child is...

This response was the negative version of the adults’ definition of a good child—a bad child “displays inappropriate behaviour—with an emphasis on disobedience”. Some (8%) stated that a bad child was a “reflection of upbringing/parenting” and a further 8% responded that a bad child “does not learn from mistakes/punishments”.

4.2.1.2 The children’s views

Data from the individual drawing exercise and the body mapping exercise are used in this exploration of children’s views. The children were asked to draw and write down what they thought of the punishments they had experienced. Their responses were grouped into categories and tabulated.

Table 4: Percentage of responses from groups relating to effects of punishment from the individual drawing exercise and, in brackets, the body mapping exercise.

Groups	Girls 10-13 years	Boys 10-13 years	Girls 14-17 years	Boys 14-17 years
Physical hurt/injury	2 (14)	10 (12)	3 (29)	4 (20)
Emotional distress/ upset/ hurt	31 (69)	58 (79)	23 (53)	35 (52)
Fear	2 (0)	0 (0)	2 (3)	4 (0)
Aggression/Anger	7 (16)	10 (9)	5 (13)	13 (27)
Tolerance	17 (0)	4 (0)	19 (1)	8 (0)
Positive change	28 (1)	11 (0)	22 (0)	17 (1)
Disapproval	8 (0)	4 (0)	25 (1)	17 (0)
Other effects	2 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	1 (0)
Unclear/ not recorded	3 (0)	3 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)
Total	100	100	100	100

4.2.1.3 Physical hurt/injury

From the drawing exercise, the data show that 10–13 year-old boys experienced the highest level of physical pain from punishment received (10%) in comparison to other groups. One response was: “...when my parents hit me, it can injure me” (16 year-old girl). Another child who had received a “whack” for “not doing homework” stated, “It’s bad because what they use to give you a hiding can damage one [part] of our body and can lead to sickness” (17 year-old girl). A boy stated that being belted “was so painful” (boy 10–13 age group). However, the percentage of responses relating to physical pain across the groups was relatively low compared to the percentage for emotional distress/upset and hurt.

The percentages from the body mapping exercise for all groups are higher, some a lot higher. A possible explanation for this is the focus of the exercise on physical punishment.

4.2.1.4 Emotional distress/upset and hurt

From both the drawing exercise and the body mapping exercise, the most (or almost the most) common response was that the children experienced some form of emotional distress when punished. The highest percentage of responses in both exercises was from boys 10-13 years old. In the mapping exercise, for all four groups, the percentages exceeded 50%.

The children reported having low self-worth and suicidal thoughts, and feeling sad, bad, ashamed, upset, hurt (inside), useless and embarrassed. The following are some responses:

- I felt ashamed and sad in front of my cousins and other family. (girl, 10–13 age group)
- I feel sad because no one will love me more than my parents. (girl, 10–13 age group)
- I felt I want to cry but couldn't. I know everybody will be laughing at me. (boy, 10–13 age group)
- I felt ashamed because he hit me in front of the class. (boy, 10–13 age group)
- I felt really upsetting and disheartened and it really hurt my feelings. (girl, 14–17 age group)
- I thought that dad didn't love me or trust me...I thought I wasn't wanted in the family. (girl, 14–17 age group)
- This pain stays with you, you don't forget, doesn't matter if you forgive that person—it stays with you. (boy, 14–17 age group)
- I feel unhappy all the time at school. (boy, 14–17 age group)

4.2.1.5 Tolerance

A larger percentage of girls' than boys' responses were classified as "tolerance", i.e. the girls were more likely than the boys to state that they "deserved the punishment". One child stated that when punished "I think it was for my benefit" (girl, 14-17 age group). A second child in the same category stated "It is good but it really hurt me because I got red marks all over my body and my friends laugh at me".

4.2.1.6 Positive change

More girls than boys stated that they had experienced a positive change in their behaviour or they had improved or learnt a lesson from a punishment. One child stated, "I feel ashamed for myself and change my behaviour" (girl, 14-17) while another child in the same age category stated, "I think it is good because we learn from our mistakes".

4.2.1.7 Disapproval

Responses from girls relating to disapproval of the punishment were more numerous than those from boys for the same category. Examples of responses from the girls are: "I thought it was unfair" and "The punishment was stupid". This response was for punishments such as "wiping windows" and "suspension from school". One 17 year-old girl stated, "Suspension is stupid" and gave her reason: "You're home for two weeks but you don't learn anything, they just give you a note and send you home. Kids need counseling instead of being sent home". Two other children stated, "Very harsh. It broke my feelings" and "It was not right because people make mistakes" (boys, 14–17 age group).

4.2.1.8 Aggression, individual drawing and body mapping

The older boys showed more aggression than any other group in both exercises, percentages ranging from 5% to 27%.

4.2.1.9 Fear

Although percentages were small (2% to 4%) in comparison with other effects of punishments, some children did report being afraid when punished. They reported fear of serious injury and fear of the person punishing them. For example, the children made statements such as punishment can “lead to brain tumour” (boy, 14 years old) and being punished can “make our brain go wrong” (boy, 15 years old).

4.2.1.10 Comparison of the adults’ and children’s views about punishment

Adults	Children
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 62% of the adults reported feeling sad/unhappy when giving punishment, while 32% reported positive feelings (e.g. happiness). 2. 54% of the adults reported that punishing children is necessary for discipline and rehabilitation of children. 3. Concerning their own punishment as children, the adults reported they had mostly been punished by their parents and teachers, as a result of their misbehaviour, disobedience and unsatisfactory academic performance. The most common feeling reported about their own punishment was emotional distress, and a small number reported fear. 4. The most common response for a definition of a good child was a child who behaved appropriately, with an emphasis on obedience, and the converse was given for a bad child. 5. Most adults understood punishment to mean physical punishment. There was a lack of awareness regarding non-physical punishment. 6. The most common response regarding effective ways of disciplining children was some form of counselling. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The children reported mainly negative physical and emotional effects of punishment, including a small number reporting fear; only a few, mainly the girls groups, reported positive change (a maximum of 28%) and tolerance (a maximum of 19%). • The reasons for being punished (misbehaviour, disobedience, unsatisfactory academic performance) and the feelings experienced when being punished (emotional distress) are similar to those of the adults. More boys than girls reported emotional distress. • The type of punishment most commonly reported, across the board, was some kind of physical punishment.

4.2.1.11 Remarks

One may argue that there is a relationship between the experiences of adults as children and the punishments they themselves administer as adults. This is supported by Monsell-Davis' report entitled *Social change, contradictions, youth and violence in Fiji* (2000). Violent punishment of children teaches children that violence is an acceptable way to react to conflict and to get your own way. It says to children that it is OK for a bigger person to hit a smaller person to get what they want. One could further argue that adults are reacting to how they themselves were punished as children. This makes one question when the cycle of violence ends. Extensive research has shown that children who experience violence in families or other institutions are more likely to develop behavioural and cognitive problems. They are also more likely to display violent behaviour as adolescents and ultimately continue the cycle of violence (Vailaau 2005: 8).

Fear was reported by small percentages of both adults and children. Previous studies, *Keeping Children in School: Fiji School Enrolments & Save the Children Fund's Child Scholarship Scheme* (Save the Children Fund 1998), *Listening to Youth: A nationwide survey to gauge the fears, hopes and dreams of youths in Fiji* (Ecumenical Centre for Research Education and Advocacy 2002) and *Social change, contradictions, youth and violence in Fiji* (Monsell-Davis 2000), report that children drop out of school due to fear and experience of physical and emotional punishment in school.

The last bulleted points above would seem to indicate that, while adults are aware of the value of counselling, in practice they punish, usually physically.

4.2.2 WHICH PUNISHMENTS HURT MOST/LEAST?

This section highlights punishments children reported as "most/least hurtful". Group ranking exercises where time allowed were undertaken after individual drawing and body mapping exercises. In the latter exercise, the emphasis was on physical punishment, so the children ranked only those punishments.

4.2.2.1 Girls 10–13 years old

Data from the **individual drawing exercise** show that the 10–13 year-old girls most frequently ranked some form of direct assault as the punishment that hurt most, 8 out of the 13 groups. The second most common punishment that hurt most was verbal assaults and denigrating/humiliating treatment. It was also found that some form of direct assault made up most of the responses from the 2nd to the 7th punishment ranking.

Punishments that were ranked as hurting the least were generally non-physical punishment, such as being given extra work, tasks that were hazardous, privilege withdrawal and verbal assault. The research team recorded discrepancies amongst groups where one group recorded physical punishment as the punishment that hurt least.

The **body mapping exercise** data show that the punishment that hurt the most was being hit with a belt, while the punishment that hurt the least was being hit on the back, slapped, smacked on the hand, pinched, having one's ear pulled/flicked, and being hit with a stick or ruler.

It would appear that punishments the children identified as hurting least were generally direct/other direct assaults to the child's body and were less likely to involve an implement or an implement capable of causing serious harm.

Reasons for ranking

The common responses from the girls were generally related to the physical pain/hurt or injury caused by the punishment. For punishments identified as those that hurt most, the reasons given were mostly physical effects of the punishment. For punishments identified as those that hurt the least the following reasons were given:

- For verbal assault: "it doesn't hurt that much".
- For direct assault: "sore".
- For extra chores: "we do housework all the time, it doesn't make a difference" and "it makes us tired" [but does not cause pain].
- For hazardous task (picking up rubbish): "it's easier, nothing to do with getting sad or embarrassed"
- For hazardous task (gardening): "less painful".

4.2.2.2 Boys 10–13 years old

From the **individual drawing exercise**, it would seem that, like the girls in this age group, these boys also ranked some form of direct assault as punishment that hurt most, 10 of the 13 groups. Further, the second most common response for punishments that hurt the most was verbal assaults/denigration/humiliation. Hazardous tasks and verbal assaults were reported as punishments that hurt least. Discrepancies were, however, noted where three groups identified a form of direct assault as the punishment which hurt the least.

The **body mapping data** show that the boys identified direct assaults as punishments that hurt the most. This was particularly apparent for direct assaults with a belt, which was similar to the findings from girls in the same age category. Other direct assaults with implements identified as punishments that hurt the most were with the stick, duster and hosepipe.

The various punishments ranked as the punishment that hurt the least were being punched, slapped, hit (with a shoe/ruler), yelled at, pinched, and "holding ears". From the responses, it can be concluded that the children tended to concentrate on which physical punishment caused them the least physical pain.

Reasons for ranking

For direct assault, the reasons related mostly to physical hurt caused by punishment received, e.g. "it hurts", "it hurts badly", "the skin turns red; when you touch it, it hurts". Other reasons related to emotional distress, e.g. "people cry", "makes you feel ashamed", and yet others combined both physical and emotional pain, e.g. "hurts, leave marks on the body, feel ashamed"

Not all groups provided reasons for punishments that hurt least. However, those that did, cited that the punishment had caused physical pain and emotional distress but that this particular punishment had caused less physical pain and emotional distress in comparison to other punishments

For verbal assaults—"It's not painful physically but painful in our heart".

4.2.2.3 Girls 14–17 years old

In the **individual drawing exercise**, the most common type of punishment ranked by older girls as hurting the most was some form of verbal assault/denigrating/humiliating treatment (4 of the 12 groups). The second most common type of punishment was some form of direct assault, which younger children had reported as the punishment which hurt the most.

It was also found that when identifying punishments that hurt the least, girls reported more alternative punishments (like being grounded, given extra chores and having one's privileges taken away) than boys

Discrepancies were noted by researchers where a particular group noted that a direct assault hurt the least, and another group which had ranked seven different punishments ranked a verbal assault (being yelled at) as the punishment which hurt the least. Further, a group that had identified 11 different punishments, identified verbal assault/denigration/humiliation (having to stand with “nose to the blackboard”) as the punishment that hurt the least.

The body mapping data show that the girls identified more varied types of punishment as the punishment that hurt the most, e.g. being slapped, hit with a belt/umbrella/stick/wire, and punched. However, two of the 11 groups identified non-physical punishments such as verbal assault and “being alienated or neglected” as punishments that hurt the most.

The punishments that hurt the least included being pinched, having one's ears twisted, weeding, being slapped and hit with a broom.

In general, punishment identified by children in this category as punishment that hurt the least could be classed as ‘other’ direct assaults. It was found participants in this category were more ready to consider non-physical punishments in their rankings and there was less focus on only direct assaults.

Reasons for ranking

Reasons given by these girls for punishments that hurt the most were commonly due to the emotional upset or distress the punishments caused them, rather than any physical effects. They mentioned feelings of shame, embarrassment, sadness and unhappiness. For verbal abuse (harsh words), some comments were: “lowers self-esteem, stays with you for years”, “makes you commit suicide” and “you don't forget”. The researchers felt that it was the long-term effect of the punishment that led the group to rank it as the one that hurt the most.

Some reasons cited for the punishments that hurt the least were:

- “A stupid punishment” (wiping windows)
- “It don't make a difference, we do it anyway” (housework)
- “At home, just your mother, no work required”, “For our own good” (scolding)
- “You don't feel that much pain” (slap)
- “You're just standing there, give us a chance to *talanoa*”⁵ (wiping walls)

⁵ *Talanoa* is Fijian for ‘chat’.

4.2.2.4 Boys 14–17 years old

In the **individual drawing exercise**, five out of the ten groups ranked direct assault as the punishment that hurts the most, similar to the younger children. The second most common punishments were deliberate neglect of a child's physical needs ('being chased from home', 'stay out of the house at night') and verbal assaults (lectures from parents and threat of expulsion from school).

Non-physical punishments were generally listed as punishment that hurt the least, although a discrepancy was noted where direct assault and indirect assault were reported as punishments that hurt the least. Other punishments ranked as punishments that hurt the least were withdrawal of privileges. Further, punishments that generally hurt the least were punishments that were tasks which can be defined as hazardous.

The **body mapping exercise** data show that two of the five groups who undertook this exercise identified being punched as the punishment that hurt the most. Others were being kicked out of home, hit with a wire and hit with a stick.

Punishments ranked as hurting the least included: ear pulling, being hit with a duster, being pinched, being smacked on the leg and doing sit ups. It would appear that punishments ranked as hurting the least were all assaults that were perceived as being less physically painful.

Reasons for ranking

Reasons cited for punishment that hurts most were physical effects of the punishment and fear of serious injury. This raised the question of whether boys in this age group tended to receive harsher direct assaults, which caused fear of serious injury.

Emotional effects of the punishment were the second most common reasons cited by groups in this category. Some statements made were "can get hurt", "killed", "heart attack" (reason cited for ranking "beaten with knife" as punishment that hurts the most). Also boys expressed fear of the person, e.g. a statement made by a group of 16 year-old boys for giving punching as the punishment that hurt the most was "loose jaw", "swollen faces", "breaks teeth", "bruises", "makes you fear the person that punches you".

Punishments ranked as hurting the least were done so for the following reasons:

- "Not physically painful"
- "It's an easy job"
- "It's at home no one sees us, so don't feel embarrassed".

It would appear that the most common reason given by boys 14-17 years old for punishments that were identified as those that hurt the least was where it was an easy punishment in comparison to other punishments they had experienced. A significant amount of boys did not cite specific reasons, however when a punishment was ranked at last on a list it was assumed that this punishment was least hurtful in comparison to other punishments.

Summary

- 24 out of the 48 groups of children ranked some form of direct assault to the body as punishment that hurt most. The 14-17 year-old girls ranked emotional upset first.

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- The older boys ranked direct assaults as the punishment that hurt the most due to the fear of serious injuries.
- 9 of the 48 groups ranked some form of verbal assault/denigrating/humiliating treatment as punishment that hurts most.
- 9 of the 48 groups rank deliberate neglect of a child's physical needs as the punishment that hurt the most.
- The most common punishment identified by children for punishment that hurt the least was some form of extra chores or work the child was given.
- The second most common response for punishments that hurt the least were hazardous tasks and verbal assaults/denigration/humiliation.
- The most common reason for ranking a punishment as hurting the most was the physical effects of it. The second most common reason was the emotional reaction.
- The most common reason for ranking a punishment as one that hurt the least was that it did not hurt as much as other punishments.

4.2.3 IS PUNISHMENT NECESSARY?

This section looks at adults' views on children, punishment and discipline. Adult participants completed attitude survey sheets. Their responses were grouped into categories, entered into an Excel programme and tabulated. Some responses from the sentence completion exercise are also discussed here.

Table 5: Percentages of adult responses to statements on children, punishment and discipline

Statement	Agree	Disagree	No opinion	Total
1. Instead of being hit children should be told what they have done wrong.	92	2	6	100
2. Punishment is needed to make children behave.	73	20	7	100
3. Punishment is needed so children know right from wrong.	72	19	7	100
4. A good child is obedient at all times.	55	38	7	100
5. If you don't hit children they will not learn good behaviour.	40	55	5	100
6. When children do not listen, adults need to shout at them.	8	85	7	100
7. Adults have a duty to discipline children.	95	3	2	100
8. Children must have it explained to them if they do something wrong.	98	1	1	100
9. Being hit is worse than being told you are bad person.	58	35	7	100
10. Boys need to be hit or they get out of control.	98	1	1	100
11. Girls should never be hit.	29	60	11	100
12. After I punish a child I feel unhappy	57	38	5	100

Table 5 shows that majority of the adults agreed that punishment is necessary (a) in order to make children behave (73%) and (b) so children know right from wrong (72%). There was also general agreement (95%) with the statement that adults have a duty to discipline children. It is possible that the participants equated discipline with punishment.

Concerning hitting children, just over half the participants (55%) did not agree with the statement “if you don’t hit children they will not learn good behaviour”. There is an inconsistency here, as 98% agreed with the statement “boys need to be hit or they get out of control”. Additionally 60% disagreed with the statement “girls should never be hit” with only 29% agreeing with this statement. Further, in the view of 58% of the adults “Being hit is worse than being told you are a bad person”.

Responses outlined above would imply that the adults felt that there was a need to hit boys or they got out of control and that girls may also need to be hit. It was also found that, even though adults felt that hitting was unacceptable, it was even worse to say, “That child is a bad person” and that hitting children did not lead to “good behaviour”.

The statement: “Instead of being hit children should be told what they have done wrong” illustrates the views of adults with regards to alternative methods of discipline. The vast majority (92%) agreed with the statement and a further 98% agreed with the statement: “Children must have it explained to them if they do something wrong”. This may imply that frequently adults are aware that instead of physical and emotional punishment children need to be spoken to, that adults need to explain what it is children are doing wrong. Adults may view counselling and dialogue with children as a possible alternative to methods of physical and emotional punishment. Additionally, adults did not agree with shouting at children with 85% disagreeing with the statement: “When children do not listen, adults need to shout at them”.

Responses from the sentence completion exercise strengthen these findings. In completing the sentence “I think punishing children...”, 54% of the adults responded that they thought punishing children was “necessary for discipline/is good”. Further, the adults frequently viewed punishment as a form of discipline and rehabilitation. Their sentence completion responses to “what punishment is” show that more than half included statements such as “way to teach child a lesson”, “way to discipline child” and “measure to deter unwanted behaviour amongst children”. Additionally responses from the sentence: “I think punishing children...” led to a majority of respondents (55%) completing the sentence with statements that implied that punishment was necessary for discipline/good, good for their behaviour

Remarks

The researchers felt that some adult respondents assumed that the word punishment meant only physical punishment, i.e. a non-physical punishment is no punishment at all. They completed the sentence “I think punishing children...” with statements such as “I believe in spare the rod spoil the child”. Other completions to this sentence were statements such as “disagree with corporal punishment”, “not a proper way to discipline them”. Again these responses suggest that respondents associated the word ‘punishment’ with physical or corporal punishment. There was, in the researchers’ view, a general lack of awareness that punishment could constitute a form of non-physical punishment.

4.2.4 IS PUNISHMENT FAIR?

Some of the children’s responses in the individual drawing exercises are relevant to this section. These are the responses relating to disapproval and aggression/anger (which assume unfairness of the punishment) and positive change and tolerance (which assume fairness).

Across all categories of children there were some whose responses indicated disapproval of punishments they had received:

10–13 year-olds: 8% from the girls compared to 4% from the boys,
14–17 year-olds: 25% from the girls compared to 17% from the boys.

Aggression/anger was shown by more responses from boys than girls across both age categories:

10–13 year-olds: 10% from the boys compared to 7% from the girls,
14–17 year-olds: 13% from the boys compared to 5% from the girls.

More responses from girls stated that they had experienced a positive change in their behaviour or had improved or learnt a lesson from a punishment.

10-13 year-olds: 28% from the girls compared to 11% from the boys,
14-17 year-olds: 22% from the girls compared to 17% from boys.

More responses from the girls across both age categories tolerated punishment:

10–13 year-olds: 17% from the girls compared to 4% from the boys
14–17 year-olds: 19% from the girls compared to 8% from the boys.

The above responses may suggest that to some extent certain children reported feelings of acceptance of punishments they had received. Further research needs to be conducted in this area to explore the reasons why children felt they had deserved punishment. For example we could ask whether the child's acceptance of the punishment was due an acceptance by the child that s/he had done something wrong. Or was it because certain children had come to accept punishment as a normal way of life? The high level of tolerance of adult-to-child violence in Fiji society, as discussed in Section 2.8, may extend to children.

4.2.5 ARE THERE ALTERNATIVES TO PUNISHMENT?

This section highlights methods of disciplining children which are not physical or emotional punishment. The data is taken from the sentence completion responses by the adults. The section then looks at some alternatives suggested by children during discussions and noted by researchers.

4.2.5.1 Adults

The most common response, given by 44% of the adults, for the sentence about dealing with children who misbehave was that they must be counselled and, for the most effective way of disciplining children, 47% described some form of counselling.

Responses include:

“Try to reason with them and explain the consequences of their behaviour” (40 year old male).

“Find out the reason...if disciplining student then it has to be constructive (adult male, age unknown)

“They must be counselled rather than being punished” (23 year old female)

“They need to be told that what they did was wrong” (33 year old female)

Adding the items which relate to punishment (items 2 and 3 for Statement 2, and items 5-8 for Statement 6, including the 12% who wanted warning/counselling first) Statement 2 has a total of 34% and Statement 6 a total of 29% recommending punishment/discipline. Responses included,

“they need to be punished” (adult male, age unknown), “one slap/belt” (48 year-old female) “giving them corporal punishment” (adult female, age unknown) “giving them some kind of physical punishment after two counselling sessions” (47 year-old male), “by counselling them, then put them on detention” (25 year-old female).

Overall, the team felt that there is a need for general awareness on alternative methods of discipline which promote non violence. This is supported by the Pacific Children’s Program’s study, which found that parents have few ideas of alternative forms of discipline.

4.2.5.2 Children

The following responses were recorded by researchers during discussions with the children. The question researchers normally asked was. “How would you prefer/like to be punished”. It must be made clear here that the word ‘punished’ was favoured over ‘discipline’ because researchers felt that, by this time, children had identified with the definition of the word ‘punishment’.

10–13 year-olds

The most common response from boys in the 10–13 age group was that they would prefer to be counselled and spoken to “nicely” when they are being disciplined. For example: “sit down and explain”, “talk nicely to us, instead of hitting us”, “learning things that we did bad”, “want head teacher to tell us what we did wrong” and “tell parents to tell us what we did wrong and tell parents to talk to us nicely”. The children also mentioned withdrawal of privileges and grounding as a preferred method of discipline: “no T.V.”, “grounding” and “no video games”. Yet other responses indicated that the children would prefer punishments in the form of indirect assault and hazardous tasks. For example: “press up”, “hard work”, “pick up the rubbish”, “get firewood”, “detention”, “pulling grass” and “forking garden”.

Girls stated the following “just talk to us, don’t smack”, “growl, don’t punch”, “picking rubbish”, “cleaning the house” and “not watching your favourite TV program”. This was similar to responses from boys in the same age category. An interesting observation here was that a few children mentioned that they would prefer to be “growled at”, but this was mentioned as preferable to “being punched”.

14–17 year-olds

Some girls preferred “counselling in a good manner”, “being told politely”, “speak to you, not to use harsh words”, “gardening” “giving detention”, “getting grounding”, “stick or belt”, “treated fairly”, “no T.V.” and “no pocket money”.

It was interesting to note that, whilst most of the girls in this age group preferred counselling, some mentioned the use of the stick or belt as a preferred punishment. This raises the question of whether girls tolerated such punishment because they felt they deserved it, or because they viewed it to be normal, or did they simply prefer a direct assault to other methods of punishment? As with the younger children, girls in this age group also mentioned preference for hazardous tasks, grounding and withdrawal of privileges.

The boys mentioned a preference for “detention” and that punishments should be “more logical”. For example, “If you break a window you pay for it”. Not many responses from boys in this group were noted during group discussions. At present it is uncertain why this was so.

4.3 Question 3: By whom, where, why and how often are children punished?

4.3.1 WHO PUNISHES CHILDREN, AND WHERE?

Table 6: Percentage of responses from the individual drawing exercise and body mapping exercise (in brackets) on who punishes children, by age and gender

		Girls 10-13 years	Boys 10-13 years	Girls 14-17 years	Boys 14-17 years
Home	Father	16 (12)	25 (18)	17 (12)	14 (7)
	Mother	36 (34)	20 (19)	21 (18)	4 (1)
	Parents	16 (7)	9 (5)	5 (15)	6 (19)
	Older siblings	5 (10)	1 (3)	2 (4)	1 (1)
	Total	73 (63)	55 (45)	45 (49)	25 (28)
School	Teacher	20 (31)	34 (45)	40 (44)	63 (64)
	Principal/Head teacher	2 (2)	8 (3)	4 (1)	8 (5)
	Total	22 (33)	42 (48)	44 (45)	71 (69)
Other people	0 (1)	0 (3)	7 (4)	3 (2)	
Other relatives	4 (3)	3 (4)	4 (2)	1 (1)	
Unclear/ not recorded	1 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	

Results from most of the children (with the exception of the girls 10-13 years old) show that the person who administered a punishment towards a child the most was a teacher. However, if the numbers for the immediate family (father, mother, parents and older siblings) are added, it would seem that the children, with the exception of the 14-17 year-old boys, were punished the most by immediate family members. All the boys reported being punished by Principals/Head teachers more than girls.

Generally (when percentages were combined) children (with the exception of boys 14-17 years old) were most likely to be punished by a family member (which includes parents). Boys experienced being punished by principals/head teachers more than girls. Children also experienced punishment by “Others” and examples included prefects, friends, school matron, neighbours and police.

4.3.1.1 Where are children punished?

The researchers took the categories of people who punish children and grouped them to indicate the location (home, school, other places) in which the children were punished. **Father, mother, parents** and **older siblings** were taken as home, **teachers** and **principals/head teachers** were taken as school and **other relatives** and **other people** were grouped as punishments occurring in other places. Although it was noted that there was a possibility that **other relatives** often resided with the participants or that they could have punished the child whilst visiting, for the sake of consistency, they are taken as having administered the punishment away from the child’s home.

From Table 6 it can be seen that, with the exception of boys 14–17 years old, most punishments reported are administered in the home. The 14–17 year-old boys reported experiencing the most

punishment at school from teachers and principals/head teachers. The 14–17 year-old girls old were equally likely to receive punishment at home or school.

A relatively low percentage of the children experienced punishment by ‘others’ which included prefects, friends, school matron, neighbours and police. This indicates that home and school are not the only two environments where children were likely to experience physical and emotional punishment, it could also occur in their communities.

4.3.1.2 What punishments are administered by whom?

The team then analysed the findings to show percentages of the types of punishment that were administered and by whom. For example, if the 10–13 year-old girls identified 53 “father” in total as administering a type of punishment, and 27 of these were direct assault, the percentage of responses depicting fathers as administering direct assault is calculated as follows:
 $27/53 \times 100 = 51\%$.

Table 7 gives the analysis for the individual drawing exercise, and the body mapping results are in Appendix 7. Commonalities in both the exercises show that:

- across all age categories the children reported experiencing a direct assault as the most common form of punishment from the people who punish them,
- more than half the punishments administered by fathers, mothers, parents, teachers, principals/head teachers, older siblings, other relatives and ‘others’ was some form of direct assault. This included punishments such as slaps, punches or being hit with an implement,
- teachers and parents were most identified by the children as the person who administers punishment, which was more likely to be a direct assault than any other punishment,
- children also experienced punishment by ‘others’, which included prefects, friends, school matron, neighbours and police.

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Table 7: Percentages of types of punishment/discipline, by people administering it and groups of children, from the individual drawing exercise

Note: DA~Direct Assault, ODA~Other Direct Assault, IA~Indirect Assault, DN~Deliberate Neglect, HT~Hazardous Tasks, CF~Confinement, OPP~Other Physical Punishment (or threat of), VA~Verbal Abuse, OEP~Other Emotional Punishment, C~Counseling, G~Grounding, C/EW~Chores/Extra Work, WP~Withdrawal of Privileges, O~Other, NR~Not Recorded

		DA	ODA	IA	DN	HT	CF	OPP	VA	OEP	C	G	C/EW	WP	O	NR
Father	G 10-13	51		2		21			6				9	9	2	
	B 10-13	88			2	2			3			3	3			
	G 14-17	69		2	2	3	2		10		2	5	2	2	2	2
	B 14-17	70		3	3	8			3				3	5		5
Mother	G 10-13	48		3		17			7				23	3		
	B 10-13	83		2		6			2				7			
	G 14-17	53		3	1	3			25			5	4	5		
	B 14-17	25			17	8			25			8	17			
Parents	G 10-13	47	2	4	2	13			8		2		13	8	2	
	B 10-13	84										4	8	4		
	G 14-17	40						5	35			10		10		
	B 14-17	41			18	12			6			6	6			12
Teacher	G 10-13	65	3	8		6			13		2		2		2	
	B 10-13	74		10		6			9				1			
	G 14-17	32	1	14		28			17	1			3	2	3	
	B 14-17	28		18	1	32	1		17				4			1
Principal head teacher	G 10-13	80				20										
	B 10-13	85		5		5			5							
	G 14-17	21				42			21	7			7			
	B 14-17	52		4		35			9							
Older siblings	G 10-13	40				20			13				27			
	B 10-13	100														
	G 14-17	67				11			11				11			
	B 14-17				50				50							
Other relatives	G 10-13	67				17							8	8		
	B 10-13	86				14										
	G 14-17	50			7	7			36							
	B 14-17	50							50							
Other	G 10-13									100						
	B 10-13															
	G 14-17					92					4		4			
	B 14-17	13		25		50					13					

4.3.2 WHY ARE CHILDREN PUNISHED?

As part of this research it was important to discover why children were being punished. Part of the individual drawing sheet provided a column for the child to indicate why s/he received a particular punishment. Responses such as: not following direct orders, not doing chores, not listening, coming late to school and not doing a task correctly were classed as disobedience. Responses such as: lying, stealing, hitting/bullying others and “talking back” were classed as misbehaviour; acts that were the child’s own decision. The adults’ sentence completion responses are also considered here.

Table 8: Percentage of responses for reasons for being punished by age and gender, from the individual drawing exercise and, in brackets, the body mapping exercise

Reasons	Girls 10-13 years	Boys 10-13 years	Girls 14-17 years	Boys 14-17 years
Disobedience	61 (71)	62 (70)	50 (62)	48 (47)
Misbehaviour	26 (9)	29 (15)	25 (13)	18 (22)
Unsatisfactory academic performance	7 (19)	8 (11)	21 (22)	29 (30)
Other reasons	2 (1)	1 (4)	4 (3)	5 (1)
Reason unclear/not given	4	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100

The majority of responses indicate that children were punished for disobedience, unsatisfactory academic performance and misbehaviour. The majority of responses obtained from both exercises show that children were punished for disobedience, the younger children more so than the older ones. Except for the older boys, according to the individual drawings, the second most common reason was misbehaviour. This included acts that were the child’s own decision such as lying, stealing, hitting, bullying others and talking back.

The older children’s responses from both exercises show that they received more punishment for unsatisfactory academic performance than the younger children (10-13 year age group). This included: not doing homework, not answering questions correctly, not paying attention in class, failing, decrease in test/exam marks or in class position.

Children were also punished for other reasons, such as expressing opinions and accidentally breaking something.

Responses from adults when asked to complete the sentence: “Children are punished because ...” showed that 75% of the adults’ reasons for punishing children was that they misbehave and/or disobey, or display inappropriate behaviour. This coincides with the children’s responses. A small percentage (11%) stated that children are punished to teach them a lesson/improve their behaviour whilst an even smaller percentage stated that children are punished as the last resort when dealing/confronted with unwanted behaviour.

4.3.3 HOW OFTEN ARE CHILDREN PUNISHED?

Researchers felt that responses on frequency of punishment were not covered well enough to be able to draw any conclusions. Only some of the researchers asked about frequency of punishments during discussions and made notes.

A general observation, however, was that the more severe punishments (being beaten, kicked, hung in a sack and beaten, punched and beaten with a wire) tended to happen less frequently than less severe punishments (being pinched/flicked, having their ears pulled, picking up rubbish, detention and grounding).

4.4 Question 4: How do children protect themselves?

The protection umbrella instrument was conducted as the last exercise in all research sessions. The aim was to protect children from potential negative feelings after the research process and determine something about children’s support structures. Responses to “what I am best at” and “my happiest memory” aimed to explore and gain an insight into children’s positive experiences. Children’s positive experiences can be viewed as something they might use as their coping mechanisms in difficult situations.

Responses to questions were varied and participants often provided multiple responses to one question. For example, when asked, “Who is the person you love the most?” participants frequently recorded parents, friends and relatives.

4.4.1.1 Protection umbrella prompt: I am best at...

Table 9: Percentage of the children’s responses to “I am best at ...”

	Girls 10-13 years old	Boys 10-13 years old	Girls 14-17 years old	Boys 14-17 years old
Academic activities	28	19	13	14
Sports	30	43	16	45
Creative arts	28	12	24	5
Social activities	1	2	20	9
Leisure activities	10	24	13	16
Domestic work	1	0	7	3
Other	1	0	7	7
Unclear/not written	1	0	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100

The boys and younger girls identified sporting activities as things they were best at. Almost half of the boys in both categories (43% of the 10–13 year-olds and 45% of the 14–17 year-olds) identified a sport, e.g. soccer, rugby and volleyball, as something that they were good at or best at and 30% of the 10–13 year-old girls provided similar responses, naming sports such as netball, volleyball, swimming and running. It is possible that sports act as an outlet for them to deal with difficulties in their lives. Also, these activities tend to have little or no interaction with adults, as children play with their peers at home and in school during lunch/recess breaks and physical education classes.

The most common response from the 14–17 year-old girls was creative arts, such as singing, dancing, art and drawing. These activities also have reduced adult interaction. Enjoying activities that allow them interaction with friends and peers may be an important coping mechanism for children.

The academic achievement category embraced responses about being good at school subjects such as mathematics, English, social science and health science. Percentages ranged from 13% to 28% (the younger girls) for this category. In the category of social activities, 20% of the 14–17

year-old girls identified this as what they were best at. Their responses included hanging out with friends, socialising, making friends, telling jokes and “laughing”.

The “other” category included responses such as “giving ideas”, praying, farming, “listening to other people” and “fixing girls”. This accounted for 7% of responses from the 14–17 year-old children.

Leisure activities also accounted for a significant number of children’s responses:

- 10% of responses from girls aged 10–13 years
- 24% of responses from boys aged 10–13 years
- 13% of responses from girls aged 14–17 years
- 16% of responses from boys aged 14–17 years.

The team identified the category of leisure activities from responses such as playing video games/play station, reading, listening to music, playing and bicycle riding as something they were best at.

4.4.1.2 Protection umbrella prompt: My happiest memory

Table 10: Percentage of responses from children about “my happiest memory”

My happiest memory...	Girls 10-13 years	Boys 10-13 years	Girls 14-17 years	Boys 14-17 years
Academic Achievement	6	15	34	28
Sports achievement	4	12	4	9
Leisure activity	15	14	12	7
Travelling	5	22	5	8
Receiving gifts/presents	1	4	3	9
Spending time with family	22	13	20	4
Relationship with the opposite sex	0	1	1	15
Religious festivals/ holidays	16	1	5	3
Birthday	27	13	6	5
Other	3	5	10	11
Unclear/not written	1	0	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100

Amongst the girls aged 10-13 years the most common response (27%) was something to do with their birthday such as a particular birthday party or coming of a certain age.

For boys of the same age group the most common response (22%) was some form of travel either internationally to Australia, New Zealand, Canada or the United States or locally to another town or island.

Responses from the older boys (28%) and girls (34%) were similar, identifying academic achievement as their happiest memory, naming things such as passing an examination, scoring high marks/grades, winning an oratory or quiz, and being selected as dux as their happiest

memory. For the 14-17 year-old boys, the second most common response (at least 15%) was something that involved a relationship with the opposite sex, such as courting a girl, going on a date, first sexual experience and first kiss. The older boys' happiest experiences were based on personal achievements, academically at school and personally with girls.

The second most common response was similar for the girls in both age groups (22% and 20%); they identified spending time with family as their happiest memory: family picnics, gatherings/weddings, visits (from a relative) from overseas, family parties and "family laughing together". It can be concluded that girls may view family as central to their lives and an important source of support, especially the younger girls.

The boys aged 10–13 years identified some form of academic achievement as the second most common response, with 15% identifying passing exams and scoring high marks/grades.

Other significant responses were leisure activities and religious holidays and festivals such as Diwali and Christmas. For older children, many experiences did not fit into the categories so they were categorised as "other". Some examples for the girls are: being chosen as "school queen", sky diving, "when I got my own room", birth of a younger sibling, selected as head girl/prefect/class captain. Some examples for the boys are: driving a car, joined high school, parents giving permission to go out with friends at night and being selected as head boy/prefect/class captain.

4.4.1.3 Protection umbrella prompt: The person I love most

Table 11 shows the data for this exercise. The majority of responses from children recorded **parents** for the person they loved the most. This was true for all groups except for the 10–13 year-old boys, 37% of whom wrote **mother**.

The second most common response was **mother**:

- 22% of the responses from girls aged 10-13.
- 25% of the responses from girls aged 14-17.
- 20% of the responses from boys aged 14-17.

In the 10–13 year-old boys group, the second most common response (19%) was **father**.

The third most common response for girls as the person they loved the most was father: 8% of 10–13 year-old girls and 9% of 14–17 year old. The third most common response for boys 10–13 years old was **parents** (16%) and for the 14–17 year-olds it was **girlfriend** (13%).

It was concluded that children generally look towards people in their family like their parents/mothers/fathers, siblings and other relatives as the people who they love the most. 'Other relatives' included people who could be living with the children, such as grandparents. (In Fiji people often live within extended families.)

Friends made up important relationships in children's lives, comprising 2–10% of children's responses. This indicated that friends could act as central support systems in children's lives outside the home. This seemed particularly true for boys 10–13 years with 10% stating that the person they loved the most was **friends**, and, among the boys 14–17 years old, 3% stating **friends** and 6% stating **parents and friends**. Additionally, the older boys gave importance to relationships they had with the opposite sex.

Table 11: Percentage of responses about “the person I love the most”

Person I love the most...	Girls 10-13 years	Boys 10-13 years	Girls 14-17 years	Boys 14-17 years
Father	8	19	9	5
Mother	22	37	25	20
Parents	35	16	33	30
Family	5	3	8	6
Other relatives	7	2	7	3
Sibling	6	7	5	4
Teacher	1	2	1	
God/belief	2	2	5	2
Friends	6	10	5	3
Boyfriend/girlfriend	1			13
Others				
Mother & friends		2		
Mother & other relatives			1	
Mother & others		1		
Father & friends				
Father & other relatives			1	
Father & others				
Parents & friends	1			6
Parents & other relatives	1		1	
Parents & others	1		1	7
Family & friends	1	1		1
Family & other relatives	2			
Family & others	1			
Total	100	100	100	100

4.4.1.4 Protection umbrella prompt: The person I feel safest with

Table 12 has the data from the protection umbrella prompt: the person I feel safest with. Overall, the responses showed the children recording people from their immediate family (father, mother, parents, siblings and family). The children view parents as central to their lives and may see parents as people to draw support and protection from.

Parents was the most popular response. The second most common response (with the exception of boys 10-13 years) was **mother**: **Father** was named by 22% of the 10–13 year-old boys.

It was generally seen that a higher percentage of boys identified father as person they felt safest with than girls. The girls to some extent appear to rely on their mother as their responses showed that they recorded mother as person they felt safest with more frequently than the boys did.

Other relatives identified by participants were grandmother, grandfather, uncle, cousins, aunt and sister/brother-in-law. In multiple responses children tended to identify **parents and others** together as people they felt safest with. The category of ‘other’ included responses such as elders, myself and my dog.

In contrast to other groups, boys between the ages of 14-17 years recorded more people that were not related to them (god/belief, friends, girlfriend and other people) for support and protection. It can be concluded that that older children may find support outside their families with friends and people who they may come into contact with through school and other activities.

Table 12: Percentage of responses from children about the “Person I feel safest with”

Person I feel safest with...	Girls 10-13 years	Boys 10-13 years	Girls 14-17 years	Boys 14-17 years
Father	6	22	6	9
Mother	17	11	16	12
Parents	52	36	33	27
Family	8	9	12	4
Other relatives	8	4	6	6
Sibling	3	4	4	4
Teacher	1			
Church/belief		2	1	6
Friends	4	5	4	11
Boyfriend/girlfriend			1	2
Others	1	2	1	2
Mother & friends	1		1	
Mother & other relatives		2	1	
Father & friends			1	
Father & other relatives	1			
Parents & friends		1	5	3
Parents & other relatives		2	3	2
Parents & others		2	1	8
Family & friends		1	1	5
Family & other relatives			2	
Family & others			1	
Total	100	100	100	100

Person I love the most and the person I feel safest with

It can be assumed that the person who is most loved is central to a child's life and is likely to be an important source of support and protection that the child may turn to in difficult situations. The responses indicate that children generally view parents and family as an important source of support and protection. The responses provided a positive picture of the family as the place where children feel safe and loved.

In general, the children recorded parent(s) as the person(s) that they felt safest with or loved the most. This was particularly true in the younger age group, with both girls and boys recording mother, father or parents. Other family member also featured highly. Overall **mother** was the person that the younger group recorded they felt safest with.

In the older girls' group, mother emerged as the most popular response and, in the older boys' group **girlfriend** was a popular response for the person they loved the most. However, as with the younger group, the person that both older groups felt safest with was parent(s).

The majority of responses from children that correlated the person(s) they love most with the person(s) they felt safest with were father, mother, parents, family and siblings. Of these, parents comprised the majority of correlated responses. Other relatives (grandmother, grandfather, uncle, aunt, cousins and brother/sister-in-law) were also identified as people loved most and people the children felt safest with.

A higher percentage of girls who had identified mother as the person they loved the most went on to identify mother as the person they feel safest with. The boys in general wrote mother as the person they love the most, but the younger boys identified father as the person they felt safest with while the older boys wrote parents and friends.

4.4.1.5 Protection umbrella prompt: If I was Prime Minister

Table 13: Percentage of types of responses to the prompt about (the one thing they would do) "If I was Prime Minister"

If I was Prime Minister...	Girls 10-13 years	Boys 10-13 years	Girls 14-17 years	Boys 14-17 years
Help the poor/ disadvantaged	37	29	25	32
Eliminate violence against children	16	7	47	11
Develop local area/country	15	22	6	20
Use position to fulfil personal wants/needs	11	23	3	9
Increase holidays	4	2	3	10
Work towards peace, equality, justice, harmony	5	5	9	5
Other	8	10	7	13
Unclear/ not written	4	2	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100

The most common response from the children (except for the girls aged 14–17 years) was statements that related to helping the poor or disadvantaged groups, such as the elderly and homeless children. Children made statements such as “help the poor”, “donate money to the poor”, “combat poverty”, and “improve the life of elder people” and, more specifically, “provide free education to children”, “support street children”, “remove tax from all items” and “provide free transport and education for poor”.

The most common response (47%) from the girls aged 14-17 years were statements about the need or their wish to eliminate violence against children, e.g. “stop punishment of children”, “abolish punishment in schools”, “stop child abuse”, and “provide other means of punishing children in schools”.⁶ Their second most common response was to “help the poor and disadvantaged”.

The second most common response from the girls aged 10–13 years was to “eliminate violence against children”, while for the boys of the same age group it was the category of “using position to fulfil personal needs/wants”. The boys made statements such as “I would buy a car”, “I will get rich”, “visit more countries”, “live in a hotel” and “watch movie”. The older boys, on the other hand, wanted “to develop the local area or the country” with statements such as “build a new soccer stadium for town”, “make more playgrounds”, “improve roads and old bridges”, “build schools in rural areas”, “develop the rural areas” and “create more employment”.

The third most common responses from the younger boys and girls fell in the category of “developing local area/country”. For girls 14-17 years it was “working towards peace, equality, justice and harmony”, e.g. “bring freedom, unity and peace”, “make citizens in Fiji work together and promote peace”, “treat people in my country the same/equally”, “treat all races equally”, “bring different races together and not segregate them”, “do away with racism” and “change Fiji into a peaceful place”.

For the older boys the category ‘Other’ comprised a significant proportion of their responses (1%). These statements were different in nature and did not fall neatly into one category. Some statements included “Cede Fiji to America”, “bring decent outings in school”, “eat chocolate every day” and “free all the prisoners involved in the 2000 coup”, “never let the reconciliation bill to pass” and “no school for one year”.

In general, responses from the children indicated a desire to help the poor and disadvantaged groups, develop the local area/country and eliminate violence against children. The desire to eliminate violence against children was higher amongst the girls than boys. The responses suggest that these children think that people in positions of power have a responsibility to help those who are disadvantaged and marginalised, and to protect children from violence and abuse.

Remarks

The protection instrument did not give the data required to make recommendations about building a protection system, but it does give some useful insights.

What children see as important/fun in their lives. This is not the focus of this research, but it is useful data, and gives other researchers a base on which to build. It tells us that children love and

⁶ While the research team did not prompt these responses, they recognise that the focus of the research and particularly the earlier exercises may have influenced these responses.

value their families. This is critically important. The research (not just in Fiji, but in all the countries involved in this project) suggests that a large proportion of the punishment children receive is from family members—often parents—within the home. This paints a rather negative picture of the home. However, the protection tool tells us that the home is also a safe, happy place—and that children love their parents. It is important to keep the positive dimensions of family life central when we are thinking about things like punishment; otherwise by not recognizing the positives, we miss the opportunity of building on these positive dimensions and may then miss the opportunity of enhancing the home and family as a safe place. Families are a mixed experience for children—and interventions need to provide parents with support to raise their children without physical or emotional violence, but the key here is support for families because, for the majority of children, families are very positive.

5 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are based on the overall conclusions relating to this study, the stakeholder's consultation meeting organised in February 2005 for the purpose of this study and recommendations previously stated by other supporting reports. The researchers strongly encourage stakeholders to take the necessary positive action in programme development and legislation review. Further, the researchers urge relevant agencies, state departments and organisations to develop programmes that will enhance the development and protection of children in Fiji and bring about more positive changes that will be visible within the wider community.

It is recommended that:

1. General awareness be raised by both government and non-government organisations on the unlawfulness of assault towards children as a form of punishment, in accordance with Fiji's Constitution. Further, information on consequences of non-compliance must be disseminated to all levels of society.
2. Existing legislation be reviewed to comply with the 1997 Constitution, international treaties and the changing social dynamics to ensure that children are protected from violence regardless of the environment in which they are in.
3. Relevant stakeholders develop awareness programmes or campaigns aimed at educating society at large, particularly adults who are responsible for the care, protection and education of children, on alternative methods of discipline that promote non-violence
4. Support for families be provided by relevant stakeholders through policy development and effective programming. Community awareness, education and training on child protection, good parenting skills and understanding of child development must be enhanced. This is supported by the Pacific Children's Program on *Community Responses to Child Protection in Fiji: Knowledge, Attitude, Behaviour, Practices Baseline Survey* (2003:15) which recommended that parenting skills/child care workshops be developed which would teach parents and caregivers alternative forms of discipline; parenting skills, including parenting roles and responsibilities; and child development.
5. The notion of the 'cycle of violence' be considered as a focus in developing awareness raising programmes in order to promote the idea that breaking it is achievable.
6. The Ministry of Education carry out continuous monitoring and assessment, accompanied by follow-up by the Fiji Police if necessary, of its policy that prohibits the use of corporal punishment in schools. Awareness, education and training on which acts constitute corporal punishment must be made widely available to schools to ensure that adults are complying with the Ministry's policy on the prohibition of corporal punishment to discipline children in the education system.
7. Schools provide clear guidelines on disciplinary matters to increase awareness by all concerned, promote self-control and self-discipline, and guide students and teachers in conflict resolution. This reiterates recommendations by Tavola in the *Report of the Fiji Islands Education Commission/Panel* (2000:106), The Fiji Women's Crisis Centre's report on *The*

Incidence, Prevalence and Nature of Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault in Fiji and also a research project of the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre (2001:69).

8. Trained counsellors be established in both rural and urban schools to provide counselling support for students, as well as teachers. This will provide teachers and students with a way of sharing their experiences and challenges, voicing their concerns and finding alternative and effective ways to maintain positive discipline.
9. A more collaborative approach be adopted by relevant agencies, government departments and non-government organisations to address the issue of physical and emotional punishment. Sharing of existing information is deemed vital if the physical and emotional punishment of children is to be addressed appropriately. Children's participation is equally important in ensuring that their concerns and suggestions are also incorporated for effective programme intervention.

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7 APPENDICES

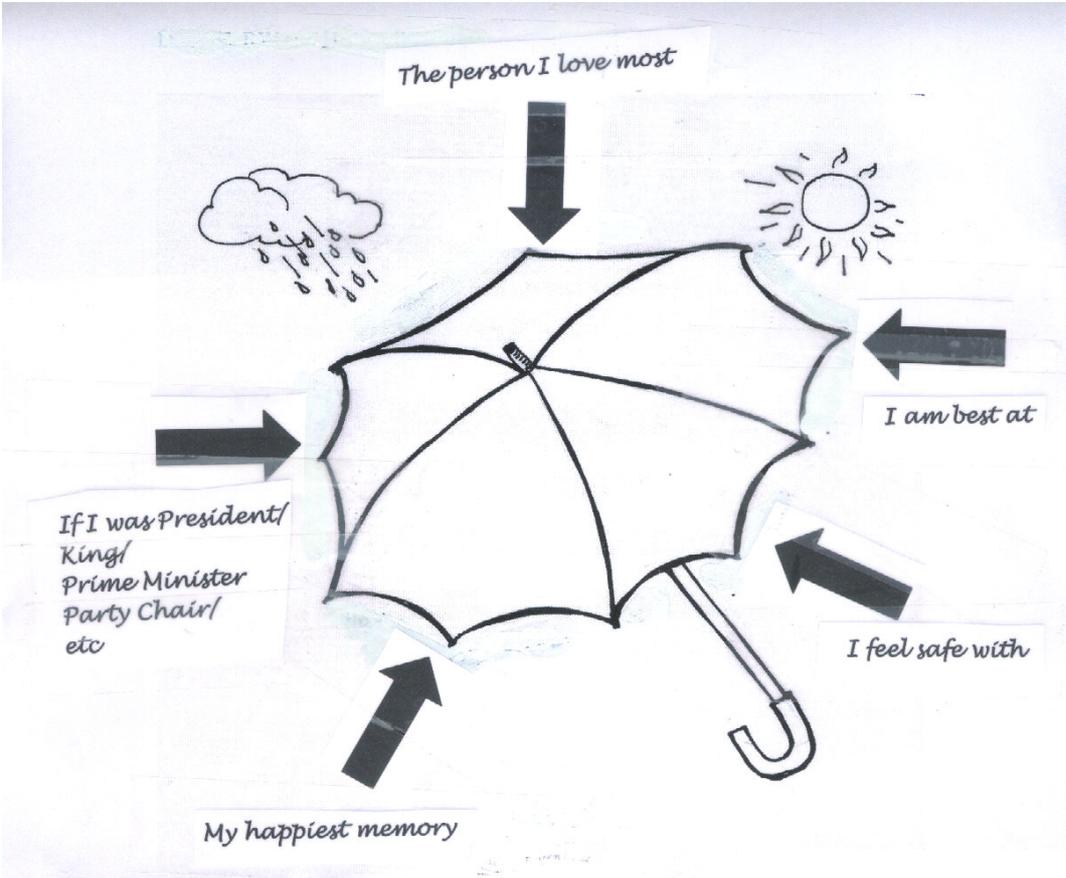
Appendix 1: Individual Drawing Exercise

Punishment	Name of punishment	What I did to be punished	Who punished me	What I think about it
Name of school		Girl/boy		Date of birth

Appendix 2: Group Ranking Exercise

What punishment hurts most	Why
1. (worst)	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6 etc	
Children's names (if wished) gender, year of birth	

Appendix 3: Protection Umbrella



This is my Protection Umbrella

Name of school

I am a boy/girl

Date of birth:

Appendix 4: Attitude survey

1. Instead of being hit children should be told what they have done wrong.	Agree	No opinion	Disagree
2. Punishment is needed to make children behave.	Agree	No opinion	Disagree
3. Punishment is needed so children know right from wrong.	Agree	No opinion	Disagree
4. A good child is obedient at all times.	Agree	No opinion	Disagree
5. If you don't hit children they will not learn good behaviour.	Agree	No opinion	Disagree
6. When children do not listen, adults need to shout at them.	Agree	No opinion	Disagree
7. Adults have a duty to discipline children.	Agree	No opinion	Disagree
8. Children must have it explained to them if they do something wrong.	Agree	No opinion	Disagree
9. Being hit is worse than being told you are bad person.	Agree	No opinion	Disagree
10. Boys need to be hit or they get out of control.	Agree	No opinion	Disagree
11. Girls should never be hit.	Agree	No opinion	Disagree
12. After I punish a child I feel unhappy.	Agree	No opinion	Disagree

Appendix 5: Standard Observation Sheet

Standard observation sheet	
Town/City:	
Researcher(s) name(s):	
Date of session:	
Time of session:	From..... To.....
Research tool used:	
Option used (where applicable):	
Place of data collection:	
Number sequence of data collected:	
What factors may have influenced the collection of data during this session?	
Researcher (s):	
Children/adults:	
Characteristics of the place where the data were collected:	
Weather:	
Interruptions/distractions:	
Other:	

Appendix 6: Sentence Completion Response from adults, percentages

1. Punishment is –

A form of rehabilitation/ discipline	53
Needed/ a necessity/ good for children	14
Not good/ Disagree with punishing children	5
Smacking/hitting or telling children/talk hard to children	10
Counselling children	4
Withdrawing privileges/ grounding	2
Other	7
Unclear/blank	3
Total	100

3. Children are punished because:

Misbehave/ and or disobey – display inappropriate behaviour	75
To teach them a lesson/ improve their behaviour	11
The last resort when dealing/confronted with unwanted behaviour	8
Other	1
Unclear/blank	3
Total	100

5. I think punishing children...

Necessary for discipline/ is good	54
Disagree with punishing children	15
Good however should not be physically/emotionally damaging to the child	22
Is a way of showing	1
Both good and bad	3
Other	3
Unclear/blank	0
Total	100

2. When children misbehave.....

Must be counseled	44
Must be punished/disciplined	22
Counselled then punished	10
It reflects on child's upbringing/ family	3
Punished by other means besides physical punishment	2
Tell them off/growl at them	1
Is a reflection of some problem the child is facing	7
Should be given a warning	1
Other	4
Unclear/blank	4
Total	100

4. When I punish children I feel...

Sad/unhappy	45
Positive emotions – happy	32
Hurt/ bad but feel the punishment was for the child's benefit	17
Other	1
Unclear/blank	3
Total	100

6. I think the best way of disciplining children is...

Withdrawing privileges, give extra, ground them	13
Counsell them	38
Motivate them/ reward them for good behaviour	2
Instilling moral values/loving/ caring for them	7
Counsell them before punishing them	11
Warn them if they do not change then punish them	1
Physical punishment	3
Punishment of some form	14
Other	6
Unclear/blank	3
Total	100

7. When I was a child I was punished by...

Father	2
Mother	7
Parents	29
Teachers	8
Parents and teachers	29
Siblings	-
Other relatives	2
All of the above	11
Other	1
Unclear/blank	9
Total	100

8. When I was a child I was punished for....

Disobedience/ Misbehaviour	75
Unsatisfactory academic performance	4
Disobedience/ misbehaviour & academic performance	12
Other	3
Unclear/ blank	4
Total	100

9. When I was a child punishment made me feel....

Emotional distress/upset	53
Fear	8
Aggression / Anger	3
Tolerance	2
Positive change-	14
Disapproval	-
Emotional upset & fear	3
Emotional distress & disapproval	10
Other	1
Unclear/blank	4
Total	100

10. A good child is...

Displays appropriate behaviour (emphasis on obedience)	67
Seldom/never punished	4
Learns from mistakes	6
Reflection of parenting/ home	7
Thinks about his/her actions	2
Other	5
Unclear/Blank	7
Total	100

11. A bad child is....

Displays inappropriate behaviour (emphasis on disobedience)	65
No thing as a bad child	7
Reflection of upbringing/ parenting	8
Does not learn from mistakes/punishments	8
Other	3
Unclear/Blank	7
Total	100

Appendix 7: Results of the body mapping exercise showing the percentage of which punishments were administered by whom

Girls 10-13 years old

	Father	Mother	Parents	Teacher	Principal /Head teacher	Older siblings	Other relatives	Other
DA	87	90	63	87	100	75	100	100
ODA	9	10	38	11		25		
VA		0	0	3				
G	4							
	100	100	101	101	100	100	100	100

Boys 10-13 years old

	Father	Mother	Parents	Teacher	Principal /Head teacher	Older siblings	Other relatives	Other
DA	93	91	75	77	100	80	88	75
ODA	7	9	13	18		20		25
IA				2				
VA			13	3			13	
	100	100	101	100	100	100	101	100

14-17 year old girls

	Father	Mother	Parents	Teacher	Principal /Head teacher	Older siblings	Other relatives	Other
DA	92	76	56	62	100	78	71	20
ODA	8	24	28	20		11	29	
IA				4		11		
HT				7				80
VA			16	7				
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Boys 14-17 years old

	Father	Mother	Parents	Teacher	Principal /Head teacher	Older siblings	Other relatives	Other
DA	80	100	66	72	75		100	85
ODA	20		14	17	13			
IA				4	13			
HT								
VA			17	6				15
G			3					
	100	100	100	99	101	0	100	100