

A HIGH SCHOOL GUIDANCE PROGRAMME AIMED AT THE
PRIMARY PREVENTION OF SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN AS
PART OF A NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR THE
PREVENTION OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE IN
SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

The sexual abuse of children has become recognised as a major problem affecting children in most, if not all, countries of the world. The prevention of such abuse has, in the last decade, become an issue of international significance.

In South Africa, prevention efforts are mainly informal *ad hoc* strategies initiated by individuals or organisations. As such they suffer from being short-lived and often isolated.

Prevention efforts fall into the general categories of primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. Primary prevention focuses on preventing abuse from occurring at all. There are two main aspects to this type of prevention. The first aims at teaching children to protect themselves. The second aims at preventing the development of a disposition to abuse.

This study set out to suggest and justify the adoption of a national strategy appropriate to the South African situation, including an overview of what can be done through the schooling system. This strategy will provide a framework and context for individual efforts, and hopefully stimulate new programmes.

In addition, a detailed prevention programme for implementation in the secondary school, through the medium of the subject Guidance, was developed. This programme addressed itself mainly to that primary aspect of prevention concerned with preventing people from developing a disposition to abuse.

The programme consists of lesson plans, teacher's notes and worksheet materials for pupils.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The sexual abuse of children, and its prevention, have become major issues of concern particularly in the Western World in the last decade, and a formal and informal industry concerned with management, treatment, prevention and research has developed. This industry has helped focus public attention on the plight of children who find themselves in an abusive situation, and the often devastating effects that such abuse has in both the short and long term.

Sexual abuse is but one part of the general problem of child abuse, and both issues have received intensive attention only fairly recently in our history. In the 1960's the child welfare movement in the United States began to campaign on behalf of neglected and abused children in general, and this movement, with a strong impetus from the resurgence of feminism in the 1970's, led to the public spotlight on the sexual abuse of children in the latter part of that decade. Since that time, there has been a great deal of media coverage of the issue in various countries, and the issue of the plight of the abused child has been placed firmly in the public eye.

As a result there exists a public perception that the abuse of children is a modern phenomenon. Yet a look at history dispels this myth.

1.1. A short history of child abuse

1.1.1. Physical abuse

The general physical abuse of children can be traced back to ancient civilizations such as Egypt and Greece, and has been well documented by a number of authors (eg. Breiner 1990; De Mause 1976; Rush 1980). Infanticide was a common practice in many ancient civilizations, and the low value placed particularly on female children is evident by the very low

ratio of girls to boys in those societies. In the early 2nd Century AD a leading Greek medical authority openly advocated infanticide when the newborn child was not considered to be perfect and healthy in every respect (Temkin 1956). He also warns parents against allowing a situation to develop in which their children will become unhealthy or injured, and seems to suggest that this is a frequent occurrence. His description of such a child closely parallels the Battered Child Syndrome, as identified by doctors in the 1960's (Kempe, Silverman, Steele, Droegemeuller and Silver 1962).

Down the centuries the abuse and neglect of children appears to have been an ongoing and fairly commonplace occurrence. In 1684 "A Guide to the Practical Physician" (Bonet 1684) was published which among other issues deals with injuries suffered by children, many of which are consistent with those caused by abuse.

Lynch (1985) refers to a paper by Ambrois Tardieu, published in 1860, which described in detail the injuries, both physical and psychological, of 32 abused children, 24 of them having been injured by their own parents. These children are clearly identified as being abused, and their injuries again parallel those which modern doctors have come to recognise as characteristic of this type of trauma.

The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was founded in 1874, in response to an ever increasing awareness of the problem. This society reinforced the idea of children being removed from their parents in situations of cruelty.

In 1883 the English Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was established in Liverpool, England, and in the first three years of its existence it dealt with 762 cases of abuse, of which 132 were taken to court. The establishment of this Society as well as the number of cases officially brought to it surely indicates that doctors were well aware of abuse.

Gradually, into the 20th Century, physicians began to recognise more and more the symptoms of abuse, and a number of reports were published (Lynch 1985). Nevertheless, there often seemed a reluctance by doctors to name what appeared to be obvious - that many children presenting with injuries had clearly been injured by parents, or other primary caregivers.

Silverman's (1952) paper was one of the first to clearly state that parental abuse is a major cause of injury in children.

It is not often appreciated that many individuals responsible for the care of infants and children (who cannot give their own history) may permit trauma and be unaware of it, may recognise trauma but forget or be reluctant to admit it, or may deliberately injure the child and deny it.

(Silverman 1952: 426)

Fisher (1958) strongly suggested that in certain cases of injury to children, the possibility that the parents were responsible must be considered. A number of other publications on this topic also appeared at about this time (Housden 1955; Kempe and Silver 1959).

It was against this growing recognition of the problem that Kempe's (1962) paper entitled the "Battered Child Syndrome" was published, which led the medical world to accept this syndrome as a diagnostic possibility.

By 1966 all 50 American states had passed laws concerning child abuse, and similar developments had occurred in Canada and Britain.

It still took some time, however, before family violence research emerged as a true "field" and it was only in the 1970's that regular research began to be published on this issue. In 1977 the International Society for the Prevention

of Child Abuse and Neglect was founded. This society's journal, *Child Abuse and Neglect*, gave a great impetus to research, and many more researchers and child care workers took up the issue. At the present time there are many organisations and societies worldwide devoted to the subject of child abuse.

1.1.2. Sexual abuse

As with physical abuse, sexual abuse can be traced as far back as recorded history, and there is much evidence which clearly illustrates this.

Under traditional Talmudic law a female child over the age of three could be betrothed, or engaged, by an act of sexual intercourse with her father's permission. Intercourse with a child under the age of three was considered to be invalid from a betrothal point of view, but not considered to be a crime (Rush 1980).

In a similar vein, a sixth century Papal edict declared that

...although consent was desirable, copulation was the overriding and validating factor in marriage. Age was relevant only in that such betrothals were not valid if the female child was less than seven years old.

(Bagley and King 1990: 26).

The sexual abuse of boys was also common in some societies. In ancient Greece the use of young boys for sexual purposes was popular and acknowledged, and castrated slave boys could be bought and sold for sexual use (De Mause 1975).

At the beginning of the sixteenth century in England, official recognition was given to the problem of child sexual abuse with the passing of a law in 1548 "*...protecting boys from sodomy, and in 1576 protecting girls under the age of ten years from forcible rape*" (Schultz 1982: 22).

Between 1730 and 1789, twenty five percent of prosecutions for rape at the Old Bailey in London involved victims younger than 10 (Simpson 1988). Many accounts of sexual abuse in the early 1800's exist in British medical literature of the time (Gay 1988). In France, three quarters of those charged with rape between 1856 and 1869 were charged with raping children (Crewdson 1988), and during the second half of the century many thousands of cases of sexual abuse were documented by physicians (Masson 1984).

In 1883 the English Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to children was founded. In the breakdown of the 762 cases brought before it in the first three years, no specific mention is made of any sexual injury. Of the 762 children, 116 suffered from "other wrongs", but no mention is made as to what exactly this refers. Yet, in studies done of other welfare organisations existing at approximately the same time, incest was found to be present in ten percent of reported cases (Gordon 1984). Therefore it seems a strong possibility that these "other wrongs" may have included sexual abuse of children.

Doctors at this time would have been aware of sexual abuse. Sigmund Freud dealt with many patients towards the end of the 1800's who complained to him of sexual abuse in their childhood, and some of this he detailed in his notes. His seduction theory, based on these findings, clearly

...constituted a revolutionary departure from prior and current medical discourse about sexual abuse...[He] described its pervasive psychological effects...challenged [beliefs] about the hysterical lies of supposed victims ...[and] addressed sexual power, class and gender issues.

(Olafson, Corwin and Summit 1993: 10, 11)

However, under pressure from the professional community he later changed his views and claimed that most of these accounts were due to childhood fantasies (Masson 1984). As a

result he developed his theory of the Oedipal complex which suggested that "...children were traumatized not by actual sexual assault, but by projections of their own wishful, masturbatory fantasies" (Summit 1988: 48).

Such ideas, which focussed on the idea of false accusations of children, were already articulated in the literature before and during Freud's early career (Olafson et al 1993).

This meant, among other things, that any sexual abuse revealed to psychoanalytically oriented psychiatrists over the following years would not usually have been taken as an indication of a real event, but rather as a construction of a child's imagination. This no doubt led to a great deal of sexual abuse being ignored.

Two studies, one in 1929 (Hamilton 1929) and the other in 1940 (Landis, Landis, Bolles, Metzger, Pitts, D'Esopo, Moley, Kleegman and Dickenson 1940) clearly showed that the sexual abuse of children was not uncommon, but these studies were not given wide public attention. Research conducted in 1953 (Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin and Gebhard 1953) showed that one in four in a sample of 1075 women reported a preadolescent sexual contact with an older male, and that eighty percent of these victims indicated that they had been traumatised in some way by the experience. Kinsey minimised these results, however, by stating that

*...it is difficult to understand why a child
...should be disturbed at having its
genitalia touched, or disturbed at seeing
the genitalia of other persons, or
disturbed at even more specific sexual
contacts.*

(Kinsey et al 1953: 121)

As a result this report was also not given much public attention, and other aspects of the report were emphasised.

It was only in the late 1970's that the sexual abuse of children began to become an issue of public concern. In 1971 a conference sponsored by the New York Radical Feminists gave women the first public opportunity to speak about women's experiences of rape and sexual abuse. In 1976 the First International Tribunal for Crimes Against Women was held in the United States. This meeting of over 2000 women from 40 countries was heralded as the birth of International Feminism (Bagley and King 1990), and again women were able to speak out publicly about sexual abuse.

A number of books and publications followed (Boekelheide 1978; Brant and Tisza 1977; Slager-Jorne 1978). This, together with a great deal of publicity given by the media, ensured that the issue started to become firmly established in the public eye.

The first random sample survey on the subject to be given major prominence was that conducted by Russell (1983) in the USA. She found that 38% of the women in the sample had suffered sexual abuse by either a family or non-family member before the age of 18 years. Other studies were carried out in later years (Wyatt 1985; Finkelhor, Hotaling, Lewis and Smith 1990) as well as in other countries (Baker and Duncan 1985; Pieterse and van Urk 1989) and although the reported rates of abuse vary, all research supports the fact that the sexual abuse of children is a relatively common experience.

1.2. Extent of the problem

There are two ways of attempting to discover the extent of sexual abuse of children. "Incidence" studies are attempts to determine the number of new cases occurring in a certain period of time, for example one year. "Prevalence" studies attempt to determine what proportion of a population has been sexually abused during childhood. The difference between these two concepts has become generally accepted in research, and is used by most commentators (Finkelhor 1986; O'Hagan 1989; Finkelhor *et al* 1990). Some authors, however, use the

terms interchangeably, and it is necessary when comparing research to bear this in mind.

Most research which has been done in this area focuses on prevalence, mainly because incidence figures are considered to be unreliable in that they grossly under-report the actual problem. This is because incidence figures are generally gathered from professional child care workers or law enforcement agencies, and it is widely recognised that the majority of sexual abuse goes unreported. Incidence studies, therefore, only give the tip of the ice-berg. Prevalence studies, which directly ask people in a confidential setting about their past experiences, are more likely to come closer to the actual figures.

An example of this is a comparison of two studies conducted in Britain. The definition of sexual abuse used in both studies was similar enough so that a comparison can be made.

The first, an incidence study (Mrazek, Lynch and Bentovim 1983) surveyed 1599 family doctors, police surgeons, paediatricians and child psychiatrists who were asked to report on cases of sexual abuse which they had dealt with in the previous year. Based on their response, the authors arrived at a figure for sexual abuse of 3 children per 1000.

The prevalence study (Baker and Duncan 1985) based its finding on 2019 interviews of a representative sample of the general population. Twelve percent of females (120 per 1000) and eight percent of males (80 per 1000) reported an experience of sexual abuse before the age of sixteen.

This example serves to show the differences obtained between incidence and prevalence studies. The fact that prevalence studies appear to be more accurate is self-evident. Consequently, this section will focus on prevalence rates.

Tables 1, 2 and 3 on pages 10 and 11 highlight the results of some of the major studies conducted in the United States, as

well as in other countries, where these exist (adapted from Finkelhor 1986).

A summary of the results presented in these tables show a prevalence rate for women of between 11 and 38 percent, and for men of between 3 and 16 percent. Finkelhor (1986) suggests that these variations may be explained by different methodologies and different definitions of sexual abuse, as well as the fact that various groups formed the research populations. For example, Finkelhor *et al* (1990) found a markedly higher rate of abuse for men and women who lived in certain states in the United States, as well as for men of a particular ethnic background. Why this is so is not clear, but it may partially explain variation.

Another possible reason for variation is that in some circumstances, some people will choose not to reveal details of sexual abuse, for a variety of personal reasons.

A comprehensive search of the literature revealed no other major studies of prevalence in other countries, although there are a few indicating incidence, for example in Greece (Livingston 1987), Japan (Ikeda 1982), the Netherlands (Pieterse and van Urk 1989) and among Asian children in South Africa (Haffejee 1991).

Although there is little published formal research from other countries, there is strong evidence of sexual abuse in many other places around the world. At the Conference of the International Association for the Study and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect, held on the island of Rhodes in Greece in 1987, papers indicating a sexual abuse problem in their respective countries were presented by delegates from France, Germany, Italy, Greece, Bulgaria, Israel, Finland, Scandinavia and the Irish Republic.

In addition there is strong evidence of widespread sexual abuse in countries such as Sri Lanka and Thailand (Search 1988), as well as sub-Saharan Africa, Nigeria, Kenya and New Guinea (Korbin 1981).

Table 1: United States studies.

STUDY	TYPE OF EXPERIENCE	PREVALENCE (in %)	
		FEMALE	MALE
Finkelhor(1979a) 530 female and 266 male college students	sexual experience with older partners prior to age 17	19	9
Finkelhor et al (1990) national random sample of 1 481 women and 1 145 men	sexual abuse (contact and non- contact) before age 18	27	16
Fromuth (1986) 383 female college students	sexually abusive relationship as a child	22	-
Kersher and McShane (1984) random sample of 593 women and 461 men	sexual abuse during childhood	11	3
Kinsey et al (1953) 4 444 adult women	preadolescent sexual contact with older male	24	-
Miller (1976) random sample of 3 185 adolescents age 14 - 18	sexual molestation	14	8
Russell (1983)	intrafamilial and extrafamilial sexual abuse excluding non- contact abuse prior to age 18	38	-

Table 2: Studies in other countries: Britain.

STUDY	TYPE OF EXPERIENCE	PREVALENCE (in %)	
		FEMALE	MALE
Baker and Duncan (1985) national random sample of 1 050 women and 969 men	sexual abuse (contact and non-contact) before age 16	12	8
		.	.
		.	.
		.	.
		.	.

Table 3: Studies in other countries: Canada.

STUDY	TYPE OF EXPERIENCE	PREVALENCE (in %)	
		FEMALE	MALE
Bagley (1988) national random sample of 1 833 adults	sexual abuse (contact) before age 17	18	8
		.	.
		.	.
		.	.
Bagley and Ramsay (1986) random sample of 387 women	sexual abuse (contact) before age 16	22	-
		.	.
		.	.
		.	.
Sorrenti-Little et al (1984) 406 female and 164 male students	sexual abuse (contact)	20	9
		.	.
		.	.
		.	.

The general evidence, therefore, from published research as well as these other sources, indicates that the sexual abuse of children is a fairly common worldwide phenomenon.

1.3. Sexual abuse of children in South Africa

To date there have been no published studies on the prevalence of sexual abuse of children in South Africa. In a 1981 article on child abuse among the Zulu's (Loening 1981) passing reference is made to the issue of sexual abuse but no details or evidence of rates of abuse are given.

A few incidence studies have been carried out in South Africa, and reported in the medical literature. Westcott (1984) reported on 20 children who presented with symptoms of sexual abuse over a sixth month period during 1982. Jaffe and Roux (1988) investigated 88 cases of suspected sexual abuse during 1985, and a brief report on the sexual abuse of Indian children in South Africa was published in 1991 (Haffejee 1991). However, these incidence studies all reported from a very small research base, and the results, although valuable in detailing some characteristics, do not intend to convey any information about the larger situation in the country.

The absence of prevalence research in South Africa makes it very difficult to estimate the extent of the problem. Yet there is evidence to suggest that the problem may be similar to those countries where formal research has been conducted. This evidence comes from four main sources.

* Welfare agencies, volunteer counselling services and law enforcement agencies all report a great increase in the number of cases of sexual abuse being dealt with since the media began spotlighting the issue in 1987 (Robertson 1989). Although these incidence rates have not been formally researched, local and national newspapers are continually highlighting the plight of welfare agencies who are being "swamped" to the point of not being able to cope

with the number of sexual abuse cases being reported (Eastern Province Weekend Post, Saturday April 10 1993).

- * There has been a dramatic increase in the number of sexually abused children being admitted to hospitals in most of the larger centres in South Africa (Loening and Broughton 1988). This has resulted in the recognition of a need for South African medical personnel to be better informed and equipped to deal with this increase (Gilder 1986; Schreier and Danilewitz 1986; Winship, Key, Dawes and Jacob 1987).

- * In 1989, Childline was established as the abuse section of the Child Welfare Society, a private State-aided organisation. In the same year, the Department of Health and Welfare Services established a national toll-free telephone counselling service for abused children, including sexual abuse. These services would obviously not have been established if there were no need. Their establishment therefore indicates that abuse, including sexual abuse, is considered to be a reality in South Africa by child care professionals.

- * Rape and sexual assault in South Africa have been identified as being as much of a problem, if not more, than in other first world countries where statistics are kept (Vogelman 1990). Many authorities indicate that the motivations for rape and sexual assault of adults are similar to those for sexual abuse of children (Bagley and King 1990; Brownmiller 1975; Herman and Hirschmann 1977; Rush 1980; Tsujimoto and Berger 1988; Wakley 1991), and thus it is logical to contend that if the incidence of rape and sexual assault is high, it is strongly probable that the incidence of sexual abuse is also high.

Therefore, although no actual figures are available, all evidence points to the possibility of a child abuse problem as large as anywhere else in the world.

1.4. The effects of sexual abuse

Sexual abuse is almost always traumatic to a greater or lesser degree. This fact, as well as specific details of the type of trauma victims endure, has been well documented by research (Beitchman, Zucker, Hood, DaCosta and Akman 1991; Beitchman, Zucker, Hood, DaCosta, Akman and Cassavia 1991; CIBA 1984; Conte 1985; German, Habernicht and Fitcher 1990; Search 1988; Yama, Tovey and Fogas 1993).

It is usual in considering the effects of sexual abuse to divide them into two broad categories, namely short term effects (or immediate effects), and long term effects. The following is a brief summary of some of the more common effects as identified in the research literature.

1.4.1. Short-term effects

The single most common effect of sexual abuse is fear. The child will fear many things, such as being alone with the abuser and the obvious danger involved, or the possible consequences to himself or herself if the abuse becomes known. The child may fear the effect that revealing this secret will have on the family, particularly if the abuser is a member or friend of the family. The reactions of others who may get to hear about it are also a source of concern to the child. This fear is often experienced as a feeling of dread, or anxiety. Seeing that most sexually abused children do not immediately tell someone about the situation, this secret is then kept for what may be a long time with destructive consequences to the child's general feeling of well-being and happiness. It may cause many problems with day-to-day functioning in places such as school, or when with friends.

Another effect which researchers have noted is in the area of serious behaviour disturbances. The child may start being openly defiant and disruptive in the family or at school, and show strong hostility in various situations.

Sleep disturbances such as nightmares and insomnia are common, and abused children can develop eating disorders.

Another very powerful effect of sexual abuse is the development of a feeling of emotional distance where the child, not being able to talk to anyone about what is a major issue in his or her life at that moment, feels cut off. This may be experienced as a sense of loneliness, and the child may become withdrawn.

Particularly if the abuser is someone close to the child, a strong sense of betrayal is felt. Consequently, the development of trust in relationships becomes a serious problem. The child becomes unwilling to take a chance with people's friendship and affection, or becomes confused about the social rules governing normal affectionate relationships.

A significant percentage of sexually abused children start to behave in highly sexualized ways, such as displaying an unusual amount of sexual curiosity, indulging in frequent masturbation, making openly sexual advances towards adults, or behaving promiscuously.

1.4.2. Long-term effects

Serious psychiatric disorder has been discovered to be one of the most common long-term effects of having been sexually abused as a child. Numerous authorities report much higher levels of depression, for example, amongst those who have been abused than in the population as a whole. Such depression naturally has a serious negative influence on a person's everyday life.

Long-term sleeping disorders are common, and long-term sleep deprivation in itself can cause severe problems with day to day functioning.

A strong sense of guilt is another long term effect of abuse. Sexually abused children tend to see themselves in the role of participant, rather than victim, and believing that they

participated, they come to feel that somehow they were partly, or fully, to blame for what happened. This feeling can have a serious detrimental affect on a child's developing self esteem.

It is not surprising, therefore, that research reveals that adults who were abused as children often have a poor self-image, and as a result experience feelings of inadequacy.

The betrayal of trust which the child experiences is often carried into adulthood. Research indicates the serious marital, parenting and socialising difficulties such adults may have.

The issue of prostitution has also been studied from the perspective of child abuse. While the causes of prostitution are complex, there is evidence which shows a high rate of a history of childhood sexual abuse among adult prostitutes.

Another effect is that a great many abused children become abusers themselves. The reasons for this are not yet clear, but a history of sexual abuse in the childhood of abusers is an issue which is fairly well documented in the research literature.

1.4.3. Differences between boys and girls

The question of whether boys suffer different effects to girls has not been given a great deal of research attention, and the majority of research on the effects of childhood sexual abuse has been conducted with women respondents.

Nevertheless, studies which have included both males and females do not appear to have noticed any major differences of a general nature (Beitchman *et al* 1991; Beitchman *et al* 1991; Finkelhor 1979b; Fritz, Stoll and Wagner 1981; Seidner and Calhoun 1984). There is some disagreement in the literature on this issue, with some authorities claiming that gender difference does play an important role (Bagley and King 1990). Little evidence is given to substantiate this,

however, and the weight of evidence appears to be on the side indicating few differences.

One specific difference that does emerge is that far more sexually abused boys go on to become abusers themselves than do girls.

In the case of girls, their abuse may place them at increased risk of further abuse in later life (Armsworth 1990; Peters 1976; Rutter 1989; Silbert and Pines 1983). In the case of boys, however, research has shown that there is much greater risk that they will become abusers themselves (Freeman-Longo 1986; Nielsen 1983; Vandermeij 1988).

Victimized girls are more likely to internalize their own trauma, engage in ...self defeating behaviours, and acquire partners who perpetuate the abuse. Victimized boys...are more likely to act out their trauma and dissociate from their own pain by imposing it on others.

(Bagley and King 1990: 204)

Why boys and girls react in these different ways is not altogether clear, but possible reasons will be discussed in Chapter Two.

1.5. Prevention of sexual abuse

In response to the growing awareness of the existence of sexual abuse as a major social problem, various efforts aimed at prevention have been developed in a number of countries.

1.5.1. A short history of prevention

The USA can be credited with developing the first systematic prevention programmes in the late 1970's. Before this time there was virtually no focus on preventing sexual abuse - probably because the issue of sexual abuse itself had not yet

been spotlighted in the professional or public eye. With the growing awareness of the problem in the 1970's, however, a number of prevention projects emerged almost simultaneously.

In the mid 1970's the National Institute of Mental Health in the United States, through the National Centre for the Prevention and Control of Rape, had funded a few programmes to study the problem of prevention. The results of these studies, however, only became available towards the end of the decade and the beginning of the 1980's.

The 1971 conference sponsored by the New York Radical Feminists had recommended "*...that schools should provide psychological and physical self defense education for children*" (Butler 1986: 7), and by 1975 some rape crisis centers had developed talks for adolescents on the prevention of rape. These talks tended to focus on attacks by strangers rather than by people known to the victim (Plummer 1986a).

A grant in 1977 to the Sexual Assault Services Division of the Hennepin County Attorneys Office in Minneapolis, Minnesota, led to the development of the first sexual abuse prevention programmes for young children, based on what became known as the "Touch Continuum". This programme taught children that touch can progress from "good" to "confusing" to "bad", and that children should tell someone if they find themselves in situations of confusing or bad touch.

The following year, the Child Assault Prevention Project (CAP) of Columbus, Ohio was developed, and from this point on numerous programmes and curricula were developed in various areas of the United States. By 1986 there were sexual abuse prevention programmes in every state. One example of these is the CAP project in the state of New Jersey, which in the six year period 1987 - 1992 presented programmes to over 400 000 children and 67 000 teachers and parents in more than half of the state's schools (Association for Sexual Abuse Prevention 1992). The effectiveness of these types of programmes will be discussed in Chapter Three.

In Britain prevention efforts got off to a similar start in the mid 1980's, and there are some extensive programmes, including formal school curricula in operation at the present time (Elliot 1986).

1.5.2. Prevention in South Africa

There are informal *ad hoc* prevention programmes being implemented in South Africa, but where they are and what exactly they consist of is difficult to determine. Plummer (1986a: 3) refers to prevention programmes in South Africa, but gives no details of these.

This researcher, while attending a conference on prevention in the United States in 1990, viewed a short video film of a prevention programme for young children being run at that time in Hout Bay, Cape Town, but further information about that programme was not forthcoming.

Information about the current prevention situation in this country is not at this time available from any single source.

Nevertheless, details of some prevention efforts are available. Safeline, established in 1988 in Cape Town, is a branch of the Cape Town City Mission Homes and Services. It is a specialised unit set up specifically for the treatment of mainly child sexual abuse. The unit is also involved to a smaller extent in primary prevention by means of educational talks and videos to schools, civic groups, churches, welfare agencies and universities (Garnett 1993).

The Cape Town Branch of the Child Welfare Society run a number of community based programmes aimed at prevention in various areas in Cape Town. They focus on making children aware of the concept of abuse and highlight what action can be taken (Doran 1993).

Rapcan (Resources Aimed at the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect) was established in 1991 in Cape Town as a branch of the Child Health Unit of the Red Cross Hospital. Prevention

training is offered to preschool and other teachers, community workers, social workers, student nurses, medical students and Parent/Teacher Associations at schools. Rapcan publishes a great deal of literature, mostly in pamphlet form (Marshall 1993).

The Port Elizabeth branch of the Family and Marriage Society of South Africa marketed a colouring book in 1992 titled "No Thank You" as part of a lifeskills training package (Pretorius 1993).

The South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare, based in Johannesburg, publish a number of pamphlets and booklets on preventing abuse. Some are aimed at parents, and some at children (Starke 1993).

This researcher had the opportunity to attend the Second African Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect held in Cape Town in September 1993. It became clear at this conference that there are other prevention efforts being implemented in other areas in South Africa. It was not possible, however, to obtain any details of these, as very little information has been published in this regard. Therefore, the observation made at the beginning of this section that prevention efforts are largely *ad hoc* is borne out by this experience.

A major breakthrough in prevention was made in 1991 with the development of a self protection programme by the Cape Education Department for use in primary schools under its jurisdiction (Hughes and Pretorius 1991). This is a big step forward, but at this stage it is not compulsory for schools to use such a programme, and the package provided by the Department has to be bought by individual schools. This may result in a very slow implementation of such concepts.

A Manual for Teachers in Natal schools was published in 1991 by the Pietermaritzburg branch of the Southern African Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (Willows 1991). Like the Cape Education Department package

referred to, it is also not compulsory for implementation in schools.

1.6. Conclusions, and aims of this study

In this chapter it has been shown that the sexual abuse of children is an international problem probably affecting every country. Strong evidence suggests that the problem in South Africa is as serious as anywhere in the world.

Evidence has been presented which shows the extreme damage which is caused to children as a result of sexual abuse, and which can continue to negatively affect an individual into adulthood. This can have a major impact on such a person's day to day functioning.

The development of prevention programmes has been given much attention in the United States in particular for more than a decade, but South Africa is lagging far behind in terms of systematic and sustained prevention strategies.

The aims of this study, therefore, are:

- * To suggest and justify the adoption of a national strategy or combination of strategies appropriate to the South African situation, including an overview of what can be done in the school situation from pre-school to secondary school.

This national strategy will provide the framework and context for individual prevention efforts. Such prevention efforts may already be in existence, in which case the larger national strategy will also serve the purpose of sustaining and extending these existing resources. In communities where no prevention efforts exist, the national strategy will hopefully stimulate individuals and organisations to initiate programs, as well as provide guidance and direction for these.

* To develop a detailed prevention programme for implementation in the secondary school.

Such a programme will fall within the subject area called Guidance, as part of a larger educational strategy in the school.

The programme will be designed in such a way as to facilitate easy implementation by both experienced guidance teachers as well as non-specialists who share a commitment to prevention. This programme will attempt to be relevant both to the developmental ages and concerns of the pupils at whom it is aimed, as well as to the issues relevant to prevention.

CHAPTER 2

TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF SEXUAL ABUSE

The effectiveness of any prevention programme aimed at the sexual abuse of children will be dependent to a great extent on a clear understanding of the abuse it aims to prevent. It is true that "...knowledge about sexual abuse...is quite imperfect, suggesting that a strategy for prevention cannot be based entirely on empirical findings" (Cohn 1986: 560).

Nevertheless, the closer one can get to an understanding of the dynamics of sexual abuse the more relevant, and therefore potentially effective, prevention efforts can be.

The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to examine some of the issues of sexual abuse in an attempt to build a foundation from which prevention efforts can be formulated.

2.1. Definition

Short of describing the range of behaviours which may sometimes or always be considered to be abusive, the issue of a definition of sexual abuse has plagued professionals and researchers, and is one which has still not been completely resolved. As a result, much of the research on sexual abuse is difficult to compare. This is most noticeable in the area of prevalence studies, where the use of different definitions leads to different results (Wyatt and Peters 1986) and often is an important factor explaining the variations in prevalence study results noted in Chapter One.

One of the more common definitions of abuse, which is found in much of the literature, is that definition which has become attributed to Kempe and Kempe (1978) but which was actually developed by Schecter and Roberg (1976). Sexual abuse is defined as

..the involvement of dependent, developmentally immature children and adolescents in sexual activities that they do not fully comprehend and to which they are unable to give informed consent or that violate the social taboos of family roles.

(Schechter and Roberg 1976: 60)

This definition does not mention any factor of age difference between abuser and abused, an issue which is usually considered important in later definitions (Elliot 1985; Search 1988) including definitions for purposes of research (Haugaard and Emery 1989). These later definitions tend to suggest that there needs to be an age difference of at least five years between abuser and abused for the behaviour to be labelled abusive. In this regard, however, feminist writers argue that to suggest that abuse only occurs between partners of different ages excludes many experiences which women consider abusive (Kelly 1988). It also does not consider the situation of consensual sexual activity among children.

Nevertheless, it is useful in that it allows for a wide range of behaviours and situations. Kempe and Kempe (1984) list various categories of sexual behaviour, based on this definition. Summit and Kryso (1978) suggest a similar perspective, as does Conte (1986). A combination of these three viewpoints provides us with the following behavioural analysis of sexual abuse, which arises from the definition discussed. Sexual abuse includes any of the following:

1. Incidental sexual contact, which is unintentional or unplanned.
2. Ideological sexual contact - a situation where an adult genuinely believes that it is for the child's developmental benefit.
3. Psychotic intrusion, where the adult suffers from reality confusion.
4. Exhibitionism - the exposure of genitals by an adult.

5. Voyeurism, in which an adult watches a child bathe or undress.
6. Incest - sexual activity between family members.
7. Paedophilia - an erotic fascination with children.
8. Misogynous abuse, where the relationship is characterised by hatred or fear.
9. Imperious sexual abuse, where men act out their power or authority.
10. Sexual intercourse, including oral-genital, anal-genital and penile-vaginal/anal contact
11. Rape - intercourse or attempted intercourse without the consent of the victim.
12. Molestation - behaviours such as touching, fondling, kissing and masturbation.
13. Child pornography - material involving minors in sexual acts.
14. Child prostitution - the involvement of children in sex acts for profit.
15. Perverse abuse, or sexual sadism - the infliction of bodily injury as a means of obtaining sexual gratification.

It can be seen that many of these categories are not mutually exclusive, and any single act can fall into a number of categories. For example, sexual intercourse (category 10) is also rape (category 11) in the sense that a child is considered unable to give consent. It may also fall into category 6 if it occurs between family members.

Despite some limitations to the use of categories, which will be discussed, nevertheless they allow for a consideration of the full range of behaviours which can occur and which may be considered abusive.

Further studies on the definition of abuse have highlighted some complexities.

Some authorities have suggested that the effects of abuse need to be taken into account in defining what is and what is not abuse. There is evidence that the more sexual the abuse,

the more serious is the psychological trauma the victim experiences (Conte and Berliner 1981). It is felt that any definition of abuse must consider what, if any, negative effect it has on the victim before being able to state that the act is or is not abusive.

The implication here is that if, for example, a person reports not being upset or affected at all by an experience of exhibitionism, then in that situation it need not be considered abusive. Some authors counter this, however, by suggesting that the abusive behaviours listed previously in the various categories are always traumatic and harmful to a greater or lesser extent (Search 1988) but that the victims may "...use forgetting as a coping strategy" (Kelly 1988: 67).

In considering voyeurism (category 5), and behaviours such as kissing and touching (category 12) another problem of definition emerges, namely the consideration of intent. Parents and other adults such as those at day care centres may appropriately observe children undressing or going to the bathroom. Kissing and touching of children by adults is also highly appropriate at times. However, these behaviours can become abusive when the intent of the observation or kiss is the sexual gratification of the adult.

Many adults will struggle to see this as sexual abuse, claiming that no harm is caused by voyeurism of this nature. Children, however, often feel uncomfortable in these situations. Therefore, in order to decide on whether an act is abusive or not, the intention of the adult needs to be examined. This further complicates the problem of definition because people's intentions cannot always easily be discovered, and because abusers usually mask or rationalise their intentions.

There is also disagreement on the question of pornography. Child pornography (category 13) is, of course, abusive in itself, because it involves children in sexual acts in order to produce visual material. But pornography can feature in

category 1, such as when a parent is neglectful about leaving pornographic reading material around, or allows a child to view 'adult' films on television. While this is abuse according to category 1, Conte (1986) would disagree "...unless the intent of the parents is clearly for their own sexual gratification" (Conte 1986: 4).

Yet even if there is no intent, if the effect of the material is damaging to children, then under that condition it would be considered abuse.

It is for these types of problems that it has more recently been suggested that sexual abuse needs to be seen as a continuum of behaviour, rather than as a series of categories (Bagley and King 1990; Kelly 1988). For this reason, the definition by Butler (1985) is helpful. Not only is it able to account for all the types of behaviour detailed in the categories, but it also allows for a consideration of the intention of the act, and the effects on the victim. "[Sexual abuse is] any sexual activity or experience imposed on a child which results in emotional, physical or sexual trauma" (Butler 1985: 5).

2.2. Characteristics of the Abusive Situation

Conte (1985; 1986) identifies a number of characteristics of sexual abuse that are helpful both in determining when sexual abuse has occurred (and as such sheds further light on the problems discussed under definition) as well as in developing an understanding of the dynamics of the abusive situation.

2.2.1. Lack of Consent

The definition by Schecter and Roberge (1976) specifically mentions the issue of informed consent, and this is one which sheds a great deal of light on the nature of an abusive situation.

It has been argued that children are not capable of giving

consent to sexual behaviour (Finkelhor 1979a). Informed consent requires that the child fully understands what he or she is giving consent to, including the consequences. In addition, the child must have the power, either physically or psychologically, to refuse such contact. Seeing as sexually abusive behaviour usually progresses from less sexual to more sexual, it could hardly be argued that the child was aware of what he or she was giving consent to. In addition, no child is ever aware of the consequences - in fact, many adults are largely unaware of the consequences of sexual abuse.

Then too, children rarely have the skills, either physically or psychologically, to resist the advances of an older person. This is particularly true when that older person becomes aware of the child's point of vulnerability, be it a need for affection, a fear of threats or a vulnerability to bribes. At certain developmental stages in a child's life these issues are of paramount importance. Thus it is argued that the balance of power is so much in favour of the adult that informed consent becomes impossible.

2.2.2. Ambivalence

Berliner and Conte (1990) found in a study of sexually abused children that feelings of ambivalence towards the offender were common. This characteristic is also mentioned in numerous anecdotal accounts of sexual abuse (Turner 1989).

Abusers often have a good relationship with the victim, in that they provide him or her with attention and special privileges. Thus the sexual part of the relationship causes a great deal of confusion and the feelings of ambivalence.

"Hard though it is...to believe it, most abused children hate the abuse but still love the person who abuses them - the good daddy/monster daddy syndrome" (Search 1988: 33).

Sometimes some part of the sexual behaviour itself may feel physically pleasant to the child, and this causes great confusion because the child is usually aware that what is happening is "wrong". This type of situation causes guilt,

seeing as the child sees himself or herself as a participator in the abuse, rather than as a victim of it. In later life the adult is often unable to see the circumstances which gave rise to the situation, in which no realistic alternative might have been available. The ambivalent feelings towards the abuser can then turn inward, with the victim still loving the abuser but hating himself or herself.

2.2.3. Exploitation

The very nature and context of sexual abuse means that exploitation is always present in some way. The abuser exploits various situations in the relationship in order to gain compliance, and the victim becomes merely a means to satisfy the sexual gratification of the abuser.

It is necessary to keep this in mind when faced with a situation in which a child continues to visit the home of a particular adult despite the knowledge that sexual abuse may occur. If the child is friendly with one of the abusers children, then the abuser will be aware that the child will have to face the possibility of losing that friendship by not visiting. This need of the child can be exploited. Thus the child will often continue to be vulnerable by visiting the place of abuse.

Similarly, a child may have a great need for love and affection from an adult, due to that child's own family circumstances, and may have invested a great deal of meaning in the relationship with this particular adult. As a result, when the relationship becomes sexualised, the child may put up with the abusive acts for the sake of gratifying these other extremely powerful non-sexual needs. For the adult, the expression of caring, understanding and attention are simply a way of gaining the child's compliance.

In addition to this, an adult may bribe a child with material things in order to gain compliance. Most young children can be manipulated with promises of gifts, and this need can be easily exploited.

Even when the people involved are both younger children, the older one will often rapidly sum up the possibilities for exploitation, and use these accordingly.

2.2.4. Force

There are many ways, both physically and psychologically, to exert force over another person, particularly when the one is older and possesses superior knowledge or skills.

Physical force, such as holding a person down or becoming violent, has been identified as occurring in a number of situations (Conte and Berliner 1981). This is often a characteristic of the type of abuse mentioned in categories 8 and 9, where the relationship is characterised by hatred or fear, and where men use their power or authority to gain compliance.

More common than this, however, is the use of psychological force, through various means. The abuser may threaten the child with various dire consequences if compliance is not forthcoming. Once the first instance of abuse has taken place, the abuser may maintain the abusive situation by threatening to tell other people. To a child who feels like an accomplice this will be a powerful reason to continue in the situation.

Where the child has a good relationship with the abuser, the child may be told that the ending of the sexual behaviour will also signal the end of the relationship as a whole. If the abuser is a very important person in the child's life, this aspect then becomes an element of force which can be used against the child.

2.2.5. Intent

It was pointed out previously that the intent of the behaviour may be considered crucial in determining the abusiveness of a situation. A father may hug and caress his

daughter quite legitimately and innocently, but it is when sexual behaviour is "...sought after, structured and engaged in for the sexual gratification of the adult" (Conte 1986: 8) that the situation becomes abusive.

Therefore, if intention is a characteristic of sexual abuse, it becomes clear that this intention is on the part of the adult - it is he or she who sexualises the relationship, and not in any way the child. It is important to remember this point when faced with the often common belief, and one used as a justification for abusive behaviour by perpetrators, that it was the child who initiated the sexual activity.

2.2.6. Secrecy

Children can only be sexually abused if an atmosphere of secrecy is maintained. Other adults who have responsibilities for and dealings with the child must not, for obvious reasons, be allowed to know about the situation.

As a result, abusers go to great lengths to ensure that the child maintains secrecy, and children are often threatened. In any case, children generally "...feel a very strong obligation to keep secrets" (Search 1988: 33).

This places an enormous strain on the child who not only has to deal with the results of the abuse itself, but at the same time has to ensure that the knowledge of it is kept away from other people.

This strain can very negatively affect a child's day to day experience of life, and can last for considerable periods of time. de Young (1982), in a study of 80 victims of sexual abuse, found that the secrecy stage lasted between two and seven years. Other research, as well as numerous anecdotal accounts, bears this out (Bass and Thornton 1983; Fraser 1987; Ward 1984).

These are six common characteristics of sexual abuse. They give an insight into the situation faced by the abused child,

as well as a specific understanding of how sexually abusive situations are maintained over long periods of time.

2.3. The victims: risk factors

There is no special "class" or "group" of children who are abused - all children to a greater or lesser extent are at risk. Nevertheless, by determining which children are actually abused, it is sometimes possible to target children who may be at particular risk.

There has not been a great deal of research on this subject, and the work which has been done is often inconclusive, and sometimes contradictory. Some findings do emerge from research, however, and are of assistance in determining whether there are special groups or types of children who particularly need to be targeted for prevention. This research also to some extent gives direction for the content of prevention programmes.

2.3.1. Gender

Prevalence studies have indicated that more girls report abuse than do boys. It is not yet clear, however, whether this is because they actually do experience more abuse or whether they are more likely or willing to report it than are boys. The reluctance of boys to report incidents of sexual abuse, and the factors discouraging them from doing so, have been documented (Nasjleti 1980; Nielsen 1983). There are some authors who believe this latter possibility to be the case, and who strongly suggest that boys are just as likely to be sexually abused (Faller 1989a; Kempe and Kempe 1984). Finkelhor (1986: 62), however, in a review of the literature states that *"...the consistent data from...surveys cast doubt on this assertion"*.

By far the majority of studies indicate that girls are more at risk than boys, and tend to be the majority of the

victims. Finkelhor's (1986) review of eight random sample community studies that interviewed both men and women translated into figures of 71% female and 29% male victims.

2.3.2. Unhappy family life

This has consistently been reported as being a very strong risk factor. It is supported by a number of studies, both with respect to the relationship between the child and its parents, as well as with respect to the relationship between the parents.

Finkelhor (1984) found in his survey of college students that those at highest risk for abuse were those who reported little affection from their parents. A study done by Peters (1984) showed that not being close to the mother was the variable most predictive of sexual abuse. Gruber and Jones (1983) in their study of delinquent girls found poor parental relations to be the best predictor of abuse. Finkelhor *et al* (1990: 24) in an analysis of a national survey of adults confirms this: "*Growing up in an unhappy family life appeared to be the most powerful factor for abuse.*"

In addition, the possibility that abuse may cause the bad family relationship (and not the other way around) was tested in this study, and it was still found that "*...unhappy family life is a true risk factor and not simply a distorted perception that a victim develops as a result of being abused*" (Finkelhor *et al* 1990: 24).

2.3.3. Living without a natural parent

This was found to be a high risk factor in a number of studies. In Finkelhor's (1984) study, having lived apart from the natural mother was identified as the most powerful risk factor. Separation from mother was found to be a strong risk factor for father-daughter incest (Herman and Hirschman 1981), and Russel (1986) found higher rates of sexual abuse among girls in families with no biological fathers present.

These findings have been confirmed by other research (Bagley and Ramsay 1986; Finkelhor *et al* 1990).

2.3.4. Step-father families

Children growing up with step fathers are more at risk for sexual abuse (Finkelhor 1983; Finkelhor *et al* 1990; Gruber and Jones 1983; Russell 1986), although there appear to be differences between boys and girls, according to Finkelhor's (1990) study. Firstly, boys were primarily at risk in two family arrangements - when living alone with a mother, or when living with two non-natural parents. Secondly, when a family changed from a mother alone to a mother and a step-father, this increased the risk for girls, but not for boys.

These preceding three risk factors, namely unhappy family life, living without a natural parent, and step father families are linked, and overlap to a great extent. The evidence for one is often similar to that for another. Research in these areas, therefore, may be measuring aspects of the same problem.

2.3.5. Age

The question of whether children at particular ages are more vulnerable than at other ages has been investigated. Finkelhor's (1986) review of the research literature on age revealed an increased vulnerability at ages 6 to 7, and another dramatic increase at age 10, with pre-adolescence (10-12 years) being a time of particularly high risk. This was confirmed in the study by Finkelhor *et al* (1990). Russell's (1983) study supported this and showed continuing vulnerability in the adolescent years.

The study by Kendall-Tackett and Simon (1988) revealed a lower age of onset, with an average of 7.5 years. Other frequently reported ages of onset in this study were 5 and 7 years. Almost 35% of their respondents reported an age of onset of 10 years or older, and nearly 20% reported the abuse

starting sometime in adolescence. Over 50% of their sample reported that the abuse had continued into adolescence, with approximately 30% continuing beyond age 15.

When these studies are viewed together, it is clear that pre-adolescence is a particularly high risk time, and that this risk continues into adolescence. In addition, children at younger ages, particularly ages 6 and 7, are also at high risk.

All studies reviewed by Finkelhor (1986) and those subsequent to this date have indicated a low rate of abuse for children under the age of approximately 6. This finding needs to be taken with caution, however, because information on the age of onset is usually gathered by various self reporting techniques. This method of data gathering may well prove to be unreliable when it comes to abuse before about age 6 because children at that age and younger do not have the cognitive structures necessary to always be able to put the abuse into an understandable framework. Thus it is quite likely that incidents of abuse in the early years may be forgotten. For this reason, abuse before age 6 may be under-reported.

2.3.6. Inadequate sex education

The issue of sex education has not received much attention with respect to sexual abuse, but there are some studies which indicate that inadequate sex education appears to be a risk factor.

Finkelhor (1984) found that sexually abused girls who had received little sex education from their mothers were at higher risk. In the National Incidence Study (Finkelhor *et al* 1990) this finding was repeated, but for sex education from any source, not just a parental figure.

In addition to these studies it has been suggested that
" ...people who are comfortable about their sexuality and feel secure in their sense of self usually cannot be

exploited and generally will not exploit others" (Tegtmeyer 1980: 432).

The context of this statement is that of sex education.

Then too, most, if not all of the prevention practitioners currently working in the field advocate sex education as an essential component of any prevention strategy (Cohn 1983; Hart-Rossi 1984), and it is generally believed that an inadequate sex education places a child at greater risk.

2.3.7. Conclusion

These are the main findings of research on the issue of which children are at risk of sexual abuse. No other strong factors have been identified to date.

These findings indicate that sexual abuse is a very widespread phenomenon in terms of who it affects, and that it is not possible to identify any small well defined group of children at particular risk. This means that prevention efforts aimed at all children are justifiable.

Nevertheless, girls need to be given particular consideration with a view to personal safety skills, seeing as they are at much greater risk than boys. The research also gives tentative direction to the particular ages most vulnerable. In this regard the targeting of late pre-primary and early primary school children, and pre-adolescents and adolescents for prevention strategies is indicated.

In addition, special attention needs to be paid to those children from unhappy home situations, as they constitute the most vulnerable sub-group identified.

Sex education also appears to be a necessity.

Finally, what is clear from the research literature with regard to risk factors is that social class and ethnicity are not associated with an increased risk of sexual abuse. This

finding is consistent over a number of studies (Finkelhor 1986; Finkelhor *et al* 1990).

2.4. The perpetrators

2.4.1. Gender

The majority of perpetrators of sexual abuse of children are men. Although there has been some argument that sexual abuse by women is a grossly under-reported occurrence (Sgroi 1982; Banning 1989), there is almost no empirical evidence to support this contention.

Research findings from numerous studies report to the high incidence, from about 80% upwards, of male abusers (Finkelhor 1984; Finkelhor and Hotaling 1983; Finkelhor *et al* 1990). This is true even when these studies focus on a sub-group of the population, such as non-related caregivers (Margolin 1991), adolescents (Margolin and Craft 1990), grandparents (Margolin 1992) and siblings (Smith and Israel 1987).

Furthermore, in cases where women are the abusers there is evidence that many of these women act under the direction or control of a man (Finkelhor 1986; Finkelhor and Hotaling 1983; McCarty 1986; Wolfe 1985).

This is not to deny that women do abuse, but the fact that men constitute the large majority of offenders is clear, and is an issue that needs to be addressed in order to give direction to prevention efforts. This issue will be returned to in the next section. For purposes of further discussion, and in line with this over-representation of men as abusers, it will be convenient from here on to use the male personal pronoun when referring to abusers, rather than the more unwieldy and in this sense less accurate "he or she" or "he/she".

2.4.2. Relationship to the victim

Table 4 below compares four large studies of sexual abuse with respect to the relationship of abusers to victims (adapted from Conte 1986).

Table 4: Relationship to the victim

Abuser	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3	Study 4
	Finkelhor (1983) in %	Russell (1983) in %	Baker and Duncan (1985) in %	Finkelhor et al (1990) in %
	M&F togeth	M . F .	M . F .	M . F .
Stranger	33	- . 11 .	43 . 56 .	40 . 21 .
Acquain- tance	35	- . 61 .	44 . 30 .	49 . 50 .
Family member	32	- . 30 .	13 . 14 .	11 . 29 .

If the results of these studies are considered together, it is clear that the majority of abusers are known to their victims. This finding is borne out by other studies (Conte and Berliner 1981).

This finding has strong relevance to prevention programmes because many early prevention efforts were geared to teaching children and adolescents how to deal with strangers, whereas it becomes clear that the majority of sexual abuse is perpetrated by people known to the child. Therefore any attempt to teach children how to cope with abusive behaviour needs to take into account that children are likely to be dealing with someone known to them.

2.4.3. Age

Much of the published research on abuse deals with adult abusers, and indicates that they constitute the larger part of the abusive population.

More recently, however, evidence has been presented which indicates the increasing discovery of abuse perpetrated by adolescents (Fehrenbach and Monasterky 1988; Margolin and Craft 1990; O'Brien and Bera 1986; Ryan 1986) and even younger children (Friedrich and Luecke 1988; Johnson 1988; Johnson 1989). Research has also shown that many abusive adults developed these patterns in their childhood and continued it into adulthood in increasingly severe and often violent forms (Rubinstein, Yeager, Goodstein and Lewis 1993).

This indicates that people of any age are potentially dangerous. In addition it means that the contention that sexual play between young children of the same age is normal and not problematic (Elliot 1985) needs to be taken with some caution. This is particularly so as recent research suggests that some sexual play between children of the same age is perceived by one to have a coercive element, mainly when the two children are of different sex (Lamb and Coakley 1993).

It also indicates that prevention efforts might be profitably

aimed at preventing young people from indulging in abusive behaviour and thus developing an abusive lifestyle.

2.5. Causes of sexual abuse

There are a multitude of theories and explanations accounting for sexual abuse, but most of it is not backed up by any reasonable amount of empirical research.

Most theories that have been proposed can be considered single-factor theories in that they normally employ one, or at best a few, mechanisms to explain sexual abuse. Inevitably such theories cannot account for the wide range of behaviours as described earlier in this chapter.

As a result, the suggestion by Finkelhor (1986) that

"...what is needed is a more complicated model that integrates a variety of single factor explanations in a way that accounts for the many different kinds of child molesting outcomes"
(Finkelhor 1986: 92)

seems to be a logical and practically useful approach.

He suggests a four factor model which provides a structure for the understanding of the possible causes of sexual abuse. This model has the following seven advantages:

- * It is based on a review of the research literature up to that date (1986);
- * It accommodates research which has been conducted since that date;
- * It takes into account the main theories of the causation of sexual abuse, even when these theories have not been tested empirically;
- * It accommodates the wide variety of sexually abusive behaviours.

- * It suggests realistic reasons for the preponderance of male offenders;
- * It allows the development of practical prevention strategies which can address the variously suggested causal factors;
- * It allows for the probability that a number of factors, and not just one main one, are present in the motivation to abuse.

2.5.1. Finkelhor's Four Factor Model.

A brief summary of Finkelhor's (1986) model provides the following categories:

Factor 1: Emotional Congruence

Many theories of paedophilia suggest that abusers find children attractive because children hold particularly strong emotional significance for them.

Children may be attractive because of a lack of dominance. This possibility is born out by the evidence that problems of authority and dominance are very strong in the lives of many abusers, and that molesters often mention this lack of dominance as a particularly appealing characteristic of children.

Another suggestion, which has some support from research, is that molesters show low self-esteem and are generally immature, and therefore derive satisfaction from children who do not expose this personal lack.

Factor 2: Sexual Arousal

A number of theories fall into this group, and attempt to explain why some adults are sexually attracted to children.

Firstly, abusers may have had sexual experience with other children when they were young, which conditioned them to find children arousing. In addition to this, many abusers report a

history of sexual abuse in their own childhood, which may have pre-disposed them to becoming abusive as adults.

Secondly, children elicit strong emotional reactions in adults, and these may be incorrectly interpreted as being sexual, at which point an adult may act on them.

Thirdly, there may be an influence of biological factors such as hormone levels or chromosomal makeup.

Finally, individuals may learn to become erotically aroused by exposure to pornographic material or media images which portray children in a sexual light.

Research supports the contention that some adults are sexually aroused by children, but there is not a great deal of empirical evidence to support any one particular theory.

Factor 3: Blockage

Blockage theories focus on why some adults are unable to obtain sexual gratification in a relationship with another adult.

There are many studies which show that some male sex abusers have problems in relationships with female adults, and this may be a reason for turning to children.

In addition to this, it is suggested that adult men who have a problem in an existing adult sexual relationship and who, as a result, experience stress may find paedophilic responses being triggered.

A final group of theories suggest that men who have restrictive or repressive views about sexual issues such as masturbation or extramarital sex may turn to sex with children as an outlet.

Factor 4: Disinhibition

Disinhibition theories are explanations of why the usual inhibitions against having sex with children are not present in some adults.

Theories have mentioned adults who have poor impulse control, and therefore do not restrain themselves from acting on impulses to engage in sexual acts with children.

Stress factors such as unemployment, death of a relative, or aspects of advancing old age have been advanced to explain why inhibitions to abuse are sometimes lowered.

The relatively high incidence of step-father abuse may be explained by the theory that the inhibition against sex in the case of a father-daughter is put in place through the early relationship which the father has with his daughter from the time of her birth, while this possibility for a stepfather does not exist.

Other theories have suggested that certain social and cultural factors, such as a man's dominant position in society, and a patriarchal family arrangement, can lower a man's inhibition to abuse by focusing on his power in a particular situation.

The use of alcohol and certain other drugs has been shown in much research to be present during situations of sexual abuse, and such drugs appear to be strong disinhibitors.

These are the Four Factors which Finkelhor proposes cover the available research and theory on the causal factors of the sexual abuse of children. The advantages of this model have already been discussed, but one further observation regarding its strengths is not only its ability to accommodate a theory of abuse which has many levels, but is also able to account for the situation in which an individual has one particular characteristic predisposing abusive behaviour, and yet which is never triggered by other factors, thus never resulting in

abuse. The consideration of a second model, Finkelhor's Four Factor Preconditions Model, which will be discussed at a later stage, will illustrate this point.

To understand the dynamics of Finkelhor's Model it is helpful to consider the main perspectives on sexual abuse which have an input into it.

2.5.1.1. The humanist perspective

Humanism can be described as any system of thought or action which is concerned with the interests of the human race in general (Shorter Oxford English Dictionary 1970). Its primary concern is with what being fully human implies, and what values of life make full "humaness" more achievable. Humanistic psychology is the study of the growth and development of the person as a whole (Bagley and King 1990).

Generally, the humanist perspective focuses on the abuser and abused after the act, and is not primarily concerned with causes, but rather with the tendency towards a punitive response by society. As a result particular focus is placed on treatment of offenders and victims. One of the most widely recognised treatment approaches is the Child Sexual Abuse Treatment Programme in California (Giarretto 1981).

Nevertheless, despite the emphasis being on treatment rather than causes, it becomes clear from a study of the treatment strategies that the humanist perspective sees the abuser reacting to forces of socialisation and personal crises (Bagley and King 1990). Yet this approach "*...does not recognise any single person or relationship or societal or cultural influence as the dominant or most contributory factor*" (O'Hagan 1989: 29).

Groth (1978: 11) describes sexual abuse as an act which "*...serves to gratify a wish, defend against anxiety, and to express an unresolved conflict.*"

The offender is seen as lacking in a firm sense of self-identity and self-esteem, often leading to immature social skills. This characteristic is supported to some extent by Finkelhor's (1986) review of research.

The basic premise of the humanistic perspective is that, whatever the causes, the abuser must accept complete and personal responsibility for his actions.

2.5.1.2. The feminist perspective

To some extent feminism, defined as the advocacy of the claims and rights of women to equality (Shorter Oxford Dictionary 1970) can be seen as an extension of Humanism in that it emphasises the same concept of full human development.

The feminist approach to the causes of sexual abuse, however, has as its central theme the issue of power and the societal structures and patriarchal family unit which support men's power over women and children (Freudenberger 1987; Gordon 1988; Gordon and O'Keefe 1984; McIntyre 1981). Central to the feminist theme is that male sexuality is an instrument of maintaining power over women, which in its extreme form is manifested as rape, or "*...by the selection of children as [sexual] partners*" (Jeffries 1984: 14).

There has, however, been criticism of the extreme position taken by the feminists with regard to power as a major cause of sexual abuse. Feminists appear to ignore the large number of boys who are abused, this fact throwing doubt on the assertion that sexual abuse is mainly an extension of men's domination over women (Dale, Waters, Davies, Roberts and Morrison 1986; Pierce 1987).

Feminists would argue in response that men's dominance and power are expressed not only towards women but also children, who are seen as property (Armstrong 1978; Russell 1982), and therefore the abuse of boys is included. This position, however, is also criticised because it does not differentiate

between the dynamics of abuse of women and children, but assumes "...the oppression of women and children to be identical in cause and manifestation" (Ennew 1986: 57).

The feminist concern with power also does not easily explain the abuse of children by women, which although infrequent nevertheless does exist.

Despite these criticisms, the contribution of feminist thought to the understanding of sexual abuse has been significant. This applies firstly to the public acknowledgment of the problem.

Without a feminist analysis, one is at a loss to explain why the reality of incest was for so long suppressed by supposedly responsible professional investigators, why public discussion of the subject awaited the women's liberation movement, or why the recent apologists for incest have been popular men's magazines.

(Herman 1981: 3)

The contribution made by feminist thought is also evident in the fundamental standpoint with respect to sexual abuse, namely that it is an abuse of power. This conviction is shared by non-feminist writers (England and Thompson 1988: Sgroi 1982). Although largely untested by research, it is also supported by child care workers in the field whose experiences show that "...the abuse of power by the perpetrator has been one of the most conspicuous features of child sexual abuse cases" (O'Hagan 1989: 24).

2.5.1.3. The sociological perspective

The sociological perspective is not a well defined theory or group of theories, and it forms an important part of the Humanist and Feminist perspectives. Sociological explanations generally have not been tested by direct research, but are rather inferences from the findings of other studies.

Nevertheless, sociological theory has much to offer in explaining sexual abuse.

It overlaps with the feminist perspective in that it focuses on the issue of the preponderance of male offenders, but unlike feminism it does not focus a great deal on the power of men over women but rather on the specific sexual socialisation of men which, it is argued, makes abuse more likely. A number of developmental characteristics are identified (Finkelhor 1982; Finkelhor 1984; Howells 1981):

- * Men seem less able to distinguish between sexual and non-sexual affection than women (Person 1980), and thus men may be more likely to interpret affectionate contacts as sexual.
- * A result of this is that when men have a need for affection or are feeling dependant they may be more likely to try and have these needs met in a sexual way, often with an inappropriate partner (Rutter 1989).
- * Men seem to be more interested in having a sexual relationship with a number of partners than do women (Symonds 1978).
- * Men are socialised to focus their sexual interests around sex acts divorced from a relationship. In the situation where a man was faced with an inappropriate partner, he would be more likely than a women to experience sexual arousal as long as the partner, in this case a child, could participate in the required act.
- * Men are socialised to see their sexual partners as younger and smaller than them - women the opposite. So it becomes less of a distortion for a man to find a child sexually attractive seeing as a child is already on a gradient of what is sexually stimulating to a man.
- * Boys tend to have more childhood sexual experiences than do girls (Kinsey *et al* 1953) and to an extent this may be a

conditioning factor in later interest in sex with children.

- * Research shows that many abusers have a history of sexual abuse in their own childhood (Groth 1979; Faller 1989b). Some victims of abuse report this as having little or no negative effect on them, and some even report it as being positive (Nelson 1981). Despite the possibility that their perceptions may be inaccurate, in that that they might have suffered harm but not been consciously aware of it, nevertheless perceptions that the abuse caused no harm may be a disinhibiting factor.

- * Men appear to have a greater interest in pornography than do women (Gagnon 1977) and the consumption of this, particularly child pornography, may serve as a factor which weakens the incest taboo. There is, however, much controversy over the question of whether pornography exacerbates the problem of sexual abuse, with both proponents of this view (Bagley 1984) and opponents (Norden 1990).

2.5.1.4. The psychoanalytic perspective

This perspective focuses on the psychological state or condition of the individual abuser, and differs from the previous more socio-cultural perspectives in that it treats the problem as one of individual psychopathology.

Hammer and Glueck (1957) suggest that child molesters are in a state of arrested psychosexual development, and because they are emotionally and sexually immature, they relate to the experiences and interests of young children.

Theories of narcissism in which a molester tries to give the love he missed as a child to a child who reminds him of himself, and unresolved Oedipal dynamics where abusers are described as having major conflicts about their mothers, making it impossible for them to relate sexually to adult women (Gillespie 1964), are also suggested. These theories, however, are untested by empirical research, and are not

given much credence in the recent literature of child abuse (Finkelhor 1986). Recent research indicates that abusers have no higher levels of psychopathology than non-abusers (Dadds, Smith, Webber and Robinson 1991), and that they fall into the general category of people considered "normal" by society (Turner 1989).

Two concepts which have proved useful and have some research backing are the concept of paedophilia, and the blockage mechanism.

The term "paedophile" has been used differently by a number of authors, (for example, meaning any sexual interest even of a passing nature in a child as opposed to an exclusive sexual interest in children). Nevertheless it has proved to be a useful term in that it denotes an internal condition, regardless of external behaviour (Finkelhor 1986). As such it is widely used.

Blockage theories (which are an extension of the idea behind the Oedipal theories) assert that for some reason the offender has a problem in relating to adult women and therefore turns his attention to children. This idea has received some support from research (de Young 1982; Langevin 1983).

2.5.1.5. The family dysfunction perspective

Based on the systems theory of families (O'Hagan 1986) the belief at the heart of this perspective is that each family member is involved in some way in maintaining the abuse in order that the equilibrium of the family is maintained. As a result, possessiveness, secrecy and guilt pervade the family. Such a family can then be dramatically destabilised if the problem of abuse is addressed and stopped. As a result, resistance from families in which abuse is occurring, including resistance from the victim, is often directed towards intervention efforts (Minuchin 1974).

The origins of abuse are generally seen as being a reaction to problems in the relationship between the father and the mother. The father then turns to the daughter for his sexual needs thus releasing the mother from that role (Mrazek and Mrazek 1981). This situation becomes comfortable in some way for each member of the family - the father is having his sexual needs met, the mother is absolved from having a relationship with him, and the daughter gets much needed attention.

In this perspective the role and function of the mother is seen as vital, and her behaviour in the family is seen as a factor in the origin and continuance of the abuse. There is a belief among some proponents of this view that the mother almost always knows about the abuse, even if only intuitively. Treatment procedures for victims have been based on this assumption (Slager-Jorne 1978). There is, however, little empirical evidence for this view. In fact, research has shown quite clearly that the opposite is usually true (Bagley and King 1990; Peterson, Bastia and Dykstra 1993; Search 1988), and much criticism of this position has come from other quarters, particularly feminist (MacLeod and Saraga 1987; McIntyre 1981).

The fact, however, that the disclosure of abuse creates enormous problems for the mother has been documented.

Either the mother colludes with the father to expel the daughter as the source of moral evil in the family, or the mother colludes with the daughter against the father who is seen as the only guilty party.

(Furniss 1983: 274)

In addition, mothers of sexually abused children often report serious psychological trauma following disclosure of the abuse, and help for mothers is seen as an important component of the study and treatment of child sexual abuse (Newberger, Gremy, Waternaux and Newberger 1993).

The family dysfunction model thus has more to say about the maintaining of abusive family relationships than about its origins. It also does not account very well for abuse outside the family situation.

2.5.1.6. The violence perspective

Violence is pervasive in our society and various levels of violence are often generally condoned, either openly or by simply not condemning it. This ranges from the relatively mild smacking of children by parents for discipline reasons, through institutionalised violence such as contact sport, or corporal punishment in schools, to the more severe forms of violence such as violence by men directed at their wives.

The powerful influence of the media in maintaining the acceptance of violence in general, as well as violence towards women, has been well documented (Malamuth 1985).

Child sexual abuse is but one aspect of the larger problem of physical child abuse, and as such has largely been accepted as being fundamentally violent, in that even if physical force is not used, the child is nevertheless coerced to participate. This coercion is seen as violent in nature (Gordon and O'Keefe 1984).

The link between violence and sexual abuse is further suggested by the assertion that the common form of abuse of male children is physical, whereas the preferred form for female children is sexual (Russell 1984).

A specific form of violence which, it is argued, has an impact on the motivation to sexually abuse, is that of aggressive and violent pornography. Research on the effects of violent pornography on male aggression is limited in that it is mostly confined to laboratory settings which may not actually reflect the realities of society. As a consequence the results of such studies should be read with caution. It may not therefore be possible to demonstrate a direct causal relationship between being exposed to violent pornography and

aggression towards women (Donnerstein, Linz and Penrod 1987).

Nevertheless the view is held that such material is an important part "...of the general sexist, racist and misogynous climate and culture of our times" (Segal 1990: 38).

Despite the limitations of these studies it is claimed that

...the most clear and present danger well documented by the social science literature, is all violent material in our society, whether sexually explicit or not, that promotes violence against women.

(Donnerstein et al 1986: 59).

Thus it is argued that the general acceptance of violence in our society as a way of solving problems acts as a disinhibitor and makes the act of sexual abuse more justifiable to the perpetrator. It is also felt that the current process of sexual socialisation of men and women prepares women for an inferior role. In addition it prepares men to maintain a dominant position through violence if necessary, particularly sexual violence (Swift 1985). It is also believed that

...sexual abuse will continue so long as society tolerates violence, exploitation ...and powerlessness in a variety of institutions.

(Bagley and King 1990: 228)

2.6. Rape and sexual abuse

Rape is fundamentally an act of sexual abuse, no matter what the age of the victim. When the victim is a minor, it falls in the category of child sexual abuse. Yet the literature on rape has sometimes tended to divorce it from the context of child abuse. As such it has often been dealt with as though

it is an entirely separate category of problem (Johnson 1980; Koss, Gidycz and Wisniewski 1987).

This can have the effect of obscuring the fact that there are many more similarities between rape and sexual abuse in terms of dynamics and causes than there are differences. As a result authorities consider it more accurate to see rape and sexual abuse on the same continuum of behaviour (Kelly 1987; Scully 1990).

The following similarities serve to illustrate this point.

- * Both types of offence are far more common than is generally believed. Figures for sexual abuse have been presented in Chapter One. With respect to rape, it is estimated that there are 400 000 rapes in South Africa each year, or more than 1000 each day (Vogelman 1990). Estimated figures for other countries are similar (Scully 1990).
- * Most perpetrators are male. Evidence for this with respect to sexual abuse has been presented in this chapter. That rape is a problem of men is self evident from the fact of the anatomical differences and relative strengths of men and women which make rape by women very difficult. In addition, the study of rape throughout history supports this assertion (Brownmiller 1975).
- * Most victims are female. With respect to sexual abuse, this point was demonstrated by the consideration of research earlier in this chapter. The evidence that most victims of rape are female is the same as that which indicates that most perpetrators are male.
- * Perpetrators of both acts have no greater levels of psychopathology than other non-offending men. This point was discussed in the consideration of the Humanistic perspective in this chapter.
- * A comparison of father rapists and other rapists shows no special differences between the two with respect to

internal dispositions as these apply to the abuse (Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy and Christenson 1965).

- * The expression of power is seen as a strong motivating factor in both rape and sexual abuse. The feminist analysis of power discussed in this chapter makes no distinction between rape and other sexual abuse, and feminist writers use "rape" to mean all forms of sexual abuse involving intercourse or vaginal penetration of any kind (Brownmiller 1975).
- * Both acts, though appearing to be sexually motivated, are fundamentally violent in nature. This has been discussed in this chapter with respect to sexual abuse, and the primarily violent motivation of rape has long been recognised in the literature (Amir 1971; Paske 1982; Vogelmann 1990).
- * Victim blaming is common in both types of abuse. Children are portrayed in pornography as being seductive and initiating sexual activity with adults (England and Thompson 1988). There are paedophile organisations in existence which maintain that children actually desire such activity (Mayer 1985). Rape victims are often portrayed by cultural stereotypes as "...the victims of their own seduction" (Scully 1990: 102). In addition, beliefs such as that the way a woman dresses or acts indicates an invitation for rape are common (Vogelmann 1990).
- * The harmful effects of rape and sexual abuse tend to be minimised. Child victims of sexual abuse are seen as not being greatly harmed (Kinsey *et al* 1953) or even as benefitting from such experiences (De Mott 1980). In her study of convicted rapists, Scully (1990: 115) reports that "*Denying the existence of a victim, someone harmed by their behaviour...[these men] trivialized the seriousness of their offences.*" A further finding from this study was the perception by many rapists that their victim had actually enjoyed the experience and derived sexual pleasure from it.

- * The effects of both types of abuse can be devastating and long lasting, and are similar in nature. The effects of sexual abuse in children have been discussed earlier in this chapter. Similar effects in rape victims have been commonly noted (Ruch, Chandler and Harter 1980; Stanko 1985).

- * The dominant position of men in society, and the relative helplessness and powerlessness of women and children are seen as contributing factors in both types of abuse. Evidence for this comes mainly from the feminist analysis, and has been presented in this chapter.

These are some of the similarities which have been identified between rape and sexual abuse, and which place these acts firmly on the same continuum.

Further understanding of the dynamics of rape and how these apply to sexual abuse can be gained by a consideration of the four categories of rapist identified by Wyre and Swift (1990: 12 - 18).

The Sexual Rapist has a low self-esteem and is lacking in social and life skills. Such rapists are often obsessed with their sexual inadequacy, and have difficulties in establishing meaningful relationships with women. Their attacks are not so much an extension of their sexuality as an acting out of their feelings of inadequacy. This type of rapist can be compared with the child molester who also possesses low self esteem and poorly developed social skills. This type of abuser was discussed under the consideration of the Humanist and Psychoanalytical perspectives in this chapter.

The Anger Rapist rapes as an expression of his power and domination over women. He may be prone to extreme jealousy and possessiveness. Similar patterns have been identified in child molesters.

The Sociopathic Rapist views women as property, and commonly ignores or rationalises away efforts at resistance on the part of his victims. He maintains that women do not generally mind being raped, and often dress or act in a way that invites rape. The view of women and children as property, and the tendency to depersonalise the victim has been noted with respect to child molesters, and discussed in an earlier section.

The Sadistic Rapist gains sexual pleasure from hurting or humiliating his victim, and from seeing his victims reaction. Although this is the type of rapist most often portrayed in films, such rapists are rare. This links to that category of child molester discussed under the definitional issues in this chapter, namely Category 15: Perverse abuse or sexual sadism.

It is clear from this discussion that rape and sexual abuse should not be seen as two distinct categories of behaviour. This will be of particular importance when the issue of prevention is discussed. Preventative measures aimed at the one form of abuse should by logical reasoning positively affect the other.

2.7. Finkelhor's Four Preconditions Model of sexual abuse

As has been pointed out, the existence of a particular causal factor does not necessarily mean that sexual abuse will occur. Sometimes other factors are also needed in order to release, or trigger a certain characteristic. In this respect, Finkelhor (1984) has suggested that despite the presence of any causal factor, a number of conditions need to be met before sexual abuse can occur. A brief consideration of these assists in understanding the link between causal factors and actual abusive behaviour.

Condition 1:

The motivation to sexually abuse must be present within the offender. This would imply that one of more of the

circumstances described in Factor 1: Emotional congruence, Factor 2: Sexual arousal, or Factor 3: Blockage would come into play.

Condition 2:

The abuser must overcome internal inhibitions against abusing. This calls into play those issues discussed under Factor 4: Disinhibition.

Condition 3:

The abuser must overcome external obstacles against abusing. This usually refers to the fact that there are a number of practical issues which often stand in the way of an abuser, such as parental supervision, or lack of privacy. These types of circumstances need to be overcome if abuse is to occur.

Condition 4:

The offender must overcome resistance from the child. This indicates that the child's co-operation will need to be gained by some means. This is often achieved by the establishment of an affectionate relationship, but in other cases by bribes or threats.

The consideration of these four conditions demonstrates that the mere presence of a causal factor does not mean that abuse will take place. Conditions 1 and 2 refer to the internal state of the abuser. Assuming that these conditions have been met, and that the abuser has the desire and does not feel inhibited, he still needs to overcome the external inhibitors as well as the resistance of the child. So it is clear that all four conditions need to be met in order for abuse to occur.

This not only gives a clearer picture of the circumstances under which abuse occurs, but also gives valuable information regarding the direction of prevention efforts. If, for example, the child can be taught to resist, then despite the presence of other causal factors, and conditions 1 to 3 having been met, abuse will not take place.

2.8. Conclusion

The dynamics of abuse have been examined by looking at four aspects, namely the characteristics of the abusive situation, who the victims are and who is at greater risk, the characteristics of the perpetrator, and the causes of abuse. Similarities between rape and sexual abuse were discussed, and indicated that these are different outworkings of the same problem.

With this understanding it is possible to suggest prevention directions and develop prevention programmes which are relevant in that they address the underlying causal factors, as well as providing strategies of self-protection for the population most at risk.

It is clear, however, that the very tentative nature of much of this information, particularly with respect to why men sexually abuse children, makes prevention efforts aimed at the first two conditions, namely the motivation to abuse and overcoming internal inhibitions, very difficult. The third condition, overcoming external inhibitions, is more amenable to prevention efforts because impact on the structures of society through advocacy efforts, and the general enlightenment of the public is possible. Parents can also be informed about particularly dangerous situations so that they can be more alert to the possibility of abuse.

But it is in Condition 4 - overcoming the resistance of the child, that the most immediate effort of prevention can be directed. Although the burden for prevention should not lie with the victim, until more is understood about identifying and treating potential offenders, preventative measures aimed in this direction can bear immediate fruit.

It is for this reason that current prevention efforts largely concern themselves with equipping the child with self protection skills, as will be seen in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3
PREVENTION: AN OVERVIEW

3.1. Introduction

*Sexual abuse prevention promises to be one of
the great social experiments of the decade.
(Finkelhor 1986: 254)*

The response to the public discovery of sexual abuse in the United States in the late 1970's led to the development of a great many programmes, school curricula and other prevention efforts in the United States in the main, but also in Canada and Britain. More recently the prevention movement has begun to spread to other countries, although generally in a fairly modest way.

A sexual abuse prevention programme "...is any systematic effort to "defuse" the conditions that lead to sexual abuse" (National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse 1986: 1). Possible causes of sexual abuse were discussed in Chapter Two, as well as the preconditions which need to be met in order for abuse to occur. These are the "conditions" that prevention programmes attempt to "defuse".

In the United States, where prevention efforts have been the most noticeable, various existing organisations, volunteer groups and newly formed agencies began, in the late 1970's and through the decade of the 1980's, to produce many different programmes and materials. Today there is in existence a vast number of leaflets, pamphlets, booklets, posters, videos, puppet plays, theatre presentations, films and speakers, providing services to every area of the United States where agreement for the use of these materials can be obtained from local authorities.

In certain states it is mandatory that schools include prevention education in their curricula. In other states

where it is not mandated to present such programmes, private organisations have nevertheless presented material to large numbers of children, parents and teachers (Association for Sexual Abuse Prevention 1992). A closer examination of these prevention efforts, however, reveals that by far the majority lean towards a particular type of prevention.

The aim of this chapter is to review the various prevention strategies, in order to arrive at a greater understanding of the approaches being used, in which directions they are mainly focussed, and if any lack of resources exists in areas which are amenable to prevention.

A further aim is to consider some issues which impinge upon the effectiveness of prevention efforts.

3.2. Aims of prevention

There are two possible aims of prevention, and these are borrowed from the literature on physical abuse (Garbarino 1986).

The first aim has as its ideal the eradication of all abuse from our society. More realistically, however, this is usually translated into reducing the amount of abuse, seeing as the total eradication of abuse is unlikely in any society. This aim is appropriate to the issue of sexual abuse, as well as physical abuse.

The second possibility is to aim to reduce the severity of the abuse, if not the actual amount. While it is recognised that this aim is of relevance to general non-sexual abuse, it does not appear to be particularly appropriate to sexual forms of abuse. For example, it is considered positive to reduce the severity of physical abuse from serious child injuries to more minor forms of physical harm even though ideally these more minor forms are also undesirable. But in

the case of sexual abuse even fairly "minor" acts, in terms of their sexual content, such as voyeurism, have been shown to have the potential to cause extremely traumatic effects in children. Therefore, to have as an aim, for example, to reduce the amount of sexual intercourse with children, but not less directly sexual forms of abuse does not seem to have much applicability as an aim of prevention.

It is for these reasons that the aim of all prevention programmes directed at sexual abuse is to prevent that abuse from occurring in any form, or to prevent its re-occurrence. If prevention efforts are successful, fewer children will be sexually abused.

3.3. Prevention Strategies

Helfer (1982) classifies prevention into three subsets, namely Primary, Secondary and Tertiary prevention. These provide a context for the various prevention efforts.

There is, however, overlap between these three areas, and particular prevention strategies can fall into more than one category, particularly as some authors use the term to indicate slightly different concepts (Bagley and King 1990).

3.3.1. Primary prevention

There are two broad aspects to primary prevention. The first concerns any effort aimed mainly at an individual, the purpose of which is to prevent abuse from ever occurring to that individual. The second consists of efforts to change the conditions that promote abuse, thereby preventing the abuse from occurring. Such changes would affect large numbers of people, rather than individuals. A closer examination of these two approaches reveals the particular strategies involved in each.

3.3.1.1. Primary prevention strategies aimed at the individual child

This class of procedures aims to equip the child with skills of self-protection. There are many such programmes, and these have been documented elsewhere (Nelson and Clark 1986; Wurtele 1987). They range from programmes for preschoolers, through early and middle childhood, and to those for adolescents (National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse 1986).

Such programmes share certain common features. Firstly, they all attempt to get children to understand what sexual abuse is, and to be alert to the possibility that someone may try to abuse them. Secondly, the programmes all try to broaden children's views as to who the abusers might be. Traditionally children have been warned about strangers, and some early prevention efforts in the 1970's focussed on this. More recent strategies, however, emphasise making children aware that danger is more likely to come from someone they know, possibly even a family member.

Thirdly, all efforts have tried to suggest to children the various actions that they can take in order to protect themselves. Such actions include telling someone about a confusing situation, or running away, or saying no or resisting in some other way.

Dealing with these three aspects typically involves discussions of the following concepts as outlined by Donohue (1989):

- * Body ownership: an awareness and understanding that children have the right to control who touches them, and where.

- * Touching continuum: an understanding of good touch, confusing touch and bad touch and how the one progresses

into the other in an abusive situation.

- * Secrets: an emphasis that some secrets should not be kept, but that an adult should be told.
- * Intuition: the importance of acting on one's feelings and trusting one's own uncomfortable feelings to give possibly accurate information about a situation which is becoming abusive.
- * Assertiveness skills: the ability to stand up for oneself and be able to say no to an adult, including the use of psychological self-defense techniques.
- * Support systems: making children aware of who they can turn to for help when they find themselves in an abusive or confusing situation.

By far the majority of prevention efforts have been directed at this type of primary prevention, namely equipping children with self-protection skills.

Such courses are usually presented to children in school settings by teachers, or by private outside agencies which come into schools for a period of time. Courses are also presented in other settings where children are available such as churches, boy scouts, girl guides etc.

Parents are often considered ideal presenters, and their participation in programmes is widely encouraged, particularly at the stage of development of the overall strategy for a community (Adams and Fay 1986). In addition, many books have been written specifically for parents, aimed at helping them deal with the subject of sexual abuse on a one-to-one basis with their own children (Kraizer 1985; Lenett and Crane 1985; Schulze and Van Rooyen 1990; van Schalkwyk 1990; Wachter 1983).

3.3.1.2. Primary prevention aimed at abuse promoting factors

At the core of the feminist perspective is that the power imbalance in favour of men puts women and children at great risk, and is the fundamental characteristic of many, if not most, abusive situations (Gordon and O'Keefe 1984).

Feminist prevention efforts, therefore, while acknowledging that children need to learn prevention skills, also aim at changing those structures of society which entrench the power of men and allow the problem to exist (O'Hara 1988; Russell 1982; Weaver 1987).

In practice this means advocacy efforts which campaign against laws that protect men's power and support inequality between the sexes. In addition, it means informing the public about sexual abuse, the effects of pornography and the power imbalance in an attempt to raise the consciousness level of individuals. This is done through writing, public speaking and the use of the media wherever possible, as well as community "publicity" campaigns which highlight these issues.

The sociological perspective also potentially falls into this category. Child raising practices which, for example, encourage boys to be appropriately affectionate, or aim to involve fathers with early child rearing, are strategies that can be applied in an attempt to redirect the sexual socialisation of boys and men into directions which negate the motivations to abuse.

Very little published literature exists detailing programmes designed to address this issue, however, and there appears to be a real need for development of efforts in this context.

Courses in parenting also fall under this area, because they aim to enhance relationships between parents and children. In so doing they reduce the risk of abuse, seeing as poor family relationships have been identified as a strong

predictor of sexual abuse. There has been a fairly extensive development of these types of programmes, ranging from those which emphasise more individualised help, such as home visits (Pierson Walker and Tivnan 1984) to modules on parenting presented as courses (Harman and Brim 1980).

Most of the programmes in existence, however, are aimed at enhancing parent-child relationships with a view to the primary prevention of other problems, such as underachievement at school, or physical neglect, rather than specifically sexual abuse. It is assumed, however, that the enhancement of parent-child relationships has a positive effect on all interactions, including potentially sexually abusive ones.

Another area of primary prevention is with respect to attitudes to violence, such as attempts to change or modify existing laws regarding violence as it applies to child rearing, or corporal punishment in schools. In addition, prevention programmes may try to modify the general acceptance of violence in society, by challenging attitudes, and sensitising people to the personal effects of violence.

3.3.2. Secondary prevention

This area involves the early identification of potential offenders and attempts to provide treatment or support in order to prevent abuse from taking place.

The early identification of potential offenders is, however, fraught with problems, the main one being that no method has yet been found of reliably identifying those individuals who have a predisposition to abuse.

With respect to physical abuse (as opposed to sexual), the prediction of who will abuse has been given attention in the research literature (Altemeier, Vietze, Sherrod, Sandler and O'Connor 1979; Gray, Cutler, Dean and Kempe 1979). Although

it seems possible to predict that the risk of abuse is higher in certain groups, it has not yet proved possible to identify individuals who will abuse.

With respect to sexual abuse the issue is even less clear, and no reliable method has been discovered of accurately identifying potential molesters. There is no typical profile of a molester, and it was pointed out in Chapter Two that most offenders are what society would consider "normal".

In a very general sense, however, it is possible to identify some large groups of which individual members are more likely to abuse. The first is men, who have been shown to be far more predisposed towards abuse than women. This means that programmes targetting men and boys may prove worthwhile, and this overlaps with issues raised in the primary prevention category.

The second very real category of danger, however, and one that is amenable to prevention efforts is that of children who themselves have been abused. Seeing as a history of abuse features in the childhood of a significant number of abusers, the early discovery of abuse and treatment offers hope for prevention of the cycle of abuse. Treatment programmes for abused children abound (Lindahl 1988; Mitchum 1987; Nelki and Watters 1989) and are generated from the various psychological orientations. Not only do they aim to help the victim cope with the effects of abuse, but they have as a further aim the healing of that individual with respect to the potential future victimisation of others.

The treatment of adult survivors of sexual abuse has also received attention, and group as well as individual treatments have been developed (Cahill, Llewelyn and Pearson 1991). Programmes emphasise the potential strengths and individuation of participants, and educational and therapeutic components are common (Mennen and Meadow 1992). As with treatment programmes for children, a secondary aim is

to prevent further abuse, and to make participants more aware of vulnerability in themselves and their own children.

3.3.3. Tertiary prevention

This encompasses those strategies which aim at dealing with abuse after it has been discovered, and attempting to prevent it happening again. There are two main thrusts to this approach.

3.3.3.1. Treatment of offenders

Once offenders have been apprehended or in some other way identified, treatment aims at reducing the likelihood of their re-abusing. This is usually accomplished by working towards the acceptance by the offender of responsibility for his actions, and strategies for controlling behaviour. It is recognised that at the present time there is no "cure" for certain types of sexual deviance, and so the offender has to be helped to manage his impulses and express them in non-harmful ways.

As with treatment of abused children, there are various approaches to the treatment of offenders which develop from the major perspectives on sexual abuse as well as other psychological orientations, such as behaviorism, or addiction theory (Barker and Morgan 1991; Nicholson and Cowburn 1990; Ryan, Love, Davis and Isaac 1987).

The method of treatment chosen will depend on the particular characteristics displayed by the abuser which give evidence as to the reasons for the abuse, and thus treatment programmes vary considerably.

3.3.3.2. Child-care arrangements

Once abuse has been discovered, arrangements for the further protection of the child have to be made, and efforts to do

this fall under this category. This may involve the removal of the child from the abusive situation. This has tended to be the more traditional approach to initial management of child sexual abuse, when the abuser is a member of the family. The negative effects on the child in the situation of removal from the home, however, have more recently been highlighted.

This has been in part due to controversy surrounding incidents such as those in Cleveland, England, in 1987, where hundreds of children suspected of having been sexually abused and their siblings were removed by welfare agencies from their parents (Nava 1988). Subsequently it was found that most of these children had not been abused. Yet their parents were denied access to them or contact with them for a period of many months while investigations proceeded.

Social workers also began to argue that the removal of the victim was not always in that child's best interests (O'Hagan 1989). As a result, consideration is now given to the requirement that the abuser leave the home, rather than the child. Another option is to require neither the abuser nor victim to leave, but to work on the problem within the context of the existing family situation (Minnis and Simons 1988).

3.4. Summary of prevention strategies

Diagram 1 on page 70 summarises the various approaches which have been discussed.

3.5. Effectiveness of prevention

An important issue to be considered is whether or not prevention actually works, that is whether it actually reduces the amount of sexual abuse. There are practitioners who state that prevention efforts are worthwhile if only one

child is spared the trauma of abuse, and at a basic level that, of course, is true. However, with the vast amounts of resources in terms of time, effort and money being put into prevention strategies it is necessary to question what general impact prevention programmes can have.

Research has been conducted which throws light on this question, and for ease of classification it will be looked at under the three categories, namely Primary, Secondary and Tertiary.

3.5.1. The effectiveness of primary prevention strategies

A fairly substantial body of research has been undertaken on the issue of the effectiveness of primary prevention in general (not specifically sexual abuse) and generally the results are encouraging. A review of forty major prevention studies (Baker, Swisher, Nadenichek and Popowicz 1984: 462) which met the criteria of being controlled experiments with empirical comparisons between experimental and control groups, and which could be classified as primary prevention indicated "*...clear evidence of measured effectiveness [and is] suggestive of the promise primary prevention holds*". Similarly, Conyne (1991) reviewed fourteen major primary prevention programmes and concluded that these provided "*well documented and persuasive evidence that primary prevention programs work*" (Conyne 1991: 279).

3.5.1.1. Programmes aimed at children

Table 5 on pages 71 and 72 shows the results obtained from 14 studies which assessed the effectiveness of programmes aimed at school children. The programmes evaluated in these studies all aimed to teach children personal safety skills of the type outlined earlier in this chapter, viz. to generate an understanding of what sexual abuse is, to make children aware of the danger from sources closer to them than strangers, and to equip them with personal strategies for

Diagram 1: Summary of prevention strategies

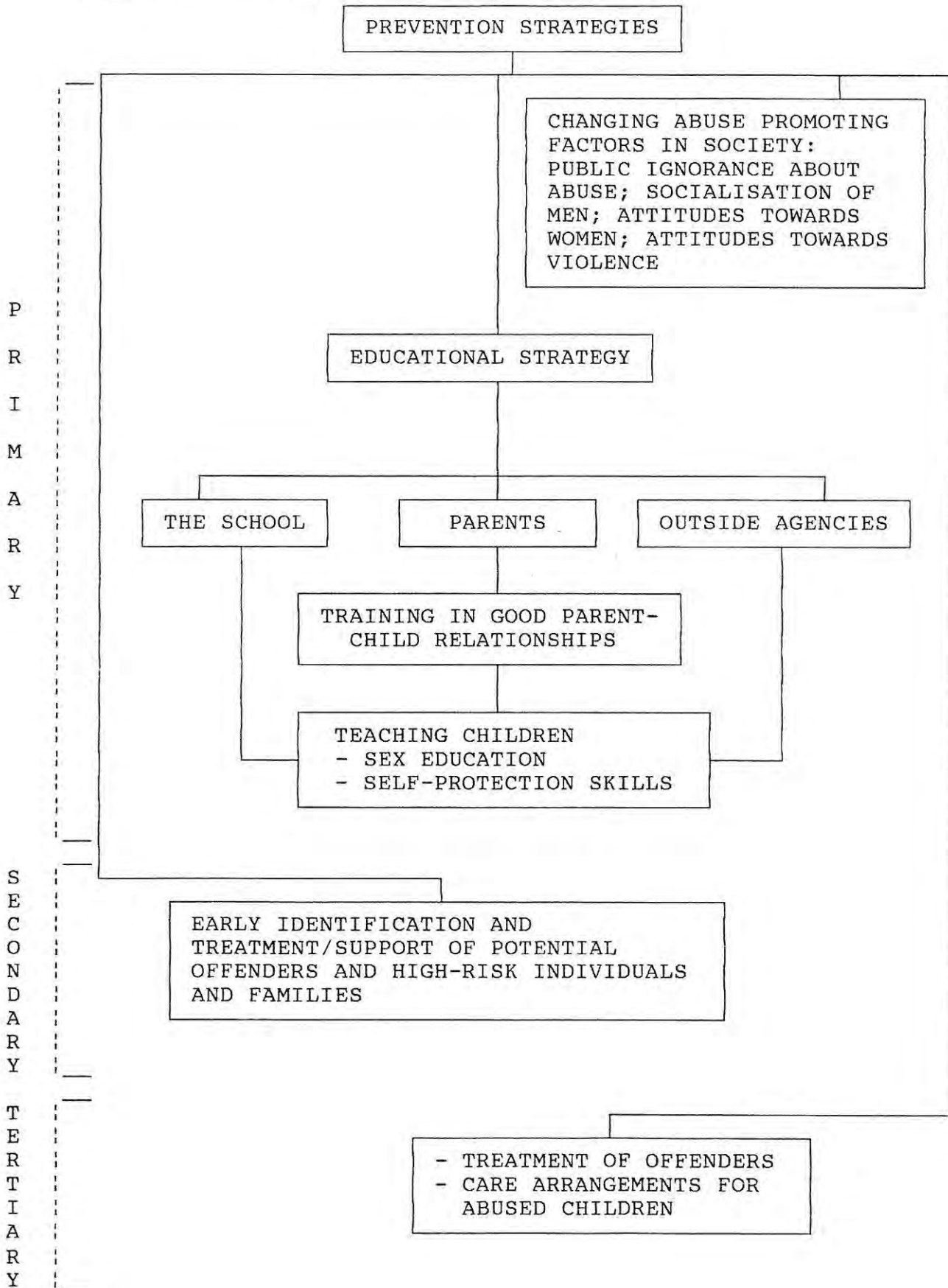


Table 5: Effectiveness of programmes aimed at children

STUDY	NO. OF SUBJECTS	AGE RANGE	RESULTS	RE-TEST?
Binder and McNeil (1987)	88	5 - 12	Significantly positive	no
Conte et al (1985)	40	4 - 10	Significantly positive. 6 - 10 yr olds retained more information	yes - after 1 month
Downer (1984)	70	9 - 10	Significantly positive	no
Family Welfare Research Group (1988)	118	3.5 - 5	minimal gains	yes - after 1 month
Fryer et al (1987)	23	6 - 8	Significantly positive	no
Hazzard et al (1991)	286	8 - 10	Significantly positive. Mainly positive at re-tests	yes - after 6 weeks and 12 mnths
Kraizer et al (1989)	670	3 - 10	Significantly positive	no

Table 5: cont.

STUDY	NO. OF SUBJECTS	AGE RANGE	RESULTS	RE-TEST?
Olson (1985)	unspecified: all children in 14 schools	5 - 19	Significantly positive	no
Plummer (1984)	69	10 - 11	Significantly positive. Less positive at retest	yes - after 8 mnths
Spungen et al (1989)	1000 in total	3 - 4 5 6 - 12	fairly positive. generally positive. significantly positive.	no
Swan et al (1985)	63	7 - 11	Significantly positive	no
Tutty (1992)	200	4 - 12	Significantly positive. Improving with age	yes - after 5 mnths
Wolfe et al (1986)	145	9 - 11	Significantly positive	no
Wurtele et al (1987)	26	4 - 5	Significantly positive	yes - after 6 weeks

action when confronted with abusive situations.

Twelve out of the fourteen studies showed significantly positive results, one showed positive results for ages 3 - 5 and significantly positive results for ages 6 - 12, and one study of preschoolers showed minimal gains.

It should be noted, however, that what was tested in all the studies was the children's ability to master and remember the concepts presented to them. No attempt was made to discover if these particular children suffered less abuse in later months or years than a control group.

This has been the problem associated with the evaluation of these programmes - an assumption is that if children learn the material they will be more able to prevent abusive situations from occurring. This, of course, is only an assumption, and no test has yet been developed to determine if this is actually so - do children who undergo these programmes suffer less abuse than those who are not exposed to prevention strategies?

Only one study (Fryer, Kerns-Kraizer and Miyoshi 1987) attempted to answer this question, and the results are encouraging. Children in his study were not only presented with information of the type that is common, but they were also faced with a simulated situation (the children believed it to be real) in which a "stranger" (played by one of the researchers) requested the child to accompany him to his car to fetch certain items, clearly a potentially dangerous situation. The children who had been through the programme showed significantly less co-operation with the "stranger" in comparison with a control group, thus demonstrating the practical effectiveness of the programme. A weakness, however, is that this does not address the more common type of situation in which the abuser is known to the child. Nevertheless, it does hold promise for the idea that children actually can put prevention concepts into effect.

Three studies specifically found that results improved with age, a not unexpected outcome. Obviously as children become more cognitively able, they will be more capable of internalising and processing the concepts.

Although the Family Welfare Research Group Study (1988) found minimal gains for preschoolers, the validity of their findings are open to serious doubt. Many substantially different prevention programmes were grouped together, and skills which have already been identified as being unnecessary or harmful were measured. In addition, the evaluation instrument used by the researchers is considered to be an inadequate measure of the effectiveness of prevention education (Committee for Children: undated). Despite the reported results, and notwithstanding the methodological criticisms, the researchers still noticed some gains in crucial areas such as the concept of disclosure. The researchers concluded the study not by suggesting that prevention with preschoolers does not work, but that programmes need to become more attuned to their specific development level, and that the training itself needs to be intensified. The generally positive results with preschoolers reported by Conte, Rosen, Saperstein and Shermack (1985) and Spungen, Jensen, Finkelstein and Satinsky (1989) confirm this. In addition, the study by Kraizer, Witte and Fryer (1989) found that preschoolers demonstrated learning equal to that of children 6 to 10 years of age.

In summary, it is clear that an impressive body of research supports the continued presentation of programmes aimed at providing children with self-protection skills, including programmes aimed at preschoolers.

3.5.1.2. Attempts to change abuse promoting factors

The challenging of laws which entrench male superiority has long been one of the fundamentals of feminist action. Some noticeable gains have been made, for example with respect to

marital law relating to rape. In certain states in the USA, and in Britain, a husband can be charged with raping his wife whereas up until the decade of the 1980's, marital rape was not recognised by law. This type of gain is viewed very positively in terms of changing societal structures that make it easier for sexual assault to occur (Russell 1982).

Changing other non-legal structures of society such as the patriarchal family situation, or the view of women as possessions by many men (Russell 1982) becomes a more difficult problem because one is dealing more directly with attitudes which are not always supported by legal structures open to challenge.

Attempts to change attitudes have largely revolved around attempts to raise women's consciousness by (mainly) the feminist movement, and challenges to men through the media, also mainly by the feminist movement. The evaluation of these strategies has not been a priority, and consequently little research could be found involving empirical testing of programmes. That which has, has been directed at the problem of rape, rather than child sexual abuse (Mastria and Hasford 1976). Nevertheless, it was suggested in Chapter One that the motivation for, and dynamics of rape and sexual abuse overlap. Therefore prevention efforts aimed at rape are likely to have generalised beneficial effects with respect to sexual abuse.

In the study by Lee (1987) college students were presented with a workshop designed to sensitise them to the issue of rape as well as to generate empathy for the victims of rape. The outcomes of the study were positive, with participants recording significantly higher levels of understanding and empathy than on pre-test, and in comparison with a control group. Again, however, the assumption is made that these men will be less likely to rape, but this assumption was not tested. Description of similar workshops exist, but these have not been evaluated in any way (Briskin and Gary 1986).

In this context, evaluations of studies with respect to sexual abuse of children could not be found.

Similarly, no evaluation studies of programmes could be found which focus on the socialisation of men or of the effects of early father-daughter interaction on male sexual socialisation. With respect to the enhancement of parent-child relationships, there is evidence that interaction with parents in the form of home visits or courses does improve child care (Garbarino 1986; Reid, Taplin and Lorber 1980) even if only minimally (White, Day, Freeman, Hartman and Messenger 1973). While it is assumed that positive outcomes will carry over to the issue of sexual abuse, this assumption has not been directly tested.

3.5.2. The effectiveness of secondary prevention strategies

Although some attention has been given to the development of screening instruments in an attempt to identify potential abusers (Avison, Turner and Noh 1986; Paulson, Abdelmonem, Chaleff, Liu and Thomason 1975), most of this has been aimed at general physical abuse by parents. While sexual abuse does fall within the category of general physical abuse, it is suggested that its aetiology is so significantly different that methods of screening for problem parenting are unlikely to be greatly applicable to the issue of sexual abuse. For example, the amount of social support available to a mother is seen as a fairly strong predictor of physical abuse (Cobb 1976; Crockenberg 1981). As a result, screening instruments have been developed to assess the level of such support (Kaplan 1977). This does not, however, appear to be of real relevance to sexual abuse within the family, nor does it account for such abuse committed by persons outside the family.

As a result of this present inability to identify specific potential sexual abusers, efforts to develop programmes

aimed at preventing such people from abusing have not been given priority. Research on the effectiveness of any existing programmes has either not been conducted or else not reported in the research literature.

As has been pointed out, however, this area of prevention overlaps to an extent with primary prevention. The identification of potential offenders points to men, and thus some of the prevention strategies aimed at, for example, the socialisation of men, would also apply here.

With respect to the category of children who have been abused and who therefore are at risk of becoming abusers themselves, although various treatment programmes exist, and the effectiveness of these programmes has been evaluated, there is a dearth of research on the question of whether these children are, as a result of treatment, less likely to become abusers themselves.

3.5.3. The effectiveness of tertiary prevention strategies

3.5.3.1. Treatment of offenders

One of the main aims in treating offenders is to prevent further abuse. A number of treatment approaches have been developed, with the emphasis more recently tending to shift from individual to group treatment (Smets and Cebula 1987). Emphasis is also placed on the importance of using a combination of individual and group treatments (Silver 1976). The question of whether group treatment procedures are more effective than individual treatment models has yet to be answered. There is evidence, however, that particularly with adolescents group experiences may be more helpful because of the increased importance of the peer group in development (Margolin 1983).

More recently it has been argued that a treatment programme that deals with the offender in isolation from the family is

less likely to be effective.

In our experience working with the perpetrator within the context of his family is humane, preventative and cuts right across the cycle of child sexual abuse.

(Minnis and Simons 1988: 8)

Feminist critics, however, challenge treatment programmes as being ineffective because they do not address the problem of a society that provides the conditions for abuse. "*Men who receive therapy for women abuse do not reform in the long term because they go back to an unchanged society*" (Horley 1990: 170).

A number of studies have attempted, however, to establish rates of recidivism after treatment. Finkelhor's (1986) review of the research concluded that available data did not give enough evidence to support the idea that treatment reduced recidivism. This finding needs to be treated with caution because there were positive outcomes reported in some research, and because a number of innovative treatment techniques had not yet been evaluated at the time of his review.

Some programmes since that date have reported positive outcomes. Less than 10% of offenders passing through the treatment programme described by Freeman-Longo and Wall (1986) had re-offended sexually. A long-term study by Prentky and Burgess (1990) found a 25% recidivism rate, but a major weakness in their study was relying on criminal justice records for details of re-offences. This is problematic in that it is accepted that the majority of sexual offences never come to light. Thus it is quite reasonable to assume that their reported rate is too low.

Smets and Cebula (1987) report on a group treatment programme for adolescent sex offenders, and indicate that only 1 out of 21 boys who participated was known to have offended again after a three year period. The authors, however, do not make it clear how they obtained this information, and so the recidivism rate indicated here must be considered suspect.

It can be seen from these studies that although positive outcomes are indicated, the types of methodological problems which led Finkelhor (1986) to his conclusion that there was not positive evidence for the effectiveness of treatment programmes, are sometimes evident in more recent research.

There are, however, a number of other treatment programmes currently in the evaluation stage (Baker and Morgan 1991; Sabor 1992), and hopefully this issue will become clearer when these results become known. Nevertheless, the difficulty in determining accurate recidivism rates after treatment must not be allowed to conceal the fact that treatment does work for some individuals. In these cases treatment is an effective preventative approach.

3.5.3.2. Child Care Arrangements

Quite obviously, the prevention of contact between an abuser and his victim, as when the child is removed from the home, is an effective way of preventing the abuse from re-occurring. In this sense it is not necessary to research the effectiveness of this as a prevention method. Consequently, practitioners have rather concentrated on the practical considerations of these arrangements, such as whether it is better, in a family abuse situation, to remove the child or the abuser from the home.

3.6. The need for prevention efforts aimed at changing abuse promoting factors

Prevention efforts falling into the categories of Primary, Secondary and Tertiary prevention have been discussed. It was noted that the main efforts of development have been primary prevention programmes aimed at teaching children self-protection skills, and tertiary prevention with respect to the treatment of offenders. Many programmes aimed at teaching children self-protection skills have been developed and evaluated, and the need in this area would seem to be the further evaluation of such programmes in order to refine them and ensure greater effectiveness. Development of programmes for the treatment of offenders also enjoys much attention in the research literature.

Areas which have not received a great deal of attention are primary prevention aimed at changing the conditions in society which allow the problem to exist, and secondary prevention where potential offenders are identified and treated.

In view of the lack of development given to this aspect of primary prevention, this study aims to develop a programme which focusses on those aspects of primary prevention aimed at changing the attitudes which make sexual abuse possible.

There is a great deal of support in the literature for this type of approach to prevention.

*The major responsibility for prevention
cannot be placed on the victims and
potential victims, particularly because
they are children. The major focus of*

prevention efforts should be on potential perpetrators and on the cultural and societal values which allow this problem to exist.

(Cohn 1986: 559)

Daro (1991: 3) supports this when she states that

No-one has ever claimed that child assault prevention instructions should be the sole emphasis in preventing child sexual abuse with children of any age. Prevention efforts need to target...those aspects of the social fabric that nurture abusive behaviours.

Aspects of the social fabric such as attitudes and opinions that nurture abusive behaviours are seen as destructive, and prevention efforts can include *...measures designed to replace these destructive patterns with positive patterns that are incompatible with abuse" (Garbarino 1986: 154).*

Trudell and Whatley (1988: 105) challenge the fact that most prevention programmes are aimed at the self-protection of children:

Since three of Finkelhor's four pre-conditions relate to the offender, we might reasonably question why the major focus of sexual abuse prevention has been of training the children (the victims) to protect themselves rather than on preventing offenders from engaging in these behaviours. Ultimately, all of the wider social factors... must be considered.

And further

The problem cannot be solved by teaching children resist and escape: the real battle lies in making fundamental changes in a society that allows and even encourages child sexual abuse.

(Trudell and Whatley 1988: 111)

Finkelhor (1986: 87) sums it up clearly when he states that "*Our ultimate goal should be not simply to protect...children from abuse, but to eliminate abusive behaviour itself.*"

3.7. Potentially harmful effects of prevention programmes on children

One of the concerns regarding prevention programmes aimed at children is that they will become anxious, fearful and distrustful of adults as a result of the information presented (Kraizer 1986).

There is no evidence, however, to suggest that this is a general problem (Conte *et al* 1985). In the few studies which do indicate this as a factor, it is a problem to only a very small number of children (Kraizer *et al* 1989; Kenning, Gallmeier, Jackson and Plemons 1987). In addition, no study has demonstrated that these effects last beyond the period immediately following the programme (Daro 1991). In contrast, Plummer (1984) found that her subjects actually viewed touch more positively after the programme.

Another concern is that children who are made to feel frightened only are likely to find themselves less able to prevent abuse, because being frightened is not an empowering experience. None of the sexual abuse prevention programmes, however, deliberately include frightening material. When this happens, it is usually because the presenters are

deviating from the programme content and including personally generated material (Conte *et al* 1985). The aim of the programmes is to empower children by focussing on esteem-building exercises and the child's ability to resist abusive attempts.

A third concern is the need for programmes to include certain sexual content. Because the subject of sex education is a controversial one in many countries and communities, programme developers have often gone out of their way to ensure that the specific sexual content of these programmes is not offensive to parents and other adults. As a result, anatomically accurate descriptions of body parts has generally been avoided, and terms such as "private parts", "those parts under your costume", or other euphemisms have been used.

While this may ensure a lack of anxiety and relatively few uncomfortable feelings in adults, it runs the risk of sending a double message to children. On the one hand, they are told that it is acceptable to talk about bad things which may happen to them, while on the other hand they witness the presenter avoiding any mention of actual body parts by name. This runs the risk of confusing children as to what exactly they can and cannot talk about, as well as *reinforcing cultural attitudes towards knowledge, childhood and sexuality which license rather than deter...child sexual abuse* (Mulhern 1990: 271).

In addition, children sometimes find difficulty talking about abuse because they do not possess the vocabulary to do so. This practice of avoiding the use of sexual words makes this problem worse.

A further possible way in which prevention programmes may harm children can be identified when it is remembered that in any group of children undergoing such a programme it is highly likely that some will have been abused or will be

suffering abuse at that time. Common to all prevention programmes is a component which teaches a child that saying no to abuse is possible. What effect might this knowledge have on the child who has already suffered abuse? Seeing that victim blaming is common in our society (Ryan 1971), it has been suggested that this particular content can lead to already abused children feeling guilty about not having said no, and blaming themselves for the abuse (Trudell and Whatley 1988).

3.8. Conclusions

It can be seen that most prevention efforts have been directed either at the primary prevention of abuse through the presentation of personal safety skills programmes to children, or tertiary prevention through treatment attempts aimed at ensuring that offenders do not re-offend.

There is a noticeable lack of work in the area of primary prevention concerned with the structures and attitudes of society which allow the problem to exist, as well as issues of male sexual socialisation and parent-child relationships.

The only direct empirical evidence that prevention efforts reduce the amount of sexual abuse are those studies which indicate rates of offender recidivism, and as has been discussed, most of these studies are fraught with methodological problems.

Programmes aimed at teaching children personal safety skills have not been empirically demonstrated to reduce the amount of sexual abuse occurring. They have demonstrated, however, that children do learn and retain sexual abuse prevention concepts.

This rather bleak research picture should not, however, be taken at face value. It does not indicate that prevention

efforts do not work. The problem is that a reliable way to measure the reduction in actual sexual abuse resulting from prevention efforts has not yet been found.

Practitioners in the field point out three arguments for continuing and expanding prevention resources. Firstly, treatment of offenders does reduce re-offending, even if it cannot be established by exactly how much. Seeing as any one abuser usually victimizes many children (Freeman-Longo and Wall 1986; Ryan *et al* 1987; Smets and Cebula 1987), any success in preventing re-offending will affect many children. In addition, the fact that some children who are abused go on to become abusers themselves means that if their initial abuse can be prevented by treating offenders, this will reduce the amount of abuse in the next generation.

Secondly, practitioners are aware of many anecdotal accounts of children who have gone through prevention programmes and have since indicated the ability to avoid actual abusive situations. These accounts lend credibility to claims that at least some children can be taught self-protection.

Thirdly, although the content of prevention programmes consist of what adults assume children will find helpful in avoiding their own sexual victimization, nevertheless these assumptions are based on numerous clinical reports as well as research on the victimization process. Programmes have been developed by practitioners working with sexually abused children for nearly two decades, and presenting prevention courses for over half of that time.

There is no indication in the literature or at the regular workshops and national and international conferences of a sense of pessimism or defeat. Rather, there is a strong feeling that prevention efforts are effective and need to be expanded both nationally and internationally.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

In Chapter One, it was demonstrated that sexual abuse is a fairly common, but extremely harmful experience for many children in most parts of the world including South Africa. Chapter Two considered the circumstances in which this abuse operated as well as possible causes. In Chapter Three a review of literature uncovered the most common prevention efforts, and the effectiveness of these efforts was assessed.

The two main aims of this research were stated in Chapter One. The first one is to suggest a national strategy for the prevention of sexual abuse. The second aim is to devise a prevention programme for implementation in the secondary school. These aims will be discussed separately with respect to the procedures followed in order to meet each aim.

4.2. Aim 1 : Suggesting a national strategy for the prevention of sexual abuse

4.2.1. Rationale

No such national strategy exists for South Africa at the present time. As a result, prevention efforts are *ad hoc* developments by concerned individuals or organisations which have devised programmes at a local community level. While an advantage of this is that such programmes are likely to meet the specific needs of the community for which they are developed, nevertheless such efforts inevitably suffer from lack of resources and funding as well as a tendency not to be sustained for very long. If the American and British experiences are typical, then these disadvantages are often due to the fact that prevention efforts are typically

initiated by one particular person in a community. When for some reason that person is unable to continue, the prevention effort often ceases.

In addition to this, organisations serving sexually abused children are usually so overloaded that intentions to initiate prevention programmes take second place to the need to manage situations of abuse. Another problem is that practitioners in the field do not always have the time to keep up with new developments and directions, and consequently are not able to be as effective as possible.

For these reasons it is felt that a national strategy and co-ordinated effort will ensure that direction is given to individual efforts, as well as encouraging and assisting in current projects. It should also have the effect of initiating programme development in communities where prevention efforts do not exist.

4.2.2. Development

Finkelhor and Korbin (1988) discuss the development of a strategy for the implementation of child abuse prevention programmes on an international and national level, and aspects of this are relevant to this study.

They suggest three criteria which must be met if such a development is going to be maximally effective. Firstly, abuse must be defined in such a way that it is applicable across cultures and local or national boundaries. This is particularly applicable to the South African situation with its heterogeneous population. Different cultures abound within the larger South Africa, and any definition of abuse that is applicable to this country will need to take this factor into consideration.

The definition suggested in Chapter Two (p 27) attempts to do this, and is both broad enough in its scope to account for a

wide range of behaviours, as well as specific enough to detail particular aspects. It also needs to clearly exclude behaviours which are not sexual abuse. The example used by Finkelhor and Korbin (1988) illustrates this:

In some cultures very young children's genitals may be fondled to calm them or lull them to sleep. This would not be abuse because it is not for the purposes of the adult's sexual gratification.
(Finkelhor and Korbin 1988: 8)

In the discussion of the definition of sexual abuse in Chapter Two it was shown that the intention of the adult is crucial in determining whether abuse has occurred or not. The first criterion of a national strategy has, therefore, already been met.

The second criterion consists of describing the major types of abuse with illustrations of their international scope. Finkelhor and Korbin attempt to do this by describing the four major types of abuse, namely physical abuse, physical neglect, sexual abuse and emotional or psychological abuse or neglect. Of these four, only sexual abuse is of relevance to this study, and it is argued that it has been covered in enough detail in Chapter Two to make it unnecessary to explore specific acts of abuse further.

Thirdly, criteria are *"proposed for determining international policy priorities, and some examples are given of types of international initiatives that might be undertaken"* (Finkelhor and Korbin 1988: 3). Certain priorities suggested in their article are relevant to the national level, and a paraphrase of their view becomes applicable.

*[National] organisations should organise a campaign against [sexual] abuse [nationally, which] emphasizes what we have called individualized initiatives.
(Finkelhor and Korbin 1988: 16)*

By individualised initiatives they mean many individual efforts which occur within a broad national effort.

Chapter Five is an attempt to meet this criterion. Drawing on the international literature concerning the initiation of prevention efforts in countries and communities where this has not previously been a feature, a national framework for such strategies was drawn up, and specific strategies were identified. Suggestions were then made with respect to each strategy for specific efforts of relevance to the South African situation. Particular emphasis is given to the role of the school in these efforts.

4.3. Aim 2 : Devising a prevention programme for the secondary school

It was shown in Chapter Three that the main work which has been undertaken in terms of prevention programmes for schools has been the development of personal safety programmes. Educational interventions aimed at preventing the development of a disposition to abuse have not been extensively developed. A teacher who desires to address this aspect of prevention will find little material for direct use in the classroom. The development of a programme to meet these needs is, therefore, highly appropriate.

Such a programme must be practically applicable in that actual lesson units should be available for implementation in the classroom. An argument is made in the literature for this type of development (Bithell 1988), and examples of programme development in related fields such as sex education indicate

the viability and potential value of this programme (Shepperson 1985).

4.3.1. Educational context of the programme.

The programme was designed to be implemented within the context of school guidance. Guidance is defined as that range of services offered within the formal educational structure which aims at "...helping an individual to know himself and accept...facets of his personality and personal circumstances " (Cape Education Department 1981: 1).

It is

...a practice, a process of bringing the pupil into contact with the world of reality in such a way that he acquires life skills and techniques which allow him to direct himself competently (ie to become self actualising) within the educational, personal and social spheres ...in order to progress and survive effectively.

(HSRC 1981: 5)

As such, guidance is "based on respect for the dignity and worth of the individual" (Kowitz and Kowitz 1971: 92).

It is appropriate, therefore, that programmes which aim to enhance positive attitudes and develop skills and behaviours designed to counter abuse should fall within the scope of guidance. The role of guidance services in the school in the development and implementation of primary prevention services has been recognised (Dinkmeyer and Dinkmeyer 1984; Shaw and Goodyear 1984). Counsellors in schools have been challenged to go beyond a curative remedial role and

...take the lead...as primary preventionists dedicated not only to reparation of psychological damage but to its immunization or eradication.
(Conyne 1991: 279)

The development of this programme can be seen as one response to such a challenge. Such development in primary prevention is well supported in the literature, as was discussed in Chapter Three.

Guidance in South Africa is, however, under close scrutiny at this point in time, and its future existence and form is not assured or clear. A number of possible models for guidance have been suggested, and a brief examination of these bears consideration.

In 1981 the government initiated an investigation into education, undertaken by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC 1981). This became known as the De Lange Report, after its Chairman. It recommended that the guidance function be split into two aspects. A School Counsellor would be responsible for "*pupils with general problems*" (HSRC 1981: 110), and an Assistant Careers Counsellor would be responsible "*for the careers guidance of a secondary school and the feeder schools (primary schools) of this school*" (HSRC 1981: 111).

The main emphasis of the guidance section of this report, however, was the development of a career guidance structure and syllabus. This is evidenced from the brief to the committee, which was "*...primarily to suggest ways that education could contribute to fulfilling the manpower needs of the country*" (Euvrard 1987: 15).

In addition to this, it was stated that "*The committee has decided that the major need of the pupils...is that [they]*

should be well prepared for a working life after school"
(HSRC 1981: 13).

It is suggested that this view is far too narrow, and does not take cognisance of the reality of children's experience. Studies by Euvrard (1987) and McGregor (1988) clearly show that children perceive a greater need for guidance in other areas of their life, notably social relationships and personality issues.

In any event, these proposals from the investigation were not implemented, and particularly due to the cost factor are unlikely to be implemented in the foreseeable future.

A second model is that proposed by the Committee of Heads of Education Departments (1991). This model grew out of the Education Renewal Strategy Investigation initiated by the government in 1990. Guidance features as one of four subjects grouped under the heading of Lifestyle Education, the other three being Religious Education, Economic Education and Physical Education. Guidance will remain a separate subject entity, and the content will not vary considerably from that suggested in the current Manual and Scheme of Work for School Guidance (1981). This Manual has been the basis for school guidance programmes in the Cape Province, and is representative of the type of endeavour being implemented in other provinces.

In common with the 1981 De Lange Report, much emphasis is placed on vocational education. A major component of the Guidance syllabus itself is devoted to this, and other general subjects are given a strong vocational orientation from the earliest years.

There are a number of inherent weaknesses in this model in general, and with respect to Guidance in particular. Some of these will be briefly considered.

The authors state

When studying the model it should be borne in mind that an education practice is already established in South Africa, and that the intention is not to replace overnight that which is already practice in the curriculum, with something new.

(Committee of Heads of Education Departments 1991: vi)

This principle seems to have been applied to its extreme in Guidance, and virtually nothing new has been suggested. This stand is surely difficult to justify in a country such as South Africa which is rapidly moving towards a completely different political and social structure. By all accounts the educational needs of the country are going to be vastly different to the past. It is suggested that it is highly unlikely that the existing Guidance set-up will transplant neatly into a radically different scenario.

A second difficulty is that vocational aspects are given the same weight as in the De Lange Report. The problems associated with this have already been discussed.

Another problem has to do with the content of the social/personality aspect of the Guidance syllabus. It is clear that few, if any changes are envisaged. Yet, with respect to existing guidance syllabi argument has been made that they are largely irrelevant to the needs of the pupils and require major revisions (Euvrard 1987; McGregor 1988).

Overriding all of these weakness is the fact that the model was drawn up without consultation or input from most of the major players on the South African political field, such as the African National Congress. Although it is stated in the introduction to the document that comments and suggestions

for change are invited, it is significant that schools have already been supplied with detailed lesson plans implementing various aspects of the curriculum. This lack of consultation in development is alone probably sufficient to doom it to become nothing more than an historical oddity.

The third model is generated by the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), which was commissioned by the National Education Co-ordinating Committee, a non-governmental body established in 1985 by the African National Congress. The initial strength of NEPI lies in the fact that the process involved over four hundred representatives from a wide spectrum of the educational community. As such it enjoys wider support and is more representative of commonly accepted principles and directions than either of the previous government initiated investigations.

The report on Guidance (NECC 1993) suggests a number of options for directions in the future. Each is evaluated in terms of advantages and disadvantages, and each has its own strengths and weaknesses. One option merits particular attention, however, because it has many more advantages associated with it than any other option. As such it seems a likely possibility for implementation in a future educational structure.

The suggestion is that Guidance should be predominantly a Systemic-preventive service.

This option would analyse student problems in the broader social context. Services would tend to be mainly preventive, emphasising the development of an optimal learning and teaching environment. Rehabilitation and crisis intervention would be part of the service.
(NECC 1993: 226)

There is much support for this approach as was pointed out earlier in this section. The NEPI Report lists a number of important advantages which make it an attractive and feasible possibility.

It is in this envisaged educational guidance context that the prevention programme was designed.

4.3.2. Target Group

Adolescents are an appropriate group at which to aim prevention efforts, for a number of reasons.

Firstly, they are quite likely to run the risk of suffering abuse during their adolescent years. This fact was demonstrated in the discussion of victims in Chapter One. Programmes can therefore provide information about personal safety which can reduce the risk of abuse or re-abuse.

Secondly, it was also pointed out in Chapter One that more and more abusers are being identified who started their abuse as an adolescent. Programmes aimed at preventing adolescents from indulging in abusive behaviour can have the effect of preventing the development of an abusive lifestyle.

Thirdly, adolescents are a very active stage of re-defining values, ideals and attitudes. *"The period of adolescence stands out as a major period of growth towards a qualitatively different outcome"* (McGregor 1988: 16).

They are therefore often highly amenable to a critical evaluation of social and sexual stereotypes, as well as to the possibility of attitude development.

Therefore,

*Providing all adolescents...with quality sex-education, including healthy sexuality during the pre-teen and teenage years [will] enhance their knowledge of what is normal and abnormal.
(Cohn 1986: 560)*

If attitudes and values that are incompatible with abuse can be enhanced, the result will be adults who not only are unlikely themselves to abuse, but who will in all probability pass these values onto their offspring, thus creating a intergenerational cycle of non-abuse.

Fourthly, prevention programmes aimed at adolescents are appropriate because there is at present a lack of development in this area, and as such a potentially fruitful direction is largely being neglected.

In addition to these reasons, this research is aimed at adolescents because this researcher's own experience is in working with Guidance and Counselling situations with adolescents over a number of years. In addition, the broader issues of mental health are areas of personal experience in terms of developing prevention programmes.

As with any educational intervention which aims to have an impact on the development of attitudes, it is not considered adequate to present a programme to only one particular age group within the general category of adolescence. To implement a prevention programme in one grade only is irresponsible. "...this fails..to recognize the obvious and well-accepted need for reinforcement and re-shaping of children's skills as they mature " (Kraizer 1986: 26).

Consequently it was decided to develop a programme which starts in Std 6 and continues each year to Std 10, so that

the knowledge gained and attitudes enhanced in one year can be developed and expanded in the next.

This researcher's teaching and guidance programme development experience has been in predominantly white, co-educational and mainly middle class schools. The lessons are therefore developed from a background of such experience. This is a strength of the study in that the programme is likely to be relevant to the developmental and cultural needs of these types of pupils. It is a weakness, however, in that the applicability of the programme to other groups of adolescents can be questioned. This issue will be discussed in a later chapter.

4.3.3. Developing the programme

A distinction is made in the literature between Curriculum Design and Instructional Design. "*Curriculum represents a set of intentions ...and instructional planning results in a plan outlining the intended process of instruction*" (Posner and Rudnitsky 1978: 6).

Curriculum intentions are justified by educational goals. Cowan (1984) suggests that the first need in developing primary prevention programmes in the field of mental health is to identify the generative base from which these educational goals arise. These goals then support the curriculum intentions and direct the instructional design.

Thus, the curriculum indicates what is to be learned, the goals indicate why it is to be learned, and the instructional plan indicates how to facilitate learning.
(Posner and Rudnitsky 1978: 6)

Programme development typically involves a number of well defined steps within this broad structure (Melton 1982). Not all of these steps are equally valid for programme

development in primary prevention however, nor are all directly applicable to the aims of this study. Nevertheless, a combination of a number of suggestions provide a framework suited to the purpose at hand (Cowan 1984; Posner and Rudnitsky 1978; Robinson, Ross and White 1985).

Step 1: Identify the programme's generative base.

This involves identifying the type of content that should be included by a consideration of the relationships between the characteristics of a situation and the desired outcomes. The generative base for this programme development is the material presented in the first three chapters which establish "...the need for specific primary prevention intervention" (Cowan 1984: 487).

Step 2: Develop major course goals.

These describe the main ends towards which ongoing instruction is intended to be addressed. The major course goals for this programme are to enhance and develop positive attitudes, skills and behaviours in adolescents which mitigate against the development of abusive lifestyles, as well as provide a measure of personal safety with respect to vulnerability to sexual abuse.

Step 3: Translate the generative base and major goals into guiding programme concepts.

The task in this step is to draw up a guiding framework of content that can shape the programme's operation.

A consideration of the relationship between the material presented in previous chapters and the major goals stated in Step 2 lead to the identification of the following content for inclusion in the programme:

1. Issues of sexual abuse:
 - Characteristics of sexual abuse
 - The victims
 - The effects
 - The perpetrators
 - Causes of abuse
2. Sexism and sex role stereotyping
3. Rape and violence
4. The socialisation of men
5. Assertiveness
6. Attitudes towards women
7. Women's powerlessness
8. Positive child-rearing practices
9. Developing good parent-child relationship patterns

Step 4: Package course objectives into units.

This stage acknowledges that the programme must be divided up into specific units, both with respect to the particular age level of the target group, as well as to the time available.

Few guidelines exist as to which of the above topics should be dealt with at any particular age level within adolescence. The researcher had to rely, therefore, on

1. His own experience as a school counsellor and guidance teacher over 16 years.
2. The work of Euvrard (1987) and McGregor (1988) which established certain specific guidance needs related to particular age levels of pupils.
3. The fact that much of the content can, in practice, be presented to any age group, on condition that the specific level of content and method of presentation is adjusted to that age group.
4. The developmental nature of some of the material, which

requires understanding and awareness of basic concepts before deeper issues can be considered.

A combination of these considerations led to the following programme concept.

Std 6 Issues of sexual abuse

Std 7 Sexism and sex-role stereotyping

Std 8 Rape and violence
Assertiveness skills
Self-knowledge and understanding
Issues of sexual abuse

Std 9 The sexual socialisation of children
Positive parenting strategies

Std 10 Rape and violence
Issues of sexual abuse
Positive parenting strategies
Parent-child relationships

With respect to time allocation, each unit was broken down into a number of separate lessons, for implementation during the school day. The practicalities of this are discussed in the introduction to the programme in Chapter Six.

Step 4: Develop specific objectives for each unit.

Each unit needs its own aims and objectives in order to direct the development and presentation of the content. These objectives are presented at the beginning of each unit, in Chapter Six.

Step 6: Develop workable programme technology.

The development of instructional strategies ensures that the objectives are translated into teaching activities which meet

these objectives. The result of this process in this study are the actual lessons which are presented in Chapter Six.

Most course design development strategies include the implementation and evaluation of the programme. Certain of the lessons were presented in the school situation, and an informal evaluation was possible in terms of feedback and response from the pupils. This will be discussed in a later chapter. It does not imply, however, that formal implementation or evaluation was carried out.

While the need for and importance of these steps is acknowledged, this falls outside the scope of what this study aims to achieve. As such it is not considered applicable to these circumstances.

CHAPTER 5

A NATIONAL PREVENTION STRATEGY FOR SOUTH AFRICA

5.1. Introduction

A number of assertions have been made about sexual abuse in previous chapters. These provide a rationale for a total prevention strategy, and suggest specific directions which such a strategy might take. They can be summarised as follows (adapted from Cohn 1986: 560):

1. Sexual abuse exists, in part, because of abuse of power.
2. Sexual abuse exists, in part, because of misdirected sexual ideals and preferences, as well as beliefs and misconceptions.
3. Sexual abuse exists, in part, because children are sometimes in unprotected environments, and do not know how to cope with potentially abusive situations.
4. Sexual abuse exists, in part, because of the societal values and messages transmitted through images in the media which promote children as sex objects, de-personify women, and which desensitise towards the impact of violence.
5. Sexual abuse exists, in part, because the sexual socialisation of men nurtures attitudes that are potentially abusive.
6. Sexual abuse is a complex problem, and knowledge about its prevention is imperfect, suggesting multiple prevention strategies.
7. There is no profile of the sexual abuser, therefore preventative efforts cannot be restricted to high-risk individuals.
8. Sexual abuse is so deeply rooted in societal values and customs that no single law or profession can alleviate the problem.
9. Public support for and understanding of prevention programmes are necessary.

In order for effective and comprehensive prevention to take place, it is necessary to "...recognise the importance of the development of policy and [a] comprehensive summary of services" (*Recommendations for the 21st Century 1991: 43*).

The aim of this chapter is to suggest a realistic and workable national strategy which will serve as a framework in which individual prevention efforts in South Africa can be initiated, developed, guided and understood.

Before such a framework can be devised, some guiding principles need to be established.

5.2. Guidelines

5.2.1. Prevention directions

Garbarino (1986: 155) identifies two basic approaches to prevention, which he calls "patchwork prevention" and "total reform prevention".

In the first approach, individual aspects of prevention are addressed in isolation from the larger socioeconomic, cultural and political context. An example of this type of prevention would be a local programme aimed at teaching children personal safety skills. Research indicates that such "patchwork prevention" is possible and often effective (Hazzard *et al* 1991; Olson 1985; Tutty 1992).

"Total reform prevention" attempts to address the socioeconomic, cultural and political contexts that provide the conditions in which sexual abuse can flourish. Efforts in line with this type of prevention have not been as numerous or as effectively justified by research as efforts in "patchwork prevention". Nevertheless there is support in the literature for

...the hypothesis that sustained, widespread prevention will only come about as a feature of efforts...that are more in keeping with total reform prevention.

(Garbarino 1986: 155)

A general strategy of abuse prevention must include both these approaches if it going to be able to meet the complex problems underlying sexual abuse. Therefore, individual efforts in the community are to be encouraged and supported, but a national strategy must also aim to deal with some of the larger issues in the society.

A complete strategy will also attempt to utilize all types of prevention efforts, primary, secondary and tertiary, and in this way, there will be a better chance of addressing and attempting to remediate the many different motivating factors which lead to abuse.

5.2.2 National Co-ordinating Body

Individual efforts aimed at preventing abuse are recognised as being effective and worthwhile. The history of prevention shows that it was individual endeavours which provided the motivation for subsequent national prevention attempts in countries such as the United States and Britain.

Nevertheless, there are disadvantages of the individualised approach, as Finkelhor and Korbin (1988) point out. Although their comments are directed at international efforts to get countries to adopt prevention strategies, they can be applied equally well to a national policy which encourages prevention at the local community level.

Child abuse is a problem that is hidden and ignored for important social and cultural reasons in many places. When brought to attention, its existence is widely denied.

Action against child abuse often threatens entrenched political, religious and economic interests. Many nations [for "nations" read "communities"] will be reluctant to focus on important aspects of the child abuse problem unless strongly pushed to do so.
(Finkelhor and Korbin 1988: 16)

For this reason, as well as other reasons which will become clear, it is suggested that no national strategy can begin to be effective unless a national body or committee is established, the aims of which are to initiate and co-ordinate individual prevention efforts around the country.

This body, (hereafter referred to as the National Committee), would need to consist of full-time paid professionals whose sole responsibilities would involve the furtherance of the Committee's aims. It is suggested that organisations such as the Southern African Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect would not be suitable for this purpose, seeing as they are volunteer staffed and as such would not be able to meet ongoing time requirements.

The National Committee could more logically be established as a branch of one of the National Welfare agencies. As such, it would need to be a legislated body, with certain powers, and funded at least in part from Department of Health and Welfare budgets, as are a number of existing independent welfare societies. Other funding from commerce, industry and private organisations and individuals might need to be sought.

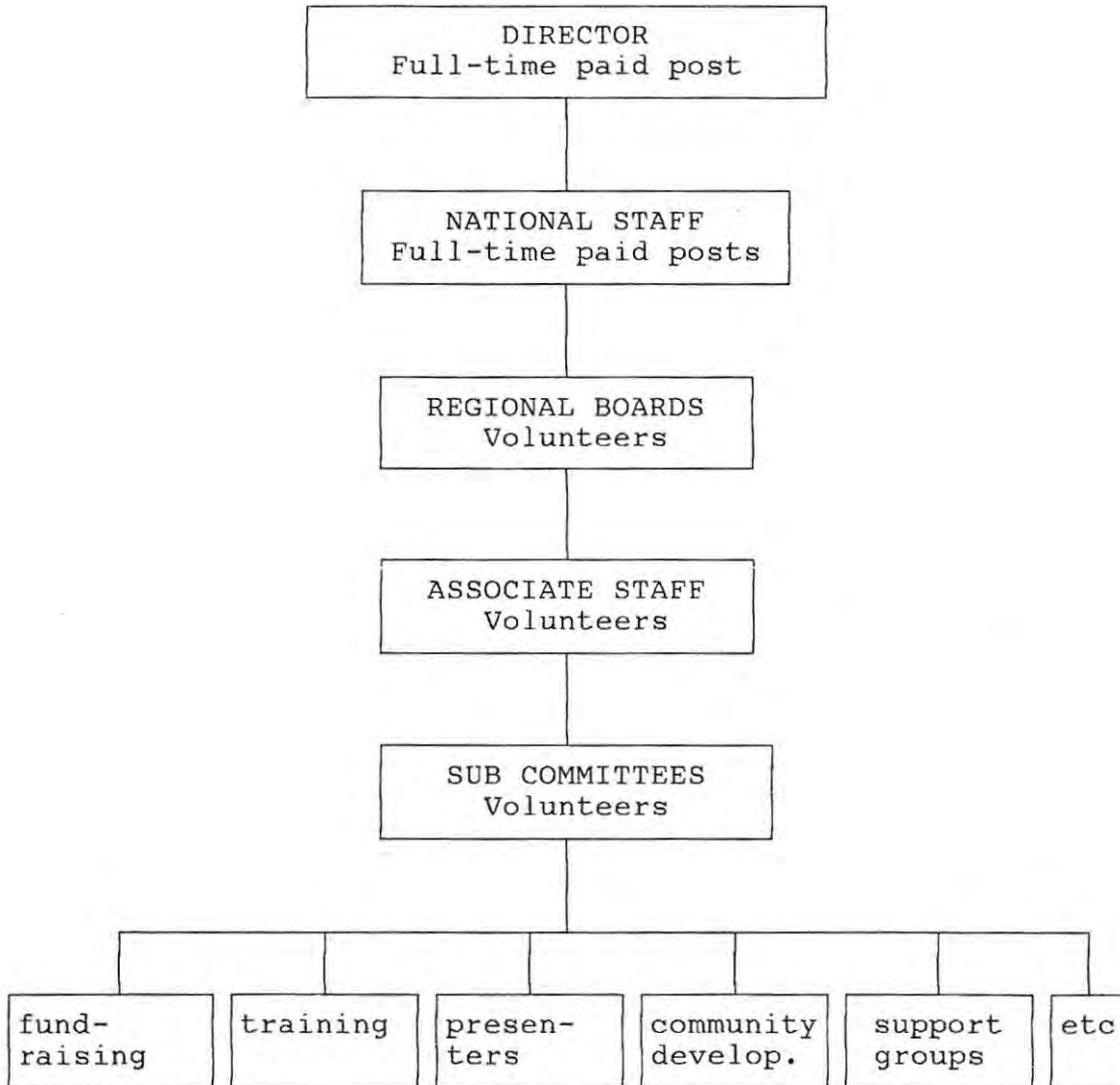
As indicated in the work of Finkelhor and Korbin (1988), this committee would need to provide both the opportunity for nationally co-ordinated efforts, as well as many different individually initiated and run local efforts.

This researcher's experience of the management structure of the religious organisation Youth For Christ in South Africa leads to the suggestion that the structural aspects of that body would be very appropriate and viable for these circumstances. It consists of a relatively small full-time staff who plan, initiate and co-ordinate on a national level, and a larger volunteer staff who do most of the field work at the local level. This has the advantage of reducing the amount of national funding needed. It also uses the resources and expertise of individuals at the local community level who are enthusiastic and committed to making a real contribution in their own communities. As such it meets the requirements as indicated by Finkelhor and Korbin. Diagram 2 on page 107 lays out the model.

The Director and National staff would be the only full-time paid officials. One of their immediate aims would be to establish volunteer Regional Boards which would consist of professionals working in the field of sexual abuse as well as leaders in the community. The aim of the Regional Board would be to identify areas of local need, set goals which aim to meet these needs, and then recruit volunteers from the local community to develop and implement programmes aimed at meeting these goals. These volunteers would comprise the Associate Staff, which would consist of sub-committees with different responsibilities, as identified by the Regional Board. Some of these responsibilities might include fund-raising, the training of presenters for parent groups, the training of professionals in sexual abuse prevention and management, and development in communities which do not have prevention strategies. Naturally, however, these needs will be determined by each Regional Board, and will probably differ from community to community.

Throughout this process, the National Director through the full time staff will assist in the identification of needs and development of strategies, as well as provide initial training and make resources available.

Diagram 2: National Committee - Organisational Structure.



Such a national structure, it is believed, can be successful in ensuring that up to date prevention strategies become available to all communities in South Africa, and that the prevention of sexual abuse becomes a priority issue both at the national and local level.

5.2.3 Setting of prevention objectives

The first aim of a National Committee would be the establishing of priorities and broad objectives (Finkelhor and Korbin 1988). It was pointed out in Chapter Three that the broad aim of prevention is to reduce the number of children who suffer abuse.

With respect to all forms of abuse, both physical and sexual, a panel appointed by the United States Government in 1980 set as one of its national goals the reduction of violent child abuse by 25% by 1990 (U.S. Surgeon General's report on Health Promotion and Disease Prevention 1980). In 1985 the National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect in the United States set a goal of reducing child abuse by 20% by 1990 (Garbarino 1986).

These two goals, however, assume that a base rate is available for comparison, and that research is sophisticated enough to measure any real changes that may occur.

In the South African situation, however, no such base rate for sexual abuse is available, and so it will not be possible to state actual reduction of sexual abuse in statistic terms. In order to do so, one of two types of research would need to take place.

A national prevalence study would provide a base rate, but would only be able to be compared with a later study after a substantial period of time, for example fifteen years. This is because prevalence research asks adults to remember incidents of abuse in their childhood, and thus any current

prevention strategy could only be tested for actual abuse prevention once this generation of children become adults. This is not to argue against such a longitudinal study - in fact such a study would prove highly relevant - but it does make the early evaluation of aims difficult.

Another method of providing a base rate would be a national incidence study. This type of research has been shown to be unreliable because of the fact that only a small proportion of actual abuse comes to the attention of professionals. Nevertheless a comparison of a second study after a period of time may indicate even less reports of child abuse in particular communities which institute prevention programmes.

However, a confusing factor in this situation, and one that might quite possibly account for an increase in the amount of reported abuse, is that most prevention strategies encourage children to tell. Therefore in a community in which there has been little acknowledgment of sexual abuse, more children, rather than less, might reasonably be expected to come forward to report cases of abuse.

This type of research is fraught with problems and *"when one is looking for the absence of a behaviour eg. no abuse...the task becomes even harder"* (Helfer 1982: 258).

It is for these reasons, therefore, that initial prevention objectives may not be able to be set and evaluated in terms of statistical measures, but will need to be devised with other outcomes in mind. As a result, certain assumptions will need to be accepted, for example that prevention programmes are effective in preventing at least some sexual abuse. Evaluation procedures will, accordingly, need to be adapted and refined to meet these circumstances.

5.2.4. Meeting community needs

An important requirement of a national strategy is that it

must allow local communities to identify their own needs and priorities, and develop relevant strategies to meet these. This point is clear from Finkelhor and Korbin's (1988) discussion of international priorities:

*Nations [for "nations" read "communities"] differ dramatically in terms of the types of child abuse that are most manifest...the types of resources that are available to combat it, and the amenability of the problem to change. Encouraging [communities] to develop their own distinctive analyses, focuses and plans of action is more likely to maximise enthusiasm and motivation...than externally imposed requirements.
(Finkelhor and Korbin 1988: 16)*

Therefore, in order to gain the most from the resources provided by individuals at the local level, maximum freedom of development must be encouraged.

One of the disadvantages of this approach, however, is that it will require more organisation, which is not only time consuming but often frustrating if local expertise or volunteers in a specific community cannot be found.

In addition, an individualised approach may require more resources, because resources developed for a particular community's needs may not be applicable to another.

Nevertheless it is felt that the advantages of such an approach outweigh the disadvantages, because

Locally established priorities have the advantage of being better tailored to an area's particular problems and resources...

and there may be more motivation to mobilize around priorities that have been locally set. (Finkelhor and Korbin 1988: 15)

5.2.5. Funding

A major issue in the development and implementation of prevention strategies in any country is that of funding. In South Africa at the beginning of the 1990's this will be no less problematical. The rapidly changing political and socioeconomic scenarios are leading to perception of need in many different areas of development, all of which need funding. There seems to be general agreement between the government of the day and its opposition that the economy of the country is in disarray, and the effects of this are being felt by all sectors of the community. This includes welfare and social services, where retrenchments and cutbacks are mirroring the situation in the private sector.

As a result, it is unlikely to expect that a great deal of money would be allocated at this time to programmes of this nature. Apart from basic funding which might be available for a small full time staff on the National Committee, particularly if these officials were seconded from other agencies, it is reasonable to expect that other financial support will need to be found elsewhere. If a way can be found to do this, the motivation for the establishment of a national committee will be strengthened.

A partial solution to this in the United States has been the creation of Children's Trust Funds. These Trusts have generated income by levying taxes on certain commodities or services at the local level. For example, the Kansas Family and Children's Trust Fund generates money from a tax on marriage license fees (Martin, Scott, Pierron and Bauerle 1984). Other Trusts benefit from income tax deductions or tax on birth certificates (Donnelly 1991). Although this method of generating income was initially slow in gaining

acceptance, by 1990 all states in the United States except one had passed legislation mandating such trusts, and in 1989 the Trusts spent 28 million dollars on prevention (Donnelly 1991).

Apart from the obvious advantages of such a system in terms of efficiently and effectively raising money, the idea of local communities raising finance in this way rather than receiving large Government grants is supported by the conclusion that

...in the long run more can be accomplished with a small amount of money given to a community based organisation which effectively uses volunteer time than a large amount of money given to an agency which has a large infrastructure to support.

(Martin et al 1984: 303)

Another source of funding would be in the form of research grants from universities and other tertiary education institutions, as well as from research institutions such as the Human Sciences Research Council. The idea of combining programme development with evaluation and applying for a research grant holds promise, in light of the fact that the evaluation of prevention strategies is generally encouraged in the literature. Certain programme funding in the United States already requires programme evaluation as a condition of qualification.

It was just such a grant to the Sexual Assault Services Division of the Henepin County Attorney's Office in 1977 that led to the development of the first sexual abuse prevention programme for young children in the United States (Nelson and Clark 1986).

A third potential source of funding is local commerce and industry in a particular community. Many companies budget for

donations and grants to private organisations which serve the community. Although active and ongoing campaigning would be necessary, a number of such service organisations already make use of this source of income.

General fundraising projects might also be considered. Together with efforts to gain donations from companies, this might prompt Regional Boards to establish fundraising sub-committees at the Associate Staff level, as discussed under the consideration of the National Committee.

Community service clubs such as Rotary, Lions or Round Table could be approached to fund specific projects. Most of these types of clubs have charters which specifically mandate involvement of this nature, and it is quite likely that some funding will be forthcoming. Commitment to this type of effort is evidenced by the sponsorship of the national Childline telephone service for abused children by the Round Table group of service clubs.

Many secondary schools in South Africa have Interact Clubs, which are junior branches of the Rotary organisation. These clubs attempt to become involved in community service, and some might be willing to adopt and sponsor a particular prevention programme.

5.3. Prevention components in a national strategy

A number of suggestions appear in the literature concerning the types of efforts needed in any complete prevention strategy. A combination of ideas from Cohn (1986), Donnelly (1991), Helfer (1982) and Gordon (1988) provide a framework which can be adapted to the South African situation. These are described below in broad general terms, and are looked at in greater detail afterwards.

1. Public awareness and education - attempts to inform the public about sexual abuse in order to bring the issue into the open so that intervention and prevention strategies will have general support; attempts to educate the public as to the negative effects of abuse and thus strengthen the sexual abuse taboo.
2. Public involvement - attempts to expand volunteer involvement in prevention, both in an individual capacity as well as part of service organisations such as Boy Scouts.
3. Advocacy efforts - procedures aimed at changing existing laws or societal structures which create or allow the conditions for sexual abuse.
4. Media messages - attempts to deal with the problem created by media presentations of sexist stereotypes, the depersonifying of women, and promotion of the acceptance of violence.
5. Training of professionals - attempts to educate teachers, doctors, nurses, psychologists, social workers and other child care professionals about sexual abuse issues, in particular the appropriate response when faced with situations of abuse.
6. Training of volunteer child care workers - attempts to educate individuals such as youth group workers, Sunday school teachers and creche assistants about sexual abuse, and what to do when faced with disclosures of abuse.
7. Expansion of services - attempts to increase the range and magnitude of services offered to child abuse victims and their families, particularly in terms of management.
8. Treatment of victims - attempts to institute and expand treatment programmes for abused children in order to ensure effective and quality treatment.

9. Treatment of offenders - attempts to ensure that apprehended abusers receive quality treatment aimed at preventing recidivism.

10. Education for parents - providing new parents with education and support to enhance early bonding with children; providing them with information regarding personal safety skills which they can teach to their own children; providing them with information which will help in the early identification of abuse.

11. Empowering mothers - attempts to give mothers more control over their lives in terms of economic and psychological independence.

12. The role of the school - attempts to educate all children from pre-school through adolescence about sexual abuse and self-protection skills; attempts to provide education aimed at preventing children from becoming abusers themselves, including the development and enhancement of positive sexuality, attitudes and behaviour.

Each of these aspects will be discussed in some detail, in an attempt to indicate the types of interventions which have been or could be developed, as part of an overall strategy relevant to the South African situation.

5.3.1. Public Awareness and Education

In situations where the general public is not well informed of the existence and extent of sexual abuse, intervention efforts aimed at prevention are unlikely to enjoy wide support. Therefore, the first step in any national strategy must be the creation of "*... an environment through the media, in which...preventive programmes and concepts will be effective* " (Cohn 1986: 561).

Cohn suggests that such messages must come mainly from the media. These messages are that sexual abuse is a crime, that it is harmful to children, and that help is to be obtained.

Reports in the media about the conviction of abusers tend to focus on those cases with particularly "spectacular" characteristics, presumably because these are deemed to be more newsworthy. This creates a perception, however, that child molesters are a rare breed of pathological "monsters" (Compton 1989). This image is very harmful to a prevention effort because, as was pointed out in a previous chapter, it obscures the fact that most molesters fall within that range of society which is considered "normal". The aims of a public awareness campaign should include dispelling this myth, and to show the very pervasive nature of the problem at all levels of society.

In addition, the public can be educated in the dynamics of sexual abuse, as well as some of the main causes which have been suggested. In this way, the motivation for particular prevention efforts will be more easily accepted and supported by the general public.

One such awareness campaign indicates the types of strategies which can be applied (Justlander 1983). It consisted of eleven main elements:

- * A short information film shown on National television in-between programmes.
- * A similar film shown in cinemas.
- * A number of full page advertisements in popular magazines over a three month period.
- * A guidance brochure distributed through clinics and day care centres.
- * Posters for public display.
- * Stickers for motor cars.
- * A theme issue in a particular child care magazine.
- * A bibliography listing sources of information and help.

- * A slide presentation for viewing at gatherings of parents, for example church groups, parent teacher meetings and community centres.
- * A book on child abuse translated into the local language.
- * A major film on child abuse for screening on the cinema circuit.

This awareness campaign resulted in much discussion of the issue of child abuse in the press, and hundreds of magazine and newspaper articles followed as a result.

This particular campaign is only one example of the types of strategies which can be applied. Much will depend on the resources and funding which are available. Such a campaign, however, needs to consist of two major thrusts.

On the larger scale, a campaign through national television and the national media (newspapers, magazines and cinema) offers the promise of wide general coverage, and penetration of resistant communities. This larger effort will give impetus to the second thrust, which is for local communities to develop the campaign further, aimed more specifically at the characteristics and needs of that particular community. One again the extent of these efforts will depend to a large extent on the creative use of the resources available, including funding.

5.3.2. Public Involvement

There are a number of advantages associated with involving as great a percentage of the general population as possible.

Volunteers are usually enthusiastic, self motivated, and believe in the value of what they are doing. This
" ...provides a reservoir of personal energy to sustain progress as well as a wide repertoire of systematic problem solving skills " (Olson 1985: 131).

If these volunteers are drawn from the particular community in which programmes are being implemented, they will have a better grasp of the attitudes and values of that community than outsiders. People in the community also have many more contacts with respect to influential leaders, as well as knowledge of existing and potential resources.

Professional child care workers are present in most communities, and many of these already have the experience to make a contribution to prevention. Many of them may already be involved in individually initiated prevention efforts, and these can be drawn into the broad structure in order to motivate and guide the establishment of other efforts.

The cost of keeping a volunteer in the field is considerably less than a full time worker, and as a result more people are able to be supported from existing funds. This has the dual effect of spreading the effort as well as allowing for more intensive strategies.

The more people involved at the actual field level, the more quickly the prevention message is likely to be spread through the community, by casual as well as structured face-to-face contact.

The role of the Regional Board was discussed earlier in this chapter. It was suggested that the establishment of Associate Staffs of volunteers who would form various sub-committees (see Diagram 2 on page 107) would be a structured way of involving the public. These sub-committees would be responsible for needs such as training, lecturing, fundraising, development of new interventions, publicity, and other efforts considered to be worthwhile in each community. Similar efforts in the United States ensured that by 1991 over one hundred and twenty thousand volunteers across all fifty states were active in one or other prevention effort (Donnelly 1991). In addition, other organisations are making a contribution to the prevention movement, such as Boy Scouts

of America, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Marvel Comics, Master Card International, the American Amusement Machine Association, and the National Basketball Association. This serves to show the broad range of resources which can become available in a prevention effort if the general public are encouraged to become involved.

5.3.3. Advocacy Efforts

It is regularly argued that child abuse cannot be prevented unless the environment in which one is trying to prevent child abuse is altered.

(Donnelly 1991: 101)

We need to broaden the sphere of morality to take into consideration all practices which involve a lack of respect for persons: systems of race, class, age and gender - in short, all inequalities and aggressions...As long as that process continues, children will be exploited sexually...simply because they are children.

(Ennew 1986: 92)

Some authorities maintain that recognising and mandating the rights of children should be a priority of advocacy efforts (Bagley and King 1990). The legal tradition of children as property and legal dependants, and the

...social endorsement of continued economic subordination of women and children to male wage earners for the purpose of ongoing service...

(Bagley and King 1990: 209)

are identified as being characteristics relevant to children's sexual exploitation.

Specific laws or structures which exacerbate this problem need to be identified in individual countries or communities. An example of this in the United States was the identification of the rape law exemption whereby a husband could not be charged by his wife with rape. It is believed that this encouraged the perception of women as property. This perception extended to children as well, thereby contributing to the general climate of abuse. As such, this law became an appropriate target of advocacy groups (Russell 1982). In South Africa at present, a woman cannot charge her husband with rape. Advocacy efforts aimed at changing this are in progress, with various political parties taking a stand on the issue in an attempt to gain female votes in the anticipated elections for a new government (Green 1993).

One of the earliest results of advocacy efforts in the United States was the creation of Children's Trust Funds as a means of funding prevention efforts. This concept was discussed earlier in this chapter.

The legal mandating of prevention programmes in schools is also a worthwhile target of advocacy efforts, as no such programmes have been carried out in a systematic or long term manner in South African schools. Such mandating would ensure that every child throughout the country is exposed to education aimed at self protection, and the development of attitudes which reduce the propensity to abuse.

5.3.4. Media Messages

The role of the media in creating a tolerance of violence, as well as in entrenching stereotypes and myths which perpetuate conditions allowing abuse, have been discussed. Much criticism has been leveled at the media in his regard (Donnelly 1991; Malamuth 1985), and suggestions that the

media should be held more responsible have been made (Recommendations for the 21st Century 1991).

Most authorities, however, do not suggest any specific actions or plans whereby the media can be influenced to be more responsible. The subject of the desirability of censorship is complex and generally unresolved, and censorship has its proponents and opponents (Ellis, O'Dair and Tallmer 1990; McCormack 1988; Norden 1990; Rogerson and Semple 1990). Opponents fear that if censorship were used to control abuse promoting images, it might also be used to suppress any other image or information which the ruling power considered undesirable. As such it would become a political weapon. Yet proponents argue that certain forms of pornography, particularly that involving children, are banned even in those countries with an historically liberal attitude to censorship, and some form of restrictions on the media is inevitable.

A strategy that has been suggested is that of pressure on the media through lobbying by special interest groups (Recommendations for the 21st Century 1991). Once again, however, this has negative connotations and raises the possibility of powerful interests controlling the media.

Although the general feeling in the literature is that little direct change can be obtained through appeals to the media, it is nevertheless believed that "*...it can take place within the society...[by] understanding and challenging cultural myths and stereotypes*" (Kilbourne 1986: 46).

It is possible to achieve this to an extent by purchasing advertising time on television and space in the printed media, and presenting material aimed at countering negative media images.

The entire issue of how to influence the media, however, is one for further consideration with a view to finding creative

solutions to the problem. In the meantime it may be that the only response is to "...lessen our exposure to such [media messages] even if the only way to do so is to lessen the amount of time we allow ourselves to be exposed to it" (Donnelly 1991: 106).

5.3.5. Training of Professionals

Professional child care workers have a vitally important role to play in terms of their face-to-face contact with children in various situations and at various levels. "It is important that helpers have sufficient knowledge and skills to be empowered themselves to help those who have been victimised" (Bagley and King 1990: 239).

Yet it has been shown that such professionals are often not equipped with the knowledge required to effectively deal with disclosures of abuse, and often hold attitudes and beliefs which mitigate against effective responses to sexual abuse (Jackson and Nuttall 1993). The study by Attias and Goodwin (1985) found that psychiatrists were the professional group most likely to believe that children's reports of abuse are constructions of fantasy. Seeing as there is abundant evidence to the contrary, particularly that children rarely lie about such issues (Faller 1984; 1991), the tendency to disbelief by some psychiatrists is most likely attributable to a Freudian psychoanalytic orientation. The inherent weaknesses of this approach have been comprehensively highlighted (Olafson *et al* 1993) and were discussed in Chapter One.

Current child abuse management typically involves a number of professionals working together as an informal or formal team (Grocock 1991; Wagner 1987). There is general acceptance in the literature that the use of multidisciplinary teams not only improves the quality of services after the disclosure of abuse, but also has the potential of preventing further abuse (Helfer 1982). It is essential, therefore, that all

professionals who may come into contact with children are well trained in the issues of sexual abuse. This will ensure that the child will not receive conflicting messages, and that services will not be duplicated.

Professionals such as teachers, nurses, doctors, psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers and day-care workers need information to help them identify and assist any children they come into contact with who are being or have been abused. They also need to know how to teach children self-protection skills, and how to identify potential patterns of molestation developing in young children (Cohn 1986).

5.3.6. Training of volunteer child care workers

A great deal of work with children and adolescents is done by volunteers. Examples of this include the Boy Scout Movement, Cubs, Brownies and Girl Guides, the Afrikaans Youth Movement the Voortrekkers, Sunday School teachers and church youth workers. It is not unlikely that many of these volunteers, who often build close relationships with the children under their care, will be faced with signs or disclosures of abuse (Hancock and Mains 1987). In these situations it is vital that such workers know what to do, because there is the possibility that a disclosing child will not repeat such information again. If the report is not recognised or believed, or if it is dealt with inappropriately, this could have devastating consequences for the child.

In addition to the ability to recognise the signs of abuse, many youth workers would be ideal presenters of prevention programmes, because they are able to cover sensitive material in the context of an existing good relationship (National Council for Prevention of Child Abuse 1986).

These arguments clearly indicate the need for fairly intensive training of all volunteer youth workers in a

community. This in itself will expand the volunteer base of members of the public who are committed to preventing sexual abuse. The further benefits of a large base of public support have been discussed.

5.3.7. Expansion of services

Largely as a result of publicity through the media, disclosures of abuse have increased dramatically. Evidence indicating this was presented in Chapter One. The expansion of services to cope with this increasing disclosure has lagged far behind the need. In the United States

...child protective service budgets have not kept pace with the enormous recent increases in abuse reports, and major ...mental health research funds are not generally awarded to abuse focussed research (Olafson et al 1993: 18).

There has also been a general cutback in recent years in spending on social and health services, despite the increase in prevention efforts (Daro, Abrahams and Casey 1990), and social workers report increasingly unrealistic caseloads (Roberts 1991).

The situation in Britain is much the same. As long ago as 1981 organisations providing sexual assault services were felt to be overstretched and underresourced (Bell and Macleod 1988), a situation which has not improved since that time (Doran and Young 1987).

Organisations in South Africa which offer services to sexually abused children and their families are experiencing similar problems to those in other countries, where services are not keeping pace with the need. Although no documented evidence exists on the problem in this country, social workers increasingly indicate unrealistic caseloads which do

not allow sufficient time for the effective management of individual cases (Reilly 1993).

The dangers of this are fairly self-evident. Cases of alleged abuse may not be thoroughly investigated. Therapeutic intervention in the family may be extremely limited, if it happens at all. The victims of abuse, including other family members who become secondary victims as a result of disrupted family dynamics, will often find themselves in extremely stressful situations as a result of unresolved conflicts and unspoken fears.

As a result of these problems, the literature strongly expresses the belief that

...we must work to restore to children's protective service agencies their original function of helping families, largely by ensuring they receive the increased funding required.

(Donnelly 1991: 106)

In addition to this, there are a number of authors who propose that a major method of improving prevention is not only to restore children's services to their original purpose, but to increase and expand existing services (Helfer 1982).

5.3.8. Treatment of victims

Giarretto (1976) suggests four goals of treatment programmes aimed at the victims of sexual abuse. The first goal is emotional catharsis in which the victim releases pent-up feelings of anger, guilt, frustration, loneliness and helplessness. The second goal of confrontation aims to enable the person to face and understand the feelings associated with the abusive act. The third goal is one of self-identification, or a discovery of the various

characteristics and motivations of one's own personality. This is necessary for the formation of a positive self-concept. Finally, the fourth goal is self-management which is the process of learning skills and attitudes that help to control the future direction of one's life. "A major milestone is reached when the client acknowledges that all...past experiences are available...for personal growth" (Giaretto 1976: 154).

There are many different treatment approaches in existence, and these were considered in Chapter Three.

There is general consensus in the literature that programs that are directed towards the treatment of the child...should be considered in the prevention category.
(Helfer 1982: 254)

Preventing abused children from becoming abusers is one way in which treatment aids prevention. Such children, as adults, are also likely to be more aware of their own children's vulnerability.

One of the practical problems with treatments, however, is that they are usually expensive, being generally offered by professional people such as psychologists or other therapists. As such, they are rarely available to anything but a small segment of the community. Although no empirical evidence of this could be found, this researcher's experience of dealing with many sexually abused children for nearly two decades has indicated the very brief nature of therapeutic intervention usually offered to these children, unless the personal financial resources of the family have been such as to ensure long-term help. Even in those situations where financial resources have been available, parents have rarely understood the need for ongoing therapy. In those families where the father has been the offender, the situation is often worse. A natural defense-mechanism is to forget the

incident as quickly as possible, and a monthly account from a psychologist hardly makes it easy to do this.

There is a real need, therefore, for free or heavily subsidised treatment to be made available for the victims of abuse. A number of group treatments have been developed (Homstead 1985; Nelki and Watters 1989) and these may prove to be more cost effective.

Another possibility which may help overcome the cost factor is to train secondary school counsellors in therapeutic techniques aimed at victims of sexual abuse. Services by school counsellors already exist in many schools, and because of the possibility of regular confidential contact with the child these professionals are often in an ideal situation to offer therapeutic help. In addition, such help has the potential of taking place within the context of an ongoing good relationship.

Self-help support groups have also become a feature of treatment in the United States (Halliday 1985). The establishment of such groups in South Africa can potentially provide an effective treatment option at very little cost either to the community, or to individuals. However, whatever directions treatment options take in the future, it is felt that

There needs to be a formalised service offered for post-investigative therapeutic work. Such work could span years, but should be available at the child's request.

(Harris 1992: 23)

5.3.9. Treatment of Offenders

It is important to incorporate treatment programmes wherever offenders are identified. If they go through the judicial system enduring only the punishment of custody, they will probably return to society unchanged, at least in terms of internal motivation.

(Bagley and King 1990: 197)

Programmes for the treatment of offenders and their efficacy were discussed in Chapter Three. Research has clearly shown that a significantly large number of abusers are repeat offenders (Groth 1979; Long 1982; Longo and Groth 1983), with abusive behaviour often beginning in adolescence. One of the main aims of treatment, therefore, is to reduce the likelihood that the abuser will re-offend. How this aim translates into treatment programmes depends, however, on the particular belief as to the underlying cause of abuse.

For example, Giaretto (1976) believes that the goal of treatment is to have offenders accept full responsibility for their actions, and learn techniques of self-management. Justice and Justice (1979) state that offenders need to take responsibility for their own emotional and sexual nurturance and control of stress. Herman (1981) suggests that offenders need to be taught the distinction between feelings of affection and sexual feelings, as well as the consequences of the abuse to the victim.

As such, treatment programmes are an appropriate component of any total prevention approach. Offenders should be routinely required to undergo treatment as part of their sentencing. For this purpose, the use of partially suspended sentences may be appropriate, where holding back of certain sentencing is conditional upon continuing treatment. This has been shown to be an effective method of ensuring that offenders do

participate in, and complete, treatment programmes (Fridell 1987).

It is important to note, however, that strong argument is made in the literature that treatment should follow punitive legal action (Horley 1990). Fear is expressed that without such action the seriousness of sexual abuse will not always be understood by society.

The sexual abuse of children is a crime, first and foremost. Treatment can and should begin after that recognition and an appropriate legal response has been made.

(Butler 1985: 41)

5.3.10. Education for Parents

Three general directions which education for parents can take are identified in the literature, and together they constitute a fairly comprehensive approach to equipping parents with the attitudes, information and skills necessary to reduce the likelihood of abuse.

The first concerns the enhancement of the mother/child and father/child bond with the newborn infant. Such early bonding reduces the risk of physical abuse or neglect (Fontana 1980; Helfer and Wilson 1982). With particular reference to father/daughter relationships, studies have shown that enhancing the early bond reduces the risk of sexual abuse (Parker and Parker 1986). These findings support assertions in the literature that some form of training for all new parents in communication with one's new baby is essential (Helfer 1982; Cohn 1986).

The second direction concerning the education of parents is that which involves general information and training in parent-child relationships, including issues such as

discipline, sex education, the growth of independence and the protective rights of children. Helfer (1982: 259) identifies two levels of adults - those who had mainly positive early childhood experiences and require a "*refresher course in childhood*" before becoming parents, and those whose positive childhood experiences were minimal and require a "*crash course in childhood*".

The Parent Effectiveness Training System (Gordon 1975) is one such course. Although numerous books for parents have been published (Ginot 1965; 1969; Margow and Oxtoby 1987) few other actual courses have been devised, and this area of education needs development.

The third direction concerns information to parents specifically with respect to sexual abuse. Parents need information about appropriate and inappropriate touching (Anderson 1979; Conte, Wolf and Smith 1989), the devastating effect that sexual abuse can have on children (Bagley and King 1990), how to recognise in one's self or one's partner the inclination towards inappropriate sexual behaviour (Cohn 1986), prevention strategies and safety skills that can be taught to children (Helfer 1982), and signs which may indicate that abuse has occurred (Cohn 1986).

These three approaches can overlap to a great extent, and do not necessarily need to be viewed as requiring separate or distinct presentations - each logically leads into the next.

Creative and cost-effective ways to present such information will need to be developed, and local communities can develop procedures suited to their own particular circumstances and characteristics. The use of television (Flannery 1980) or home visitors (Barth 1991) are two such possibilities which have been suggested. Schools can also play a role through their Parent Teacher Associations, where professionals can be given opportunities to address the parent body. Church groups and service clubs such as Lions, Rotary and Round

Table are other avenues for exploration.

5.3.11. Empowering of women

A woman's position with respect to all forms of sexual assault, her own and that of her children, has long been recognised as being precarious (Wheeler 1985). Despite strong evidence to the contrary, women have been held responsible for their own victimisation (Jeffries 1985), and have been accused of silent compliance in their children's sexual abuse (Kempe and Kempe 1978; Rodrigue 1987). The precarious position of women once the abuse of their children has been disclosed has also been documented (Furniss 1983). In addition, the lack of power held by a woman, economically, physically and psychologically, has been presented as evidence of increased risk to personal sexual assault as well as the abuse of her children (Gordon 1988; Russell 1982). It is for these reasons that some authorities suggest that

*...the most important single contribution to the prevention of incest would be the strengthening of mothers...In the historical incest cases I sampled one of the most consistent common denominators was the extreme helplessness of mothers.
(Gordon 1988: 62)*

There are a number of ways in which women's power can be strengthened. Russell (1982: 357) in her discussion of wife-rape states

The first step towards reversing the disruptive attitudes that lead to this destructive act are to make wife rape illegal...the fact that it remains legal in...most countries... allows men and women to believe that wife rape is somehow acceptable.

Volk (1979: 4) suggests that acceptance of wife-rape contributes to criminal rape.

...as long as rape within a marriage remains permissible, criminal rape must be viewed as the mere tip of an iceberg which will only disappear once the idea of the constant sexual availability of the woman has been made baseless.

This argument can be taken further, because the general acceptance of many forms of violence in our society (including wife rape) is seen as a contributory factor in sexual abuse. The violent nature of sexual abuse was discussed in Chapter Two, and it is believed that

...Sexual abuse will continue so long as society tolerates violence...the general values of...society permit a considerable amount of child abuse simply by allowing levels of violence of all kinds.

(Bagley and King 1990: 220)

The criminalising of wife-rape will, therefore, indicate that such violence is not acceptable, and the extension of this principle to the sexual abuse of children will be more easily understood by the general public.

Another way in which women can be empowered is through economic strengthening and the establishment of economic alternatives to having to rely on support from a husband. Many women who are themselves abused, or whose children are abused by their husbands are unable to escape the situation because of economic restraints.

Hence the struggle against [abuse] is connected to the struggle to obtain greater economic independence, in their marriages and outside of them.

(Russell 1982: 360)

Comprehensive and workable suggestions as to how this can be achieved are not forthcoming in the literature. One possibility, however, is a revision of the legal system which expedites the payment of maintenance by husbands in situations of divorce or separation. If the state would accept the responsibility for regular maintenance payments, and then recover these from the husband rather than putting the onus on the women to extract financial support, women would feel more confident about separation or divorce in situations where their own safety or that of their children was at stake.

A third method of empowering women is by the establishment of refuges and centres where women can get help, advice and counselling. There has been an increase in these types of facilities in other countries in recent years (Bogle 1988; Norwich 1988). The main aims of these establishments is either to create a safe place for women and their children to physically stay while future plans are decided, or else as a day centre which offers support, advice and counselling to mothers. In addition, some centres have reached out into the community and established programmes, using the media, to educate the public about abuse. Another strategy has been the liaising with local police and social services in order to improve the quality of service to the victims of abuse and their families. Such centres extend the range of options open to abused women and their children, and as such can prove to be an effective prevention strategy.

A final suggestion for a means to empower women relates to the role of education. Girls should be made aware of inequality in society as it affects them. Their relative

powerlessness should be critically examined, and ways of changing this discussed with them. Assertiveness skills should be taught and girls encouraged to apply these in situations of perceived powerlessness. The patriarchal nature of families, and the issue of economic control are also appropriate issues for consideration, with a view to encouraging girls to form a self-concept that includes the confidence to control and direct their own lives. This view is expressed strongly, particularly by feminist writers, who state that "*...education for children should contain a feminist and anti-authoritarian analysis*" (Gordon 1988: 63).

In addition, issues of sexuality must be discussed

...in ways which clearly distinguish between sexual exploitation and relationships based on equality and mutual consent, and which recognise the rights of children and adults to defend themselves against abuse.
(O'Hara 1988: 160)

Thus it is suggested that the empowerment of women should begin during the school years, when girls can be made critically aware of the role they are expected to fulfil in society, and strategies for personal empowerment are discussed.

5.3.12. The Role of the School

5.3.12.1. Introduction

There is general agreement in the literature that schools have an important role to play in the prevention of sexual abuse (Bithell 1988; Davis 1985; Maher 1987; Nelson and Clark 1986). As this is an important focus of this research study (see Chapter One) it will be examined in some detail here.

The prevention movement in the United States and Britain has

particularly focused on the responsibilities of schools to teach personal safety skills to children. In the United States by 1991, 61% of all elementary schools reported offering some form of prevention education (Donnelly 1991).

There are, however, many more potential strategies which can be employed by the educational system than just teaching personal safety, and an overall prevention approach for implementation by schools will be discussed. It has been pointed out, however, that local communities need to assess local needs and circumstances in the developing of prevention strategies, and this applies equally to schools. "*The first task of the school is to facilitate the child's attempt to have his...needs met*" (Romig and Cleland 1972: 290). "*It is generally agreed that some form of needs assessment activity should precede and accompany programme development*" (Froehle and Fuqua 1981: 511).

Therefore the following suggestions need to be integrated into and adapted to the particular conditions existing in each school.

5.3.12.2. A school policy on sexual abuse

Prevention programmes in schools can only be maximally effective if these programmes exist in the larger context of a school policy on sexual abuse. For example, teaching children that they should tell someone if they are in an abusive or sexually confusing situation, but not providing the opportunity and atmosphere in which children will feel confident to do so, negates many of the positive effects such teaching can have. Similarly, programmes aimed to empower girls will have less effect if they see sexual harassment by teachers or other pupils going unpunished.

Therefore, a school policy needs to focus on creating the conditions in a school in which specific prevention efforts are more likely to achieve the desired goals. As will be

seen, some of these conditions once created will, in themselves, prove to be effective preventative tools.

The first and most basic requirement is that the teaching staff should be committed to the idea of prevention in all its facets. In addition, the staff must portray an openness to talk about issues of abuse and sexual harassment, as well as a willingness to take the opinions and feelings of the pupils seriously. Only in this way will pupils feel confident to trust the school's ability to be able to protect them from abusive situations in and out of school. This desired attitude and approach by the staff will probably only come about as a result of in-service training, and intensive discussion by the staff of issues of sexual abuse and its prevention.

A second issue which should become one of policy is insisting on non-sexist practices in the school. Feminist thought argues that sex role stereotypes serve to promote the helplessness and relative unimportance of women, and the

dominant position of men in society. In addition, women come to be seen (and often take on this view themselves) as possessions to be owned by men. These issues were discussed in previous chapters. Although individual schools will need to examine their own environments for sexist behaviour and traditions, there are a number of practices which are fairly common at many schools.

Gender bias in the appointment of principals and other promotion posts can have a very negative effect on children's attitudes towards women.

In school, from the age of four or five, the child is likely to come into contact with a female class teacher. Yet the appointment of headteachers...does not reflect the number of

*women involved...A disproportionate number...
are men...this becomes even more marked [in the]
secondary school.*

(Maher 1987: 211)

In the Cape Province at this point in time, there are only two female principals of co-educational, secondary schools. A similar situation exists at the level of deputy principal, where by far the majority of posts are filled by men. It may be argued that women do not generally apply for such posts, but if this is true it may be because of a perception that the post will in any case go to a man (ffolliot 1993; Ilsley 1993), and that applying for such a post would in reality be a waste of time. Female teachers need, therefore, to be assured of equal opportunity, and encouraged to apply. The current practice merely reinforces the myth that only men are capable of such leadership. Such a myth is extremely damaging to the perceived position and strength of women in society.

Many day to day practices in the school entrench sexism and accentuate differences rather than similarities of humanness between the sexes. It is generally the practice that from an early age, boys and girls line up separately - their playing areas at break time might also be separated. Many schools seat boys and girls separately during gatherings of the pupil body.

Schools often view certain subjects as being more applicable to one or other sex, such as typing and home-economics for girls and woodwork for boys. In reality either sex has the capability to manage, and are often interested in, these traditionally reserved subjects. The experience of this researcher at his own school showed that when these subjects were opened to either sex, and all children were given the opportunity to participate, the attitude of the children very rapidly became one of acceptance of the normalcy of such a situation.

Actual teaching practice has also been shown to promote stereotypes, for example with respect to subject choices made by boys and girls at age fourteen or fifteen. Ilsley (1987) found that the attitudes and behaviours of teachers affected boys and girls choice of mathematics and physical science, with girls more likely to drop these two subjects in secondary school. Bekker (1981) found that, in the area of mathematics, boys received more teacher attention, reinforcement and affect, and concluded that classroom environments reinforced traditional sex-typing of mathematics as male.

Spear's (1984) study highlights the problem further. Three hundred and six teachers were given examples of physical science work to assess. Half of the work was denoted as being written by a boy, and half by a girl. The results showed that written work attributed to a girl was often given lower marks than the identical work attributed to a boy. A number of other aspects of the marking process were evaluated, and the author concluded that sex bias was obviously in operation. On the basis of a review of relevant research, Ilsley (1987: 84) concluded that

It appears that teachers exert considerable influence as far as sex stereotyping of mathematics and physical science and also attitudes towards these subjects are concerned...it is necessary for them to help their pupils, ...to overcome the sex stereotyping of both mathematics and physical science.

Boys are usually called upon to do the manual labour in schools, such as moving chairs and equipment. Girls may tend to be given more traditionally female duties such as cleaning, or preparation and serving of refreshments at school occasions. Reversing these roles wherever possible can help to break down the development of stereotypes. Male sport in co-educational schools is often given more prominence in

terms of publicity and support, and schools need to actively promote support of female activities.

In the classroom itself, reading and resource materials are often sexist in nature, and reinforce the traditional role stereotypes of male and female. Pupils can be required to critically examine these materials, for example through a survey of the school library, or of a particular textbook, and in this way be made aware of the effect on their attitudes of such material. Certain school subjects also tend to entrench sexist attitudes. Studies in history focus almost exclusively on the role of the male.

Perhaps by readdressing this balance and deliberately projecting some of the important female figures in history we may help to change attitudes.

(Maher 1987: 213)

In summary, in order to counter the many messages which children face that entrench the idea of the inferior status of women and children

...schools need to develop a whole school policy towards equal opportunity and to ensure that this is reflected, not just in the experience of the children, but also...the staff.

(Maher 1987: 212)

Genuine equality in education involves the changing of attitudes of both sexes regarding stereotyped gender role expectancy...an alternative approach to stereotyped gender role expectancy

*can be developed in South Africa despite
...innate resistance to change...amongst
both sexes.*

(Te Groen-Hoeberg 1989: 556)

In Britain, the National Union of Teachers has given much attention to issues of sex discrimination in schools, and a policy statement in this regard is relevant:

*It is essential that teachers meet the
individual needs of pupils without the
limitations imposed by gender-related
expectations and attitudes...At the same
time, both girls and boys need to be
positively encouraged to develop non-sexist
attitudes and expectations about themselves,
the opposite sex and their role in school
and society in general.*

(National Union of Teachers: n.d.)

The challenging of sexist attitudes will, it is suggested, strike at the heart of attitudes which create the conditions for abuse. In addition, such a

*commitment to challenging sexism [will
have the result] that all pupils can begin
to trust teachers enough to talk about
abuse.*

(O'Hara 1988: 214)

Another issue concerning school policy is that of violence. Because of the very pervasive nature of violence in our society (Malamuth 1985; Gordon and O'Keefe 1984) it may be unrealistic to expect the school to have a major impact on general attitudes and beliefs. Nevertheless, by demonstrating a non-violent approach and teaching pupils non-violent problem-solving strategies, it is believed that the school can exert some influence in this regard.

First and foremost, school personnel themselves need to operate in an atmosphere of non-violence, and in this respect the issue of corporal punishment becomes crucial. There is extensive argument in the literature for the abolition of corporal punishment. This is mainly based on the beliefs that as a technique of discipline corporal punishment is counterproductive (Dubanowski, Inaba and Gerkewicz 1983), and that it creates a tolerance of violence and acceptance of violence as a problem solving technique (Donnelly 1991; Edfeldt 1979). In addition, it fosters the creation of an intergenerational cycle of abuse when children grow up and apply the same techniques to their children (Bagley and King 1990). It is as a result of these types of arguments that corporal punishment was banned in British schools in 1986 (Maher 1987), and that by 1990 over half of the schools in the United States no longer allowed corporal punishment (Donnelly 1991). This will no doubt be a critical issue to address in the changing South African political and educational situation, particularly as it tends to remain a controversial and emotive subject.

The problem of violence in school sport, particularly contact sports, also needs to be addressed. Violence is defined as "*excessive or unrestrained behaviour or unjustifiable force*" (Chambers Concise 20th Century Dictionary 1985). Schools will need to assess their own positions with regard to such violence if any impact is to be made on the attitudes of pupils.

The general portrayal and tolerance of violence in the media can be addressed and challenged in the classroom, through the development of projects to investigate and critically understand the level of violence portrayed.

When a child is beaten or sexually abused, the offender is often of the opinion that such violence is the norm, and is acceptable.

By changing such attitudes, [the school] could have a very significant effect on levels of violence in all situations, and violence towards children in particular. (Maher 1987: 216)

A fourth area of school policy would be with regard to sexual harassment or other abusive situations within the school. This would apply to harassment by male staff members as well as pupils.

Sexual harassment is defined as "*the unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of a relationship of power*" (Blansnan 1982: 16).

The harassment of female pupils and students by teachers and lecturers at schools and tertiary education institutions has been documented (Hotelling 1991). A wide range of verbal, non-verbal and physical behaviours constitutes sexual harassment, and the negative effects of such behaviours has been detailed (Lee and Heppner 1991; Pattinson 1991).

It is the experience of this researcher that pupils generally believe that "teachers stick together" and that school authorities will go to great lengths to protect teachers and even cover up indiscretions, usually at the expense of the pupils. This perception, if indeed it is only a perception, needs to be addressed, and pupils need to be confident in the school's *bona fides* to deal with situations of harassment and abuse in ways which will aim as a first priority to ensure positive outcomes for the victims. A sexual harassment policy and procedure may

...arguably constitute the best legal protection...available and may reasonably be expected to provide a preventive influence as well. (Howard 1991: 508)

A fifth school policy issue is the recognition that prevention education in the classroom is a fundamental need and protective right of all children. Issues in this regard will be discussed in the next section.

The sixth issue which must become a matter of school policy is the creation of a therapeutic and/or management service to meet the needs of any children who do come forward with reports of abuse. Most developers of prevention programmes have noted that when sexual abuse information is presented to children, the number of disclosures of abuse increases dramatically (Olson 1985; Spungen *et al* 1989; Trudell and Whatley 1988).

A school must, therefore, prepare its staff to deal appropriately with such disclosures. This will involve training all staff in the issues of sexual abuse, as well as having a school policy which is clearly understood by the staff regarding what procedures to be followed in the event of disclosure.

In addition, some schools might be able to offer further services of a more therapeutic nature, through the position of the school counsellor or guidance teacher. Such personnel will need to be particularly trained in sexual abuse identification and management. In addition, as was pointed out in a previous section, many parents simply cannot afford the cost of private psychological help, and a thoroughly trained school counsellor can make a substantial therapeutic contribution in such a situation.

Finally, it is suggested that a school's sexual abuse policy should be formally stated and written down, in a policy document. School policies only work in so far as they receive the support of the staff, but the existence of a written policy

...gives committed teachers legitimacy with other teachers and makes it more likely that the staff as a whole will be more sensitive about sexual abuse...it is a measure by which pressure can be exerted.

(O'Hara 1988: 162)

5.3.12.3. Educating parents

Schools have the opportunity to provide a major and important service to parents in the community, by providing educational programmes on a number of issues relating directly or indirectly to sexual abuse. Parents can be trained in prevention concepts, and in how to teach self-protection skills to their own children. In 1989 this researcher presented a number of such courses to parents of children aged 4 to 10 years. Although no formal evaluation was done on these courses, parents informally rated them highly, and reported back on successful communication of prevention concepts to their children.

Schools can also offer courses on general parenting, and parent-child relationships. Seeing as poor parent-child relationships has been identified as a major risk factor for sexual abuse, efforts by schools to enhance such relationships can have a positive impact on the reduction of abuse. Such information can be presented at Parent Teacher Association meetings, or courses can be offered as part of formal adult-education classes, as is done at Fish-Hoek Senior Secondary School in Cape Town, and Victoria Park High School in Port Elizabeth.

Schools who have the services of a school counsellor or other guidance specialist can advertise the availability of these services for parents who may suspect abuse, or who may have become aware of abuse and are unsure how to deal with the situation. Interested parents can also become involved with the planning and implementation of a school's policy on

sexual abuse, and this will broaden the general public involvement in the issue. The advantages of this have been discussed previously in this chapter.

5.3.12.4. Education programmes

The literature on prevention indicates three broad issues which need to be dealt with in a total education programme aimed at preventing abuse. These are sex education, personal safety information, and attitudes and lifeskills.

Very few schools in South Africa have initiated sex education programmes despite strong arguments in the South African educational and medical literature to do so (Bornman, Ramasodi, Schulenberg, Boomker and Reif 1989; Van Rooyen 1986). That few South African schools have introduced this aspect of education into their curriculum is due, no doubt, to the reluctance of the educational authorities to support the concept of sexuality education, as well as the fact that sex education is a controversial and emotive topic in many communities.

Yet there is little support in the literature for the more traditional fears of sex education, such as that it increases promiscuity or teenage pregnancies (Gordon 1986; Reid 1982; Zelnik and Kim 1982). Bozzi (1986) reported on a study of four hundred 15 and 16 year olds which showed that sex education actually reduced the likelihood of sexual intercourse in this group.

In addition, it has been shown that the withholding of sex education can have serious consequences. Farrell (1978) found that those who had learned about sex mainly from their friends, and not their parents or school, were more likely to be sexually experienced. Lack of sex education also appears to put children at greater risk of sexual abuse (Finkelhor 1986; Finkelhor *et al* 1990).

After many years of pressure by interested groups, the Cape Education Department in 1993 finally began training presenters to conduct in-service training of teachers at all schools in the Cape Province, with a view to the introduction of sexuality education in 1994 (Ungerer and Pretorius 1993).

As a result of this controversy, however, most developers of sexual abuse prevention programmes have tended to divorce these from sex education (Trudell and Whatley 1988). This, it is argued, is not a realistic approach in terms of effectiveness of prevention programmes, because inappropriate sexual activity can only properly be discussed as a contrast to normal, healthy sexuality (National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse 1986). Furthermore, Jackson (1982: 180) suggests that

In attempting to protect children from sex we expose them to danger, in trying to preserve their innocence we expose them to guilt. In keeping both sexes asexual, and then training them to become sexual in different ways, we perpetuate inequality, exploitation and oppression.

Therefore it is maintained that a comprehensive sexuality programme from pre-primary to secondary school is an essential component of an effective prevention strategy. It is also believed that the reaction of parents to such programmes will, in the main, be positive. Educational authorities are notoriously afraid of the reaction of parents to the introduction of sex education (Went 1985), but there is ample evidence to show that when parents are consulted and involved, by far the majority of them are supportive (Farrell 1978; Shepperson 1985; Taglides 1984; Went 1985). A sexuality programme run since 1979 at this researcher's school has elicited not one negative response, despite parents being given opportunities to do so.

It is not considered necessary to detail the specific content of sex education programmes, because this field of education has been well developed (Kelly 1971; Tegtmeyer 1980; Department of National Health and Population Development 1987; Tomaszewski 1989). The content is, however, determined in all cases by the aims, and a brief consideration of these is informative. Went (1985: 19-20) suggests a number of broad aims which have relevance to the developing of healthy sexuality and the prevention of abuse:

1. To combat ignorance and increase understanding. This enables people to have a positive acceptance of their own sexuality, thereby increasing self-esteem.
2. To reduce guilt and anxiety by providing knowledge of the variability of human behaviour, thus enhancing mental health.
3. To promote responsible sexual behaviour, including not forcing unwanted sexual activity on other people.
4. To combat exploitation by promoting an awareness of the misuse of sex.
5. To promote the ability to make informed decisions within a moral framework.
6. To facilitate communication on sexual matters.
7. To develop educational skills for future parents and child carers.

The second area of prevention which needs to be addressed in an educational programme is personal safety skills. With respect to prevention education these are the types of strategies which have been extensively developed, and numerous programmes exist to fulfil this function (Wurtele 1987). The aims, content and effectiveness of such programmes were discussed in Chapter Three. It should be

emphasised, however, that there is strong support in the literature for the idea that such programmes should begin at the pre-primary level and continue into the secondary school (Cohn 1986; Helfer 1982; Kraizer 1986).

The third area of prevention which is part of an educational programme and which to date has not been extensively developed, is that of attitudes and lifeskills that have particular relevance to sexual abuse. A number of these were identified in Chapter Four as the focus of the programme development in this study. They are

- * Issues of sexual abuse
- * Sexism and sex role stereotyping
- * Rape and violence
- * The socialisation of men
- * Assertiveness
- * Attitudes towards women
- * Women's powerlessness
- * Positive child-rearing practices
- * Educating for positive parent-child relationships

The need exists for educators in various communities to break these down into small teaching units in such a way that the development of positive attitudes which mitigate against abuse is enhanced. Lifeskills need to be presented in a context which allows practise in order for pupils to become familiar, comfortable and competent in their use.

5.3.12.5. Training of presenters

There are two views expressed in the literature regarding who should present educational programmes to children in schools.

The first suggests that outside agencies should train and provide professionals or volunteers who will go into the schools and run the programmes. The CAP Organisation (Weaver 1987) is one such example of an agency which sends volunteers

into the schools. Advantages of this approach are that such outside agencies can provide their staff with more intensive training, and as such these presenters will be specialists in their field (Wurtele 1987). Outside presenters may give the work a greater image of importance in the community as well as provide a change for the children (Ray 1984).

Concern has been expressed in the literature, however, over the use of volunteers to present prevention courses.

We need to stop being cavalier about who teaches prevention. Training matters for those working at prevention as much as it does for people who teach, counsel and protect our children.

(Kraizer 1986: 261)

Difficulties with volunteers, such as burnout, feelings of inadequacy for the job, and turnover which results in the need for replacement and more training, are some of the problems which have been noted (Plummer 1986b).

It would appear that there are many more advantages of having teachers do the presentations as part of normal classroom teaching than employing outsiders. The manpower and structure already exists to do this, and the establishment of a private agency is therefore not necessary. It is also felt that the presenter must have a thorough understanding of the developmental issues for each age group, including

*...cognitive abilities and limitations,
emotional responses to stress, common
fears and behavioural capacities*

*...Presenters should be trained...in
mental health, social service, or education.*

*(National Committee for Prevention of
Child Abuse 1986: 4)*

Teachers already have training in these issues and thus make natural presenters with comparatively little retraining. In addition, teachers can also cover sensitive material in the context of an already established teaching or guidance relationship. For this reason it is stated that

The most effective presenters are people known to the children, such as teachers, guidance counsellors or youth group leaders... (National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse 1986: 4)

The question arises as to the nature and content of the training which needs to be given to teachers. Earlier studies using Canadian and United States populations showed that teachers are lacking in information about child abuse, as well as knowledge of institutional structures designed to deal with abuse (Fraser, Anderson and Burns 1972; Lero and Vandenheuvel 1983; Volpe 1981). This situation might well have changed as more programmes aimed at teachers have been developed in recent years (Davis 1985; McGrath, Cappelli, Wiseman, Khalil and Allan 1987). In South Africa, however, no structured, formalised efforts to train teachers in the issues of abuse have been initiated, and the situation must surely be as it was in the early decade of the 1980's in the United States and Canada. There is, therefore, an urgent need for such training, and a complete educational strategy for the prevention of sexual abuse assumes such training as a cornerstone of any approach.

A number of authorities make suggestions as to the specific content of training programmes (Davis 1985; Helfer 1982; McGrath *et al* 1987; National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse 1986; Plummer 1986b) and taken together these provide a comprehensive structure.

1. Help for teachers to deal with their own feelings and experiences with regard to sexual abuse.

2. Definitions of abuse.
3. An awareness of myths and assumptions.
4. An understanding of the dynamics of abuse including its consequences for victims.
5. Classroom objectives and activities.
6. Indicators of abuse.
7. An understanding of the child's process of disclosure.
8. Knowledge of institutional structure, local reporting procedures and requirements.

The actual implementation of such a training programme presents a number of problems, mainly to do with financing and organisational aspects. It is not proposed to discuss these issues in detail here because it is felt they involve budgetary and structural issues beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to look briefly at some ways in which this may be done, with the minimum possible financial outlay and disruption to existing teaching programmes.

It is this researcher's experience that South African teachers are becoming more used to the idea of in-service training courses, as these are being presented on a more regular basis. Thus there might be acceptance of the need for training in sexual abuse prevention to follow this route.

The first priority would be to draw up a teacher's manual with information of the type indicated, and actual lesson plans. Two methods could then be employed to train teachers in the use of this. Teachers could either be released from their duties for periods of time to attend training courses, or a larger group of presenters could visit schools and spend time doing the training at that school. In addition, teachers appointed to oversee prevention, or other specialists with specific responsibilities such as the guidance counsellor, could attend special training sessions. At these meetings issues of sexual abuse could be dealt with at a more intensive level. Schools should also "*establish*

training on child abuse issues as a priority in its institutional plan for in-service training" (Maher 1987: 230).

In this way schools can ensure that staff have regular exposure to refresher courses which will update their information, and provide an opportunity for rekindling enthusiasm.

Universities and other teacher training institutions could develop courses for students, and in time it could be that all new teachers entering the profession would be required to have training in sexual abuse prevention.

This type of comprehensive training, and the involvement of all teachers at some level, could have a major impact on the prevention of sexual abuse of children in our country.

5.3.12.6. Some problems

The training of teachers cannot be a brief intervention of short duration. Training programmes in the form of videos taking only 30 minutes have been developed (Trudell and Whatley 1988), but these can never adequately deal with the complexities of the problem. Thus sufficient time will be needed for effective training, and this implies greater cost and organisational inconvenience.

Teachers make up a significant proportion of the general population. Many of them will have experienced sexual abuse in their childhoods. Training presentations, and the need for these teachers to talk about such issues to others, will stir up memories, fears and other emotions. The risk will be that such teachers will find it difficult to present programmes effectively, or will transmit their own biases to the children. Any training programme will have to deal with underlying feelings, and provide opportunities for teachers who request counselling or further help. It may be that

teachers should have the right to request exemption from any obligation to actually teach prevention units.

The use of pre-packaged teaching units will also present problems, because such pre-developed materials rarely suit the teaching styles and personalities of all teachers. A flexible approach will need to be adopted in this regard. Teachers should be able to adapt prepared materials to their own particular teaching strategies, yet doing this within a given framework of specific objectives and aims.

An issue which might create a problem in some communities is the issue of the controversial nature of some of the sexual content of programmes. As a result, there is a danger that teachers, in order to avoid controversy, will not be clear on the use of accurate anatomical terms. It is for this type of problem that it is argued that prevention education needs to take place in the context of a broad school policy, and as a part of an accepted sexuality programme.

The problem of mandatory reporting is one that will need to be addressed. While South African law at this time does not make it mandatory for teachers to report disclosures of abuse, this researcher's experience has been that principals, social workers and police agencies put pressure on teachers to consider such reporting mandatory. Such pressure, however, obscures the practical implications for teachers. Laws mandating reporting in the United States have been highly controversial (Finkelhor 1984). Pressure to report all disclosures of abuse ignores the often confidential nature of such disclosures, and assumes positive outcomes to reporting. Seeing as the view of the child and family is often not positive regarding the outcomes of reporting, and that further trauma to the child as a result of disclosure is not uncommon (O'Hagan 1989), such an assumption needs to be challenged. The teacher has to continue working with that child in the classroom or school, and has to continue living in that community. In this sense such assumptions neglect

the school context, and "are behind a great deal of reluctance [by teachers] to get involved with prevention programmes " (Trudell and Whatley 1988: 109).

As a result of these types of problems it is argued the mandatory reporting of disclosure of sexual abuse is not an undisputed given, as some social workers and law enforcement agencies seem to believe (O'Hagan 1989). Rather it is felt that if teachers are trained to handle such disclosures with sensitivity and care, suitable outcomes can be achieved that do not involve unnecessary trauma to the child, the family or the teacher.

5.4. Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to suggest a realistic and workable national strategy for the prevention of sexual abuse. It was suggested that such a policy would serve as a framework for the initiation, guidance and development of individual efforts by local communities.

The individual components of such a framework have been identified and discussed, with examples for implementation in the South African situation suggested. Particular emphasis was placed on the role of the school, because a strong need identified in the literature is the "...development of more prevention and treatment services in the public school system" (Recommendations for the 21st Century 1991: 42).

It is argued that without such a national policy and description of services, efforts to prevent sexual abuse in this country will suffer from being individually sustained

and badly understood by various authorities and the general public.

We need to systematically encourage people, on an individual and collective basis, to spend time and money to help take care of other people, particularly children who are vulnerable.

(Roberts 1991: 30)

CHAPTER 6
A HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMME FOR THE PRIMARY PREVENTION
OF SEXUAL ABUSE

6.1. Introduction

This chapter consists of a number of Guidance Units, each comprising certain lessons. Each unit evolves from material discussed in previous chapters. All ideas for the lessons were generated by this researcher, and all the materials and worksheets designed by him.

They are designed primarily for use in co-educational settings, but can be used with minor modifications in single sex schools.

In using these lessons, a number of general considerations need to be borne in mind.

6.1.1. The Teacher

The lessons flow from a basic Humanist/Feminist perspective, and accept assumptions as to the dynamics and causes of sexual abuse arising from these two orientations. These particular issues were discussed in Chapter Two. In addition, they take place within the broad context of sex education. As such they make certain demands of the teacher. It is suggested that the effectiveness of the lessons will, therefore, depend to a great degree on the extent to which the teacher

1. believes in personal responsibility for actions;
2. sees growth towards full human potential as an important aim of education;
3. believes that all people, regardless of race, gender or age, have equal worth;
4. recognises the unequal situation existing between men and women and agrees that it should not be so;

5. believes that children have rights;
6. holds non-sexist views which mitigate against the assigning of gender roles;
7. is comfortable in discussions of sexual topics;
8. has worked through any situations of abuse in his or her own childhood;
9. believes in the need for preventive action.

This is not to imply that the teacher must be "perfect" in all these respects. Rather the suggestion is that some form of commitment to each concept and the desire to work towards each as a point of personal growth is necessary, and the more the teacher is able to do this, the more effective the lessons are likely to be.

6.1.2. Context of the programme

These lessons are intended to be used as part of the Guidance programme. The nature of Guidance, both now and in the future, was discussed in Chapter Four. There is no reason, however, why these lessons can not be easily adapted to fit into any other aspect of the curriculum, and therefore they can be used even in schools where there is no formal guidance programme.

The lessons are also designed to be used in the context of a school where sex education programmes are implemented. In certain discussions, pupils will need to feel fairly comfortable when discussing sexual topics. In addition to this, a number of lessons focus on aspects of abnormal sexuality. Pupils need to be able to compare this with normal, healthy sexuality, in order to prevent the development of skewed or distorted perceptions of the place and meaning of sex in relationships.

It was not felt necessary to indicate the nature or content of such sex education, as this has been discussed in Chapter Five. In reality, however, many of these lessons can be seen

as part of an over-all sexuality education programme.

6.1.3. Primary prevention

As was discussed in Chapter Three, primary prevention strategies involve teaching children personal safety skills, and attempts to prevent people from becoming molesters. This first aspect is not the main focus of this study, as extensive development of these types of programmes has already taken place. Such programmes are generally aimed at much younger audiences than secondary school children, and are therefore not entirely appropriate to the target group of this study. Nevertheless, some attention is paid to this in some standards, particularly Standard 6. It is felt that it is a logical outcome of some of the material discussed, and therefore cannot be overlooked. The main focus, however, remains on preventing teenagers from becoming abusers, and on inculcating sound child-rearing practices aimed at primary prevention both in this and the next generation.

6.1.4. Progression of the lessons

The development of the lessons is designed to facilitate a progression from information to attitudes to behaviour. That information shapes attitudes to an extent is clear from programmes designed to change the attitudes of people towards, for example, rape. These programmes almost always include the important aspect of providing accurate information to dispel any myths (England and Thompson 1988; Lee 1987). Following this, the attitude a person holds has a great effect on that person's behaviour.

*Variour attitudes - rational, altruistic,
personal etc. - form during childhood,
[and] become established and help to determine
an individual's response to particular people,
objects or situations.
(May 1971: 25)*

Some units in the later standards assume that earlier material has been covered. In a school where this programme is being implemented for the first time, this will not be the case. In these situations it will sometimes be necessary to take a unit from a previous standard and deal with that first. Due cognisance must be given to the developmental level and abilities of the particular group when this is done. Such a process, however, generally works upwards only. Material presented to younger pupils can be upgraded for older groups, but generally not the other way around. Topics and issues were selected with due regard for the age of the pupils, and material presented to the older standards may not be entirely suitable for the younger.

As a result of this progression, some repetition in the teacher's notes which accompany each unit is unavoidable. This is done to prevent the need to have to continually refer back to previous units. In a few lessons, however, the material reviewed is in the nature of revision, and in these cases the reader is referred to earlier material.

It is suggested that units in a particular standard should not be presented consecutively. Pupils will need time to absorb and reflect on many issues raised, before moving on to further issues. In addition, pupils may become easily bored if a particular topic goes on too long. Units should, therefore, be spread out over the course of the year, and integrated into the existing guidance programme.

6.1.5. Time Allocation

Each unit consists of two to six lessons, and a lesson lasts for thirty minutes. This particular time allocation for Guidance is common to many schools, and it was felt appropriate to design the lessons around this time constraint. There is no absolute cut off point for each lesson, however, and there should be little difficulty in

reassigning the material in each unit to a different time frame.

6.1.6. Instructions for the teacher

When designing lessons for teachers there is a danger of going to one of two extremes. Lesson directions and instructions can be so generally and vaguely stated that any teacher attempting to apply them virtually has to start from the beginning and devise introductions, methods and conclusions. At the other extreme, lessons can be so structured and detailed that the teacher finds no room for personal style or input.

The lessons presented in this chapter have been designed to fall somewhere in between these two approaches. Definite structure and methods have been suggested, yet the teacher can adapt the lessons to his or her own style of presentation. In addition, the teacher is encouraged to allow the pupils to be the main generators of ideas which will form the basis of in-depth discussions. In those situations where prepared material is given to the pupils, this should serve only as a starting point and an indicator of direction.

To facilitate maximum freedom of implementation, clear objectives precede each unit. This will allow the teacher to adapt the material without deviating from the general aim.

6.1.7. Anticipating disclosure

In Chapter Five it was stated that a school needs to develop the personnel and means to cope with disclosures of sexual abuse. This point bears repeating. Certain of the lessons, if presented sensitively, will result in some children coming forward and disclosing abuse. This probability needs to be carefully anticipated, and thorough preparations will need to be made before the implementation of these lessons.

6.2. The Lessons

6.2.1. Standard 6.

6.2.1.1. Unit 1: Std 6

Topic: Issues of Sexual Abuse.

Length: 2 X 30 min lessons

Aim: To orientate the pupils to issues of sexual abuse.

Motivation:

Issues of sexual abuse are receiving more and more prominence in the media. Yet the more sensationalistic aspects tend to be portrayed because of their newsworthy value. This can result in a distorted perception by the general public. Teenagers, therefore, need to be made aware of the reality of sexual abuse in order that positive attitudes and beliefs can be developed and enhanced. All assertions about sexual abuse made in this unit are generated from the discussion in Chapters One and Two.

Objectives:

At the conclusion of the unit the pupils should

1. Understand that sexual abuse is reasonably common.
2. Understand that children are not responsible for their own abuse.
3. Realise that most abusers are men.
4. Realise that most abusers are not strangers.
5. Realise that sexual abuse is harmful.
6. Realise that healing is possible.
7. Have been encouraged to talk to someone if abuse is occurring or has occurred.
8. Understand what will happen if they do tell someone.

The Lessons:

The format of the first part of this unit is a talk to the pupils by the teacher on a number of issues of sexual abuse. There is no group discussion involved, but if time allows pupils can be given the opportunity to ask questions. The teacher may prefer to give the talk to boys and girls separately, because they are often affected differently by the information presented. Responses to information may also differ. A strategy for doing this would be to have two teachers involved, and for each to speak to a group at the same time in different venues. Many authorities suggest, however, that all sexuality education should be presented to boys and girls together (Ungerer and Pretorius 1993). There are arguments for both of these viewpoints. The teacher may prefer, therefore, to follow whichever procedure seems more natural, and which creates the greater opportunity for open discussion.

Following this talk, each pupil is given a copy of Handout 1 on pages 168 and 169. This is an imaginary text of a talk to a Parent/Teacher Association meeting. The talk has deliberate errors in it. Pupils should be seated in pairs, and each pair identifies and discusses as many errors in the speech as can be found. The teacher then asks for examples of errors, and suggestions for corrections. In this way the information presented in the talk by the teacher is revised and reinforced.

Teacher's Notes:

In order not to be too prescriptive, an outline for the talk is presented below, with only the main points in such a talk being emphasised. The teacher should adapt the information provided to his or her own preferred teaching style and delivery. Care should be taken to deliver it in an interesting and lively way, and the use of an overhead

projector or blackboard to highlight the main points is suggested.

There will almost certainly be children in the audience who have suffered abuse, or who may be in abusive situations. The teacher must always keep this fact in mind. Consequently, subject matter should be sensitively conveyed, and the teacher must remain aware of pupil responses throughout the talk.

The Talk:

Introduction.

- Over the centuries, human beings have shown cruelty of one form or another to other human beings.
- Children have often been the victims of such cruelty.
- Cruelty to children is called child abuse, and still occurs today.
- There are three types of child abuse:
 1. Physical: when a child is beaten or injured or neglected.
 2. Psychological: when a child is verbally abused, or not given needed love and attention.
 3. Sexual: when a child is involved by an older person in sexual activities for the gratification of that older person.

- The focus in this talk will be on sexual abuse.

What is sexual abuse?

- Any sexual act by an older person involving a child.
- Examples of non-contact abuse are exhibitionism (flashing), voyeurism (peeping tom), obscene phone calls, showing children pornographic material.
- Examples of contact abuse are touching a child's sex

organs, getting a child to touch an older person's sex organs, mutual masturbation.

Who does it affect?

- As many as 1 out of every 4 girls, and 1 out of every 9 boys.
- The figures for boys may be higher.
- From very young children to teenagers.
- Younger children often do not have the words to tell someone what is happening.
- Older children and teenagers may not know who to tell, or may be afraid of what will happen if they do tell.

Who are the abusers?

- 80% - 90% of abusers are men (note: not 80% - 90% of men are abusers).
- Most abusers are people known to the child, and not strangers.
- They may be family members, friends of the family, or other people known to you.
- Abusers are sometimes people that children like and trust.
- Most abusers are not abnormal or sick, but are everyday normal people.

What are the effects of sexual abuse?

- Different people react in different ways.
- Abuse is always harmful but it affects different people to different degrees.
- Some children feel guilty, thinking that it was their fault (but it never is).
- This guilt can lead to a poor self image, or a feeling of not having as much worth as others.
- Some children feel different to others, and lonely.
- Some children have sleep problems.
- Some children become depressed.

- Some children develop thoughts of suicide.
Some boys worry that the abuse might make them into an homosexual (but this is not so).

Is an abused child damaged for life?

- No. It is possible to overcome the effects and live a normal happy life. Often the person who has been abused may benefit from help to deal with the situation and the feelings that are experienced.

What can an abused child do?

- Tell someone, if the abuse is happening now.
- Keep telling until someone believes you.
- If the abuse happened long ago, find an adult who you trust and tell him or her.
- This person could be a parent, teacher, minister, youth group worker or any other adult that you trust.
- If you do not want to tell an adult, tell a friend.

What will happen if you tell?

- You will feel better for having shared the problem.
- You will get help on how to cope with the effects.
- You will get advice on what to do about the problem in the future.
- If you report it to the authorities, they will investigate the situation and stop the abuse.

Conclusion.

- Sexual abuse affects many people.
- People who abuse others do real harm.
- With help damage can be healed.
- If you have been abused you are encouraged to talk to an adult about it.

Some guidelines for the talk:

1. The teacher should try not to use the word "victim" too often. This has a negative connotation and emphasises the helplessness of the child. The word "survivor" tends to be used in the literature on sexual abuse instead of "victim", and the more positive attributions of this word are self evident. If the teacher feels uncomfortable using this word, then "the child who has been abused" can be used. Although this is more clumsy, it avoids the problems associated with "victim".
2. Children who have been abused typically feel guilty. By emphasising that a child should tell, the teacher runs the risk of increasing the guilt for not telling. Therefore, telling must be presented as an option, and it should be pointed out that it is a child's right not to tell if he or she so wishes. The positive benefits of telling should be the main motivator, not a sense that a child has any obligation to tell.
3. When discussing what sexual abuse is, the teacher must be careful to strike a balance between avoiding the real issue and going into unnecessary detail. "Touching a person's sexual organs" allows children to interpret the idea according to their own level of knowledge or experience. It is not necessary to detail all the different types of touching that can occur.
4. The teacher should take care when discussing the effects to emphasise that different people react in different ways. The effects mentioned are some of the ways in which some people react. A child must not wonder if perhaps there is something wrong because he or she has not experienced one of the effects described by the teacher. The teacher must also be careful not to scare the children with descriptions of long term effects such as severe psychological problems, or difficulties in adult relationships. The aim of talking about

the effects is to indicate that abuse is harmful and to encourage pupils to get help. Despite presenting unpleasant information, the talk should leave a positive message.

5. When talking about abusers, the teacher should avoid the use of the word "adult", substituting it rather with "older person". Children need to know that danger can come from other children, and not only adults.

6. The teacher need not be too specific about identifying groups of abusers. "Family members" is preferable to "fathers and brothers", and will allow children to interpret it as it applies to their own situation. Mentioning specific family members runs the risk of making children unnecessarily suspicious about people close to them.

7. The teacher must be very clear and totally honest about what will happen if someone reports abuse. It is not ethical to tell a group of children that the issue will be kept confidential, only for them to find that the person they speak to automatically reports it to the authorities. Such actions will have the effect of confirming mistrust of adults, and in that sense compounding the abuse.

8. The teacher must be aware that it is quite likely that some children will decide to talk about their abuse after such a talk. The first thing to keep in mind is that children rarely lie in this type of situation, and that they will need to be taken seriously. In addition, the teacher will need to have thought out his or her own response when a child does report. This may indicate a need for prior discussion with the school authorities.

Unit Overview (Lesson allocation):

Lesson 1: The talk.

Lesson 2: Handout of P.T.A. talk, and discussion of errors.

Handout 1

Unit 1: Std 6

Talk on Sexual Abuse to a Parent/Teacher Association

Good evening Ladies and Gentlemen,

The sexual abuse of children has become a serious problem in our time, although only a very small number of children are abused. Both boys and girls can be sexually abused. Very young children who cannot fend for themselves are the most at risk, and teenagers hardly ever have problems with this.

Abuse usually takes place when a stranger bribes a child with sweets or toys, and parents should teach their children to be careful of strangers. Sexual abuse always involves very serious forms of sexual activity. Parents do not need to worry if their children see a "flasher" or receive an obscene telephone call, because these are not serious and do not harm children. Being shown pornography is dangerous, however, because it can affect the way a person thinks about sex.

Most abusers are men, which makes one wonder if the way boys are brought up has something to do with the problem. Men's attitudes about women may also make the problem worse.

Children who are abused often feel depressed and lonely. They may even think about suicide. These children will always suffer as a result, and are unlikely to be able to live normal happy lives in the future.

Boys are also affected by abuse, and they should not try and convince themselves that it is not harmful. One of the main causes of homosexuality is sexual abuse.

It is usually better for a child to keep the abuse a secret, because then they just forget about it, and it will not affect them as much.

Most adults do not abuse children, and there are many people that children can trust. If children are abused, they could decide to tell someone. If that person doesn't believe them they should keep telling until someone does.

In conclusion, I would like to suggest that sexual abuse is an issue we must all think about. Even if it never happened to us, we can help make sure it doesn't happen to others.

Thank you.

6.2.1.2. Unit 2: Std 6

Topic: Issues of Sexual Abuse.

Length: 3 X 30 min lessons

Aim: To make pupils aware of some of the dynamics of the sexually abusive situation.

Motivation:

Research evidence has shown that adolescents are at risk of sexual abuse (Finkelhor *et al* 1990). This abuse either starts in earlier years and continues into adolescence, or an abusive situation develops during the teenage years. Pupils of this age need, therefore, to understand the dynamics of an abusive situation in order to become more aware of their own level of vulnerability. In addition, they need to be able to recognise the signs of a developing abusive situation and what to do when faced with this. The material presented is generated particularly from the discussion "Characteristics of the abusive situation" in Chapter Two (p 27).

Objectives:

At the completion of the unit the pupils should have

1. Revised earlier information about sexual abuse.
2. Understood the development of an abusive situation, as it typically applies to both boys and girls.
3. Had reinforced the belief that children are not responsible for their own abuse.
4. Been encouraged to talk to someone if in a situation of abuse or when feeling uncomfortable about a situation.

The Lessons.

Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 2 on pages 179 - 181,

called "Kim's story". The teacher reads this to the class, while they follow. Each pupil is then given a copy of Handout 3 on pages 182 and 183. The teacher reads all the questions to the class, and then says:

"I am now going to read the story again, and this time I want you to look for clues in the story which will help in finding answers to the questions."

This the teacher does, and following this, each question is discussed individually. For this discussion, the class is not divided into smaller groups. Rather, the teacher poses each question to the class as a whole and asks for responses from volunteers for each question. Once an adequate response has been discussed and formulated, the class write this down in the space provided on the handout. Each question is dealt with in this way.

It is not necessary for the teacher to conclude in any particular way, as the final question concludes the lesson naturally.

Teacher's Notes:

There may be children in any class who feel uncomfortable with this unit. Some will identify with Kim in the story. These children may have been abused themselves, or may know of a friend who has. In addition, some children may recognise some of the early signs of a developing abusive situation in their own lives.

For this reason it is suggested that the class should not be divided into small discussion groups. Many of these children will be unlikely to feel able to openly discuss these issues that relate so directly to the process of abuse. Other children will, however, be able to discuss these issues, and a general group discussion led by the teacher will ensure that only those comfortable with the topic will contribute.

It is suggested that the teacher read the story twice. The first reading serves as an introduction and orientation to the topic. The second is a more focused reading which enables pupils to begin to understand in more depth the issues involved. Each reading should not take more than four minutes, and will therefore not be too time consuming.

What follows is a brief comment on each question from the discussion. The aim of this is to suggest direction for these discussions. The teacher should, however, attempt to gain as much information and opinion from the pupils themselves, and should resist any temptation to lecture or provide "answers". The pupils will already have considered sexual abuse in some detail in the previous unit, and responses should be forthcoming.

Question 1: Kim felt uncomfortable when Uncle Pete watched her and when he made comments. Was she being oversensitive?

In the light of what happened later on in the story to Kim, pupils will probably indicate that Kim was not being oversensitive. Children who experience this type of adult behaviour (which is abusive according to the definition presented in Chapter Two) are not always sure whether to trust their own uneasy feelings. The point should be made that feelings are often good indicators that something is not right, long before actual evidence verifies this. Most self-protection programmes aimed at children emphasise this, as was pointed out in Chapter Three. Therefore, pupils should be encouraged to take their feelings seriously, and proceed cautiously when their feelings indicate this.

Question 2: Was Kim sexually abused?

Pupils can be reminded that sexual abuse is any act by an older person towards a child for the sexual gratification of

that older person. In the discussion in Chapter Two, the intention of the abuser was shown to be an important aspect of deciding whether an act is abusive or not. Therefore, even though some pupils may suggest that what happened to Kim was "mild", it nevertheless can constitute sexual abuse.

Question 3: When Uncle Pete touched Kim and she cried, was she overreacting?

This question serves as an important way to show that different people react in different ways. The effects of sexual abuse were presented in Chapter Two, and it was pointed out that even relatively mild forms of abuse can have very damaging consequences. The fact is that Kim reacted as she did - this needs to be affirmed as being logical and normal. The point needs to be emphasised particularly to the boys in the class. Research presented in Chapter Two showed that boys sometimes struggle to appreciate that even so-called mild abuse can cause real unhappiness. The teacher can ask "Why did Kim cry? Why did she have sleep problems?" This will help the class to focus on the fear, guilt, loss of trust and anxiety that Kim was feeling, and serve to illustrate this point.

Question 4: Did Kim lead Uncle Pete on? Was she in some way guilty?

The pupils may quite readily agree that Kim was not responsible for the abuse. The teacher can then generalise the question to other children who are abused. By so doing the fact that children do not "lead men on" can be confirmed and emphasised. If the pupils state that in their opinion Kim was guilty of leading her uncle on, it will be important for the teacher to discuss this at length, and help the pupils to see the unreasonableness of this view.

Question 5: Are all people who stare at a girl, or who make comments to her, or who hug and kiss her, dangerous?

Not all people who do these things are dangerous, because many of these actions are part of normal healthy expressions of affection by parents, relatives and friends. The case of Kim's grandfather should be emphasised, because here was someone who did these things as expressions of normal affection. As such Kim was not disturbed by them at all. The difference can be shown to be that Kim's grandfather had no sexual motive, but was merely expressing his love for her. This point should be strongly emphasised so that pupils do not become overly suspicious of all touch or affection. Research presented in Chapter Three indicates that if handled sensitively, no problems of this nature should result.

Question 6: Do you have the right to privacy when changing or bathing? Do you have the right to decide who will hug and kiss you?

Some pupils may not desire or require privacy in these situations, and some families may be quite open about nudity. The point in this question, however, is whether children have the right to decide how they wish to be treated. Most pupils will probably indicate that children do have such rights, but the teacher should assist them to look at the situation practically. The following questions will help this process: "Do you have the right to ask your parents not to come into the bathroom when you are bathing? Do you have the right to ask people not to touch you in certain ways? Do you have the right to ask someone not to hug you? Do you have the right to decide not to kiss someone for a birthday, or at some other celebration?"

While the teacher risks "treading on some toes" by asking these questions (some parents believe children do not have such rights of privacy) nevertheless they must be asked. It

was pointed out in Chapter Two that abusers progress from these outwardly innocent forms of contact to more serious forms, and the child becomes trapped in an abusive situation without initially realising what is happening. All human beings have the right to protect their body's integrity, and the teacher must emphasise this. Ultimately the teacher must stress the point that children do have these rights.

Question 7: Do you have the right to ask people not to make sexual comments to you?

Girls need to be encouraged to stand up for themselves in this regard. The personal powerlessness which women experience was discussed in Chapter Two, and one result is that girls come to accept that sexual comments are inevitable. Such comments, however, can constitute sexual harassment, as was pointed out in Chapter Five. The teacher needs to stress that it is only when girls and women decide to act against it, that boys and men will realise how unwelcome such comments often are.

Question 8: Why did Kim's sister suddenly start behaving strangely?

The sudden change in Kim's sister points to the likelihood that Uncle Pete had, at the very least, attempted to abuse her also.

Question 9: Do sexual abusers sometimes pick on more than one child in the same family?

The discussion of perpetrators in Chapter Two pointed out that often the abuser has many victims, even from the same family. The teacher should point out that this indicates that although it might appear to the child that the older person is actually interested in him or her, in reality the abuser is only concerned with meeting his own need. When faced with rejection by one child, he will simply move onto

the next.

Question 10: A friend had told Kim that "only bad girls are abused". Is this true?

A commonly held myth is that some children give off sexual "vibes" which entice adults into abusive acts. The fallacy of this myth was demonstrated in Chapter Two where it was pointed out that children from all backgrounds and personality or behaviour types suffer abuse. It was shown that "victim blaming" is common in our society. This is an important point to be stressed, because some children, having been abused, develop poor self esteem. Believing themselves to be guilty and thus "bad", they become more vulnerable to further abuse. This false perception of themselves leads to a number of the other negative effects described in Chapter Two. Again, the teacher should emphasise that children are not responsible for being abused.

Question 11: Kim felt that she could not talk to her parents. Did this increase her chance of being abused?

Children who struggle to communicate with their parents or who have a bad relationship with them are at greater risk. This was one of the main findings from research on risk factors presented in Chapter Two. Such children will often look for affection and attention elsewhere, and thus are very vulnerable to having these needs manipulated by an abuser. In addition to this, they are less likely to go to their parents for help when faced with a potentially abusive situation. These points need to be made clear by the teacher, so that the pupils can understand how they may be manipulated.

The teacher should also suggest that children who do have problems in their relationships with their parents should seek out some trusted adult for help, if they begin to feel uneasy about some relationship.

Question 12; Was Kim's friend David at risk of being abused?

David was clearly at risk of abuse, and the teacher can use this opportunity to briefly highlight the process of abuse as it often applies to teenage boys. This process was suggested in the discussion of the characteristics of abuse in Chapter Two. A summary of this process is presented below.

Stage 1: An older person will befriend a child, particularly one who comes from an unhappy family background.

Stage 2: The older person will give that child a great deal of attention, such as watching him or her play sport, giving lifts and buying gifts.

Stage 3: The older person then introduces sex into the conversation. This could initially be by telling sexual jokes, or making sexual comments. After a time, pornographic magazines or videos may be given to the child.

Stage 4: The older person now introduces the possibility of sexual contact, or may actually initiate such contact.

Stage 5: Once such contact has occurred, the child is "trapped" because the abuser can simply threaten to tell. The homosexual connotations of such abuse will ensure that most boys would be very reluctant for the information to be made known to others. In the case of a girl, the perceived guilt will have a similar effect.

The teacher should clearly indicate that up to stage 2, there is no indication that abuse may follow. In this sense the first two stages may not indicate real stages of anything at all other than caring friendship. There are many adults who take a genuine interest in young people, such as ministers, youth group leaders, and teachers. Children need not become suspicious of everyone. It is only when stage 3 is reached that extreme caution needs to be exercised, and pupils should

be encouraged to confide in someone if they see signs of stage 3 or beyond.

Question 13: Was Kim in danger of being further sexually abused?

Children have a tendency to hope for the best, and deny all signs to the contrary. All indications are that Kim was still in danger.

Question 14: What could she have done about it?

The best option to be presented to the pupils is for Kim to identify a trusted adult and talk to that person. If that person does not take the danger in the situation seriously, she should talk to someone else and keep on talking until someone does. This option was shown in Chapter Three to be a fundamental concept of all self-protection programmes for children. Other options would be to talk to her parents or to talk to a friend. The possibility can also be suggested that Kim should talk to her older sister, and attempt to discover the reason behind her sisters change of behaviour towards Uncle Pete. Even if her sister is not aware of the abuse, it would still have the effect of allowing Kim to talk to someone.

Unit Overview (Lesson allocation).

Lesson 1: The reading of the story, and discussion of questions 1 to 4.

Lesson 2: Discussion of questions 5 to 10.

Lesson 3: Discussion of questions 11 to 14.

Handout 2

Unit 2: Std 6

Kim's Story.

Kim's birthday was in a week's time, and she wasn't looking forward to it. On the one hand, she was feeling quite excited because her friends would be coming over for a party. On the other hand she was dreading the get-together of relations. Her parents always planned this when one of them had a birthday.

It wasn't that she minded the get-together, it was just that, well - Uncle Pete! She didn't think he was her actual uncle, but he was a part of the family somehow. And he would definitely be there for her birthday.

She had always liked uncle Pete. He was always cracking jokes or playing the fool. Recently though, he had started making her feel very uncomfortable.

She remembered it had first begun when he had come around for supper a few months back. She had been changing to go out, and he just opened her bedroom door and barged in. He had said sorry, but he hadn't really rushed to get out, and had looked at her with a strange smile on his face.

The second time, he had come around for a braai one Sunday. She and her older sister were swimming in the pool. He came and stood outside and watched them. Not that there was anything wrong with that, she supposed, it was just that for some reason she felt uncomfortable. He had had that look on his face again.

Her sister must have been in a bad mood that day. She had got out of the pool, wrapped a towel around her and gone to her room without even saying hello to him. And that itself was

strange - her sister had always liked Uncle Pete. When they were younger, they had always fought to see who got to sit on his lap. But recently - well, she just ignored him completely. Maybe her mom was right. Maybe her sister was just going through a stage. She was nearly sixteen, and teenagers were supposed to go through stages, or something.

After her sister left the pool that day, Uncle Pete had made some comment about how fast she was growing up, and about how beautifully her body was developing. That made her feel really uncomfortable too, and a little guilty. Maybe she shouldn't have been parading around in her costume.

When she thought about it though, she felt a little stupid. Her grandfather often told her how beautiful he thought she was, and how quickly she was growing up. He always gave her a hug and a kiss when she visited him, and she never felt uncomfortable with that. So she'd decided to stop being silly, and be nice to Uncle Pete.

This had all happened just before Christmas. When Christmas arrived, she had actually felt sorry for him, particularly when her sister was so nasty and rude to him on Christmas day. So she had tried to be nice to him, and had kissed him like she always did.

That was when things really got scary. He had kissed her back in a way that she didn't think adults should kiss children. And to make it worse, she could have sworn that when he brushed past her in the passage later that day, he had touched her breasts. He made it look like an accident, but it didn't feel like one. It had made her feel so strange that she had gone to her room and cried.

For weeks afterwards she hadn't been able to sleep properly, and some of her friends had said that she wasn't herself.

That was why she was dreading her birthday. How would she be

able to keep away from him without making it obvious? Her parents would say she was acting just like her sister.

She really didn't know what to do. Was this sexual abuse? She had had a friend once who had told her that only bad girls get abused, like prostitutes. She knew that she wasn't like that, but maybe she had led him on by accident.

She couldn't talk to her father. They never spoke about things like that. She would feel too embarrassed. And her mother had too many worries of her own to have to worry about this.

Maybe she should ask David what to do. But that didn't feel right either. Sure, he'd been her best friend for a long time now. But ever since he'd started surfing and hanging around with those older guys he just wasn't the same. And that one guy who had given David those sex magazines gave her the creeps. David kept making comments to her about it, and she wasn't even sure if she trusted him that much anymore.

Anyway, David was spending so much time with this person these days that she hardly ever saw him.

Maybe she was just imagining things. Maybe nothing would happen. One thing was certain though. She wasn't looking forward to her birthday at all.

Handout 3

Unit 2: Std 6

Questions based on "Kim's Story".

1. Kim felt uncomfortable when Uncle Pete watched her, and when he made comments. Was she being oversensitive?
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2. Was Kim sexually abused?
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3. When Uncle Pete touched Kim, and she cried, was she being oversensitive?
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4. Did Kim lead Uncle Pete on? Was she guilty?
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5. Are all people who stare at a girl, or make comments, or hug or kiss her dangerous?
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6. Do you have the right to privacy when you are changing or bathing? Do you have the right to decide who will hug and kiss you?
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7. Do you have the right to ask people not to make sexual comments about you?
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8. Why did Kim's sister start behaving the way she did?
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9. Do abusers sometime pick on different children in the same family?
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10. A friend had once told Kim that "only bad girls are abused". Is this true?
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11. Kim felt she couldn't talk to her parents. Did this increase her chance of being abused?
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12. Was Kim's friend David at risk of being abused?
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13. Was Kim still in danger?
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14. What could she have done about it?
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6.2.2. Standard 7

6.2.2.1. Unit 1: Std 7.

Topic: Sexism and sex role stereotyping

Length: 4 X 30 min lessons

Aim: To make pupils aware of sexist attitudes and behaviours in everyday life.

Motivation:

In Chapter Two the feminist analysis of sexual abuse was considered. It was pointed out that this analysis maintains that societal structures and the patriarchal family unit lead to a system in which women and children are more at risk of abuse (Gordon 1988). Sexist attitudes and practices reinforce the relative unimportance of women and children who are often viewed as property to be owned by men (Armstrong 1978; Russell 1982).

This has serious consequences with respect to sexual abuse, because conditions are created which make it easier to justify abuse. Teenagers need to be made critically aware of these structures and attitudes, so that they are more likely to develop opinions and lifestyles which do not perpetuate these positions.

Objectives:

At the conclusion of the unit the pupils should

1. Understand the meaning of sexism and sex-role stereotyping.
2. Be able to identify common sexist practices in school and society.
3. Understand the inherent discrimination and unfairness of

sexism.

4. Understand some of the ways in which sexism denies opportunities for full human expression to both sexes.

The Lessons.

Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 4 on page 193. The teacher does not inform them of the particular topic - this will be revealed later. All pupils then allocate each career at the bottom of the handout to one of the three categories - if they think it is better suited to males, or females, or both (either). This should be done in silence and pupils must not compare with each other.

Once this has been completed the teacher asks the class, by a show of hands, to indicate into which categories each career was put. It is this researchers experience that a remarkable uniformity of agreement will be evident with most of the careers. This uniformity of agreement, despite there being no consultation between class members, should be pointed out. For example, most pupils will put "mechanic" in the male column, "nurse" in the female column, and "teacher" in the either column.

The teacher now asks for ideas from the class as to why this agreement exists. Responses may include "Because that's the way it's always been", "We don't see female mechanics", and "That's the way it is in society". The teacher should not respond to any of these comments, but merely allow views to be expressed. The class is then asked to identify what it is about any particular career that it could not be done by a person of the opposite sex. This should take the form of a general discussion with the entire class, not small groups. Through this discussion, pupils should be led to see that any of these careers can, in fact, be done by either sex. The teacher points out, therefore, that our assigning them to one or other sex is purely traditional, and there is no good reason for doing so other than tradition.

The teacher now introduces the word "sexism" as a concept covering this type of assigning of roles, and explains the meaning of "sex-role stereotypes". Sexism is now revealed as the topic of the lesson, and the class is told that the aim is to identify examples of sexism in everyday life. At this point the class can write down a definition of sexism suitable to further discussion, in the space provided on the handout under the heading "Topic".

Such a definition might be worded as follows:

Sexism is the process whereby society allocates certain life tasks or opportunities to one or other sex without any good reason for doing so other than tradition. Sexist attitudes are unfair in that they discriminate against one or other sex, denying people opportunities.

It can be pointed out to the class that some people may not choose a career which is well suited to them, because of the assignment of that career to the opposite sex. Examples of this include a boy wanting to be a nurse, or a girl wanting to be a mechanic. This could deny them the opportunity to choose a career which might give them a great deal of job and life satisfaction.

Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 5 on pages 194 and 195. Each example from 1 to 5 is individually discussed, with the class providing the information to write down as provided by the model in Example 1. Pupils should be encouraged to find other examples in their everyday life and bring these to further lessons to discuss as Examples 8, 9 and 10 on the Handout.

Once this has been completed, the class is divided into small groups, and each group has to generate a number of "Sexist Myths". These should arise fairly naturally from the previous

discussions, and may contain statements such as

"A woman's place is in the home"

"Women are better than men at looking after little children"

"It is not as bad for a boy to 'sleep around' as it is for a girl"

"Women shouldn't play 'male' sports"

"Women drivers are worse than men"

Ideas from each of the groups can then be read out to the rest of the class.

The lessons can be concluded in the following way:

Teacher: "We have identified examples of discrimination in everyday life. Try and be aware wherever you are of other expectations or attitudes which are sexist and unfair in some way. Even though we have seen that sexist attitudes affect women the most, both males and females lose out on opportunities in life. As a result, life is not as rewarding or fulfilling as it could be. If we think carefully about these issues, and examine ourselves to see where we hold sexist attitudes, we could make some important changes to our own lives, and those of others."

Teacher's notes:

The definition of sexism suggested must be seen as a working definition. Although it contains some of the elements of a dictionary definition, it is not a strict definition as such. What is important is that pupils understand the underlying principles, and can learn to use it to identify situations of sexism.

The experience of this researcher is that pupils of age fourteen and fifteen (approximately Std 7) are often strongly sex-role stereotyped in their thinking. For this reason the

teacher must proceed with care, and ensure that the discussions do not develop into an argument between the teacher and the class. Rather the teacher must direct thinking by questioning, and by introducing examples or situations for the pupils to consider. Although it is likely that some pupils will take a strong sexist stand, it is equally likely that other pupils in the class will hold opposite views. The teacher should therefore allow the pupils to argue with each other, rather than be tempted to take one side. In this way the teacher will be seen as a facilitator and is more likely to obtain the co-operation of the class during discussions.

Pupils may report back to their parents about the discussions, seeing as issues such as the role of the woman in the home are controversial. These pupils may then return to a subsequent lesson and reflect their parents' views. Some of these views may be counter productive to the direction of the lesson. In these cases care should be taken by the teacher not to directly challenge the expressed view. If this happens, the pupil may be forced to take a stance which defends his or her parent's view, regardless of personal belief. A situation of hostility may also develop between the pupil and teacher. Nevertheless, because an objective of this unit is that pupils should grow in their understanding and awareness, the teacher should carefully employ questioning strategies to enable such pupils to critically examine any particular standpoint.

What follows are suggestions concerning the outcomes of each example on the Handout, as well as some additional comments on these.

Example 1: Society assigns certain careers to one or other sex. This is unfair and discriminates against both sexes by denying worthwhile career opportunities.

Some pupils may be highly resistant to the idea of a girl

being a butcher or mechanic, indicating that these jobs require strength. The teacher should point out that men possess different levels of strength and often require assistance. In addition, there are women butchers and mechanics, which goes to prove the point.

The idea of a boy being a nurse, or beautician may raise laughter in the class, and pupils may make reference to the dubious masculinity of such boys. This is a good opportunity for the teacher to point out sexism at work - any boy in the class after hearing such a reaction would be less likely to consider one of those careers. This would be in spite of the fact that such careers might suit some of the boys.

Example 2: Schools allocate certain sports which could be played by anyone, to one or other sex. This is unfair and discriminates mainly against girls by denying talented girls sporting opportunities.

This is a good example with which to begin the discussion because many pupils will quickly see the obvious discrimination in this.

Example 3: In most families, women do most of the housework, even in situations where they have a full time job. This is unfair and discriminates against women by allocating to them the unpleasant part of a family's responsibilities.

The teacher should ask the class to suggest an acceptable arrangement for a family where the wife hates cooking but enjoys gardening, and the husband hates gardening but enjoys cooking. This researcher has found that the obvious suggestion, namely for them to accept the responsibilities they enjoy, will be forthcoming from the class. The teacher can then ask why it is that such roles are usually allocated according to society's expectations, and not personal preference.

In discussing this example, boys may prove to be more resistant to the idea of sharing the household chores. The teacher should allow the "anger" of the girls to be stimulated, and in this way the girls will challenge the boys on the fairness of this form of sexism.

Example 4: Society expects different standards of sexual behaviour from boys and girls. This is unfair and discriminates against women by making them responsible for high standards of behaviour in a relationship.

The teacher can point out that there are no equivalent male words for "slut", "whore" and "tramp" in the English language. A boy behaving promiscuously is unlikely to get as bad a reputation as a girl doing the same thing. This places the responsibility on girls, not only to control their own sexual behaviour, but also that of their male partner. It also makes it more likely that a girl will accept infidelity from her boyfriend as inevitable, and as something that he cannot control. As a result, girls may develop a tolerance for inappropriate male sexual behaviour, believing it to be the norm and part of male sexuality.

Example 5: In most social settings, men are expected to do any physical work involving carrying or moving furniture and equipment. This is unfair and discriminates mainly against men by expecting them to take on responsibilities which often could be shared by women.

This is a good example to discuss at this point in the lesson because it brings in the idea of sexism working against men, and will help ensure that the boys in the class do not feel too threatened. It may also appeal greatly to boys in a co-educational school where tasks such as carrying desks and other equipment are routinely assigned to boys.

Some girls may protest at the idea of having to carry heavy items. This is an ideal opportunity not only to show that sexism works against both sexes, but that both sexes will also need to give and take if sexism is to be eradicated.

Example 6: Society expects women to be mainly responsible for early child rearing/management.

There are two possible responses to this statement:

This is unfair and discriminates against women by giving them all the stressful and inconvenient child care work such as getting up in the middle of the night or changing nappies.

Or

This is unfair and discriminates against men by indicating that they are less capable of child rearing, and denying them opportunities for early bonding with their children.

It is suggested that this second option is the better one to focus on. Research presented in Chapter Three showed that men who have more opportunities to communicate with their newborn children are less likely to become abusers. Therefore this is a more fruitful area for discussion than the first option, which is in essence merely an extension of Example 3.

Example 7: Women are not treated equally in the workplace.

This is unfair and discriminates against women by creating a situation in which they are at a disadvantage in terms of treatment and promotion.

The teacher should begin by discussing some of the realities of women who work. Sexual harassment was considered in Chapter Five, and this is only one of the problems women

face. Women report that they need to work harder and longer than men in order to receive the same recognition, and are often passed over for promotion despite being more highly qualified or deserving (Pattinson 1991). They are also more likely than men to have to balance the demands of a job with those of a family.

This is an important example to discuss, and the examples of women's lack of progress in school promotion posts discussed in Chapter Five should be pointed out. Due to the lack of progress, there may be a perception in pupils' minds that women are not as capable as men, and rightfully "belong" under men's supervision. Such perceptions will not only reinforce the idea that women are inferior, but will also seriously limit pupils' personal expectations for the future.

Unit Overview (Lesson Allocation).

- Lesson 1: Introduction and discussion of Examples 1 and 2.
- Lesson 2: Discussion of Examples 3 to 7.
- Lesson 3: Discussion of pupil generated Examples 8 to 10.
- Lesson 4: Pupil document "Sexist Myths" and conclusion.

Handout 4

Unit 1: Std 7

Topic:.....

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

mainly for male	mainly for female	either male or female
.....

Teacher, Mechanic, Doctor, Architect, Carpenter
Beautician, Bus Driver, Butcher, Lawyer, Nurse,

Handout 5

Unit 1: Std 7.

Sexism in Everyday Life

Example 1

Society assigns certain careers to one or other sex.

This is unfair and discriminates against both sexes by denying worthwhile career opportunities.

Example 2

Schools allocate certain sports which could be played by anyone, to one or other sex.

This is unfair and discriminates against
by
.....

Example 3

In most families women do most of the housework, even in situations where they have a full time job.

This is unfair and discriminates against
by
.....

Example 4

Society expects different standards of sexual behaviour from boys and girls.

This is unfair and discriminates against
by
.....

Example 5

In most social settings men are expected to do any physical work involving carrying or moving furniture or equipment.

This is unfair and discriminates against
by
.....

Example 6 Society expects women to be responsible for most child rearing/management.

This is unfair and discriminates against
by
.....

Example 7 Women are not treated equally in the work place.

This is unfair and discriminates against
by
.....

Example 8

This is unfair and discriminates against
by
.....

Example 9

This is unfair and discriminates against
by
.....

Example 10

This is unfair and discriminates against
by
.....

6.2.3. Standard 8

6.2.3.1. Unit 1: Std 8.

Topic: Rape and Violence

Length: 4 X 30 min lessons

Aim: To make pupils aware of the dynamics of the rape situation and the particular role violence plays.

Motivation:

Rape and child sexual abuse are seen as behaviours on the same continuum, and it has been shown that many of the motivations for sexual abuse are the same as those for rape (Kelly 1987; Scully 1990). This was discussed in Chapter Two where it was pointed out that sexual abuse often takes the form of rape, so that distinctions between the two behaviours are not always valid. It is argued therefore that efforts to sensitise adolescents to issues of rape will not only have a preventative effect with regard to that particular behaviour, but will have generalised effects with regard to child sexual abuse. Assertions about rape in this unit are generated by material discussed in Chapter Two.

Objectives:

At the conclusion of this unit the pupils should understand

1. That rape occurs very frequently.
2. That men can and should control their sexual behaviour.
3. That rape is an act of violence rather than a desire for sex.
4. That the majority of rapists are people whom society considers normal.
5. That a woman, no matter what her circumstances may be, has

a right to say no to sex.

6. That a woman is not responsible or to blame for her own rape.
7. That rape is a painful and humiliating assault, and that women do not get sexual pleasure from it.
8. That a woman has a right to lay a charge if she has been raped, and has a right and need to get counselling help.

The Lessons:

The teacher asks the class "What do you think is the most under-reported crime?" Various suggestions may be made, and if rape is not suggested, then the teacher does so. The class is then asked to estimate how many rape victims, out of every 10, are likely to report it to the police. The class arrives at an agreed on figure, expressed as a certain number out of 10. The teacher then informs the class that in 1988 (a typical year) there were 19 368 reported rapes in South Africa (Vogelman 1990). The following calculation using the pupil's estimate shows into what figures these reported rapes translate:

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{sample population} \\ \text{-----} \\ \text{estimated report rate} \end{array} \quad \times \quad \text{actual reported cases}$$

For example, if the pupils estimated that 4 out of every 10 report, then this translates into

$$\begin{array}{r} 10 \\ \text{-----} \\ 4 \end{array} \quad \times \quad 19\ 368$$

which suggests an annual rape figure of 48 420.

The teacher now points out that the official estimated rate of report is 1 in 20 (Vogelman 1990), and compares this with their estimate.

This translates into an estimated figure of

$$\begin{array}{r} 20 \\ \text{-----} \\ 1 \end{array} \quad \times \quad 19\ 368$$

which equals 387 360 per year, or over 1000 per day.

The teacher then asks "Why is rape such a common crime?". Various ideas will be forthcoming from the class, and the teacher points out that there is a great deal of uncertainty among people in general as to the causes and facts of rape. Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 6 on page 203, and the class is divided into pairs. Each pair should be mixed sex if possible.

Teacher: "The handout lists six Myths of Rape. A myth is a commonly held belief which is actually incorrect. I want you to discuss with your partner why these are myths, seeing as many people believe them to be true, and what the actual truth is."

Each Myth is then discussed one at a time by every pupil pair, and when this has been done the teacher asks for ideas to be shared with the entire class. This takes the form of a general discussion, with the teacher posing questions and providing background information to stimulate and guide thinking. The class is then assisted to write down an appropriate response in the space provided on the handout.

The teacher concludes the lesson by asking the class to verbally indicate the main points of discovery. This can be compared to the objectives to help assess the effectiveness of the lessons.

Teacher's Notes:

The topic of rape is a very sensitive one, and the teacher must bear in mind the possibility that a pupil or pupils in the class may have had rape experiences. Care should therefore be taken to remain sensitive to the reaction of the class, and to be aware that if some pupils are allowed to joke about rape, this will in all likelihood affect other pupils. Once the topic has been introduced, the teacher may want to say "The subject of rape is a very sensitive and often hurtful one, and I would request that we discuss it seriously and sensitively, without any joking or fooling around."

What follows are some comments on each of the Myths on the handout, which may assist the teacher in the discussions.

Myth 1: If men are sexually stimulated they reach a point where they cannot control themselves; and a man cannot go without sex for too long without becoming frustrated to the point of loss of control.

The pupils need to understand that men are able to control their sexual behaviour, and if necessary channel it into harmless directions such as masturbation. The role of the media was discussed in Chapter Five, and it was pointed out that the influence of the media in reinforcing this type of sexual myth is powerful. Pupils can be reminded that men like to feel in control of their lives and personal situations, and that this control can extend to their sexual behaviour.

It should also be pointed out that many men remain celibate for long periods of time, such as when they are away from their families on business. The fact that some men do not is not evidence that they cannot. The teacher should stress the issue of personal responsibility, which was seen as a feature of the Humanist perspective on sexual abuse discussed in Chapter Two.

Myth 2: Rape is a sexual act by men who want or need sexual gratification.

Rape was shown in Chapter Two to be primarily an act of violence in which sex is the means, or the weapon. Rapists do not become conscious of a desire for sex, and as a result rape someone. Rather the motivation is a complex one of exercising and demonstrating power in a situation of disregard for another person's feelings.

Rapists select their victims not according to any particular sexual characteristic, but rather with a view to opportunity. Thus, if a rapist believes that he can get away with it, this becomes more important than selecting a victim who may sexually excite him.

Myth 3: Most rapists are mentally deranged in some way.

In the discussion of rape in Chapter Two it was pointed out that most rapists are what society considers normal. The rapist usually indicated in films is the dangerous psychopathic rapist, and this portrayal gives the general impression that this is typical. It is vital that the teacher dispels this myth. A tendency to hide behind the picture of the mentally deranged rapist leads to society not fully recognising the extent or causes of the problem. The teacher may find it useful to inform the pupils of the main types of rapists, in order to illustrate this point. This was discussed in Chapter Two.

Myth 4: A woman "asks for it" by doing certain things eg. teasing a man sexually, or dressing provocatively, or being alone in dangerous places.

"Victim blaming" is common in our society (Scully 1990; Sherman 1993). In this regard it was shown in Chapter Two

that a number of misconceptions and misunderstandings lead to this. This particular myth reflects on a number of such issues. The experience of this researcher is that discussion of these aids greatly in pupils developing an enlightened and accurate view of where the blame should be directed.

First and foremost, most groups of pupils may quite readily agree that no-one wants to be assaulted or injured. The very basis of the myth is therefore brought into serious question.

With respect to sexual teasing, the pupils can be asked to indicate if petting always leads to intercourse. The answer is, of course, no. The teacher can then let the class see that petting is not always a sign that the person desires sex. A person might indulge in even very heavy petting, but has the right to end this at any time and expect the other to comply. It should be pointed out that a person does not lose his or her rights after a certain point.

The second issue is one of dress. Again the class can be asked if every girl who dresses in a "sexy" manner is wanting to have sex. This example will help the pupils to see the fallacy of this myth. It can also be pointed out that a girl can dress to look as nice as she wants to, without this implying anything more. As will already have been discussed, it is not the way a woman dresses that motivates a rapist, but the chance of getting away with it at that particular time. Dress is irrelevant in this situation.

The third issue is concerned with being alone in dangerous places. All pupils, both boys and girls, will accept that it is not wise to be alone in certain places at certain times. The teacher must, nevertheless, help the class to see that it is still not the victim's fault when rape occurs in such circumstances. The class can also be made to realise that because of the danger from men, women live their lives denied many of the basic freedoms that men take for granted. These

include being able to dress in any way that pleases them, or being able to go unaccompanied to places and areas at various times of the day or night.

It is important that the teacher point out the basic inequality in this situation. Some of the boys in the class may suggest that women should always be accompanied by men, and should not be out very late at night without protection. The teacher can point out that this is how children are treated, and suggest that seeing as it is men who are the danger, rather they (that is, men) should be confined to their houses at night. Such a suggestion will help the class see the basic inequality at work.

In summary, the teacher can stress that in no situation can the victim be held responsible for his or her own assault.

Myth 5: Women secretly enjoy being raped - they get sexual pleasure from it.

This myth tends to be believed for a number of reasons. The role of the media in pornographic portrayals of rape was discussed in previous chapters, and media images reinforce the idea of a woman "giving in" and enjoying it.

A second reason for this myth is concerned with basic aspects of the difference between male and female sexual response. The discussion of the sexual socialisation of men in Chapter Two pointed out that men's sexuality is more object oriented, and women's more relationship oriented. Men can achieve orgasm through many acts, not even necessarily involving another person. Therefore men may tend to believe that the sex act is basically pleasurable even if not desired, and that the physical sex act in rape will cause a pleasant feeling. Women, however, are more readily sexually aroused in the context of a close caring relationship. In addition, when a woman is tense, the wall of the vagina constricts and sex can be extremely painful.

The teacher should, therefore, point out that in a situation of rape, while the conditions for sexual arousal and orgasm may apply for the man, they do not for the woman.

Myth 6: If a woman is raped, she should keep it to herself so as not to cause any further trouble.

Once again the teacher should stress the right of an individual to take action against an attacker. The outcomes of reporting rape to the police should be discussed with the class, and the teacher should be careful not to give the idea that a woman must report it. Rather her right to decide should be emphasised.

Nevertheless, the benefits of discussing the situation in the context of counselling should be discussed. Treatment for victims of abuse was discussed in Chapter Three, and the positive benefits of this can be highlighted.

It would be beneficial if the teacher can detail the procedure for reporting in that particular community, so that all pupils can be aware of this as a real option if ever needed.

Unit Overview (Lesson allocation).

Lesson 1: Introduction and discussion of Myth 1.

Lesson 2: Discussion of Myth 2 and 3.

Lesson 3: Discussion of Myth 4 and 5.

Lesson 4: Discussion of Myth 6, and conclusion.

Handout 6

Unit 1: Std 8

Some Myths of Rape

1. If men are sexually stimulated, they reach a point where they cannot control themselves; and a man cannot go without sex for too long without becoming frustrated to the point of loss of control.
.....
.....
2. Rape is a sexual act by men who want or need sexual gratification.
.....
.....
3. Most rapists are mentally deranged in some way.
.....
.....
4. A woman "asks for it" by doing certain things eg teasing a man sexually, or dressing provocatively, or being alone in dangerous places.
.....
.....
5. Women secretly enjoy being raped - they get sexual pleasure from it.
.....
.....
6. If a woman is raped, she should keep it to herself so as not to cause any further trouble.
.....
.....

6.2.3.2. Unit 2: Std 8

Topic: Assertiveness

Length: 4 X 30 min lessons

Aim: To teach pupils how to stand up for themselves and have their rights respected.

Motivation:

It was pointed out in Chapter Three that an important component of all personal safety programmes is some form of assertiveness training. Children need to know that they have the right to decide who touches them, and where they are touched. They also need help and training in how to stand up for their rights. In addition it is suggested that learning assertiveness aids in the development of a positive self image, seeing as assertiveness implies the ability to control one's life. As such it becomes an aspect of primary prevention in that research presented in Chapter Two indicated that some abusers have poor self images and feel their lives to be out of control (Finkelhor 1986).

However, merely telling children that they have a right to be assertive will not necessarily ensure that these skills are developed. Children need to be able to practice assertiveness skills in a variety of situations. By so doing they are more likely to become comfortable and confident in their ability to stand up for themselves.

Objectives:

At the conclusion of the unit the pupils should

1. Be able to recognise the coerciveness inherent in some situations.
2. Understand and appreciate that they have the right to say

no, and to stand up for what they want.

3. Have had the opportunity to devise and practise assertive behaviour in a number of situations.
4. Have gained confidence in their own ability to be assertive.

The Lessons:

The teacher introduces the lesson by saying: "A few people go to a restaurant for supper. One of them orders a steak, to be cooked "well done". The steak is served, but it has been cooked "underdone". There are a number of responses in this situation. The customer can eat the steak as it is, but be very dissatisfied and complain to the other dinner guests about it. This is called a PASSIVE RESPONSE. Or, he can call the waiter back, and loudly complain about the standard of service, aggressively demanding that the steak be removed and cooked to requirement. This is called the AGGRESSIVE RESPONSE."

The teacher asks the class to suggest another way of dealing with the problem that is neither accepting of the situation (PASSIVE) nor hostile (AGGRESSIVE). Pupils may suggest that the customer should quietly and politely ask for the steak to be re-cooked. The teacher points out that this is called an ASSERTIVE RESPONSE.

Teacher: "Learning how to be assertive is an important skill, and can help ensure that we are able to stand up for our rights in various situations. This means that we will have more control over our lives, and over what happens to us in life."

Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 7 on pages 211 and 212. Pupils are asked to suggest a definition for each type of response, and these are written in the space provided on the handout. These suggestions may be similar to the following:

Passive

response: This person is unhappy with a situation, but does nothing to rectify it. She typically complains to others who have no involvement in or control over the situation

Aggressive

response: This person shows a hostile attitude: he may complain loudly, or be very tactless in demanding his rights. Although he usually gets what he wants, it is at great cost of embarrassment to or alienation of others.

Assertive

response: This person quietly, pleasantly yet firmly insists on getting that to which she is entitled.

The teacher now suggests an Assertive Formula, which consists of three parts:

1. Conciliatory/friendly approach
2. The truth in a pleasant way
3. Conciliatory/friendly conclusion

This is then demonstrated using the restaurant scene as an example, and may lead to the following:

(Customer speaking)

1. Waiter, I'm sorry to trouble you [conciliatory/friendly]
2. but this steak is not quite how I prefer it [the truth pleasantly]. Would you mind asking the chef to attend to it?
3. I'm sorry to put you to extra trouble [conciliatory/friendly]

The teacher should point out that point 1 is often simply a repetition or restatement of point 3.

Pupils are now seated in pairs. Each situation on the handout is discussed with the class as a whole, and a 1-2-3 approach is formulated and written down in the space provided. Pupils then practise on each other, with each pupil taking a turn to be the respondent.

Once the given situations have been discussed, the class then suggest other situations in which they experience difficulty. The teacher assists in developing assertive strategies for these, and once again the class are given the opportunity to practise.

The teacher concludes by saying: "I would like to suggest that the more you practise being assertive, the easier you will find it to stand up for your rights. Practise on your friends, even when an assertive response is not needed. For example, if a friend asks you to go with her to the tuckshop at break (and you do want to go!), nevertheless say "Thanks for asking me, but I don't really feel like going there today. Let's meet there tomorrow at break". Do this merely for the experience of practising it. Even though your friends will find this amusing, it will give you the opportunity to become comfortable with assertiveness skills."

Teacher's notes:

It is important for the teacher to point out that certain situations in life are potentially coercive not because of any intention but because of the nature of the relationship. A teenager will find it difficult to say no to a friend who wants to borrow his motorbike, because of the importance of the relationship. Similarly, a teenage girl who has a serious relationship with an older boyfriend will struggle with the problem of sexual pressure, and might lower her own standards for fear of losing her boyfriend.

The teacher should also stress throughout the lessons that people have the right to say no, or to insist on any particular right, despite the fact that the other person may be unhappy or embarrassed when this is done. A person's right to stand up for himself or herself must be continually emphasised.

It is also important for the teacher to allow the class to discuss and generate the actual words that can be used in situations requiring assertiveness. This will help pupils to better understand the basic principles. In addition, the opportunity to practise assertive responses is a vital component of this unit, and this researcher's experience is that it can be done very effectively in a classroom situation if the pupils work in pairs.

The teacher may find that some pupils will not readily accept that it is possible to say no directly, and may suggest that a person should rather make an excuse, or lie. The teacher should resist this approach, pointing out that making excuses does not give one control in a situation. In addition, a person who makes excuses runs the risk of being caught out.

What follows are suggestions for the types of responses that may be appropriate in each situation. Although the class must be allowed to generate the response, the teacher may find that at times it is necessary to be more directive and offer help with formulating responses.

Situation 1: Someone 'phones and asks you out on a date.
 You are not doing anything else on that
 night, but you do not want to go on a date
 with this person.

1. Thank you for phoning - it was nice of you to think of me
2. but I don't think I would like to, so I hope you wont

mind if I say no

3. but thank you again, it was nice of you to ask.

Situation 2: A friend asks to borrow something (clothes, a CD, your motorbike). You do not want to lend it.

1. Normally I wouldn't mind lending you my things
2. but I'd rather not lend you my (whatever) because I don't like other people wearing my clothes / I'm worried it may get damaged.
3. I hope you won't feel offended, because I'm not doing this personally against you and I wouldn't want our friendship to suffer.

Situation 3: An adult for whom you often babysit asks you to do so on a particular night. You do not have anything planned for that night, but you do not feel like babysitting.

1. As you know I always enjoy babysitting your children
2. but would you mind if I said no, because I really don't feel like it tonight. (Can I suggest someone else?)
3. Please ask me again sometime though, because I'll do it with pleasure.

Situation 4: Your boyfriend/girlfriend wants to go sexually further than you want to.

1. You know how much I like/love you and how much I enjoy being with you
2. but what we are getting into here is making me feel uncomfortable. I'd rather we didn't because I don't feel ready for this.
3. I hope you realise this doesn't change the way I feel about you.

Situation 5: An adult with whom you have a very close relationship is beginning to touch you in a way that is making you feel uncomfortable.

1. I think you know how much I like you and how important your friendship is to me
2. but I've started to feel uncomfortable when you touch me in certain ways, and I'd prefer it if you didn't
3. I hope you won't feel offended by me saying this because I wouldn't want our friendship to be affected.

Unit Overview (Lesson allocation):

- Lesson 1: Introduction up to discussion of the assertive formula
- Lesson 2: Discuss and practise situations 1 and 2
- Lesson 3: Discuss and practise situations 3 and 4
- Lesson 4: Discuss and practise situations 5 and 6

Handout 7

Unit 2: Std 8

HOW TO BE ASSERTIVE

When people are unhappy about the way they are being treated, there are three typical responses.

PASSIVE RESPONSE:
.....
.....

AGGRESSIVE RESPONSE:
.....
.....

ASSERTIVE RESPONSE:
.....
.....

The Assertive Formula:

- 1. Say something conciliatory/friendly;
- 2. Tell the truth, without excuse, in a pleasant but firm way;
- 3. Say something conciliatory/friendly.

Situation 1

Someone 'phones and asks you out on a date. You are not doing anything else on that night, but you do not want to go on a date with this person.

Assertive response:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Situation 2

A friend asks to borrow something (clothes, a CD, your motorbike). You do not want to lend it.

Assertive response:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Situation 3

An adult for whom you often babysit asks you to do so on a particular night. You do not have anything planned for that night, but you do not feel like babysitting.

Assertive response:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Situation 4

Your boyfriend/girlfriend wants to go sexually further than you want to.

Assertive response:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Situation 5

An adult with whom you have a very close relationship is beginning to touch you in a way that is making you feel uncomfortable.

Assertive response:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Situation 6

(pupil suggestions)

Assertive response:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

6.2.3.3. Unit 3: Std 8

Topic: Knowing and understanding yourself

Length: 6 X 30 min lessons

Aim: To help pupils learn about themselves and understand facets of their personalities.

Motivation:

It has been shown that some abusers have a poorly developed sense of self, and often have low self esteem (Groth 1978; Finkelhor 1986). Developing a strong sense of self and enhancing positive self esteem is therefore seen as a preventative measure with respect to preventing teenagers from becoming molesters.

Objectives:

At the conclusion of this unit the pupils should have

1. Identified a number of aspects and characteristics of their personalities.
2. Heard and considered the opinions that some other people have of them, thereby increasing their self knowledge.
3. Considered some of the factors of their early upbringing and how this might affect them in the present.

The Lessons:

Lesson 1:

The teacher asks for a volunteer to come to the front of the class. The teacher asks the pupil "Who are you", and keeps asking this question over and over. The pupil is instructed to answer honestly, and without repetition. After a number of questions, the pupil will need to begin to answer the

question by mentioning more personality-type characteristics, rather than just biographical detail. As soon as the teacher feels that the pupil has begun to reveal some aspects of deeper self, the questioning stops.

The teacher now says: "Psychologists believe that the more you understand yourself, what motivates you to do things and think the way you do, the more you will be able to control your own life. You will also have a greater chance of achieving your goals in the future. Getting to know yourself, therefore, is an important task that everyone needs to work on.

Some psychologists suggest that all there is to know about a person can be included in four categories."

Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 8 on page 220. The teacher explains the diagram. The teacher then states that the lessons which follow will encourage them to look into each of the four areas in order that they might get to discover and understand themselves more.

Each pupil then numbers a blank page from 1 to 30, and has to answer the question "Who are you?" thirty times without repetition. Pupils should be encouraged not to write down too much superficial biographical detail, but to make an effort to go into some deeper aspects of their personalities. Some of this may include personality characteristics, likes and dislikes, and important belief and attitudes. The teacher points out that this is a beginning of an exploration of quadrants 1 and 2 on Handout 8.

Lesson 2:

Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 9 on page 221. The teacher reminds the class that they are still exploring quadrants 1 and 2. They must complete each sentence in one line, without repetition. The teacher should suggest that

they focus mainly on non-material things. For example, "I need...to know where I am going" rather than "I need...a new motorbike." No report back is needed, because the statements are aimed at assisting with personal introspection.

Lesson 3:

The teacher indicates that this lesson will focus on quadrant 3, namely the opinions of other people. Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 10 on page 222. The common English usage of each word is explained to the pupils, as well as the rating system at the top of the handout. A "7" indicates that a particular characteristic is very true of the person, and a "1" indicates that it is not at all true. Numbers in between indicate degrees of applicability.

Each pupil then assigns a personal rating to himself or herself for each characteristic, and this "score" is recorded in the last column headed "SELF". Pupils should be encouraged to try avoid assigning a rating of "4", but to try and rate themselves towards one side or the other. Once this has been completed, the SELF column is folded backwards, away from the reader, so that anyone else looking at the form cannot see that pupil's own ratings. The pupil then gives the form to someone else in the class, who completes column 1, basing it on his or her personal views of the owner of the form. When this has been completed, the two pupils sit together and discuss differences and similarities in the ratings. The owner of the form must ask the rater to explain why a particular rating was given.

Columns 2 to 5 allow ratings by a variety of other people such as other friends and parents. As each individual rating is completed, the pupil should ask that person to explain the motivation for the particular score. This does not need to be done in class, but can be assigned as a project for completion at home.

Lessons 4, 5 and 6:

Teacher: "The following lessons will involve an investigation of quadrant 4, and attempt to identify some of the unconscious motivations and influences on personality and behaviour. This is a difficult area to investigate, so don't expect too much from this short period of time. It is possible, however, to begin to understand some of the reasons why we think and behave the way we do. Psychologists believe that the first five years of a child's life are very important in the formation of personality. Things that we see, hear and experience affect our beliefs and attitudes when we get older. Many of you will agree that in a number of ways, males and females look at things differently. We are going to try and find out what early experiences of children lead to these different views."

The boys are given a copy of Handout 11, and the girls Handout 12, on pages 223 and 224. The class is then divided into single sex groups with three or four pupils in each. Each statement on the handout is discussed, and the group must indicate TRUE, UNSURE or UNTRUE for each. Once this has been done, all statements marked TRUE are discussed with respect to the 4th column, namely "Is this a good or bad thing?" The 5th column is left blank.

At this point the teacher asks for some feedback from groups, and other pupils in the class have the opportunity to comment. In this way further discussion of the concepts takes place.

The conclusion of the lessons is for the pupils to refer to column 5, and without discussion indicate if each situation reflected in the statements could have been their experience. This activity should give pupils some information about their own motivations.

Teacher's notes:

Much of the work generated by the pupils in this unit is not seen by anyone other than that person. This needs to be pointed out in advance so that pupils can feel confident in writing personal details. The teacher must respect this, and should not insist on "checking" the work, other than to see that it has been completed.

On the other hand, because the work is not being checked, some pupils may not take it seriously. Some may write down superficial or irrelevant information simply to complete an assignment. Therefore the teacher should encourage the pupils to take it seriously, and point out the benefits of putting real effort into the various exercises.

What follows are some comments on each lesson.

Lesson 1:

Care needs to be taken in "choosing" the volunteer. Although responses to the question "Who are you?" can be controlled by the pupil, nevertheless some may not be willing to publicly answer this question at length. Yet in asking for a volunteer, the teacher does not reveal in advance the purpose of this. Assurances will need to be given to the class in advance, therefore, that the volunteer will be able to control what happens. The teacher should also attempt to select a pupil from those who volunteer who is fairly proficient verbally and at the same time reasonably open to talking about himself or herself.

This researcher's experience is that some pupils struggle to complete this exercise in writing, and it may be necessary for the teacher to stimulate thinking by suggesting directions.

Lesson 2:

This lesson essentially follows on from lesson 1 and builds on that exercise. Once again pupils should be encouraged to put real effort into it, and not simply to opt for obvious or superficial responses in order to complete it as quickly as possible.

Lesson 3:

The teacher will need to explain the rating system quite carefully, using examples, to ensure that all pupils are familiar with its use. The use of such a system may be new to some pupils, and failure to apply it correctly will result in later discussions having less meaning.

The discussion of any given ratings is the essential part of this exercise, as it gives the owner of the form specific information as to how he or she is perceived. Pupils will also need to be told that beyond the obvious English meaning of the characteristics, their own interpretation of the meanings is important. The teacher should resist any request for detailed explanations of the characteristics, as this will tend to limit pupil thinking.

Lessons 4, 5 and 6:

Essentially, all the given statements are true, as was pointed out in the discussion of this material in Chapter Two. It does not greatly matter, however, if some groups come to the conclusion that a particular statement is not true. In order to do this, discussion will need to have taken place, and this process itself is important, and potentially enlightening.

In addition, if the teacher will allow general discussion during the report back stage, other groups will often modify

and comment on responses. The teacher can also have an impact at this stage through further questioning.

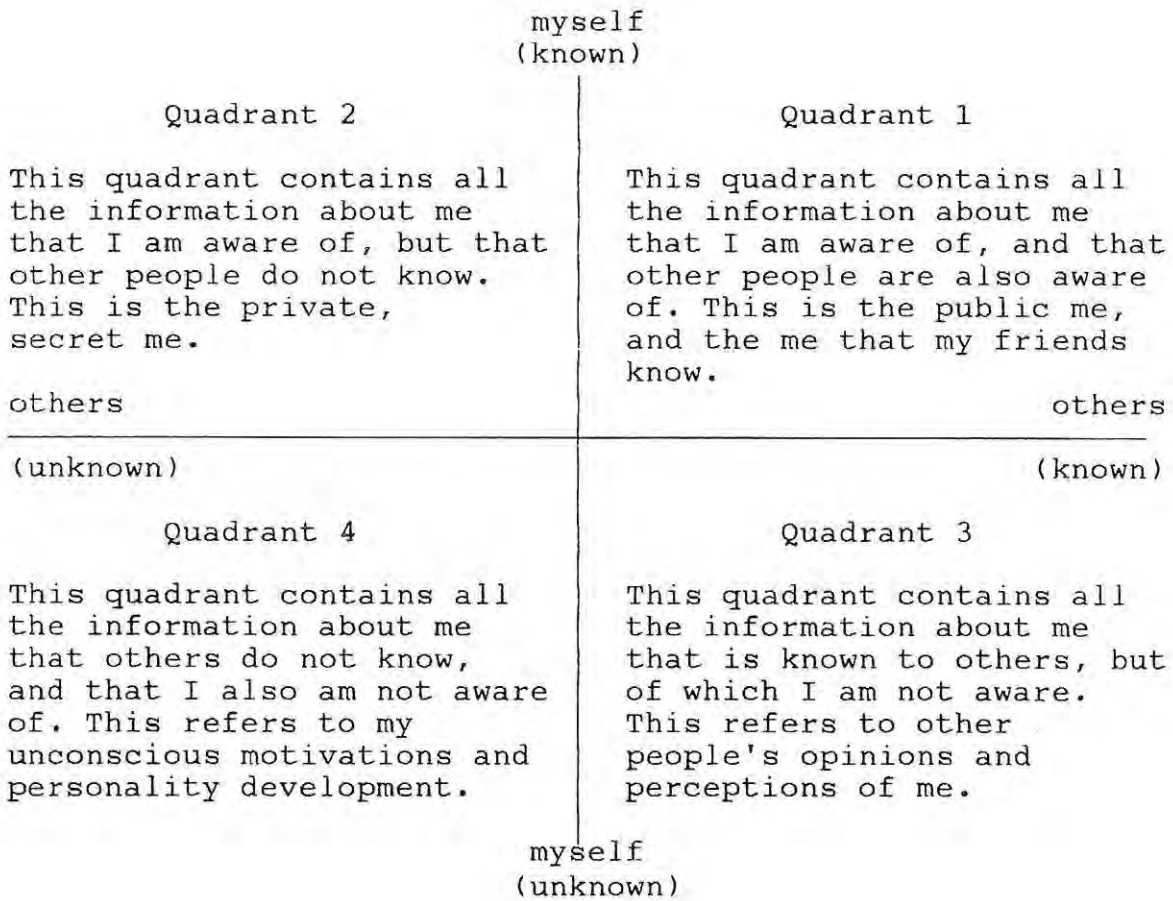
The final self-rating will be an opportunity for pupils to individually and personally confirm the applicability of the discussions to themselves. This process will in all likelihood have been a part of the ongoing discussions.

Unit Overview (Lesson allocation):

- Lesson 1: Introduction and 30 "Who are you?" questions.
- Lesson 2: Complete the sentences exercise.
- Lesson 3: Peer assessment exercise.
- Lesson 4: Early childhood influences document - small group discussion
- Lesson 5: Report back and general discussion
- Lesson 6: Conclude report back and discussion, and self-assessment

Handout 8

Unit 3: Std 8



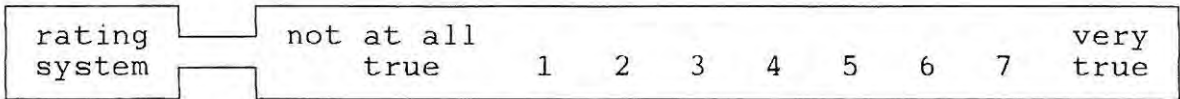
Handout 9

Unit 3: Std 8

UNDERSTANDING YOURSELF

I need
I need
I need
I need
I need
I want
I want
I want
I want
I want
I feel
I feel
I feel
I feel
I feel
I like
I like
I like
I like
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I hate
I hate
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I hate
I hate
I fear
I fear
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I fear
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I must
I must
I must
I must
I must
I should
I should
I should
I should
I should
I can
I can
I can
I can
I can

PEER ASSESSMENT



	5	4	3	2	1	self
self-confident						
ignores other people's wishes						
friendly to all						
sense of humour						
many problems						
snobbish						
quick temper						
moody						
satisfied with life						
mainly happy						
confused						
selfish						
sensitive						
hides feelings						
caring						
stubborn						
affectionate						
often angry						
forgives easily						
loving						
likes to get own way						
treats friends well						
talented						
ignores other people's opinions						

Handout 11

Unit 3: Std 8

	tick one				
	1 true	2 unsure	3 untrue	4 good or bad ??	5 happen to you ??
Young boys are likely to be given less physical affection (hugging, kissing) than girls.					
Many parents consider it less acceptable for boys to cry.					
Many parents encourage boys to be "tougher", for example when hurt.					
Boys are encouraged to fight their own battles.					
A young boy will identify mainly with his father, and want to be like him.					
A father who is physically and emotionally distant is likely to have a son who grows up like him.					
A boy who sees his father being verbally or physically violent towards his wife may grow up believing that this is acceptable.					
Boys whose mothers stay at home, may grow up believing that a woman's place is in the home.					

Handout 12

Unit 3: Std 8

	tick one				
	1 true	2 unsure	3 untrue	4 good or bad ??	5 happen to you ??
Young girls are likely to be given more physical affection (hugging, kissing) than boys.					
Most parents consider it acceptable for girls to cry.					
Parents comfort girls more than boys when they get hurt.					
Girls are encouraged to go for help when in trouble.					
A young girl will identify mainly with her mother, and want to be like her.					
A girl who grows up in a family where the father is the "boss" is likely to accept this situation in her adult life.					
A girl who sees her mother being verbally or physically abused by her father may grow up believing that this is acceptable.					
Girls whose mothers have a career are more likely to believe that men and women are equal.					

6.2.3.4. Unit 4: Std 8

Topic: Issues of Sexual Abuse

Length: 4 half-hour lessons

Aim: To revise earlier work on sexual abuse, and identify abuse promoting factors in society.

Motivation:

The need to revise work, thereby reinforcing the development of positive attitudes and behaviours, is an important educational principle (Child 1973). It was pointed out in Chapter Four that a single exposure to issues of sexual abuse could hardly be considered satisfactory from a learning point of view. This unit, therefore, expands and adds to earlier units on sexual abuse.

In addition, the development of positive attitudes which mitigate against abuse were seen in Chapter Three as being important aspects of primary prevention, which is the main emphasis of this study.

The statements discussed in these lessons arise from the material discussed mainly in Chapter Two.

Objectives:

At the conclusion of the unit the pupils should have

1. Revised concepts discussed in previous units.
2. Been made aware of some abuse promoting attitudes.
3. Been made aware of attitudes which mitigate against abuse.
4. Had attitudes which mitigate against abuse reinforced.
5. Been encouraged to go for help in situations of abuse or potential abuse.
6. Been encouraged to go for help in situations where abusive

tendencies are experienced.

The Lessons:

The teacher introduces the lesson by saying "Many things in life can be used for both good and bad purposes. Money is one example of this. A person who has money can use it to help or harm others. He may help by giving to charity, or may harm by bribing officials to give him special favours at the expense of others." The class is asked for more examples, and may mention things such as fire, atomic energy, space travel, or drugs. The teacher then points out that sex is one such thing, in that it can be the ultimate expression of love and commitment to another person, or it can be used to hurt and damage. Once again the class is asked for examples. Rape and sexual abuse may be suggested, and the teacher indicates that sexual abuse will be the topic of the lessons.

Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 13 on pages 238 and 239. Without discussion or consultation, each pupil completes the handout by indicating whether each statement is TRUE or FALSE. The teacher then initiates a discussion with the class as a whole (not small groups), and deals with each question individually.

Teacher's notes:

As was pointed out in an earlier unit, teachers must be sensitive to the fact that there may be children in the class who have been sexually abused. These children may feel uncomfortable, and the teacher should remain sensitive to signs of this.

The teacher should also ensure that the subject is dealt with seriously, and any tendency by pupils to joke or act flippantly must be addressed.

Care should be taken to allow as much comment and discussion

by the pupils as possible. Much of the material is in the nature of revision of the Standard Six units, and pupils are likely to have opinions on a great many of the issues. The notes which follow serve merely as background for the teacher, and as a guide for the direction of the discussions.

The statements on the handout are in random order, to prevent pupils from guessing their responses according to any perceived pattern. Nevertheless, certain statements can be grouped together for purposes of discussion, and a suggested order is given below.

One danger of asking adolescents to respond on a TRUE/FALSE basis is that some may tend as a result to see issues in terms of absolutes. As was pointed out in Chapter Two, sexual abuse is a complex issue, and many of the "answers" are only best guesses. The teacher should, therefore, indicate that in many cases the TRUE/FALSE response is merely used as a stimulus for discussion. It will become clear in the notes that follow that some statements could be either True or False, depending on circumstances. This is not to say, however, that there are no answers. Teachers should be equally cautious about going to the other extreme and suggesting that all is merely speculation.

The Statements:

8. Sexual abuse affects approximately 1 in 30 girls and 1 in 50 boys.

False. It was pointed out in Chapter Two that research indicated that sexual abuse affects up to 1 in 4 girls and 1 in 9 boys. The teacher should point out that this definition of sexual abuse includes contact abuse (touching, sexual intercourse, etc) and non-contact abuse (exhibitionism, voyeurism, etc).

13. Abused children are often responsible themselves.

False. The tendency for victim blaming in society was discussed in Chapter Two. It was pointed out that although children sometimes behave in ways that seemingly make them more vulnerable to abuse, in these situations there is always an aspect of coercion present. The tendency of children to see themselves as participants, rather than victims, was also discussed.

In addition, it was pointed out that older children and adults who remember back to their childhood cannot remember clearly how they thought at that age. They therefore project their current level of thinking and maturity back to the younger age. In doing this they struggle to understand why they allowed it to happen. Guilt is a logical outcome of this process of thinking. The teacher should stress, in this regard, that abused children are not responsible for their own abuse.

15. Children don't really mind being sexually abused.

False. The lack of consent was seen as one of the main characteristics of the abusive situation, and was discussed in Chapter Two. It was shown that children's need for attention and affection often results in them putting up with abuse. For example, if children are afraid of losing an important relationship, they will sometimes allow themselves to be sexually abused. It was pointed out that such children may love the abuser, but hate the abuse.

In addition, the use of bribes or threats was discussed, and it was shown that children can often be coerced in this way into abusive situations.

19. Some children "lead men on" sexually.

False. This statement is an extension of the idea that

children are responsible for their own abuse. The teacher should point out that although children may act in sexual ways, they are ignorant of the implications and meaning of their behaviour. It may be that they have witnessed such behaviour on television, or seen an older adult behave in a sexual way. In these cases they might simply imitate such behaviour. This does not imply that there is any intention in their actions.

Children who have been sexually abused will often act out this behaviour on others. Once again this does not indicate a desire to engage in sexual contact.

The teacher should stress that children have the right to protection from adults, not exploitation. Any older person witnessing such behaviour on the part of a child must understand it in the context of the age of that child.

1. Sexual abuse is harmful.

True. The harmful effects of sexual abuse were discussed in Chapter Two. Some children feel guilty, thinking that it was their fault. This guilt can lead to a poor self image, or a feeling of not having as much worth as others. Some children feel different to others, and lonely. Some children have sleep problems, and may become depressed even to the extent of contemplating suicide. Some boys worry that the abuse might lead to homosexuality. The teacher should ask the class to suggest the harmful effects of abuse, rather than providing them. In this way the pupils will be more likely to think deeply about the issue.

The teacher should stress that people react in different ways, and that different people will experience different effects. Even relatively "mild" forms of abuse can affect people severely. It can also be pointed out that anything that disturbs a person can be said to have caused harm, even if the harm is only slight.

10. Children don't mind being touched sexually.

True/False. The circumstances surrounding this statement are such that it can be seen as either true or false. Touching a child's sexual organs can cause a pleasant sensation. At certain stages in young children's development they touch their own sexual organs in order to get a pleasant feeling. Thus, for example, a parent who touches a child's sexual organs when drying him or her after a bath will cause a physical sensation. In this sense it is accurate to say that the statement is true.

Children do not, however, enjoy being sexually abused, which occurs when an older person repeatedly, for prolonged periods of time, in an atmosphere of guilt and secrecy, and for the sexual pleasure of that older person, touches a child sexually. In these circumstances, although the child may experience a pleasant sensation, the circumstances surrounding it will make the entire experience unpleasant. The awareness by a child that a trusted and respected older person is doing something wrong can be traumatic.

12. A person who has been sexually abused is damaged for life.

False. It is important for the teacher to stress at this stage of the discussions that although sexual abuse is extremely harmful, victims can and do recover. Treatment for abused children was discussed in Chapter Three. This balance is essential because any abused child listening to the negative effects of abuse may become very pessimistic about the future. He or she may feel that the abuse has destroyed any hope for happiness or a normal life. The teacher should point out that there are many accounts of people who were sexually abused as children who have overcome their abusive backgrounds and live normal, fulfilled lives.

6. Children who have been sexually abused should keep it a secret, particularly if the abuser is a family member.

False. This statement should be linked to the previous one indicating that keeping the abuse a secret may make it harder to recover from the negative effects.

In addition the discussion of the Feminist perspective in Chapter Two indicated the belief that keeping abuse a secret makes it easier for that abuser, and others, to offend again.

The teacher will need to keep in mind, however, that many children are aware of the possible consequences of reporting abuse. They might have heard of children being removed from their homes, and of abusers going to prison. Therefore the teacher must make it clear to the pupils what the likely outcome of reporting will be. If the school has the services of a confidential counsellor, the pupils can be encouraged to talk to this person. In this way the decision of what to do about the abuse can still be theirs, but advice from another person can help them to decide on a course of action.

The main point for the teacher to stress, however, is that a child does not need to walk around with a burden of secrecy. Sharing this information with a person who is able to help can in itself have a powerful healing effect.

2. Teenagers can be sexually abused.

True. In the discussion of "Risk factors" in Chapter Two it was shown that teenagers are at a very vulnerable age (Finkelhor 1986). Trust, affection and feelings of "love" can be manipulated by an older person. In much the same way that young children have a need for affection and attention, teenagers can feel trapped in a relationship with an important older person which begins to turn sexual.

The teacher should also point out that adolescents are sometimes not aware that they are being abused. In the definition of abuse in Chapter Two, it was shown that the intention of the abuser is relevant, and that the awareness or non-awareness of the victim is not at issue. Boys may view pornography or indulge in mutual masturbation without being aware of the effect that such activities might have on their future attitudes and behaviour. It is important for the teacher here to point out that the sharing of pornographic material between peers is not considered abusive, although it may be harmful. The abusive element is introduced when the sharing of such material is by an older person, and chiefly for that person's sexual gratification. As such, there is always an element of ulterior motive present, with the older person usually moving towards the possibility of direct physical contact.

5. Most sexual abusers are men.

True. Research presented in Chapter Two indicated that 80% to 90% of abusers are men. The teacher should stress, however, that this is not to say that 80% to 90% of men are abusers. Boys and girls in the class must understand that a statement is not being made that most men are dangerous.

The teacher can ask the class what they think the reason is for this preponderance of men. Although it was shown in Chapter Two that the reasons for this are not totally clear, nevertheless it may be possible to sensitise the pupils to some current beliefs, such as the sexual socialisation of men, which was discussed in that chapter.

16. Sexual abusers are mentally deranged in some way.

False. The fact that most abusers are what society considers normal was discussed in Chapter Two. It was pointed out that there is no profile of the typical abuser, and that abusers

come from all walks of life and educational and socioeconomic levels.

14. Some men are sexually attracted to children.

True. Evidence showing this was presented in Chapter Two. There is, however, no clear reason why this is so. Apart from considering some aspects of the sexual socialisation of men which were discussed in Chapter Two, it may not prove profitable to pursue this line of discussion with the pupils, other than for general interest.

It is important for the teacher to point out, however, that not all men who sexually abuse children are attracted to them sexually. In this respect, the role of power and dominance as considered in the Feminist perspective becomes relevant. In addition, the tendency of some men to fulfill a sexual need by whatever means available and however inappropriate can be considered.

18. A person who is sexually interested in children should keep this information to himself.

False. The treatment of offenders was discussed in Chapter Three. It was shown that although rates of recidivism after treatment might be relatively high, nevertheless in many cases treatment is helpful in preventing further abuse. Therefore, while it might be unwise for a person with a sexual attraction to children to make this information generally known, the teacher can point out the positive benefits of seeking help in order to learn to control such feelings.

The teacher should remain aware that there may be boys in the class who experience these tendencies. At the same time, other pupils may openly express disgust at such a thought. The teacher should, therefore, attempt to keep these negative expressions to a minimum, as they most likely will have the

effect of discouraging any boys from getting help in controlling deviant sexuality. Although it may be argued that allowing expressions of disgust may strengthen the taboo against abuse, it is suggested that the effect on potential abusers may be to make them too ashamed of such feelings to discuss them in a helping situation. It is also believed that other statements will have taboo strengthening effects, such as those dealing with the negative consequences of sexual abuse.

3. "The man is the boss" is an attitude that can sometimes lead to abuse in a family.

True. The Feminist perspective discussed in Chapter Two indicated that children in strongly patriarchal families where the father is seen as all powerful and in charge are more at risk of sexual abuse. A man who believes that he has ultimate authority over his wife and children will expect them to obey his wishes. In these situations, sexual abuse can often be a demonstration of power, particularly if the father sees his position threatened. Research presented indicated that such a man is more likely to be an abuser than a man who believes in a more democratic family system.

17. The attitude of some men that they virtually own women and children can lead to sexual abuse.

True. Arising from the Feminist position is that some men tend to see women and children as property, and that this can lead to them putting their own wishes and needs above those of their family. Such a view is often expressed in the attitude "as long as you're under my roof you'll do exactly as I say." The teacher will, however, need to move cautiously with this view. Some parents may use this type of approach in order to control fairly minor behaviour, and not as a means of total control. Therefore some pupils will have heard their parents saying such things, and need to understand that this does not necessarily mean that their parents are

potentially abusive.

The class can be asked to suggest ways in which men treat women and children as property, and it can be pointed out that such behaviour and attitudes can help to justify abuse.

4. Boys who are sexually abused often become abusers themselves.

True. Research presented in Chapter Two indicated that many abusers have a history of abuse in their own childhoods. Some differences between boys and girls were noted. It was seen that girls often turn their abuse inwards, blaming themselves. Boys may direct their feelings outwards and develop abusing patterns.

The teacher should use this opportunity to suggest that this is another reason why children who have been abused should seek help. Doing so will help to prevent a cycle of abuse from developing.

The teacher should stress, however, that not all sexually abused boys become abusers. Care should be taken that a self fulfilling prophecy type of situation does not develop, where the abused boy abuses someone else because he believes it is inevitable. The teacher can point out that many adult men who are good husbands and fathers were abused as children, but have learned to deal with it. Yet children who notice the development of abusive tendencies in themselves should be encouraged to speak to a trusted adult who can help.

7. An abuser is not really concerned about the child.

True. The characteristics of the abusive situation were discussed in Chapter Two, and it was seen that the abuser's chief aim is self gratification. In this sense there is no special child, or one that has more meaning for the abuser than another. If there is a sexual attraction, it is simply

due to some age related physical characteristic. If the abuse involves an acting out of power and dominance, then the availability of the child is the main issue. That this is the situation is shown by the fact that abusers typically move onto other children, either when the child grows out of a particular stage, or for some reason becomes unavailable for exploitation.

9. Fathers who spend time with their new-born children and share child rearing are less likely to sexually abuse them.

True. Research presented in Chapter Three has shown that the more time a father spends communicating with his newborn children, the less likely he is to sexually abuse those children. This is an important point to stress to pupils. In the discussions on sexism in the Std 7 Unit it was pointed out that girls and boys often believe that women are inherently better at raising children than men. The result of this attitude may be that men have relatively little contact with their newborn children. Both sexes should be encouraged to see the real value in breaking down these sexist stereotypes.

20. Fathers should not hug or kiss their children too much because this may lead to sexual abuse.

False. This statement will enable the teacher to expand on the previous discussion, and indicate that more contact with newborn children implies more touching, hugging and kissing. It should be pointed out to the pupils therefore that physical affection is an important part of children's normal development, and that fathers who show such affection are not more likely to be abusers. Abusers touch children in sexual ways, which are very different to affectionate touch from a caring parent.

In addition it can be pointed out that research has shown

that children who have a poor relationship with their parents are at increased risk of abuse. This issue was discussed in Chapter Two. These children might, therefore, look to other people for needed physical affection if they do not receive it from their parents. In these situations they run the risk of having these needs manipulated for the sexual ends of an older person.

11. Having any kind of deliberate sexual contact with a child is wrong.

True. This statement can serve as a conclusion to the lessons. The class can be asked to justify it on the basis of information discussed in previous statements.

Unit Overview (Lesson allocation):

Lesson 1: Introduction; pupil rating of statements;
discussion of statements 8, 13, 15.

Lesson 2: Discussion of statements 19, 1, 10, 12, 6.

Lesson 3: Discussion of statements 2, 5, 6, 14, 18.

Lesson 4: Discussion of statements 3, 17, 4, 7, 9, 20, 11 and
conclusion.

Handout 13

Unit 4: Std 8

SEXUAL ABUSE

	tick one	
	TRUE	FALSE
1. Sexual abuse is harmful.		
2. Teenagers can be sexually abused.		
3. "The man is the boss" is an attitude that can sometimes lead to abuse in a family.		
4. Boys who are sexually abused often become abusers themselves.		
5. Most sexual abusers are men.		
6. Children who have been sexually abused should keep it a secret, particularly if the abuser is a family member.		
7. An abuser is not really concerned about the child.		
8. Sexual abuse affects approximately 1 in 30 girls and 1 in 50 boys.		
9. Fathers who spend time with their newborn children and share child rearing are less likely to sexually abuse them.		

	TRUE	FALSE
10. Children don't mind being touched sexually.		
11. Having any kind of deliberate sexual contact with a child is wrong.		
12. A person who has been sexually abused is damaged for life.		
13. Abused children are often responsible themselves.		
14. Some men are sexually attracted to children.		
15. Children don't really mind being sexually abused.		
16. Sexual abusers are mentally deranged in some way.		
17. The attitude of some men that they virtually own women and children can lead to sexual abuse.		
18. A person who is sexually interested in children should keep this information to himself.		
19. Some children "lead men on" sexually.		
20. Fathers should not hug or kiss their children too much because this may lead to sexual abuse.		

6.2.4. Standard 9

6.2.4.1. Unit 1: Std 9

Topic: Abuse promoting factors in children's development.

Length: 4 X 30 min lessons.

Aim: For pupils to identify and consider child rearing practices which may promote a future tendency to abuse.

Motivation:

Many authorities believe that some aspects of the way boys are sexually socialised increases the likelihood that these boys will grow up to be abusers (Finkelhor 1982, 1986; Howells 1981). This was discussed in Chapter Two. With a view to future parenting, pupils have a need to be made aware of parenting styles which may create the conditions for abuse to occur, as well as parenting strategies to counter the development of abusive tendencies in their children.

Objectives:

At the conclusion of the unit the pupils should have

1. Understood some of the factors which make men more likely to abuse.
2. Identified personal beliefs about which factors play an important role.
3. Devised strategies for implementation with their future male children which counter these factors.

The Lessons:

The teacher introduces the lessons by saying "Research into sexual abuse has shown that the majority of abusers are men. We also discussed in previous years the fact that men who

sexually abuse children are generally not mentally deranged. As a result, psychologists have asked what it is about men that makes them more likely to be abusers. Some psychologists believe that it is partly a result of the way boys are brought up. The phrase "How a person is socialised" means how a person learns to relate to other people. "Sexual socialisation" is the way in which a person learns to relate sexually to other people. This may be based on attitudes about yourself such as what it means to be male or female, and attitudes about and behaviour towards the opposite sex. Some attitudes that men develop are believed to lead to sexual abuse. The handout which you will be given lists a number of these."

Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 14 on pages 244 and 245, and without discussion or consultation ranks the statements in order of perceived importance. Thus the class is asked "Which statements indicate aspects that you think would have the greatest effect on men becoming abusers?" This personal ranking is done in the column headed SELF.

The class is then divided into groups of 4 or 5 pupils, with each group containing both boys and girls. Individual rankings are compared and discussed, and the aim of each group is to arrive at a final ranking agreed on by all members. This ranking is recorded in the column headed GROUP. Once this has been completed, each group reports back to the class, giving reasons to justify the top four rankings.

Each group now works on the second part of the Handout. This involves considering each statement with a view to devising strategies that parents can employ with their male children in order to counter the abuse promoting attitudes and behaviour identified by each statement. These findings are recorded in the space provided, next to the word "Parent". A brief report back on these findings is held.

The teacher concludes by saying: "The attitudes and behaviour of parents, and the ideas parents pass on to their children, have a major impact on those children's development. One way of preventing sexual abuse is to try and ensure that children grow up in such a way that they develop attitudes which are not compatible with abuse. As future parents you will need to think through these issues carefully, and decide what kind of parents you are going to be, and what kind of children you hope you will have."

Teacher's notes:

The statements on the handout are believed by authorities to be substantially true, and were generated from the discussion of sexual abuse presented in Chapter Two. The teacher should note that giving the pupils an opportunity to dispute the statements will prove to be a distraction and deviation from the objectives of the lesson. Nevertheless, some brief discussion may be necessary to ensure that pupils do not feel "bulldozed" by the teacher. Such a feeling would possibly result in resistance and a lack of meaningful participation. If there is general disagreement as to the validity of any statement, it may be advisable to allow more intensive discussion. A number of the statements, however, have been dealt with in some way in previous units and may only need brief revision.

The aim of the pupils assigning personal rankings to the statements before group discussion is to ensure that pupils will come to these discussions with a personal point of view. The aim of the group ranking is merely to facilitate discussion. Pupils who hold personal viewpoints will be more likely to defend these beliefs in the group, and this should lead to greater depth of discussion. It should be clear, however, that the final group ranking is of no real importance to the further development of parental strategies. It is simply used as a tool to enable pupils to consider the meaning and implications of each statement.

The reports back are aimed to reinforce the importance of the issues discussed, and to enlighten pupils further to the dynamics of each situation. The teacher should require, therefore, that each spokesperson gives clear reasons for a particular ranking.

The discussion of parental strategies is the focal aim of these lessons. The teacher should attempt to stimulate the discussions by visiting groups and posing further questions or suggesting directions. Pupils should be encouraged to be very specific and detailed in their suggestions. The reports back after this section should be as brief as possible, and should merely serve as a reinforcement of common ideas.

It should be noted that the parental strategies being devised are those aimed at boys in particular. The propensity for men to abuse, and the factors affecting this, are the issues of the discussions.

The teacher can conclude by pointing out that many of the strategies devised will be aimed at fathers. Male children will often look particularly at their fathers for a role model, and the importance of the attitudes and behaviour of fathers should be emphasised. Boys in the class can be made particularly aware of their future responsibility in this regard.

Unit Overview (Lesson allocation):

- Lesson 1: Introduction; individual ranking of statements; begin group discussion and ranking.
- Lesson 2: Complete group ranking and reports back.
- Lesson 3: Complete reports back; group discussion to devise parental strategies.
- Lesson 4: Complete group discussion; reports back and conclusion.

Handout 14

Unit 1: Std 9

THE SEXUAL SOCIALISATION OF MEN

Ranking		
self	group	
		1. When a man is shown affection (hugging, touching) by a woman he is more likely than a woman to interpret it as having a sexual undertone. Parents:
		2. When a man feels a need for affection, he is more likely than a woman to seek this in a sexual form, often with any available partner (casual acquaintance, prostitute, child.) Parents:
		3. Some males believe that females and children are inferior. Parents:
		4. Males seem more interested than females in sex with many partners. Parents:

		5. Some males believe that females "belong" to them. Parents:
		6. A boy who is sexually abused may think that he has not suffered any harm, and may grow up to abuse others believing that he is not causing any harm. Parents:
		7. Males seem to have a greater interest in pornography than females. Exposure to pornography may lead some males to view females as sex objects rather than real people with feelings and opinions. Parents:
		8. People often cover up for abusers, and so children never get much chance to hear that abusing another person is wrong. Parents:
		9. Some males think that females secretly enjoy being raped or sexually abused. Parents:

6.2.4.2. Unit 2: Std 9

Topic: What is a good parent?

Length: 3 X 30 min lessons

Aim: For pupils to identify some characteristics of a good parent.

Motivation:

A review of research clearly shows that children most at risk of sexual abuse are those who have a poor relationship with their parents (Finkelhor 1986). Reasons for this were discussed in Chapter Two. Adolescents need to consider some aspects of good parent child relationships, so that they can begin to develop attitudes and beliefs which will enhance their future parenting skills.

Objectives:

At the conclusion of the unit the pupils should have

1. Identified and discussed a total of ten characteristics of a good parent with respect to a parent of the same sex as themselves.
2. Considered some characteristics of a good parent with respect to the opposite sex.
3. Devised specific examples illustrating some of these characteristics.
4. Had the importance of these characteristics reinforced by peers.

The Lessons:

The teacher introduces the lessons by saying "In a previous section we discussed what parents can do to try and ensure that their children, particularly boys, do not develop

abusive attitudes and behaviours. Many of you will agree that we often learn best from people who we admire and respect. This is true for our relationship with our parents. When children have a good relationship with their parents, they will be more likely to listen to their opinions and beliefs, and to go to them with problems. Good parents, therefore, have a very positive affect on their children's development, and these positive effects are often passed on to the next generation. The opposite can happen when parents do not treat their children well, or employ harmful child rearing techniques. Their children, knowing no better, do the same to their own children, and a negative cycle develops. So being a good parent has lasting positive benefits. But what is a good parent? What are the kinds of things parents should and shouldn't do in order to give their children the best possible start in life?"

Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 15 on page 251. The class is divided into boys and girls, and the boys are further divided into smaller groups of four or five. The girls are similarly divided, ensuring that there are an equal number of female and male groups. Each male group is "twinned" with a female group for purposes of later discussion. At this stage, however, they work separately.

The boys are asked to discuss and write down on the handout any five characteristics of a good father, and the girls any five characteristics of a good mother. Once this has been completed, each group swap handouts with their opposite sex twin group. The new group attempts to add five characteristics to the list. In this way the boys consider characteristics of a good mother, and the girls the opposite.

A spokesperson from each group now goes and sits with the opposite group. This person explains and justifies to that group the additional characteristics suggested by his or her group.

When this has been completed, each pupil individually ranks those characteristics which apply to his or her own sex in order of importance.

Teacher: "Now I want you to imagine that I (the teacher) have been invited to speak to a group of parents on the subject "Being a good parent." Using your top five ranked characteristics, write a short speech for me to use in such a talk. Explain each of your five points carefully, and try to give examples where possible. Remember to give the speech an introduction and conclusion."

The pupils work on this speech individually without discussion. Once completed, they swop speeches and read what other pupils have written.

The teacher can suggest that some of these speeches may be used as orals in language classes. Particularly interesting examples could be printed in newsletters to parents, or published in the school magazine.

Teacher's notes:

In devising characteristics, pupils must be encouraged to be specific and state the characteristics in behavioural terms as far as possible. For example, pupils may suggest "A good father loves his children." This is inadequate for the purposes of the discussion. The pupils should be shown that "A good father spends time with his children" is a more acceptable behavioural statement of that love.

Time limits need to be set on each part of the discussions. Each part should take approximately ten minutes. The teacher should, however, remain aware of the level of the discussion and shorten or lengthen the time accordingly.

The number of characteristics which each group initially suggests (five) is arbitrary, and the teacher may want to

increase this. Care should be taken, however, that the topic is not so comprehensively covered by the first group that the opposite-sex group can find nothing to add.

At the stage where the spokesperson explains and justifies the extra characteristics added, the listeners must be encouraged to actively listen by asking questions, requesting examples and ensuring that the explanations given are full and detailed. The process will lose impact if the spokesperson merely reads out a list of additional characteristics.

Pupils should be encouraged to write their speeches without discussion or consultation with other pupils. The speech should be based on the five characteristics individually identified as being important. In this way, a wide variety of ideas will be developed by the class as a whole. Pupils will also, in this way, be more likely to focus on characteristics which have more importance to them personally, and this will have a reinforcing and enhancing effect.

It is also suggested that the teacher should ask the pupils to "write a speech for me" rather than "write a speech for you to deliver". The idea of public speaking may be unpleasant to some adolescents. Even though it is an imaginary speech, if they feel that it is being written for themselves they may be inclined to do it less thoroughly, seeing as the idea itself may be stressful.

The teacher should think of creative uses for the speeches. Some have been suggested, but each school will offer particular opportunities unique to its own circumstances. Some schools may allow pupils to read their speeches at gatherings of the pupil body. It might be possible for some pupils to deliver their speeches at an actual Parent/Teacher Association meeting. The experience of this researcher is that the views of teenagers on such subjects is often received with interest by parent groups. Opinions delivered

in such a way can have a beneficial effect in reinforcing some positive behaviour of parents, with resultant benefits to their own children.

Pupils in schools also value feedback from teachers on assignments. It is therefore suggested that the teacher should read and comment on all speeches.

Unit Overview (Lesson allocation):

Lesson 1: Introduction and devising of own-sex characteristics.

Lesson 2: Groups swop handouts and add characteristics; spokespersons report to opposite-sex group.

Lesson 3: Individual ranking of own-sex characteristics, and speech writing.

Handout 15

Unit 2: Std 9

WHAT IS A GOOD PARENT?

A GOOD MOTHER:

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

A GOOD FATHER:

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

6.2.5. Standard 10

6.2.5.1. Unit 1: Std 10

Topic: Rape

Length: 4 X 30 min lessons

Aim: To sensitise pupils to the dynamics and underlying causes of rape, and to expose common rape myths.

Motivation:

The fact that rape and sexual abuse lie on the same continuum of behaviour was discussed in Chapter Two. In previous Units (Std 8) the pupils will have discussed rape in some depth. It was pointed out in Chapter Four that a single exposure to an issue is not considered sufficient for the development of attitudes. Revision and reinforcement of opinions and positive behaviours is necessary to assist in the development of psychologically healthy lifestyles. In addition the earlier material is built on and expanded to consider issues in greater depth.

Objectives:

At the conclusion of the unit the pupils should have

1. Revised the concepts discussed in the section on rape in Std 8.
2. Become aware of rape promoting factors in society.
3. Had attitudes reinforced which mitigate against the occurrence of rape.
4. Become more aware of personal attitudes and behaviour with respect to rape promoting factors.
5. Become aware of the types of stereotypes which are assigned to men and women, which create the conditions for rape.

The Lessons:

The teacher introduces the topic by saying "In previous discussions we have considered the issue of rape, and looked at some of the myths surrounding rape. We saw that rape is a complex problem, and that there are many misunderstandings about why men rape, and how women can respond".

The teacher should stress that as the topic is a very sensitive one, the pupils should treat it seriously and not joke about it. This will decrease discomfort which might be experienced by any member of the class who has had a rape experience.

Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 16 on pages 263 and 264. Without discussion or consultation, pupils mark each statement as being either TRUE or FALSE. Each statement is then discussed one at a time by the class as a whole (not in small groups). In these discussions, the teacher acts as facilitator and provides information only when necessary.

Teacher's notes:

The strength of this unit lies in the fact that the statements provided allow for a very broad view of the subject of rape. As such, different groups of pupils will focus on different aspects, and the teacher should be sensitive to the directions being set by the class. These directions will often give the teacher a good idea of the needs of that particular group. Therefore, some statements can be skipped over fairly quickly, and others will require more time and discussion.

A danger of any large group discussion is that a small number of vocal members may dominate, often at the expense of the views and active involvement of other group members. This might argue for small group discussions. It is felt, however,

that the complex nature of the problem of rape is such that without guidance, small groups might end up actually reinforcing rape myths, through not being aware of facts and circumstances. Therefore the suggestion is made that the teacher should lead a large group discussion. He or she should, however, be constantly aware of the participation level of all members of the class, and actively encourage general participation.

What follows is a brief consideration of each statement, offering some guidance to the teacher for the direction of discussion. The statements on the handout are in random order to prevent pupils from guessing responses according to perceived patterns. Nevertheless there are certain themes, and groups of statements which are linked. It is suggested, therefore, that the statements should be discussed in the order presented below.

It has been pointed out that rape is a complex problem. The teacher should reflect this during discussions, and point out that statements do not always need to be considered as absolutely true or false. Pupils who choose an option other than the generally accepted one should be given an opportunity to justify their choice. This will often lend richness and depth to the discussions.

The teacher should continually challenge the pupils to evaluate themselves in relation to relevant statements. For example, they need to consider if they themselves joke about rape, or hold sexist attitudes, or accept violence as normal.

The statements:

7. There are an estimated 73,000 rapes in South Africa each year (approx. 200 per day).

False. It was shown in Chapter Two that the estimated number of rapes are closer to 400 000, or over 1000 per day. If

pupils need to be reminded how these figures are obtained, the teacher can refer to the introduction to Unit 1: Std 8.

3. Most women who are raped are sexually attractive.

False. There is no evidence that attractive women are more prone to being raped. It was pointed out in Chapter Three that the physical availability of the woman and the chances of the rapist getting away with it are the main factors in rapists selecting their victims.

5. A woman who dresses in a sexy way is more likely to be raped than one who does not.

False. There is no evidence that women who dress in a particular way are more prone to being raped. As with statement 3, the assessed chances of getting away with it is the main issue.

8. Generally speaking, a rapist is sexually turned on by a woman, and then decides to rape her.

False. It was shown in Chapter Three that rape is primarily an act of violence, whereby a man expresses his power and domination over a woman. Although some measure of sexual arousal may be present, the violent nature of rape can be seen in the fact that he proceeds with the assault, despite the victim's protestations and attempts to escape.

Some pupils, while understanding the violence aspect involved in rape in general, may struggle to see this as it applies to date rape. They may suggest that a boy is sexually attracted to his date, and that this will be his motivation to rape. In this sense the statement may be true. The teacher should point out, however, the distinction between a desire to have sex, and a decision to have sex. The former is based on sexual attraction, the latter is based on the fact of superior power. As such it is fundamentally violent.

6. Generally speaking, men have a sex drive that is almost impossible to control.

False. It is a myth that men are unable to control their sex drives, and one which leads to a belief that a woman is ultimately responsible for controlling sexual behaviour. This in turn leads to victim blaming, and this issue was discussed in Chapter Three. Pupils can be introduced to the "pressure boiler" type of theory which suggests that once men reach a certain level of sexual arousal they lose control of themselves and cannot be blamed for what happens. This places the responsibility on the victim, who is seen as "causing" the "pressure".

The teacher should stress personal responsibility for actions. This was shown to be a fundamental principle of the Humanist approach discussed in Chapter Two.

2. Most rapists are mentally deranged in some way.

False. It was shown in Chapter Two that most rapists are what society considers to be normal. The myth is reinforced by films and videos in which rapists are generally portrayed as being deranged. While such a rapist does exist, discussion in Chapter Two showed that such rapists are in the minority. The teacher can ask the class "Why do film makers tend to focus on this type of rapist, seeing as this is not typical?" The answers forthcoming will help enlighten the class as to the skewed perception of rape.

4. Most rapists are what society calls normal.

True. This links to the previous statement, and was discussed in more detail in Unit 1: Std 8.

12. Generally speaking, women are inferior to men.

False. It is quite likely that some pupils will indicate this

as being true, either to be provocative, or actually believing it. The teacher should allow such pupils to have their say, and allow other pupils to respond. Some pupils may want to discuss the meaning of the word "inferior", and this can help put the statement into perspective. The teacher can point out that "inferior" means "of less worth", and is not related to issues of strength or ability in any particular area.

19. Believing, even slightly, that Statement 12 is true, makes the rape problem worse.

True. The teacher should point out that seeing others as having less worth is the basis of discrimination, and discrimination implies being badly treated. A man who views a woman as being of less worth than himself is unlikely to put her wishes before his own.

14. Contempt for women underlies most acts of rape.

True. Pupils may find this statement extreme. It may be necessary for the teacher to point out that ignoring another person's rights or wishes is an expression of contempt at the most basic level. The class can be asked to identify general male attitudes towards women in society. This should serve to illustrate the point further.

18. In South Africa, a man cannot be charged with raping his wife.

True (as at July 1993). There is no recognition of rape in marriage under South African law. The most that a woman can charge her husband with is assault, and to do this she will need evidence of physical injury. This may not be present in a situation where a husband has forced his wife to have sex with him. The implications of this should be pointed out to the girls in the class as an example of their legally inferior status in society. It may be that some girls express

outrage over this. The teacher should see this as positive and encouraging of future advocacy efforts on the part of women as was discussed in Chapter Five.

23. Men often treat women as "property" and this makes the rape problem worse.

True. Attitudes of women as property were discussed in Chapter Two. Pupils should be asked to give examples of how males do this. It is this researcher's experience that when directed to do this, both male and female adolescents will show awareness of these attitudes in themselves and society.

In addition it can be pointed out that many girls indicate they feel secure by feeling "owned" by their boyfriends. The teacher should point out that this is a false security, in that it relies on the actions and behaviour of someone else. As such it cannot be controlled over time. In contrast the restrictive nature of such "security" becomes evident over time, for example when a girl's boyfriend refuses to allow her to talk to other boys, even when her intentions are quite innocent.

22. If statement 18 is true, it would make the general rape problem worse.

True. It was pointed out in Chapter Two that if a man can rape his wife at will, his opinion of women as property will be reinforced. This may generalise to all women.

10. Normal sexual intercourse can often be painful for a woman.

True. Under stressful or tense conditions, the muscles of the vaginal wall can constrict, making intercourse painful. In addition, if a woman is not sexually aroused, the vaginal area may not be adequately lubricated, and this can also cause intercourse to be painful.

13. Many women, even though they may not want to have sex, still get a physically pleasant sensation while being raped.

False. Rape involves assault, which causes pain. The conditions applying in statement 10 also apply. In addition, pupils can be asked to consider the physical nature of a woman's sexual response. The organ of sexual arousal is the clitoris. This organ is not necessarily stimulated during sexual intercourse, even when intercourse is with a partner of choice.

20. Most women don't really mind being raped, because the sex is still sex - nice!

False. The same reasons apply for this statement as for the previous ones. The statement is repeated here in different words to enable the point to be emphasised. The teacher should ensure that a thorough explanation of women's sexual response is given, in order to counter what may be a very pervasive and damaging myth.

1. Men who joke about rape make the problem worse.

True. The teacher should suggest that joking about what is a very traumatic and hurtful crime may reinforce the idea that rape is not so serious. It may also reinforce the idea that women enjoy rape.

9. The way men sometimes talk about sex to each other makes the rape problem worse.

True. It was shown in Chapter Two that men's sexual socialisation leads them to divorce sex from relationships. Men may focus on a particular body part, such as the breasts or legs, without consideration for the whole person. This reduces women to the level of objects, and such de-

personifying makes it easier for a man to ignore the actual person in an act of rape. Men who brag about their sexual "conquests" reinforce the idea that a man's masculinity is defined by the number of sexual contacts he has, regardless of how inappropriate the circumstances or sexual partners may be.

17. Sexist attitudes make the rape problem worse.

True. Sexist attitudes stereotype women, and portray them as inferior, and as property. This issue was discussed in Chapter Two in the consideration of the Feminist perspective. It was pointed out that one of the roles assigned to women is that of a "satisfyer" of men's sexual needs. This makes it more likely that a man will consider it justifiable to demand that a woman comply with this role, regardless of her personal inclinations. Once again, the class can be asked to consider the general attitudes of men towards women in society.

16. Violence is sometimes seen (by society) as a sign that a person is a "real" man.

True. Many men "prove" their masculinity by aggression. This can be seen clearly in certain sports, where the more aggressive person is often the winner. When not actually winning, such sportsmen can gain an admirable reputation for being "tough". The role of violence was discussed in Chapter Two. The idea that "a real man gets what he wants" may be pervasive in society. This implies a certain level of aggression because presumably what he wants is not always forthcoming, and needs to be taken, by force if necessary.

24. General tolerance of violence in society makes the rape problem worse.

True. The impact of violence was discussed in Chapter Two. Images of violence on television and in films desensitise

viewers to the traumatic effects of violence on individuals. This desensitisation extends to the violent nature of rape, which may as a result be seen as less extreme or harmful. The teacher can also point out that if a man believes that women must be available for sex, he may consider violence as an appropriate means to this end in the face of non-compliance. This is particularly so in light of the fact that the idea of violence as a problem solving technique was shown to be pervasive in society.

15. The underlying message of much pornography is that women's bodies are available for men's use and enjoyment.

True. Pornography de-emphasises the person, and creates images which focus men's sexual desires on physical gratification centred around sexual objects. In addition, women in pornographic material are portrayed as being available to the man's wishes. This reinforces stereotypes, and the perception of women as property.

11. Pornography increases the chances of women being raped.

True. Although it was pointed out in Chapter Two that no empirical evidence for a direct link between pornography and rape has been shown, it is a strong assertion of the Feminist position that pornography creates some of the conditions in which rape can occur. This happens in the way which was discussed under statement 15. Violent pornography was shown to desensitise the viewer to the effects on the victim. Some pornography shows women being raped, and enjoying it. This reinforces the idea that women get sexual pleasure from being raped.

21. No matter how much we talk, there is really not much that can be done about the rape problem.

False. The prevention of all types of sexual abuse was discussed in Chapter Three, and it was shown that prevention

can be effective. In addition, the class can personally be challenged on aspects of their own behaviour. The teacher should stress personal responsibility for actions to the boys. Girls can be challenged as to their willingness to accept the stereotyped roles imposed on them. Both sexes can be challenged as to what values and attitudes they plan to instil in their own children.

Unit Overview (Lesson allocation):

It is assumed in the following overview that certain statements will require more discussion than others due to the revision nature of some of the material. This will vary from group to group. Therefore the allocation of certain statements to particular lessons is fairly arbitrary, and will no doubt change according to the needs of each particular group.

Lesson 1: Introduction, pupil rating of statements, and discussion of statements 7, 3, 5, 8, 6.

Lesson 2: Discussion of statements 2, 4, 12, 19, 14, 18.

Lesson 3: Discussion of statements 23, 22, 10, 13, 20, 1.

Lesson 4: Discussion of statements 9, 17, 16, 24, 15, 11, 21.

Handout 16

Unit 1: Std 10

RAPE

In present day South African society, every woman is a potential rape victim. This means that many women are haunted by fear of rape.

The frightening effects rape has on women's lives, and its increasing occurrence make an understanding of the crime and its perpetrators of utmost importance.

Achieving such an understanding requires exposing some of the sexual and rape myths that have helped protect the rapist and men's dominant position in society.

(The Sexual Face of Violence - L. Vogelmann 1990)

TRUE OR FALSE:

1. Men who joke about rape make the problem worse. T / F
2. Most rapists are mentally deranged in some way. T / F
3. Most women who are raped are sexually attractive. T / F
4. Most rapists are what society calls "normal" men. T / F
5. A woman who dresses in a sexy way is more likely to be raped than one who does not. T / F
6. Generally speaking, men have a sex drive that is often almost impossible to control. T / F
7. There are an estimated 73,000 rapes in South Africa each year (approx. 200 per day). T / F
8. Generally speaking, a rapist is sexually turned on by a woman, and then decides to rape her. T / F
9. The way men sometimes talk about sex to each other makes the rape problem worse. T / F
10. Normal sexual intercourse can often be painful for a woman. T / F
11. Pornography increases the chances of women being raped. T / F
12. Generally speaking, women are inferior to men. T / F

13. Many women, even though they may not want to have sex, still get a physically pleasant sensation while being raped. T / F
14. Contempt for women underlies most acts of rape. T / F
15. The underlying message of much pornography is that women's bodies are available for men's use and enjoyment. T / F
16. Violence is sometimes seen (by society) as a sign that a person is a "real" man. T / F
17. Sexist attitudes make the rape problem worse. T / F
18. In South Africa, a man cannot be charged with raping his wife. T / F
19. Believing, even slightly, that Statement 12 is true, makes the rape problem worse. T / F
20. Most women don't really mind being raped, because the sex is still sex - nice! T / F
21. No matter how much we talk, there is really not much that can be done about the rape problem. T / F
22. If statement 18 is true, it would make the general rape problem worse. T / F
23. Men often treat women as "property" and this makes the rape problem worse. T / F
24. General tolerance of violence in society makes the rape problem worse. T / F

6.2.5.2. Unit 2: Std 10

Topic: Issues of sexual abuse.

Length: 4 X 30 min lessons.

Aim: To revise earlier work on sexual abuse and to show that rape and sexual abuse are behaviours on the same continuum.

Motivation:

The similarities between rape and sexual abuse were discussed in Chapter Two, and referred to in an earlier unit (Std 8). If pupils become aware of these similarities it is suggested that attitudes of censure towards rape will be generalised towards sexual abuse. In addition, pupils will become more aware of the dynamics and underlying causes of these behaviours, and that they are actually different extremes of the same problem. As such, preventative efforts directed at one will often benefit the other.

Objectives:

At the conclusion of the unit the pupils should have

1. Revised earlier work on sexual abuse.
2. Had attitudes negating abuse reinforced.
3. Generated a list of similarities between sexual abuse and rape.
4. Understand that rape and sexual abuse are different extremes of the same type of behaviour.
5. Had concepts of prevention reinforced.

The Lessons:

The teacher introduces the lessons by saying: "In previous years we discussed the issue of sexual abuse. We discussed

who abusers are, what type of attitudes lead to abuse, what an abused person can do, and ways of preventing abuse from occurring. As a reminder of that, I want you to look at the following handout." Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 13b on pages 269 and 270. This is the same handout dealt with in detail in Unit 4 in Std 8. The teacher rapidly goes over each statement, asking the class to verbally indicate TRUE or FALSE. In cases of general agreement, a brief supporting statement can be made. For any statement where there is substantial disagreement, the teacher can allow a short time of discussion. Seeing as each of these statements have been previously discussed, the teacher should not allow this part of the lesson to go on for too long, unless there is a real interest expressed in any particular statement.

The teacher then says "We have also discussed the issue of rape, and looked at reasons why men rape as well as ways of preventing it". The class is now divided into groups of four or five, with each group consisting of both boys and girls. A time limit of fifteen minutes is given, and each group is asked to discuss the following question:

In what ways are rape and sexual abuse similar?
Consider all aspects, such as effects, victims, perpetrators, reasons for the act, attitudes which make the problem worse, and anything else of relevance.

At the conclusion of these small group discussions, each person is given a copy of Handout 17 on page 271. One person from each group acts as spokesperson and reports back to the class on that group's findings. Each of the ideas thus presented are considered by the class as a whole, and when agreement is reached on an idea it is written down on the lines provided. In this way a list of agreed on similarities is generated.

The teacher concludes by indicating that the motivations,

effects and prevention of rape and sexual abuse are similar, and that such behaviours are merely different extremes on the same continuum.

Teacher's notes:

The comparison of rape and sexual abuse will allow for a great deal of repetition and reinforcement of previous concepts. It may be possible for the teacher to have minimal input, and this is to be aimed at. If the teacher can simply act as a facilitator of the discussions, the pupils will be more likely to internalise the material, which will then prove to be more relevant.

Although important work will be done in the small group discussions, the teacher should not see the reports back as a formality, or the mere passing on of information. Rather, a great deal of the important discussion needs to take place at this level. In order to achieve this, pupils should be allowed to speak their minds. It may be that opinions are expressed which run counter to the aims of the lesson. By giving pupils opportunities to agree or disagree with expressed opinions, a process of meaningful discussion is likely to take place. Pupils will also modify each other's opinions on certain issues.

At other times the teacher may need to ask additional questions in order that the pupils think more deeply about some issues than they normally might.

It is suggested that fifteen minutes is a reasonable amount of time for the small groups to generate similarities. This time can be adjusted by the teacher to suit the particular circumstances. It may be better to shorten the initial discussions, and allow more time for the reports back and subsequent discussions.

It may be that some groups find difficulty in generating

similarities. In this case the teacher can have a greater input. A few possibilities are suggested below. However, this should not be done too soon, as pupils must be given the opportunity to "grapple" with the problem.

Some similarities:

1. Rape is sexual abuse.
2. Most perpetrators are male.
3. Most victims are female.
4. Most perpetrators are what society considers normal.
5. Sexist attitudes encourage both acts.
6. Patriarchal views encourage both acts.
7. The view of women and children as property encourages both acts.
8. Victims of both acts often feel responsible; yet neither are to blame.
9. Some men think that victims do not mind.
10. Both types of victims tend to keep it a secret.
11. Victims tend to think that the psychological damage caused is irreparable.
12. Healing for victims of both acts is possible.
13. Perpetrators are not really concerned about the victim.
14. It is possible to recognise abusive tendencies relevant to both types of act in oneself, and work to deal with these.

Unit Overview (Lesson allocation):

- Lesson 1: Introduction and revision of Std 8 Handout.
- Lesson 2: Small group discussion of question, and reports back.
- Lesson 3: Continue reports back.
- Lesson 4: Complete reports back and conclusion.

Handout 13b

Unit 2: Std 10

SEXUAL ABUSE

	TRUE	FALSE
1. Sexual abuse is harmful.		
2. Teenagers can be sexually abused.		
3. "The man is the boss" is an attitude that can sometimes lead to abuse in a family.		
4. Boys who are sexually abused often become abusers themselves.		
5. Most sexual abusers are men.		
6. Children who have been sexually abused should keep it a secret, particularly if the abuser is a family member.		
7. An abuser is not really concerned about the child.		
8. Sexual abuse affects approximately 1 in 30 girls and 1 in 50 boys.		
9. Fathers who spend time with their new-born children and share child rearing are less likely to sexually abuse them.		

	TRUE	FALSE
10. Children don't mind being touched sexually.		
11. Having any kind of deliberate sexual contact with a child is wrong.		
12. A person who has been sexually abused is damaged for life.		
13. Abused children are often responsible themselves.		
14. Some men are sexually attracted to children.		
15. Children don't really mind being sexually abused.		
16. Sexual abusers are mentally deranged in some way.		
17. The attitude of some men that they virtually own women and children can lead to sexual abuse.		
18. A person who is sexually interested in children should keep this information to himself.		
19. Some children "lead men on" sexually.		
20. Fathers should not hug or kiss their children too much because this may lead to sexual abuse.		

Handout 17

Unit 2: Std 10

RAPE AND SEXUAL ABUSE

In what ways are rape and sexual abuse similar? Consider all aspects, such as effects, victims, perpetrators, reasons for the act, attitudes which make the problem worse, and anything else of relevance.

A large rectangular box containing 20 horizontal dotted lines for writing.

6.2.5.3. Unit 3: Std 10

Topic: Child rearing

Length: 4 X 30 min lessons

Aim: To identify positive child rearing practices.

Motivation:

The training of parents and future parents in sound child rearing practices has been shown to be an effective prevention technique (Garbarino 1986). Many Std 10 pupils are close to the age at which they will have children, and it is suggested that as such they are amenable to discussions of this type. In addition, the identification of positive child rearing practices gives such adolescents the opportunity to think about these issues in a non-stressful (ie. no children) environment, and the enhancement of positive attitudes and behaviours becomes a possibility.

Objectives:

At the conclusion of the unit the pupils should have

1. Considered goals of development for children.
2. Generated child rearing practices aimed at these goals.
3. Evaluated their own ability to apply these strategies.
4. Considered what needs to be done on a personal level in order to improve in those areas where they themselves perceive shortcomings.

The Lessons:

The teacher introduces the lesson by saying "Many of you might have younger brothers or sisters, below the age of six. Or you might have friends, or know people, who do. You might have looked at these children and thought "What nice kids!"

or you might have thought "I hope my children don't grow up to be like that". Some people think that it's a matter of luck, that some people just have nice kids and some don't. Psychologists believe, however, that the way children are treated, and the way they are brought up has a very real effect on the type of children they become."

The class is divided into groups of 4 or 5, with each group containing boys and girls. Each group must then consider the characteristics of the "ideal" child, by answering the following question:

What type of person would you like your son or daughter to be. Mention any six characteristics which are relevant to either sex.

The teacher should point out that characteristics do not need to apply to a particular age. Some can apply to younger children, some to older. Approximately ten minutes should be allowed for this discussion. A spokesperson from each group reads out the list to the class, and these are recorded by the teacher on the blackboard or overhead projector. Once all groups have reported, the teacher asks the class to agree on any eight characteristics from the total list which they consider to be particularly important. Reasonable consensus must be obtained on this.

Each pupil is given a copy of Handout 18 on page 277, and the eight characteristics are written down in the space provided under GOAL. The class now divides back into smaller groups, and each characteristic is considered in the light of the following instruction:

Suggest any three things that parents can/should do in order to achieve this particular goal.

Suggestions are written down in the space provided. Once all groups have discussed each of the eight characteristics

(goals), a brief opportunity is given to each group to report back to the class.

Finally, pupils rate themselves individually in the columns provided, indicating which child rearing practices they would find difficult to implement, and which more easy.

The class is then divided into pairs. Each pupil is given the opportunity to indicate to his or her partner which practices were rated as "difficult for me", why they were so rated, and what could be done to improve on those aspects. This discussion serves as the conclusion to the lessons.

Teacher's notes:

There are five distinct phases to this unit. The first is the identification of the eight characteristics or goals by the small groups. This needs to be done fairly quickly, and the teacher should not allow prolonged discussion.

The second phase is the generating of the larger list by combining all groups' suggestions, and the selection of the eight more important ones. Again, this need not take too long, and only very general consensus need be obtained.

The third phase is when the class, again in small groups, attempt to devise actual child rearing practices aimed at achieving the goals. It is in this phase that the teacher should encourage and allow deeper discussion. Groups should be challenged to be specific and detailed. A group that suggests that parents should "love their children" should be asked to indicate in what ways such parents can actively show such love. This needs to be done at the small group stage, and the teacher should walk around the class and attempt to be aware of the suggestions that are being made. Group leaders can be required to obtain suggestions from every member of the group, thus ensuring maximum participation.

The fourth phase is the report back to the class. As with the first two phases, this should be kept as brief as possible, and serve mainly as a comparison and reinforcement of ideas. Nevertheless it is necessary that the teacher ensure that all suggestions are explained meaningfully, and with examples whenever possible.

The fifth phase involves the pupils in self rating and brief discussion of these ratings with other pupils. It is here that the pupils have the opportunity to become aware of shortcomings as well as the possibility of growth in these areas.

For purposes of clarification an example of a partially completed handout is provided below. Naturally this will vary considerably from group to group.

GOALS	Suggest 3 things that parents can/should do in order to achieve these goals.	difficult for me	easier for me
		tick one	
1. Intelligent children.....	- read to child..... - provide educ. opportunities - improve own education.....		
2. well behaved children.....	- set good example..... - reasonable discipline..... - be consistent.....		
3. good child-parent relationships....	- spend time with children... - take time to listen..... - show support for activities		

Unit Overview (Lesson allocation):

Lesson 1: Introduction; phases 1 and 2.

Lesson 2: Phase 3.

Lesson 3: Phase 4 - the report back on phase 3.

Lesson 4: Self evaluation and discussion in pairs (phase 5).

Handout 18

Unit 3: Std 10

POSITIVE CHILD REARING PRACTICES

GOALS	Suggest 3 things that parents can/should do in order to achieve these goals.	diffi- cult for me	easier for me
		tick one	
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		

CHAPTER 7

IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

7.1. Introduction

The first aim of this study was to suggest and justify the adoption of a national strategy or combination of strategies appropriate to the South African situation.

It was shown that current prevention efforts in this country suffer from being well meaning but generally haphazard attempts to initiate individual projects. Even when implementation of projects has been taken on by larger and established agencies, there is a tendency for them to be relatively short lived and often dependant on the pioneering spirit of at most a few enthusiastic people.

Such a strategy would hopefully provide the framework in which existing prevention efforts could be understood, sustained and extended. In addition it would stimulate and provide direction for new efforts.

The suggestion of a national strategy for the prevention of sexual abuse, and the discussion of the various components which could constitute such a strategy, is an attempt to meet this aim.

The second aim was to develop a guidance programme for use in the secondary school, which attempts to address the issue of the primary prevention of sexual abuse. Rather than develop a programme aimed at teaching children self-protection skills, it was shown that there is a greater need for strategies aimed at preventing people from becoming abusers. This aim has been achieved insofar as a programme has been devised. Problems surrounding its implementation and effectiveness will be discussed in this chapter.

7.2. Implications

This section deals with the implications of the implementation of the guidance programme presented in Chapter Six.

7.2.1. The question of guidance as a change agent

What is the function of guidance in a school? There are two broad views with respect to this question. The one is that guidance should be aimed at helping children to adjust to the demands of the society in which they find themselves, in order to become productive members of that society. This view is supported by investigations such as that conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council in 1981. The Council's brief was to find ways in which education in general and guidance in particular could contribute towards fulfilling the needs of the country with respect to manpower shortages (HSRC 1981). This view is shared by many educationists, although it comes in for some criticism:

Proponents of psychological education espouse concern for the individual child. But their basic task appears to be helping children to adjust to what the school [and by implication society] has decided is good for them.

(Arbuckle 1976: 427)

The other general view of guidance is that while it should assist children with their adjustment to society, nevertheless it has an important role to play as a change agent. School counsellors should, through the medium of guidance, create opportunities whereby the pupils are critically exposed to injustice of various forms, and to structures and attitudes in society which may limit their own development.

The issue of sexism is a case in point. It was pointed out in Chapter Two that sexist attitudes and structures in society create the conditions in which sexual abuse can occur. It has also been strongly argued that sexist attitudes can often be seen as the primary reason for some sexual abuse.

Some lessons presented in Chapter Six aim to challenge the pupils to look critically at sexist attitudes and practices in everyday life. The aim is therefore to encourage change, both in attitude and behaviour.

This concept of guidance as a change agent has been receiving support in the literature for many years.

*This, then, is my basic thesis:...If counsellors see themselves as advocates of the young in this country...then their goals and objectives are not always going to be the same as those voiced by administrators and by the majority of teachers...There should be no secret about their allegiance, nor need there be any enmity because of it...a counsellor's being 'for' the student does not necessarily mean that the counsellor is against society, but it does mean that the counsellor is the advocate for the individual, and for the rights of the individual...It appears that the majority of administrators, counsellors and teachers are dedicated to helping children adjust to society, rather than helping them to modify the environment that surrounds them so that it does not deny their individuality... They will be change agents.
(Arbuckle 1976: 430)*

This researcher's professional experience confirms such a position to be a very reasonable one. This study tends to cement this view, with sexual abuse showing itself to be a pervasive problem in society demanding attention.

7.2.2. Challenging parental values

A study of the content of the lessons presented in Chapter Six indicates that in a number of circumstances, some pupils will have the values of their parents challenged. This is again clear with respect to sexism, where it would be usual for many parents to hold sexist attitudes, or for fathers to treat their wives in a manner consistent with a patriarchal structure.

It also becomes a problem as a result of the material presented in other lessons, such as in Standard 9, where the pupils are asked to evaluate factors in their own upbringing that might create problems with a future tendency to abuse.

In order to assimilate all of this, pupils will often need to become critical of their own parents' ideas, beliefs and practices. On the one hand this can be seen as positive. Miller (1983) indicates that it is only when we recognise the destructive pattern instilled in us as children by our parents that we become free to break the cycle of poor parenting, or abuse, with our own children. In addition, it might be argued that certain traditional views and beliefs held by some parents severely restrict the ability of their children to develop towards full potential. These arguments, however, tend to be used in considering adult children. In other words, the argument is made that adults need to reflect on and evaluate their own childhood in order to identify harmful attitudes and practises displayed by their parents.

The question here, however, is whether teenage children are capable of dealing with the consequences of such reflection. Does the average teenager have the maturity to deal with

information which indicates that he or she was brought up in less than ideal circumstances? The answers to this question are not clear. It may be that children in stable homes, who are loved and experience this on a daily basis, can safely challenge their parents on these issues. In these cases children may be able to criticise certain parental practises, without becoming critical of everything their parents are or stand for. The parents of these children may, in turn, be able to hear such criticism without seeing it as a challenge to their authority, or as reflecting on their basically good parenting.

It is possible, however, that some families will not deal with it in this way. Some children may see any such faults as grounds for a major rejection of their parents and their values. Their parents in turn may see this as an act of rebellion or defiance. In these instances it might inflame an already volatile situation.

Yet what is the alternative? By the time adulthood is reached, opinions and attitudes are often entrenched, and it becomes harder to realise that the assumptions on which one's behaviour is based may be suspect. Adolescence is a time of challenging, re-defining and re-evaluating (McGregor 1988). It is to some extent an ideal time, therefore, for the presentation of issues such as those in the lessons. Indeed, the challenging of parental values can quite correctly be seen as a process of achieving independence. That it can be a difficult transition is not sufficient reason to attempt to bypass it, because it is probably a developmental given that *"Achieving independence from one's parents is not a painless process...and can cause considerable distress"* (Ralston and Thomas 1974: 70).

Therefore such challenging of parental values which may result from these lessons could be seen as a positive, even normal occurrence.

7.2.3. Challenging school authority

Some pupils might, as a result of discussions in the lessons, challenge certain aspects of school authority. An example of this is with respect to sexual harassment. Although sexual harassment is not a separate topic of any lesson, it does become an issue in some. This can be seen in the Standard 6 lessons, where pupils are asked to indicate if they have the right to refuse to be hugged or kissed, or object to sexual comments being made about them. In addition, in the Standard 8 and Standard 10 lessons pupils have the opportunity to consider how some men treat women. This would logically lead to pupils, particularly girls, becoming more aware of the unacceptable behaviour of some male teachers or pupils, and inevitably lead to complaints which the school authorities would have to address. This can be seen to be a positive outcome of the lessons, although it is suggested that not all schools would see this in a favourable light.

Another problem might arise if pupils, after discussions of sexism, challenge other teachers on their own beliefs and behaviour. This researcher's experience has shown that such challenges are not always welcomed, and this researcher has at times been confronted by teachers for "putting nonsense into their heads". Nevertheless, it is argued that as our country moves towards a more democratic system, and as the rights of individuals become increasingly stressed, this type of challenging will be more likely to be seen as a healthy, if at times risky, process.

7.2.4. The danger of indoctrination

Guidance as a subject in schools runs the risk of falling into the trap of becoming indoctrination. This is because the topics dealt with in guidance often involve issues around which there is substantial dispute. Snook (1972) identifies substantial dispute as one of the warning signs that

indoctrination may be taking place, because of the danger of one-sided teaching.

A person indoctrinates a proposition or set of propositions if he teaches with the intention that the pupils believe these propositions regardless of the truth.

(Snook 1972: 24)

This is not to say that indoctrination does take place in guidance, but that there is this possibility because of the nature of the topics.

The lessons on sexual abuse in Standard 9 illustrate this. It was pointed out in Chapter Two that the issue of the causes of sexual abuse is not clear. Finkelhor's Four Factor Model was discussed, and the conclusion was drawn that a number of factors contribute to a person becoming an abuser. One of these factors may be the sexual socialisation of boys, and the lessons in Standard 9 focus on this. It must, however, be kept in mind that there is substantial dispute about this issue, and the guidance teacher will need to be careful not to allow personal bias into his or her teaching.

Personal bias may influence a teacher in that previous life experiences or firmly held beliefs may dominate that teacher's thinking to such an extent that other possibilities and explanations become threatening. For example, if a woman teacher had experienced abuse, the danger may be for her to react to what she perceived as being the reason for the abuse, and to over-emphasise such factors in any messages she might convey to her pupils. Explanations which challenge her own perception of the abuse as it affected her might be ignored. It is for these reasons that it is argued that "*Where issues are presented over which there is substantial dispute, both sides of the dispute need to be clearly stated*" (McGregor 1988: 138).

7.2.5. Trusting adults

The issue of whether children become generally distrustful of adults as a result of prevention education was discussed in Chapter Three. It was pointed out that a fear is expressed in the literature that children who are told that an abuser can be a family member, or can be someone that the child knows, may come to generalise suspicion to all family members or adults. Research presented, however, showed that this has not generally been observed to be the case.

Nevertheless, the literature on sexual abuse continues to raise this issue, and it becomes relevant to this study because research conducted on this problem so far has been limited to young children. Teenagers, on the other hand, are more sexually aware. There is a possibility, therefore, that after completing lessons on sexual abuse, they may unfairly read sexual overtones into the behavior of adults about whom they would not have felt suspicious previously. This might have a detrimental effect on their relationships with such adults, or lead to suspicion of all affectionate physical contact with adults.

The teacher will need to be aware of this issue, and strive to emphasise the balance between being blind to danger and overly suspicious.

In the Standard 6 lessons on sexual abuse this issue is raised. The girl in the story, Kim, feels uncomfortable when her Uncle Pete makes certain comments, and when he touches her. Yet she does not feel uneasy when her grandfather does these things. This researcher's experience in implementing these lessons showed that pupils of age 12 to 14 were clearly able to differentiate between the intentions behind these behaviours. When asked "Should you be suspicious of all adults?" they emphatically indicated that this was not necessary. Yet at the same time they were able to identify certain danger signs that suggest caution. This holds promise

for the idea that as children become older, they become more able to understand the concept of possible danger, without it affecting their relationships with adults in general.

7.2.6. The rights of children

Many of the lessons emphasise that children have rights. The concept of children's rights is, historically, a fairly recent development. Although societies for the protection of children were established in the last century, nevertheless the idea that children have specific rights has only taken shape internationally in the last decade. The implication of discussing this with children will be that many will start demanding what they perceive to be their rights. This inevitably will bring them into conflict with school authorities and parents.

Much of the unrest in black schooling in South Africa over the last number of years has probably been fuelled by the slowness of educational authorities to recognise the rights of pupils. There is evidence, however, that this is changing. The recognition by the authorities of Student Representative Councils and Parents' Councils indicates a greater willingness to hear the points of view of the consumers in the educational system. This researcher's experience in schools which were formally white only, is that there has been a noticeable change in the desire to involve the pupils and parents in discussion making wherever possible. Therefore, while pupils becoming aware of their rights will undoubtedly create challenges for schools, it is this researcher's belief that this is generally to be welcomed. The challenging of beliefs and values can have a positive effect in both generating commitment to worthwhile and valuable ideals, as well as breaking down those traditional beliefs and practises which deny the full development of the individual. Racism and sexism are but two examples of this.

In addition, children will begin to challenge their parents on certain issues. This is potentially more problematic than the challenging of school authorities, but has been discussed in an earlier section.

7.3. Limitations

This section deals with some limitations of

1. Implementing the National Strategy; and
2. Implementing the school guidance programme.

7.3.1. Limitations of the national strategy

7.3.1.1. Do all communities have a sexual abuse problem?

No research has been done to date which indicates the extent of the sexual abuse problem in different communities in South Africa. In implementing the national strategy an assumption is made that there is a sizable problem in all communities. If this were shown not to be true, it would mean that some of the work of the National Committee proposed in Chapter Five would become unnecessary. It might also indicate that such work is potentially harmful, because it would raise fears in a community which does not have a major problem.

In addition to this, sexual abuse prevention workers can not enter a community with confidence where there is doubt about the extent of the problem.

To some degree this problem can be overcome by recruiting workers from within the community, as proposed in Chapter Five. Even here, however, while such workers will be more inclined to have a "feel" for the extent of the problem in that area, they could conceivably be wrong, or be influenced by personal bias or life experiences.

7.3.1.2. When a community indicates it has no need

The suggestion was made in Chapter Five that an interested group from local communities be identified, and that this group would head up the local prevention effort. In order to do this, however, co-operation would need to be obtained from key people in that community, such as principals of schools, church and civic leaders. The possibility exists that in some communities the leadership as identified may see no need for programmes and strategies aimed at preventing abuse. This opposition could arise for a number of reasons.

There may be objections on religious grounds, seeing as many religious groups are not favourably inclined to discussions of sexual issues with young children. In addition, some religious groups are traditionally very wary of any moves which arise out of a feminist perspective.

It may also be that the leaders of a particular community genuinely do not believe that there is a significant sexual abuse problem. This itself would be hard to refute without concrete research evidence.

In these circumstances, the problem for the National Committee would be whether to withdraw from attempting to initiate action, or whether to push on regardless of the opposition of certain people in the community. The first action runs the risk of not providing adequate protection for children who may be in danger; the second of increasing opposition against prevention.

It is clear that neither of these outcomes is desirable, and possibly the best course of action in a situation such as this is for the National Committee to begin by attempting to win over the leadership so that ultimately full support can be achieved.

7.3.1.3. Threatening the "expert" status of individuals

In the discussion in Chapter One of prevention efforts in South Africa it was pointed out that although various projects have been initiated, these are rather fragmented and scattered. This was one of the motivations for instituting a national strategy. Such a strategy would hopefully pull these individual efforts together, and through co-ordination and shared expertise spread their effectiveness.

However, this researcher's experience is that some of these individuals or organizations have acquired the status of "expert", in some cases justifiably. The implication of the introduction of a national strategy is that these individuals and organizations may perceive themselves as being swallowed by the larger body, and thus losing their own identities and with it the assignment of expert status. This may lead to resistance to becoming involved in a total prevention strategy. This could prove to be a great disadvantage because not only might services be duplicated by "competing" organisations, but the sharing of much needed expertise will be severely limited.

The National Committee will need to address this issue very carefully if it is to avoid the pitfalls mentioned. A structure needs to be developed at the local level which is designed by participating individuals and organisations, and which is flexible enough to accommodate the various prevention efforts which are already in operation.

7.3.1.4. Dealing with disclosures

In the discussion of a school policy on sexual abuse in Chapter Five, it was pointed out that should a school introduce a prevention programme, it would be necessary to have a service ready and able to cope with disclosures of sexual abuse. It was shown that such disclosures of abuse have been the common experience of schools and organizations

who have attempted prevention work.

The same principle holds true for a community initiating prevention efforts. It is certain that individuals will come forward seeking help with abuse problems. Therefore a community first has to develop the resources to cope with this, before initiating any programmes.

This may prove to be a relatively time consuming exercise, as counsellors and other helpers are trained. Yet to initiate any prevention programmes before such a structure has been established runs the risk of doing further damage to abuse victims who are encouraged to go for help, but who find no suitable resources.

7.3.2. Limitations of the school guidance programme

7.3.2.1. The general applicability of the programme

This researcher's experience as a school counsellor and guidance teacher has been in predominantly white, co-educational English speaking schools. The guidance programme, therefore, is designed from this perspective, despite also drawing on the international literature. Although it could logically be implemented in schools with a similar pupil population, its applicability to other schools of significant cultural difference can be questioned.

Nevertheless it is argued that the values and assumptions out of which the lessons grow are fairly universal in acceptance by specialists and other child care workers in the field. Assertions such as that women and children generally enjoy a lower status than men, that men's aggression is often expressed in acts of sexual aggression against women and children, and that children have certain protective rights, are all assertions that have fairly wide support internationally. Therefore it may be argued that the basic aim and objectives of the lessons do have more general

applicability. Naturally, the teaching methods suggested for each lesson can be adjusted to suit local conditions. For example, small group discussions and reports-back may not be realistic in very large pupil groups. In these cases teachers may need to adjust the methods of implementation. Yet the fact that teachers may need to adjust the method of teaching applies to all circumstances of implementation, and not just in different cultural situations. The lessons were designed to allow flexibility for the teacher, and this would apply even to teachers who find themselves in similar schools to that of the researcher.

7.3.2.2. How effective is the programme?

The evaluation of this programme was not one of the aims of this study, and it is therefore not possible to say with any certainty whether the programme is effective or not, that is, whether it meets the global objective of reducing the amount of sexual abuse.

There is evidence, however, that the guidance lessons do challenge attitudes, encourage change, and effectively communicate self-protection skills. This evidence comes from the response of the pupils when the lessons were used in the school situation by this researcher. It became evident from the discussions that followed that many pupils grasped and understood the implications of the material presented. This was evident from the depth of the actual discussions, the richness of the reports-back, and many individual comments and questions to the researcher after the lessons.

In addition, both school counsellors at the school where the lessons were implemented reported increased disclosures of actual sexual abuse, as well as many queries from pupils regarding how to help friends who had suffered abuse.

Despite this positive evidence, however, the actual effectiveness of the programmes, both in terms of whether the

pupils grasp and retain the concepts, as well as whether actual abuse is reduced, remains untested.

7.3.2.3. The teacher's views and teaching ability

In the introduction to the guidance lessons in Chapter Six, it was pointed out that the effectiveness of the lessons will depend to the extent to which the teacher holds certain attitudes and views. It is relevant to repeat these here.

The lessons will be more effective if the teacher

1. believes in personal responsibility for actions;
2. sees growth towards full human potential as an important aim of education;
3. believes that all people, regardless of race, gender or age, have equal worth;
4. recognises the unequal situation existing between men and women and agrees that it should not be so;
5. believes that children have rights;
6. holds non-sexist views which mitigate against the assigning of gender roles;
7. is comfortable in discussions of sexual topics;
8. Has worked through any situations of abuse in his or her own childhood;
9. believes in the need for preventive action.

(p 156)

How will it affect the outcomes of the lessons if the teacher does not share these beliefs, or only holds some?

It is suggested that this would be a crucial factor in the effectiveness of the lessons. For instance, a teacher with strong sexist attitudes could hardly be expected to teach non-sexism effectively.

A teacher assigned to present these lessons could even

conceivably be an abuser, or have been guilty of sexual harassment. This is quite possible when one considers the high incidence of abuse and sexual harassment as presented in Chapter One, and the fact that abusers come from all walks of life.

In addition to these considerable disadvantages, the teacher may simply be an ineffective educator, in that he or she may teach in a boring manner, or not be well received by the pupils.

It is for these types of reasons that some agencies in other countries which have developed prevention programmes for schools, prefer to send presenters into the schools rather than make use of the teachers. At an international conference on sexual abuse in the United States in 1991, the director of such an agency working in California indicated to this researcher in conversation that these were the reasons why her agency had moved away from using teachers.

Nevertheless, while these limitations certainly do apply, and should be taken seriously, the advantages of using teachers rather than outsiders was discussed in Chapter Five. It was argued that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages.

Then too, it is entirely possible that the presenting of these lessons can have an impact on the presenter in terms of changing his or her attitudes. An abuser, while working through the material, could come to an awareness of the damage caused by abuse and the reasons for it, and be encouraged to seek help. A teacher who holds sexist views, but has never really thought deeply about the issue, could experience personal growth as a result of these ideas being challenged.

7.3.2.4. The problem of "spotlighting" boys

Perpetrators of sexual abuse are predominantly male. This was shown in Chapter Two. Many of the guidance lessons in Chapter Six highlight this and attempt to deal with the reasons for it.

For example, the lessons in Standard 6 clearly emphasise that most abusers are male, and that the attitudes held by many males are a real problem. In the Standard 7 lessons on sexism pupils discover that sexist attitudes work mainly against women, and that sexist attitudes are common among men. In the Standard 8 lessons on rape, male attitudes are again identified as a problem. This trend continues in the Standard 9 and 10 lessons.

One of the results of this is that the boys in the class are spotlighted in a fairly negative way. This researcher's experience has shown that they often feel very uncomfortable with this. In addition, some girls in the class may make direct accusations against certain boys, such as "Yes John, that's just the way you act towards girls!"

This can become quite problematic. This researcher has observed two typical reactions from boys in these situations. The first is that some boys withdraw from the discussions, and make little contribution to the progress of the lessons. The second is that some take up a defensive position, and discussions can often deteriorate into a heated and often verbally aggressive argument between the boys and the girls.

The teacher needs to do everything possible to prevent this situation from occurring, because if it does it can seriously affect the positive progress of the lessons. There might be some argument for holding these lessons with boys and girls separately. This might ensure that the boys feel less directly threatened and therefore more willing to consider the issues, and might allow the girls freedom of expression

without fearing a verbal backlash from the boys.

7.3.2.5. Re-victimising victims

Statistics indicating the high prevalence of sexual abuse make it very likely that in any class group, there will be children who have been sexually abused or raped. This researcher's experience has shown that these children often struggle a great deal with their feelings and thoughts when abuse or rape is discussed. Some such children have even indicated privately that they would prefer to be excused from attending further lessons.

It would be very unfortunate if abuse victims felt themselves victimised again by the nature of the discussions. Therefore the teacher must strive to keep the tone of the lessons acceptable to all. As was mentioned in the teacher's notes following certain of the lessons, joking by the class and thoughtless comments need to be carefully controlled.

Provision has been made in all the lessons dealing directly with abuse or rape for a positive, healing message to be made, in order to anticipate this danger. For example, in the Standard 6 story about Kim, emphasis is placed on the fact that she was not responsible for what happened. Such positive concepts need to be emphasised continually.

7.4. Further research

7.4.1. The prevalence of sexual abuse in South Africa

One of the clear research needs to emerge from this study is that of a national research programme to determine as closely as possible the actual extent of the sexual abuse problem in this country.

It was shown in Chapter One that while estimates of the extent of the problem can be made, these are no more than extrapolations from research done in other countries, as well as some evidence of the incidence of abuse in South Africa gathered from agencies dealing with reported cases. As such, any estimates can best be seen as informed guesses. Expectations are that research will prove the estimates to be accurate, but this has as yet not been shown.

The author of the first major prevalence study in the United States, Diana E.H. Russell, indicated to this researcher at a conference on child abuse in Cape Town in September 1993 that she is currently planning the first South African study. She did not feel hopeful, however, that this would be a large scale national investigation. Yet this is exactly what is needed, and an organisation such as the Human Sciences Research Council may be ideally placed to undertake it.

Such a study would not only highlight the general extent of the problem in South Africa, but would also give important information on the question of whether sexual abuse is more prevalent in certain communities than in others. Although the majority of studies in other countries have found no significant differences between communities, a national study in the United States by Finkelhor, Hotaling, Lewis and Smith (1990) found a disproportionate number of disclosures from one particular area, namely California. No explanations are given for these findings, but it does indicate that there may be a possibility that some communities experience more abuse. In these findings, however, the evidence is very tentative.

Another real benefit of such research is that it would provide a base rate against which prevention efforts could be measured. If prevention efforts in this country are successful, then one should find in the long term that less children report having been abused than do at present.

7.4.2. The aetiology of sexual abuse

In Chapter Two, various theories regarding the reasons for sexual abuse were identified and discussed. The national strategy suggested in Chapter Five, and the guidance programme developed in Chapter Six, are based on certain of those theories, as has been indicated.

However, it was pointed out in Chapter Two and Chapter Three that many of the theories are largely untested by research. This points to a second research need. More information is required in terms of what evidence there is to support various theories, as well as how the theories relate to and supplement each other.

This study is based on a humanist/feminist perspective, and some clear research directions logically emerge.

- * To what extent do abusers deny responsibility for their actions?
- * To what extent do abusers hold sexist views?
- * To what extent do abusers hold patriarchal views of women and children?
- * Does the early childhood of abusers and the methods of parenting employed by their parents lend evidence to the theory of incorrect or inadequate socialisation?

These are some research questions, the answers to which would provide valuable information for the designing of prevention programmes.

7.4.3. Methodological issues

Research has been conducted and methodologies developed which assess whether children understand and retain prevention

concepts. As was pointed out in Chapter Three, however, little has been done to establish a method of discovering if prevention programmes actually reduce abuse. It was shown in Chapter Three that there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that they do, but such evidence can be considered flimsy when one observes that this information comes from a relatively few individuals out of a vast population who are exposed to prevention education.

The problem is that no method has yet been developed of measuring the non-occurrence of an abusive event. If a child indicates that he or she has not experienced abuse, this may not be the result of any prevention effort but may have occurred in any case.

Yet ultimately this seems to be the only really meaningful way of demonstrating that prevention is effective - by showing a reduction of abuse in a particular population. Methodologies to do this, therefore, need to be developed as a matter of urgency, as more and more human and financial resources begin to be allocated to prevention efforts.

7.4.4. Piloting and evaluating this study

While most of the lessons developed in the programme have been used in a school setting by this researcher, this was not in the strict sense of piloting the lessons, but more as an aid in their initial development. It is suggested that three directions now need to be taken.

1. The lessons need to be assessed by teachers familiar with conditions at schools and communities different to the one out of which these lessons were developed. On the basis of such assessments modifications and changes to the lessons may be made.

2. Once this initial assessment has been completed the lessons should be formally piloted, and on the basis of this modified again.
3. The final stage is evaluation. As has been pointed out, it is not possible at this stage to determine whether the implementation of the programme actually reduces abuse, but two aspects of evaluation are possible and potentially fruitful.
 - i. Do the pupils understand the concepts presented? Are these concepts meaningful to the developmental stage at which the pupils find themselves? Are these concepts retained for a meaningful period of time?
 - ii. Do problem attitudes which pupils hold, which create the conditions in which abuse can occur, change or become modified as a result of the programme?

7.5. Conclusions

This chapter has looked at some of the implications of the implementation of both the National Strategy as well as the high school guidance programme. Limitations of both of these have been discussed and further research indicated.

It must be borne in mind that the main focus of this study is the primary prevention of sexual abuse, mainly by preventing people from becoming abusers. The high school programme in particular addressed itself to this.

It is surely clear, however, that the development of attitudes, beliefs and behaviours begins long before pupils reach secondary school age. In fact, by the time children reach the secondary school many of their values and attitudes

have already been well formed. As a result, much of this study concerns itself with the changing of attitudes. There is, thus, clearly an argument to extend and develop the concepts inherent in the programme for use in primary schools. At the present time those primary schools which do offer some form of prevention education almost exclusively do so by teaching self-protection skills. This is not enough. Attitudes and values which are taking shape during these formative years need to be addressed.

Such a programme in the primary school, and this programme in the high school, needs to be firmly rooted in a total sexuality programme. It is ironic that the Cape Education Department made a self protection programme available to its primary schools in 1991, when it had not yet introduced a sexuality programme. The latter was only done in 1993, and then only for Standards 4 to 7. At the time of writing no official sexuality programme exists for pre-primary to Standard 4, or from Standard 8 to 10. Teachers are expected, at least in the primary school, to feel comfortable dealing with sexual topics as part of sexual abuse education, yet no major inroads have been made into helping teachers feel comfortable with discussing normal sexuality.

This researcher is convinced that once sexuality education is firmly in place in all levels of schooling, that programmes such as the one developed for this study will gain wider acceptance and be able to make a significant impact on the values, attitudes, life-styles and behaviours of the adults of the future.

At the same time, children can learn that they have the right to be free from all unwanted touch or harassment, and can learn how to stand up for themselves in demanding these rights.

Implementation of the types of strategies suggested in this study, and further development and evaluation of educational resources is a priority.

The payoff for such attention will certainly be a better understanding of the problem of sexual abuse and better ways of reducing its toll on children. (Finkelhor 1986: 254)

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