Abuses at Health Facilities During the Maternity Period: Types and Causes among Unmarried Adolescents in Uganda

Uganda is one of the countries with high maternal mortality (336/100,000) and adolescents account for 24 percent of the total maternal deaths (Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) and & ICF International, (2017). Research shows that use of maternal health services may prevent some of these deaths, that is the use of antenatal care during pregnancy with effective assessment and proper management of pregnancy risks (Rooney, 1992; Villar & Bergsjø, 1997; Koshar et al., 1998; Carroli et al., 2001; Simkhada et al., 2008), giving birth in the health institutions (Campbell et al., 2006; CDC, 2014; Serbanescu et al., 2017) and having skilled providers in attendance at childbirth (Koblinsky et al., 1999; Graham et al., 2001; Buor & Bream, 2004; Mbonye et al., 2007). A reduction in maternal deaths has also been observed by providing and utilising emergency obstetric care (Koblinsky et al., 1999; Paxton et al., 2005; Mbonye et al., 2007; Fournier et al., 2009; Souza et al., 2013; CDC, 2014) as well as the use of appropriate postnatal care (Bang et al., 2004; Ronsmans et al., 2006). Good provider attitudes attract adolescents to use the services, however, poor health provider's attitudes discourage adolescents from seeking the services during the maternity period which could contribute to the high maternal mortality rates in Uganda. This study explores the experiences of unmarried female adolescents at the health facilities during the maternity period. This study was thus carried out to explore the abuses and causes of the abuses unmarried adolescents endure at health centres during the maternity period.

The study population is unmarried adolescent girls aged 10-19 years who were pregnant or had given birth within three years before fieldwork. This is a special interest group that requires attention throughout this period. This is because most pregnancies among unmarried adolescents are unwanted; as a result, many of them have been abused and neglected by parents and close family members including partners who deny fatherhood of the pregnancy/child. This is due to poor attitudes towards non-marital births in Uganda and elsewhere (Ilika & Anthony, 2004; Atuyambe et al., 2005; Levandowski et al., 2012). These adolescents hope to find comfort from health providers like being listened to during counseling, not abused and judged. Unfortunately, this is not the case always.

The study was carried out in Bushenyi and Kibale districts in Western Uganda. Fourteen in-depth interviews and seven focus group discussions among adolescents were completed. Eight in-depth

interviews with adolescent parents and seven key informant interviews with health providers who provide maternity care in the study districts were carried out. Interviews were carried out by research assistants with experience in qualitative data collection. These were carried out in the local languages and later transcribed to English language. The research was approved by the University of Hull, School of Education and Social Sciences ethics review committee, Mildmay Uganda Research Ethics Committee and Uganda National Council of Science and Technology. Thematic interpretative phenomenological analysis to identify the themes, followed by an interpretative analysis and synthesis of themes was done. Participants words were added to create a blended story of the youth experiences. Adolescents were aged 16-19 years, two had become pregnant before 15 years. Most had not completed secondary education; none had tertiary education and three out of the 14 IDI adolescent participants wanted to get pregnant.

The analysis showed that most adolescents were abused verbally and physically by the health providers due to their young age of pregnancy, lack of essential items during this period (maternity dresses, children clothes, delivery kit) and fear of labour pains.

"The health workers treat us harshly. Sometimes you go to the health center dressed in a skirt and a blouse, because you don't have a maternity dress, so the midwife insults you for that. Maybe you don't have a cloth to lay on the bed and a birth mat, so they can't treat you. The midwife tells you that if you are poor why did you get pregnant? Or she does not attend to you and tells you to first get the requirements." FGD two participant

They were ignored and not attended to when they requested to be guided by health providers especially during pre-labour and labour periods as this participant noted:

"They attend to you while giving birth when you are all so worried and sometimes you tell them but they just look at you and ignore you and yet you are in pain, all in the name of not sending you there." FGD five participant

Another cause for abuse was these adolescents coming for antenatal care with no partners yet the implementation of a policy on increasing male involvement in reproductive health in Uganda requires them to attend antenatal care with their partners and most of these unmarried adolescents

have no partners to accompany them. They were not attended to as this policy gives priority to women who come with partners and unintentionally punishes those who have no partners. Some adolescents were made to come back another time as a punishment for not coming along with partners as noted below:

"The services are not good because they don't treat you well because you don't have a husband, yet you are pregnant. Those who come with their husbands are given first priority and for you who even came early, you end up leaving the facility late." FGD two participant

This discourages adolescents to come to access the services:

"These issues of 'the person who impregnated me is not around', nurses don't want to hear that. So, for a single mother you don't waste time going to the hospital because you don't have a husband." FGD four participant

The findings of this study mirror those that were found in prior studies that health providers abuse women during maternity and this includes verbal, physical and sexual abuse ((d'Oliveira et al., 2002; Freedman & Kruk, 2014; McMahon et al., 2014; Bohren et al., 2015). Studies in Uganda have also found that married women find it hard to go with their husbands to access maternity care because of time, privacy and fear of HIV testing (Byamugisha et al., 2011; Rujumba et al., 2013; Kabagenyi et al., 2014). It was found by a UNICEF study in Uganda that women hire men to act as husbands so that they are attended to fast (UNICEF, 2016b; WHO, 2016b). However, this renders the objectives of the policy not achievable.

Adolescents want to be treated with respect, empathy, not to be teased because of their age at becoming pregnant or giving birth, as well as providers not being harsh with them, as has been found in prior studies in Uganda and elsewhere (Atuyambe et al., 2005; Atuyambe et al., 2008; Hokororo et al., 2015; Reibel et al., 2015). Health providers thus need to treat the unmarried adolescents well, in order to encourage them to access the maternal health services in future (Chaibva et al., 2009). Given that clients judge the quality of services by the aspects of the interpersonal care they receive, rather than the technical aspects of their treatment, good interpersonal care is essential in the provision of maternal health services to adolescents (Mngadi et al., 2002).

The study identified abuse that unmarried adolescents went through during the maternity period. Efforts to provide adolescents with adequate information including what to expect during labour by providers and provision of basic needs are essential. Health providers should have trainings on client care especially how to embrace unmarried adolescents when they come to access maternity services. More so, the policy on improving male involvement in RH issues need to be considerate of unmarried adolescents who in most cases do not have the partners to go with to access maternity care.

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