



# **Family Welfare and Child Protection: Assessing the Landscape of Physical Abuse of Children in Rivers State**

<sup>1</sup>Nwokolu-Nte, Mba Selinah; <sup>2</sup>Iwariemie-Jaja, Darlington (Ph.D)  
& <sup>3</sup>Akujobi, Chiedoziem Theophilus

Department of Sociology & Anthropology,  
University of Port Harcourt, Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria

<sup>1</sup>Mobile: +2348038661563 Email: atezynwokolu@yahoo.com

<sup>2</sup>Mobile: +2348160599872.

<sup>3</sup>Mobile: +2348064317522 Email: theophilus\_akujobi@uniport.edu.ng

## **ABSTRACT**

The provision of adequate child protection in Nigeria lies in contrast with the current experiences and prevailing socio-cultural and economic conditions of the family welfare institutions. This is as a result of multiple contestations that have created rooms for despicable abuse and violation of the child rights in Nigeria. To this end, we examined the synergy between the police and the family welfare institution on child protection in Rivers State, Nigeria. We argued that the prevailing relationship between the police and FWI in addressing abuses and violations of children especially, with the changing value system of the family and the police system is unequally distributed. The study employed a multi stage sampling technique to delineate 380 respondents from the child welfare institutions in Rivers State. Data collected from the field survey, were analyzed using simple percentages, the Chi-square and thematic analysis of qualitative data. The study revealed many categories of child protection problems that the FWI are challenged to include poor staff capacity, inadequate professional social workers and weak synergy between the police and the family welfare institutions. The study concludes that the imbalances in police collaboration with the family welfare institutions to integrate a grass root report system on cases of physical abuse of children have created poor coordination of actions in the arrest, administrative management of physically abused children in River State. The study recommends that manpower capacity building and re-evaluation of the current functioning of the Juvenile Welfare Unit of the Police should be aligned with the FWI towards achieving sustainable protection of children in Rivers state, Nigeria.

**Keywords:** child protection, police collaboration, family, physical abuse, welfare

## **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The change in belief and cultural perception of the family as the greatest safety net for a child has been recently inundated by weak social norms and disregards. This has discredited the capacity and credibility of the kinship system as once revered watchdog network for child protection. This also has been exacerbated by the level of mistrust and lack of synergy between the police system and the family welfare institution as legally charged to protect the rights of the citizen of the Nigeria child. In almost all societies, responsibility for raising children well and preparing them for adulthood goes beyond the parents and is shared, to some degree, by the community at large (Schene 1998). The community investment in the wellbeing of its children is reflected in cultural mores and social norms in legal frameworks that permit interventions in individual families when children are abused or neglected.

De Cao, Sandner (2020) laments that altering family dynamics is threatening and putting already vulnerable children at increased risk of abuse and neglect. This suggests that with the changing value system of the family and the society at large, the family welfare and its landscape of child protection is without doubt experiencing its own share of challenges in providing adequate protection on the rights of the child.

A study conducted by UNICEF (2014), with the Ministry of Education and the support of the Centre for Disease Control, in the U.S revealed that the Health and Life Experiences Survey of Young People in Nigeria is part of the global Violence against Children Surveys project. The Nigerian survey found that; high prevalence and high acceptance of violence against children in the country; that perpetrators of the violence were generally those who lived with or lived near and were known to the child; they were not strangers; That 21% of 13-17 year old boys who experienced sexual violence in the last 12 months, experienced this violence in schools; among 18-24 year olds 58.4 % of females and 53.5% of males reported male teachers as the first perpetrator of physical violence.

Based on the above statistics, one would infer that the landscape of child abuse and violations has been amplified in the light of current socioeconomic and cultural transformations especially, with the erosive kinship value system and inept of the police force to get a grass root cordiality in information sharing and feedbacks. The above landscapes of child's right violations has continually robbed most children of their innocence and defied many cultural norms in Nigeria.

To this end, we argue that the place of the family welfare needs to be re-examined in line with the landscape of child protection looking at the evidences of reports on child abuse via the social and national media. These were not only true reflections of how poor child rights is been protected but a disturbing indices that requires re-examination of the place of the child in our society, the backdrops of the family welfare institutions, the police system and the implication for sustainable child health care system in Nigeria.

Consequent on the above, this paper is focused on examining the Nigerian Police as an integral family welfare institution and the landscape of child protection specifically, on police collaboration in mitigating physical abuse of children in Rivers State, Nigeria. To this end, this study is guided by the central object that:

- i. Examines the ways police collaboration with the family welfare institutions has helped mitigate on physical abuse of children in Rivers State?

### **Hypothesis**

- i. There is no relationship between the police collaboration with the family welfare institutions and mitigation on physical abuse of children in Rivers State.

## **2.0 Empirical Review on Family Welfare Institutions and the Police: Antithesis towards achieving sustainable child protection in Nigeria.**

Extant literature such as; Sander, Jackson and Thomas (1996 cited in Tonmyr, Gonzalez,(2015) examined the police role in the management of child protection service. They conclude that in view of the tensions that previously existed between police and social services, and the degree to which these may have raised unnecessarily the degree of risk to children needing to be protected from harm, the move closer between police and social services clearly evident in the last twenty years is to be welcomed.

In contrast Edwards (2019) "Family Surveillance: Police and the Reporting of Child Abuse and Neglect" assert that "Child protection systems are responsible for the investigation of alleged child abuse and neglect and are empowered to separate children from their families. Like the police, they are charged with the identification and regulation of unlawful and deviant behavior. However, unlike the police, child welfare agencies are tasked with an explicitly therapeutic and rehabilitative mission. Agencies often help children and families' access housing, medical, counseling, and other benefits and services, and children in state custody become automatically eligible for a wide range of state and federal benefits. However, participation in these services is often unwanted and involuntary, because agencies may require compliance with case plans as a condition to allow children to remain or return", the implication of the above as implied in their key findings suggests that Police are less likely than others are to file

maltreatment reports involving physical abuse . In 2015, about 17 percent of all investigated maltreatment reports filed by police involved physical abuse, versus 22 percent of reports from all sources.

Given the central role of police in responding to family violence, this is surprising. Police were more likely than other reporters to file reports involving allegations of psychological maltreatment or sexual abuse of children. As with other reporters, neglect is the primary form of suspected maltreatment in most police-filed reports. More than 70 percent of police maltreatment reports involving American Indian–Alaska Native children in 2015 centered on allegations of neglect. Children are far more likely to be classified as victims of child abuse and neglect following a child welfare agency assessment when they are reported by police than when reports originate from another source. Although 22 percent of all investigations result in a conclusion that a child was a victim of abuse or neglect, 39 percent do when police file the initial report. Substantiation rates for children of all racial and ethnic groups are similar, concentrated at around 40 percent for police-filed reports and 22 percent for reports from all sources.

Garrett (2004) examined Talking Child Protection: The Police and Social Workers ‘Working Together in the United Kingdom, following the death of Victoria Climbié. He observed that at the core of child protection activity is the police/social work relationship and the notion of ‘working together’ to respond to child abuse. However, there is often a failure to interrogate what rhetorical assertions about multi-disciplinary working actually amount to in terms of the micro-politics of ‘joined up’ endeavors. In his *Findings*, it was revealed that there are tensions in ‘working together’ and a police tendency to perceive themselves as the ‘lead agency’ in child protection remains a clog to achieving potency with a desired goal. Furthermore, he argued that joint working between social workers and police officers needs to be subject to reflexive scrutiny.

Policing likely provides a partial explanation for racial inequalities in child welfare system outcomes (Roberts 2002; Kim et al. 2016; Wildeman et al. 2014). As a key component of American family surveillance systems, local police agencies play a role in shaping the composition of the population of children and families singled out for maltreatment investigations. Agency and officer decisions about where to patrol, what to enforce, who is suspicious, and whether to make an arrest all play a role in determining which families are subject to surveillance and which are not. Contact with the child welfare system is incredibly common. About 37 percent of children in the United States will experience a child welfare maltreatment investigation during their childhood (Kim et al. 2016).

Criminal justice and child welfare systems are likely to be most active in similar communities and neighborhoods, and overlapping contact with criminal justice and child welfare systems within families is common (Berger et al. 2016; Roberts 2012). Using administrative data in Wisconsin, Lawrence Berger et al (2016) found that 28 percent of children involved in the child welfare system between 2004 and 2012 in Milwaukee County had a parent in jail or prison within a year of their contact with the child welfare system They further found that 18 percent of incarcerated eighteen-to twenty-one- year-olds in Wisconsin were involved with child welfare agencies as adolescents. Ethnographic work Fernandez-Kelly 2015; Roberts (2008) suggests that the communities in which child protection and police departments are most aggressive and most active often overlap.

Police agencies have deep institutional ties to child protection agencies. Child welfare agencies routinely conduct joint investigations with police, many police departments have created special units directed at child abuse and neglect, and police themselves handle noncriminal maltreatment investigations in some jurisdictions (Cross et al. 2015; Cross, Finkelhor, and Ormrod 2005). Regardless of jurisdiction, however, police play a fundamental role in child protection: they conduct front-line surveillance of children for signs of abuse and neglect; they produce information about the fitness of an adult to parent through the application of criminal stigma; and they create both short-and long-term crises of care when they incapacitate caregivers. Police suspicion is likely to affect bureaucratic appraisals of the incidence of abuse or neglect within a family through the application of criminal stigma. A critical assessment of the role of police from the literature suggests imbalances in the relationship between the police and the family welfare institutions. These are no exception to the cultural settings of the Nigerian state and thus are stark in affecting the administrative decisions and performance of the family welfare institutions and the Police. The duo is grappling with trust issues towards ensuring protection of the child in Nigerian. Notably, there

is dearth of empirical studies to examine the link between the police and the FWI in Nigeria. However some media reports by Olaiya (2017) noted that the role of the Nigeria Police Force on child's right protection, points out that all police divisions have established Juvenile Welfare Centre (JWC) mainly assigned to handle cases involving different types of child abuses ranging from emotional, physical, sexual, neglect, and domestic violence amongst others in the state as given by Inspector Okafor Kenneth Ewemethafor, a facilitator from Ikeja Police Training College. He added that the Juvenile Welfare Centre are provided with the necessary equipment and well-trained officers on the best steps in case of incidences of child abuse, adding that the Child's Right Law and Domestic Violence Law, which is already operational in the state would help to penalize perpetrators and protect the right of victims. However these claims are far from the realities on ground looking at the level of discord in the synergy between the police and the family welfare officials in child protection in Nigeria.

### 3.0 METHODOLOGY

The study adopted the qualitative descriptive and exploratory research design. As explained by Creswell (2008, p. 46), qualitative research is "a type of educational research in which the researcher relies on the views of participants; asks broad questions; collects data consisting largely of words (text) from participants; describes and analyses these words for themes; and conducts the inquiry in a subjective biased manner". A qualitative approach and case study design suited this study because it involves exploration and the description of feelings, perceptions, meanings and experiences of both caregivers in both the family level and family welfare institutions and the views of management of the institutions. The primary population of the study is the total number of reported incidences of child protection abuse registered with the Family Welfare Unit of the Rivers State Ministry of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation from 2011 to 2015 (evident in available case files), police reports and the judiciary cases on child protection. However, the staffs of the MSW&R in the ten zonal welfare offices across Rivers State were also included in the sample.

A preliminary visit to the unit revealed that the total number of child protection cases treated under the family welfare unit between 2011 and 2015 (evident in case files) is put at 10,410. This constitutes the target population of the study. On the other hand, staff population of the family welfare unit is put at 26 across ten zonal welfare offices in Rivers State. The sample population includes 400 families that have had child protection cases between 2011 and 2015. The sampling was derived using the Taro Yamane formula as well as 26 staff across the 10 zonal offices in the state. Consequently, the total sample size for this study is 400 plus 26 amounting to 426. Both primary and secondary methods were adopted in data collection. The primary data were collected through the administration of a self-designed questionnaire distributed separately to the families and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) held with 26 staff of the family welfare unit, while interview sessions were conducted directly with a few of the children in order to be able to triangulate the information during analysis. The secondary method of data collection was based on document reviews derived from the published works of other researchers or scholars such as textbooks, newspapers and magazines, publications in journals and the Internet.

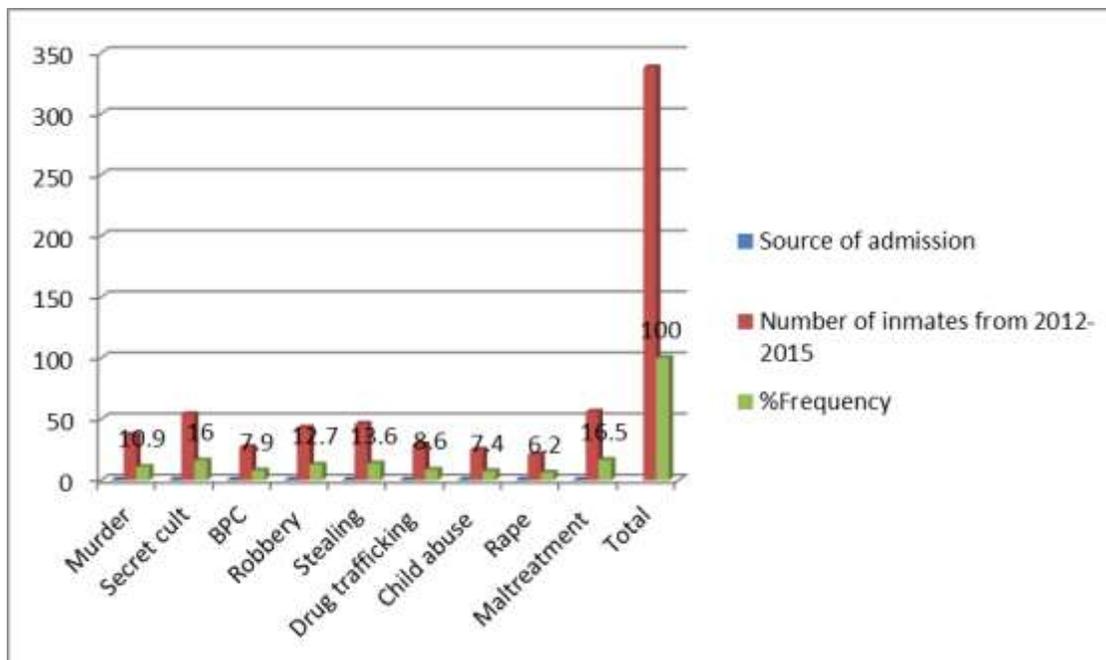
The study adopted both qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. Under the qualitative method, the grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) was used to analyze information gathered from the FGD and interview sessions. The grounded theory method in any qualitative analysis involves the transcription of observed outcomes into conceptual codes that are transcribed into thematic areas for discussion. These themes are cross-referenced in order to find relationship which will inform the formation of new models and theories that are focused on solving identified scientific problems.

In addition to this, and to help triangulate the analytical process, data collected from the 400 households or families that have had child protection or welfare settlement cases at the family welfare unit were interpreted or described, using simple percentage method. As a result percentage values were calculated according to the number of response to each question and consequently presented in tables. Also, imagery and descriptive models such as pie charts, bar charts and trend charts were used to describe data for the research questions. Finally, the Chi-square ( $X^2$ ) statistical technique was used to analyze the research hypotheses.

**DISCUSSION**

**4.3 In what ways have the police collaboration with the family welfare institutions helped on physical abuse of children in Rivers State?**

Relationship between the Family Welfare workers and the police



Source: Ministry of Social Welfare & Rehabilitation 2019 computed by the Researcher

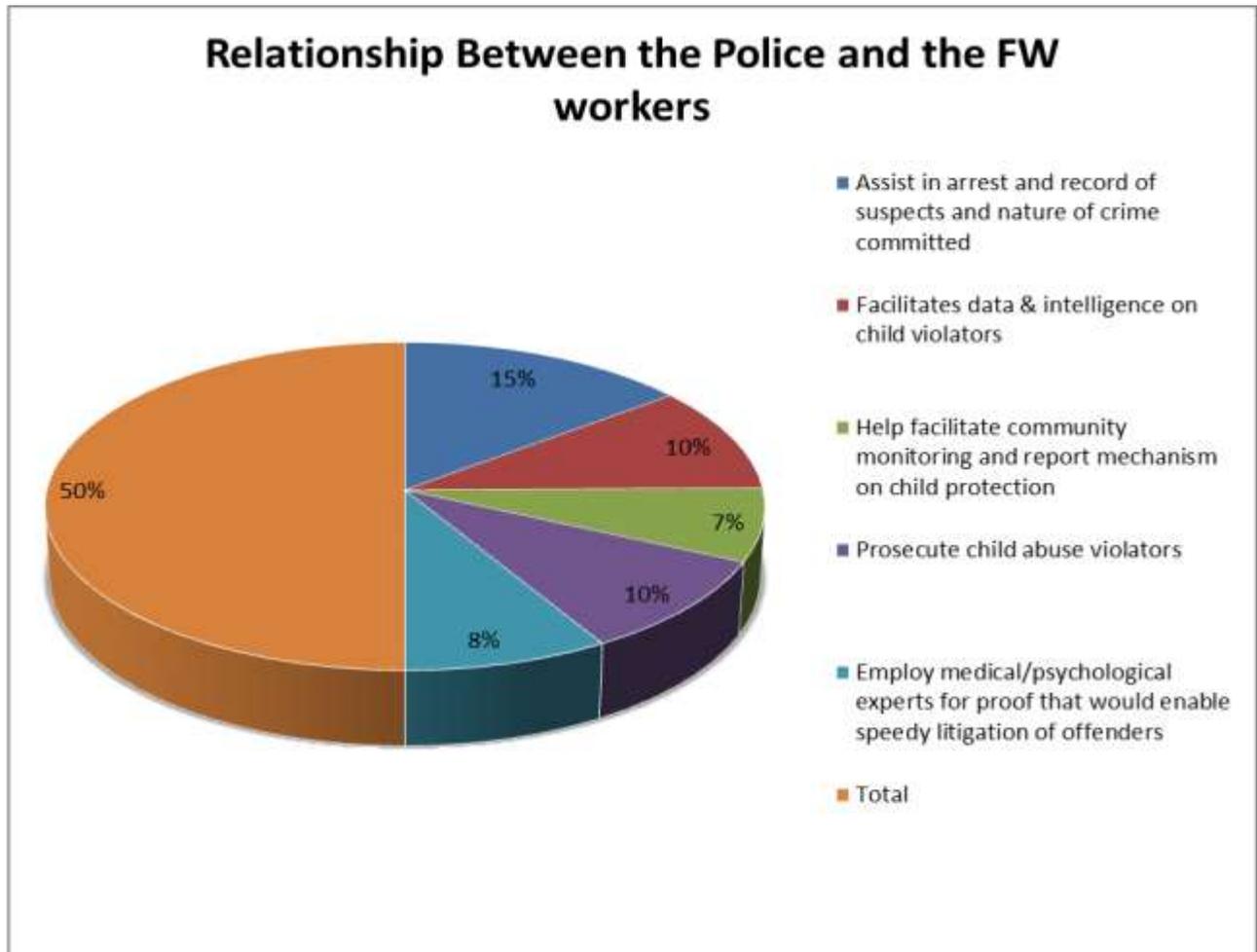
**Figure 4.1: Police Data on Categories of Offences Involving Child Protection Abuses in Rivers State.**

From the Figure 4.1 above, it would be of signification to imply that there is a working relationship between the police and the FWI especially, as data signifies that there is an increase in report gathering and arrest of children involved in stealing and robbery, followed by cultism, BPC, murder, rape drug trafficking, prostitution and maltreatment.

Data from the Reprimand Home of Borokiri/Ministry of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation was cross tabulated across gender to know the prevalence across males and females. Data reveals that there were more male offenders than females. Similarly, data reveals that the police have been highly involved in their collaboration with the FW unit towards arresting child violators and or children involved in crimes. However, data signifies that from 2012-2015, 338 cases were handled by the police unit of the Family welfare. Hence, a clear indication that there is some level of synergy between the FW and the Police as well as the Court and other agencies like FIDA and the communities. From the above, the opinions of respondents were sorted for and presented in table below.

**Table 4.1: Opinion of respondents on working relationship between the police and the FW workers**

Responses	Highly supportive	Moderately supportive	Poorly supportive	Total
Assist in arrest and record of suspects and nature of crime committed	36	17	16	69
Facilitates data & intelligence on child violators	26	30	34	90
Help facilitate community monitoring and report mechanism on child protection	18	23	33	74
Prosecute child abuse violators	24	23	19	66
Employ medical/psychological experts for proof that would enable speedy litigation of offenders	21	24	36	81
Total	125	117	138	380



**Fig.4.2 Relation between the police and FW workers**

Figure 4.2: Responses from figure 4.2 shows the cumulative responses and indicate that 50% of the respondents agreed that the police have been a supportive agency in the dealing with child welfare incidents 37.7% of the respondents noted that the police are poorly supportive in facilitating data and intelligence on child violators, 44% of the respondents noted that the police are poorly supportive in facilitating community monitoring and report mechanisms on child protection. Similarly, 36% of the respondents noted that the police have been highly supportive in prosecuting child abuse violators while 44.4% noted that the police have been poorly supportive on collaborating with medical experts for proof and expediting litigation of offenders.

**FGD data on Established units and Framework of the FW System that integrates with the Police to forestall Child protection shows the following outcomes;**

Interactions from the FGD reveal the following;

*“that a department of the police called the “JWC” Juvenile Welfare Center charged with working collaboratively with the FW workers in dealing with child protection issues (FGD/ Police staff/Male/47years/Borokiri)”*

**Similarly another discussant noted:**

*“There is a special unit of the police call JWC that works with the Family welfare unit rather, we often apply for police escorts and help in the course of some crucial arrest (FGD/Female/FW staff/51years/Borokiri)”*

*“There procedures to filing cases which requires the victims and or accused making an official report to the police on the incident, then the matter is assigned to an officers to foresee thorough investigation and processing the victim and or his/her family (FWI FGD/Male/46years/Borokiri.”)*

**How would you describe your experience with the police in relation to actualizing the mandate of sustainable child right protection in rivers state?**

*“In some of the cases handled in the past, I have observed that the police often put both victims and perpetrators in to normative forms of corruption which deters the objectivity and influences the neutrality and achieving justice for the common poor in prosecuting child protection offenses (FGD/Males/Gokana/47years/Elem 54years”)*

**This was corroborated by another discussant**

*“The police don’t often help matters as expected especially when it comes to aligning with the FW workers to prosecute victims and serve justices to victims may be as a result of some individual and undue bureaucratic value system that runs in conflict with the interests of the common victims (FGD/Female/31years/Obio-Akpor)”*

*“Issues regarding child rape and or abuse and family interference that are ritualistic and culturally exclusive for professional investigation by the social workers are difficult areas for the police to probe in but alas, they often want to be seen as possessing the capacity to do all things even when they are inadequately sufficient to do so. Hence, we often feel bad to record the gaps in the collaboration of the police and FW workers as moderately efficient in the fight against child protection (FGD/Male/29years/Isiopko &FGD/Female/Elem/49years”)*

*“The combine structure of both the police and the FWI though possess the legal right/ power to take a child away from the family home in an emergency but this is often flawed by poor capacity and administrative bottleneck of the police and Family welfare Institution (FGD/Female/Male /60years/Isiopko”).*

*“It still remain a worrisome fact that the FWI and the Police have not made their presence and operation well embraced by the community policing system through provision of public emergency numbers and or platforms for reporting incidences of child abuse (FGD/Male/39years/Gokana”).*

**What mechanisms are on ground by the online department of FWI and the Police to ensure online safety of children surfing the internet?**

*“The online department of the FWI is still at its infancy in terms of its operations due to lack of funding and capacity building to mediate online use and monitoring of child abuse online considering how personal this seems to family values “FGD/Female/Elemo/55years”.*

In sum, data from the FGD responses shows that a department of the police called the “JWC” Juvenile Welfare Center is charged with working collaboratively with the FW workers in dealing with child protection issues. The special unit of the police often escorts and help in the course of some crucial arrest and prosecution of cases. On the contrary it was revealed that some of the cases handled by the police often put both victims and perpetrators in to normative forms of corruption which deters the objectivity of serving justice for the common poor especially as concerned the prosecution of child protection offenses. Some respondents reported that the police don’t often help matters as expected especially when it comes to aligning with the FW workers to prosecute victims and serve justices to victims may be as a result of some individual and undue bureaucratic value system that runs in conflict with the interests of the common victims. On issues regarding child rape and or abuse and family interference that are ritualistic and culturally exclusive for professional investigation by the social workers, the police often would mess up the process due to their unprofessional skill in probing into such matters thereby creating more difficulties for the social workers in that job line.

Data also shows that the combine structure of both the police and the FWI though possess the legal right/ power to take a child away from the family home in an emergency situation, this is often flawed by poor capacity and administrative bottleneck of the police and Family welfare Institution thus it still remain a worrisome fact that the FWI and the Police have not made their presence and operation well embraced by the community policing system through provision of public emergency numbers and or platforms for reporting incidences of child abuse. Finally, data shows that the online department of the FWI is still at its infancy in terms of its operations and lacks funding and capacity building to mediate into online use and monitoring of child abuse.

**Testing Hypothesis Three**

**H<sub>0</sub>:** There is no relationship between the police collaboration with the family welfare institutions and mitigation on physical abuse of children in Rivers State.

**H<sub>3</sub>:** There is relationship between the police collaboration with the family welfare institutions and mitigation on physical abuse of children in Rivers State.

**Table 4.2: Police Collaboration with FWI and reduction in Physical abuse of Children**

Respondents	O	E
Male		
1	28	25.05
2	43	39.37
3	104	110.95
4	97	96.63
Female		
1	7	9.95
2	12	15.63
3	51	44.05
4	38	38.37

Source: compiled by author and computed using SPSS

**Table 4.3: Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.981 <sup>a</sup>	8	.010
Likelihood Ratio	19.476	8	.013
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.204	1	.013
N of Valid Cases	380		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 20.32.

Table 4.2 and 4.3 above shows the cross tabulation between working relationship and family welfare in Rivers State. When tested as a hypothesis using Chi-Square test of Independence, it was confirmed that the relationship is significant since the test gave a  $\chi^2_{cal}$  value of 19.981 with significance level of .000 which is less than 0.05 level of significance, the submission here is that; there is a significant relationship between working relationship of the Police and family welfare in Rivers State.

From the above data and the information at the discretion of the researcher, it was found that though there seem to be some level of increase in cooperation between the police and the family welfare institution, their collaborative relationship have not been able to improve the data gathering and statistics on child protection offenders, nature of crime and prosecutions due to weak administrative imbalances and incongruent goals and motives between the FW officers, the court, and the police.

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings above, we conclude that; Poor resources capacity of the family welfare institutions and the police are accountable for the under-reported number of violators and vulnerable children been sexually and physically abused within the family network in Rivers state. To this end we recommend the following;

- i. That the police should extend the frontiers child protection to include a responsive child protection report system through a framework of the local intelligence gathering on child abuse/neglect and or offenses that involves children for adequate intervention against physical abuse of children in Nigeria.
- ii. That the imbalances in police collaboration with the family welfare institutions should integrate a grass root structure to monitor and report all forms of child abuses and to coordinate actions

in the arrest, administrative management of physical abused children and offenders in Rivers State.

## REFERENCES

- Berger, L.M., Cancian, M., Cuesta, L. and Noyes, J. L. (2016). “Families at the Intersection of the Criminal Justice and Child Protective Services Systems.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 665(1): 171–94.
- Creswell, J. W. (2008). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Cross, T. P., Finkelhor, D. and Ormrod, R. (2005). “Police Involvement in Child Protective Services Investigations: Literature Review and Secondary Data Analysis.” *Child Maltreatment*, 10(3): 224–44
- Cross, T. P., Chuang, E., Helton, J.J. and Lux, E.A. (2015). “Criminal Investigations in Child Protective Services Cases: An Empirical Analysis.” *Child Maltreatment* 20(2): 104–14.
- De Cao, E and Sandner, M. (2020). The potential impact of the COVID-19 on child abuse and neglect: The role of childcare and unemployment. 08 May <https://voxeu.org/article/potential-impact-covid-19-child-abuse-and-neglect> (accessed on June 16, 2020)
- Edwards, F. (2019). Family Surveillance: Police and the Reporting of Child Abuse and Neglect. *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 5(1), 50-70. doi:10.7758/rsf.2019.5.1.03 <http://www.jstor.com/stable/10.7758/rsf.2019.5.1.03> (accessed on June 18, 2020)
- Fernandez-Kelly, M. P. (2015). *The Hero’s Fight: African Americans in West Baltimore and the Shadow of the State*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Garrett, M. P. (2004). Talking Child Protection: The Police and Social Workers ‘Working Together’. Volume: 4 issue: 1, page(s): 77-97 Issue published: April 1, 2004 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468017304042422> (accessed on June 24, 2020)
- Kim, H, Wildeman, C., Melissa J, and Drake, B. (2016). “Lifetime Prevalence of Investigating Child Maltreatment Among US Children.” *American Journal of Public Health*, 107(2): 274–80
- Olaiya, T.T. (2017). Lagos, police collaborate to protect children from abuse. *The Guardian News* 16 February 2017, <https://guardian.ng/news/lagos-police-collaborate-to-protect-children-from-abuse/> (accessed on July 2, 2020)
- Roberts, D. (2002). *Shattered Bonds: The Color of Child Welfare*. New York: Basic Civitas Books.
- Roberts, D. (2008). “The Racial Geography of Child Welfare: Toward a New Research Paradigm.” *Child Welfare*, 87(2): 125–50
- Sanders, R., Jackson, S. & Thomas, N. (1996). The police role in the management of child protection services, *Policing and Society*, 6:2, 87100, DOI: [10.1080/10439463.1996.9964743](https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.1996.9964743) (accessed on June 15, 2020)
- Schene, P. (1998). Past, Present, and Future Roles of Child Protective Services. *The Future of Children*, 8(1), 23-38. doi:10.2307/1602626 (accessed on June 18, 2020)
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. M. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Tonmyr, L. & Gonzalez, A. (2015). Correlates of joint child protection and police child sexual abuse investigations: results from the Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect-2008. *Health promotion and chronic disease prevention in Canada : research, policy and practice*, 35(8-9), 130–137. <https://doi.org/10.24095/hpcdp.35.8/9.03> (accessed on June 18, 2020)
- UNICEF (2014). *Ending Violence Against Children: Six Strategies for Action*. New York: UNICEF. [www.unicef.org/publications/index\\_74866.html](http://www.unicef.org/publications/index_74866.html) 4 cited in Ezulwini, (2014) From Research to Action: Advancing Prevention and Response to Violence against Children: Report on the Global Violence against Children Swaziland | 28 – 30 May.

- Vesneski, W. M. (2012). "Judicial Criteria for Terminating Parental Rights: A Content Analysis of 2010 North Carolina Appellate Court Opinions." Ph.D. dissertation., University of Washington.
- Wildeman, C. (2014). "Parental Incarceration, Child Homelessness, and the Invisible Consequences of Mass Imprisonment." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 651(1): 74–96.
- Wildeman, C., Emanuel, N., Leventhal, J.M., Putnam-Hornstein, E., Waldfogel, J. and Lee, H. (2014). "The Prevalence of Confirmed Maltreatment Among U.S. Children, 2004 to 2011." *JAMA Pediatrics*, 168(8): 706–13.