CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE: A CONSTRUCT RECONSIDERED

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis titled

Child Sexual Abuse: A Construct Reconsidered

is the result of my own investigation and research and that it has not been

submitted in part or in full for any degree at any other university.

ABSTRACT

It has become increasingly apparent to those in the field of child protection that there has been considerable progress in the campaign to protect children from sexual abuse. The last three decades of the twentieth century saw a burgeoning of research into the phenomenon of child sexual abuse (CSA). There have been considerable advances in research at all levels — epidemiology, aetiology, definition and recognition, pathogenesis, prognosis, treatment and prevention of CSA (Leventhal, 2003). Empirical research on CSA has gained currency over the years. Empirical research assumes that everyone knows and agrees on what CSA is. This 'knowing' of CSA has become so deeply embedded in language, culture, laws, policies, practices and institutions that some of these ideas have become accepted truths.

Despite this sense of 'knowing' that many have in relation to CSA, the majority of children in the world still remain at risk and sexually abused children are fundamentally no better off today than they were 100 years ago. This study, therefore, raised questions concerning the knowledge most people have in relation to CSA, especially those with professional knowledge in particular fields related to it. The study examined professional knowledge about CSA as articulated through trained practitioners in particular fields related to it. It also raised questions concerning the epistemological origins of and the frames of reference underpinning their knowledge of CSA, the assumptions and judgements upon which their knowledge is based, and whether this knowledge best serves the interests of children in the twenty-first century.

The underlying premise of the study is that the act of constructing CSA and creating knowledge about it is social and political. Representing a social problem in a particular way requires power. Professionals in a revered field of knowledge, such as education, health or the law, command power and are significant voices that contribute to our understanding of CSA. Fundamentally, this study focused on the discourses that six trained practitioners (three school counsellors, a chief medical officer, a social worker and a police official from the Child Protection Unit) in particular fields related to CSA in the Central Durban area utilised in their constructions of CSA, and what functions these discourses serve. In South Africa they form an integral part of the country's inter-departmental initiatives (health, education, justice and the police service) in its integrated and multidisciplinary approach to preventing abuse.

These practitioners are professionals in revered fields of knowledge, such as education, health and law, and are significant voices that contribute to our understanding of CSA. Knowledge of how they construct CSA is vital because their constructions circulate within the broader community, are supported by various institutions and become the official or normative understanding of CSA.

Through the use of in-depth, open-ended questionnaires with these six purposively selected trained practitioners and the analysis of two CSA case documents from a hospital in the Central Durban area, the study addressed two pertinent questions: what discourses do trained practitioners in the field of CSA utilise in their constructions of CSA, and what functions do these discourses serve?

The results suggest a complex interplay of dominant discourses that are based on bio-psycho-social and medico-legal constructs. The results also suggest that while the field of CSA is dominated by these deeply embedded discourses that often act as barriers to other ways of understanding CSA, trained practitioners also utilised unscientific and irrational orientations in understanding this complex phenomenon. Considering the findings, it is imperative that these epistemic gazes established by these dominant positions be challenged, grounded alternatives be provided that are consistent with the realities of CSA, and concerted efforts be made toward a paradigm shift in the way CSA is conceptualised, if we are to serve the best interests of children. Children surely deserve no less.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

"Do ye hear the children weeping

Oh my brothers…"

The Cry of the Children

(Elizabeth Barrett Browning in de Mause, 1974, p. 1)

This work is dedicated to Him, the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the One who hears the Cry of the Children in a paradise lost and who will one day wipe away all the tears from their eyes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

"Do ye hear the children weeping
Oh my brothers…"

The Cry of the Children
(Elizabeth Barrett Browning, cited in de Mause, 1974, p. 1)

1.1 Introduction

In a frequently quoted observation, Lloyd de Mause wrote that "the history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awake" (de Mause, 1974, p. 1). The sexual abuse of children worldwide is not a recent phenomenon but a documented age-old practice. As many researchers have attested, child sexual abuse (CSA) has occurred throughout human history (Taylor, 1953; de Mause, 1991; Kriel, 1991). Historical accounts have been found of childhood molestation, including incest, among the ancient Greeks and Romans, in Renaissance accounts and during the Victorian era. When one goes further back in history, one finds more evidence of CSA (Taylor, 1953; de Mause, 1991; Kriel, 1991).

While it is clear that the sexual abuse of children has occurred throughout human history, the construct of CSA only entered the arena of professional discourse and public consciousness in the late 1960s. Prior to that time, CSA was not named. It was not singled out for attention and one could not easily think or talk about it (Southwell, 2003, p. 4). It was not widely talked about in the media, it was rarely a subject of public policy and it was only very narrowly investigated as a subject of medical research. Furthermore, 200 or 300 years ago in Europe, sexuality in itself, let alone adult or child sex, was not a feature of public debate or concern and was invisible. By the 1980s CSA became tangible to us when it became constructed as a social phenomenon in the public arena. When this occurred, CSA became firmly established in the public arena as a serious social problem and an issue for reflection, research and intervention (Southwell, 2003, p. 4-5). Today CSA appears to be a clearly established phenomenon of contemporary life in metropolitan societies (Levett, 2007).

1.2 Rationale

A policeman comes across a man who is on his hands and knees under a bright streetlight, apparently searching for something. In response to the policeman's inquiry, the man says he is looking for his key which he dropped as he attempted to put it in the keyhole of his front door. The policeman points out that the door is several metres away from where the man is searching. "Yes", the man replies, "but the light is better over here."

When reviewing the literature on CSA one notices an expanding divide between empirically oriented researchers (medical or psychological) and the complex conceptual analyses provided by contemporary social philosophers and critical theorists (Levett, 2007). The last three decades of the twentieth century saw a burgeoning of research into the phenomenon of CSA. Research has advanced considerably at all levels — definition, recognition, causes, prognosis, treatment and prevention of CSA (Leventhal, 2003). However, many of the researchers appeared to have behaved very much like the unfortunate man in the above story, looking for answers where "the light is better". A review of the literature reveals that most research on CSA is located in the normative discourses of medicine. They are organised around terms involving aetiology (causation of CSA), epidemiology (prevalence and incidence of CSA) and treatment. Thus, empirical research on CSA that is based on the assumption that everyone knows and is in agreement on what it is and what should be done about it, proliferates. Southwell (2003, p. 3) points out that these interpretations of CSA have become dominant over recent years and are so deeply embedded in discourse, culture, laws, policies, practices and institutions that some come to function as truths.

Southwell (2003) in the discussion paper "Rethinking our Knowledge about Child Sexual Abuse" provides a brief overview of how these influential ideas about CSA have become dominant over recent years. At the beginning of the twentieth century, and up until the 1970s in Western society, CSA was dominated by the emerging fields of psychiatry and sexology. Paedophilia was seen as a fairly common sexual perversion (Freud, 1905, 1977; Krafft-Ebing, 1922) and the sexual abuse of children was thought to be quite rare (Myers, Diedrich & Lee, 1999). Sexual contact between children and parents was uncommon and it was thought to be something that children commonly fantasised about on their road to maturity. As a result, when children talked about abuse, their accounts were viewed sceptically by professionals (Myers et al., 1999; Driver & Droisen, 1989; Bell, 1993).

The criminal law of various areas accorded statutory rape a level of recognition. Non-family members were prosecuted in the vast majority of cases that were prosecuted (Myers et al., 1999). The legal discourses constructed abuse by non-family members less as a crime and more as violating the father's property rights. Within the legal discourse, incest was also viewed less as a crime against the child as an individual and more as a crime against nature and the family as an institution. The future generation was thought to be contaminated by inbreeding (Bell, 1993).

In the 1960s, the "battered child" was discovered by the medical fraternity and the private world of the family became an area of investigation by medical science. Within the family a number of abusive behaviours against children slowly came to be recognised and became topics of investigation for medical and social research. Psychological theories proliferated to make sense of why parents did not protect their children or why certain children were susceptible to abuse. The existence of CSA, together with the physical and psychological harm it causes children, was acknowledged to an unprecedented degree (Southwell, 2003).

While CSA was being identified and classified as a problem caused by the psychopathology of individuals and families, the women's movement was becoming politically powerful and found a social stage on which to theorise the oppression of females. CSA became problematised as 'male violence' because of the predominance of men as perpetrators of abuse. Thus, CSA was viewed as male social power expressing itself and as a way in which patriarchal social relations are entrenched (Edwards, 1987; Driver & Droisen, 1989; Stoltenberg, 1990). Feminists defined the sexual exploitation of and violence against women and children as crimes of rape and sexual assault, positioning them as the province of social and criminal justice (Mackinnon, 1989).

From this time onwards new voices, together with medical, psychological and feminist constructions of CSA, have emerged and old voices have re-emerged to shape our thinking on CSA. The children's rights movement viewed the problems experienced by the family and community as problems of the vulnerability of children and a lack of social and political power (Mudaly, 2002; Atwool, 2000). Indigenous people not only utilised feminist and psychological frameworks of meaning in understanding CSA in their communities but also constructed CSA as a result of the breakdown of traditional social systems after the European

invasion (Australian Broadcasting Commission, 2001; Lees, 2001). Colonialism has been viewed as producing and sustaining a social environment in which CSA could proliferate (Southwell, 2003).

Similarly, right-wing moral conservatives have interpreted CSA in contemporary society as resulting from the moral erosion of society caused by the disintegration of the traditional family system and liberalised attitudes towards sexuality. CSA is constructed within this framework as a violation of the sexual innocence of children (Haaken & Lamb, 2000). Sexual libertarians have also made their contributions vocally to public discourse on CSA by challenging the view that CSA is wrong and harmful. They have argued that adult-child sex should be viewed as a normal and natural expression of human sexuality, and that abuse is exceptional. They attribute the real problem to the perpetuation of a Victorian attitude toward sexuality that denies that children have sexual needs and desires and are inherently desirable (Jefferys, 1990).

Today, most people claim to know what CSA is. This may be believed even more strongly by those in revered fields of knowledge who claim to have expert knowledge on CSA. They claim to have knowledge on what behaviour constitutes CSA, on what causes abuse, on what the main characteristics of perpetrators are and on how to deal with perpetrators. They also claim to know about abused children, what their needs are, what the short- and long-term effects of abuse are, how to intervene to protect children, and how to assist abused children in their recovery (Southwell, 2003).

Despite this knowledge that many people have on CSA, the majority of children in the world still remain at risk and sexually abused children are fundamentally no better off today than they were 100 years ago. This raises concerns about the adequacy of this sense of 'knowing' and whether it best serves the interests of children in the twenty-first century. This study, therefore, sought to provide a space for reconsidering the phenomenon of CSA by interrogating this sense of 'knowing' that most people have in relation to CSA, especially those in revered fields of knowledge. It joins in the "scholarly conversations" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p.136) or debates of Collings (2008) (who in many ways is the father of CSA research in South Africa), Levett (2007) (the mother of South African research on CSA) and Southwell (2003) (an international scholar).

These 'giants' have been a welcome stimulus to the researcher to interrogate this sense of 'knowing'. Collings (2008) in his inaugural lecture, "See no evil, hear no evil: The rise and fall of child sexual abuse in the twentieth century," points to how dominant frameworks do not serve the best interests of children. Southwell (2003) in her discussion paper, "Rethinking our Knowledge about Child Sexual Abuse," also raises concerns about the adequacy of these frameworks. Levett (2007) too, in her chapter, "Nog'n klip in die bos" (Translation: Another stone [thrown into] the bush), invites us to debate and to undo our common assumptions around CSA.

1.3 Focus and purpose of the study

This study, therefore, sought to provide a space for reconsidering the phenomenon of CSA by raising questions concerning the knowledge most people have in relation to CSA, especially those in revered fields of knowledge. It examined expert knowledge about CSA as articulated through trained practitioners in particular fields related to CSA, and raised questions concerning the epistemological origins and the frames of references underpinning their knowledge of CSA. It also raised questions around what they understand, produce and reproduce about CSA and the assumptions and judgements upon which their knowledge is based and qualified, and about the adequacy of these dominant frameworks in protecting children.

Fundamentally, this study sought to examine the constructions of CSA in order to test the assumption that dominant frameworks still persist in shaping constructions of CSA despite the existence of alternative constructions that challenged the predominant assumptions of these dominant frameworks. It focused on the discourses that six trained practitioners in particular fields related to CSA (three school counsellors, a chief medical officer, a social worker and a police official from the Child Protection Unit) utilised in their constructions of CSA and the functions that these discourses serve. In South Africa they form an integral part of the country's inter-departmental initiatives (health, education, justice and the police service) in its integrated and multidisciplinary approach to preventing abuse. These practitioners are professionals in revered fields of knowledge, such as education, health and law, and are significant voices that contribute to our understanding of CSA. How they construct CSA is vital because their constructions circulate within the broader community and are supported by various institutions and become the official or normative understanding of CSA.

The underlying premise of the study is that the construction of CSA and the creation of knowledge about it are inherently social and political. Social power is needed to create a social stage to represent a social problem in a certain way. Being a professional in a revered field of knowledge may contribute to that power without which many significant voices would be unable to contribute to the understanding of this age-old phenomenon.

1.4. Research questions

Data was generated through the use of open-ended questionnaires with six purposively selected trained practitioners in the field of CSA in the Central Durban area and the analysis of two CSA case documents from a hospital in the Central Durban area.

The study was guided by the following research questions:

    1. What discourses do trained practitioners in the field of CSA utilise in their constructions of CSA?

    2. What functions do these discourses serve?

Three core questions formed the basis for exploring the research questions in this study:

    1. What language do practitioners use to talk about CSA? Is their language objective, independent and value neutral?

    2. What social and cultural practices shape or influence practitioners' constructions of CSA? Do they command power? Are they influenced by the dominant discourses on CSA operating in the contexts in which they operate? Does the institution in which they operate influence how they act and think in relation to CSA?

    3. What assumptions and judgements underpin practitioners' knowledge about CSA? How do they work to produce and reproduce this knowledge, marginalising or suppressing alternative constructions of the problem?

1.5. Theoretical orientation of this study

My interest in interrogating trained practitioners' constructions of CSA led me to pose questions about the frameworks they utilised and the assumptions and judgments that underpin their frameworks. Such a focus directed me to a number of interrelated aspects: the values and attitudes they hold, their educational qualifications; who their employers are; what

their position in the social structure is; how powerful or powerless they are in relation to other people; and what the dominant views of CSA are in the contexts in which they operate. As I proceeded, what became apparent was the need to explain firstly how these trained practitioners came to know and understand CSA, and secondly, how this knowing is shaped by layers of influence (social and cultural).

A fundamental principle on which this study builds is that sexual behaviour is shaped by discourses that are constructed and reconstructed within the social and cultural settings in which we live. These discourses shape how we experience ourselves and our worlds, and thus, deeply influence how we act. Childhood, children's sexuality and sexual abuse are profoundly cultural matters, and knowledge about CSA is historically and culturally constituted (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1985). Beliefs and behaviours that are associated with children's sexuality are embedded in "cultural practices", and cultural communities create norms for sexual relations and for their violation (Richter, Dawes & Higson-Smith, 2007). All understandings of CSA are informed by the social and cultural contexts from which they emerge, and human meanings of CSA originate in socially shared constructions. "Child sexual abuse is a product of social definition. Some sets of facts come to be labelled as CSA because they go beyond the limits of what is now considered to be acceptable conduct towards a child" (Stainton, Hevey & Ash, 1989, p. 44).

Since CSA is always viewed in the context of society, I drew on two interrelated perspectives in social theory — social constructionism and Foucault's notion of power and discourse — that are significant for understanding human social and anti-social behaviours like CSA from a deep historical and critical perspective. They offered tools to unearth and describe how practitioners come to know and understand CSA

I begin with a description of the framework of social constructionism. This framework offered some insight into how knowledge on CSA is historically and culturally constructed (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1985). Issues of sexuality, and by implication CSA, run deep in discourses about social life and social action. Within the framework of social constructionism, language is not simply a means through which we express ourselves but is also instrumental in constructing reality. Social constructionists view language as organized into discourses that are socially and historically constructed (Burr, 1995; Burton, 1999). These discourses not only make up our knowledge of the world but also bestow power, since

how we construct CSA is dependent on the meanings that are attached to this phenomenon (Burton, 1999). These meanings are accessed through the environment and the knowledge that circulates within the broader community, and are supported by various institutions. For social constructionists, the construction of anything, including CSA, is not seen as a neutral process. Social constructionism focuses on power relations, and thus, how we gain our understanding of CSA is seen as a political process.

Foucault's work offers a more realistic but much less cheery view of our embeddedness in culture than social constructionism does. As already stated in the preceding discussion, a fundamental principle on which this study builds is that sexual behaviour is shaped by discourses that are constructed and reconstructed within the social and cultural settings in which we live. While one would not wish to underestimate the very real and devastating effects of CSA, another fundamental principle on which this study builds is that constructions, meanings and practices ascribed to sexuality are where CSA is produced, interpreted and read. CSA amplifies issues of sexuality, the sexual self, and associated meanings and interpretations. An investigation into CSA has to therefore, consider its locatedness and associations within the broader discourses of sexuality. As part of my inquiry into CSA, this study, therefore, explored the ways in which helping professionals in child-protection sectors position the child subject in relation to discourses of childhood sexuality, innocence and abuse, and raised important questions about the ways in which participants represent and discursively constitute childhood sexuality. I did this by drawing on Foucault's work in *The History of Sexuality* (1978).

The position Foucault takes is that sexuality should be understood as historically and socially constructed. During the eighteenth century, a discourse on sex emerged within the medical context: "One had to speak of sex as of a thing to be not simply condemned or tolerated but managed, inserted into systems of utility, regulated for the greater good of all, made to function according to an optimum" (1978, p. 24). The rituals of confession that first emerged in European Christianity in the thirteenth century functioned within the norms of science. Clinical terms codified the speech of the patient. The patient was examined and questioned, and a set of signs and symptoms were utilized to diagnose the patient. Sex became endowed with "polymorphous causal power" (1978, p. 65). It was thought of as latent or elusive and had to be confessed. The one to whom confession was made was "the master of truth" (1978,

p. 67). He not only forgave or judged but also deciphered and interpreted. Sex was 'medicalised' or "placed under the rule of the normal and the pathological" (1978, p. 76).

The expert gaze of surveillance was a pivotal influence in the medicalisation of sex. Foucault (1976) describes how a modern understanding of disease broke with that of classical medicine as a result of the development of the 'clinic'. The clinic was a new institution with a new style of thinking around medicine and practice. The clinical gaze was a central feature shifting from signs of sickness on the surface of the body to an "invisible visibility" (Foucault, 1976, p. 149). What was visible was simultaneously audible, as language was used to describe what was 'seen' below the surface. The medical gaze is not only a cognitive or perceptual skill that the practitioner develops through training but it is the technology that he or she uses to construct and restrain the body of the patient simultaneously. It plays a significant role in allowing and limiting what the practitioner can see. The practitioner describes the functions of the body, and how he or she practises or intervenes in those areas of the body that are of concern. The expert gaze of the practitioner and what is visible results in power through hierarchical observation and normalising judgment.

In Foucauldian terms, power is inherent in the relationship between the practitioner and the patient. This power is linked to knowledge through discourse and is not merely repressive but actually produces knowledge. It was through Foucault's notion of power that I was able to respond to another key aspect of the purpose of this study, namely, the power that allows for certain readings of CSA and disallow others. Such a perspective made it possible for me to explain the links between scientific knowledge on CSA and professional practice. According to Foucault (1970), while scientific knowledge claims that it is external to the workings of power, it is actually part of the deployment of power. Since this study turned an inspecting eye on discourses utilised by trained practitioners in their constructions of CSA, Foucault's work was useful in that it helped to analyse how CSA, a scientifically neutral concept, is deployed in scientific discourse and how these constructions may reproduce practices that act as modes of regulation. To this end, it offered tools to unearth and describe how CSA is managed, normalised and pathologised within scientific discourse. In applying Foucault's theory, I was able to extract the dominant institutions, rules and discourses that act as broad frames of reference structuring the institutions in which they operate.

9

The two interrelated perspectives in social theory that were utilised in this study — social constructionism and Foucault's notion of power and discourse — made a valuable contribution by offering explanatory tools that enabled me to examine critically (a) the naming of CSA by practitioners; (b) the language that practitioners use to talk about CSA; (c) the theoretical frameworks they use in constructing CSA and how they limit what they see; (d) the significant power they exercise in generating knowledge about CSA; (e) the influence of the contexts in which practitioners operate; and (f) the voices that are excluded from socially constructing CSA and the structures that suppress these voices.

1.6. Methodological orientation of this study

As alluded to earlier, the purpose of this study was to interrogate dominant frameworks of meaning surrounding CSA as articulated through the expert or trained practitioner in particular fields related to CSA in contemporary society. The study looked at how these frameworks have become dominant understandings of CSA and how some of them have come to function as truths. Since the purpose of this study was to deconstruct the assumption that a basic, knowable knowledge about CSA exists, I drew on discourse analysis as a methodology. To do this, language became an important means of investigating the phenomenon of CSA. Discourse analysis offered tools to examine the constructive effects of language and the ways in which language constructs particular objects and the function such constructions serve in social relations (Burton, 1999). It offered useful tools to explain how certain constructions of CSA become deeply embedded understandings and come to be accepted as truths. It offered explanations of how knowledge of CSA is constructed from understandings that are socially shared and how they become institutionalised and occupy a factual status. It offered some insight into how assumptions or understandings of CSA that are taken for granted are embedded in certain truths on CSA. It also offered useful tools to overturn dominant understandings of CSA by drawing on other alternative discourses on CSA to demonstrate the constructed nature of dominant understandings of CSA. Thus, Foucault (1984a, p. 60) sets himself the task of "seeing how effects of truth are produced in discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false".

Since this study turns an inspecting eye on discourses utilised by trained practitioners in their constructions of CSA, discourse analysis proved useful for this study in that it helped to analyze how CSA, a scientifically neutral concept, was deployed in their discourses and how these constructions produce practices that act as regulatory structures. It gave an account of

how forms of language are not innocent of serving social, ideological and political interests, how conceptions reveal the subjectivity of their authors, and how their conceptions are related to their positions or place in society.

To do this I drew on two approaches that have emerged from quite different theoretical traditions, one approach that is critical and one that is more cautious. The first, relying on the theoretical insights of Michel Foucault, offers a useful explanation of (a) what valid knowledge of CSA at a certain place and a certain point in time is and (b) how this knowledge of CSA is produced and reproduced (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). It links discourse with power and ideology, and looks at the intimate relation between language and politics. A Foucauldian-based discursive analysis of practitioners' knowledge of CSA offered tools to unearth and describe the language of truth used to construct CSA. The second, relying on Potter and Wetherell (1987), looks at how a phenomenon is discussed and is not so much concerned with changing society. It looks at the various and contradictory discourses that are used to give an explanation of facts and behaviours. The discourse analysis utilised in this study moved between these two theoretical frameworks.

1.7. Conclusion and overview of the thesis

Chapter One provided the background, context and purpose of the study. I set out the argument for the questions that the study sought to address and provided the rationale for a focus on trained practitioners and the discourses they utilized in their constructions of CSA. I outlined the key and supporting questions, and briefly described the methodological and theoretical orientations of the study.

Chapter Two comprises a history of CSA where I foreground the idea that CSA is not a new phenomenon but an age-old practice that has been around since antiquity. Following on this, I review literature pertaining to the construction of CSA, highlighting the debates and the dilemmas surrounding construction. This chapter also provides an overview of the various theoretical positions and highlights some frameworks of meaning that have become dominant in laws, policies, practices and institutions.

Since the purpose of this study was to reconsider such a deeply embedded sense of 'knowing', Chapter Three discusses the background against which these frameworks have emerged, together with the principal objections that have been levelled against them. I do this

in order to highlight ways in which epistemological origins influence constructions of CSA, and the assumptions and judgements upon which these constructions are based and qualified. This brief review serves to locate these frameworks epistemologically and offers a rationale for the theoretical perspectives that informed this study. Following on from this, I discuss the selected theories that informed this study. Here, I draw on two interrelated perspectives in social theory — social constructionism and Foucault's (1984a) notion of power and discourse — that are in some ways highly critical of these dominant frameworks and are significant perspectives that allow for an understanding of human social and anti-social behaviours like CSA from a deep historical and critical perspective.

Chapter Four discusses the methodological orientation of this study and proposes discourse analysis as an appropriate orientation. I offer a rationale for this orientation and show how it offers useful tools to explain how certain constructions of CSA have become dominant understandings, how some of them have come to function as truths, how forms of language are not innocent of serving social, ideological and political interests, how conceptions reveal the subjectivity of their authors, and how their conceptions are related to their positions or place in society.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven detail the specific findings of the research. Chapters Five and Six discuss the dominant discourses utilised by practitioners in their constructions of CSA. Chapter Six considers ways in which dominant epistemological frameworks of sexuality shape participants' constructions and interpretations of CSA. I show how these dominant frameworks of CSA shape practitioners' constructions of CSA and offer limited understandings of such a complex phenomenon. Both Chapters Five and Six offer insight into how, within these particular dominant epistemological frameworks and discourses, the practitioners in this field of practice and the structures within which they operate, operate in a dualistic relationship to each other, with the structures pressing upon them operating and constraining their ability to think differently about CSA. In Chapter Seven I discuss the discursive turn or shift from naturalistic conceptions of CSA to a supernatural counter-perspective that emerged in practitioners' conceptions of CSA in this study. I then present an alternative epistemological approach by exploring whether the constructs of evil and sin, despite their historical location in supernatural discourses, are comprehensible through rational concepts or in secular psychological terms. In doing this, I take a radical dissident leap by attempting to narrow or bridge the divide between rational, naturalistic conceptions of

CSA and irrational, metaphysical thinking on CSA, while acknowledging that we cannot mistake these discursive constructions for fact.

Chapter Eight concludes by summarising insights yielded by the thesis and includes some implications for thinking about CSA for practitioners in related fields. This chapter also focuses on some of the limitations of the research. Although much of this study interrogated the dominant discourses, and in so doing raised more questions than answers, this was a necessary process in order to shift our understandings and explanations of CSA onto more productive pathways. Although this study is likely to constitute no more than an initial volley in a battle that needs to be won if we are ultimately to protect the best interests of children, it is hoped that it will herald more vigorous, multidisciplinary research traditions devoted to the 'deep' understanding of CSA that still eludes us.

What follows in the next chapter is a review of related literature. Chapter Two comprises a brief history of CSA and demonstrates that contrary to the belief that it is a modern-day phenomenon, the sexual abuse of children dates back to antiquity and has been a common ordeal in the lives of children throughout human history. It comprises a review of the literature pertaining to the definitions and constructions of CSA, along with the debates and dilemmas surrounding such constructions, and demonstrates that despite burgeoning research on CSA, several fundamental issues about it remain unresolved and controversial. This chapter also provides a review of how the various institutions, individuals and authorities construct CSA and highlights some frameworks of meaning that have become deeply embedded in laws, policies, practices and institutions. It also highlights the fact that no single construction can provide all the answers about such a complex topic. It is also hoped that in providing this review a greater understanding of the complex issues that attend CSA in all its manifestations may become more apparent.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of deviance 'acts like a mirror or prism that throws light on the dark centre of normal everyday life' (Alasuutari, 1995, p. 27)

2.1. Introduction

The last three decades of the twentieth century saw a burgeoning of research into the phenomenon of CSA. When reviewing the literature one notices an extensive body of research at the level of epidemiology, aetiology, recognition, definition, pathogenesis, prognosis, treatment and prevention of CSA. Although there is extensive research at these levels, very few studies have looked critically at how CSA is constructed or conceptualised. Since the purpose of this study was to reconsider the construct of CSA, it was vital to review literature relating to the history of CSA, literature relating to the definition and constructions of CSA along with the debates and dilemmas surrounding constructions and definition, and finally literature relating to the various theoretical positions and/or arguments that inform how CSA is understood.

This chapter, therefore, comprises a review of literature pertaining to the history of CSA and highlights the fact that CSA has occurred in most, if not all, societies since the beginnings of human history. It also comprises a review of the literature pertaining to the constructions of CSA along with the complexities, debates and dilemmas surrounding constructions, and demonstrates that despite burgeoning research, several important issues about CSA remain contentious and unresolved. This chapter also provides a review of how the various institutions, individuals and authorities construct CSA and highlights some frameworks of meaning that have become deeply embedded in laws, policies, practices and institutions. It also highlights the fact that no single construction can provide all the answers about such a complex topic. It is hoped that in providing this review a greater understanding of the complex issues that attend CSA in all its manifestations may become more apparent. In the next section I begin with a review of the literature pertaining to the history of CSA and highlight its historical and social pervasiveness.

2.2. Historical background

CSA is not a new phenomenon but how CSA has been perceived has always been socially constructed (Gavin, 2005). The historical dimension is of major importance to any study of CSA. It tells a long story of how children have been sexually abused from the earliest times to the present day. CSA has clearly been a problem in most societies since the beginnings of recorded history. The conclusion of investigators in psychohistory is that CSA has been universal for most people in most places at most times (Taylor, 1953; De Mause, 1991; Kriel, 1991). The earlier in history one searches, the more evidence there is of sexual abuse. Child sexual abuse occurred in antiquity where children lived in a context of sexual abuse.

2.2.1 Global history

Sexual relations with children were common in many ancient societies and cultures, such as ancient Egypt, ancient Greece and ancient Rome. In other cultures, from ancient Africa to the Aztecs and the Incas, and from the ancient Japanese to China, the fact that young boys and girls were used as sexual objects has been thoroughly documented (De Mause, 1991; Kriel, 1991). Incest existed, and was generally prohibited, in ancient cultures. An example of this was in Babylon, which was established as a major power by Hammurabi, who ascended the throne in 1792 BC. One of his laws specifically prohibits incest in all its possible combinations. "If a man violates his daughter, it is a capital crime. If a man violates his son, it is a capital crime" (Bullough, 1976, p.54). The penalty for incest was death, indicating the seriousness with which this behaviour was considered. These laws give clear evidence that incest was a reality of life, although the exact extent of the problem is not possible to determine. It is interesting to note that Mesopotamia and Babylon were male-dominated societies (Bullough, 1976). Women and children were seen as the property of their husbands or fathers, and this extended to sexual issues. This has a parallel in modern times, where feminists have argued that it is this very attitude of a male-dominated society that is at the root of the sexual abuse of children (Russell, 1984).

In other early cultures the practice of sexual relations with children was institutionalised. Under Talmudic law a child over the age of three could be engaged by an act of sexual intercourse, with her father's permission (Rush, 1980). However, Jewish laws recorded in the book of Leviticus specifically forbade incestuous abuse. Nevertheless, the many and detailed references to incest in the early books of the Bible, as well as the frequent warnings by

Jewish prophets such as Ezekiel, indicate that incest was not an uncommon problem in that society (Bible).

In ancient Egypt, incest was approved of by the gods (Kriel, 1991). This may have only applied to the royal line, however, because the pharaoh was of divine origin and, therefore, had to keep his line pure. As a consequence he had to have sexual relations with blood relatives. An example of this is Rameses II, who married two of his sisters and three of his daughters (Clayton, 1979). Ancient Greece provides a further example, where the use of young boys for sexual purposes was common practice. Castrated slave boys could be bought and sold (de Mause, 1976), and pederasty was institutionalised through various aspects of the educational system, where the purpose of homosexual love was seen as guiding young boys to self-perfection (Bullough, 1976).

As far back as 450 BC, female genital mutilation (FGM) was reported. The ancient Egyptians practised FGM widely, and at present there are reports that FGM is still widely practised in many countries around the world. Those who support FGM argue that it is positive in that it produces a sense of cultural identity and cultural cohesion, clarifies gender roles and produces a sense of pride. The female becomes more desirable as a prospective partner. However, FGM is recognized all over the world as child abuse that targets a specific gender, and as the exploitation and torture of children. Genital mutilation most commonly targets women and girls because of the lower and/or more passive cultural status generally assigned to females (Jones, Moore, Villar-Marquez & Broadbent, 2008). Proponents of FGM argue that those who want to eradicate FGM are ethnocentric, culturally imperialistic and want to impose their cultures on those who practise FGM.

As far back as 300 BC, child marriage was accepted in India as part of the social structure. However, de Mause (1991) points out that one of the main rationalisations of child marriage was the need "to protect the girl from the seductive males around her" (p.145). This danger to girls as young as six or seven cut across class boundaries, affecting children across the social spectrum, from those of the upper castes to those from Hindu peasant families. In ancient Rome, child prostitution was extremely common, and this involved both male and female children (Mrazek, 1987). Boys were castrated to enhance their sex appeal as prostitutes (de Young, 1982). Many of the Roman emperors used young children for sexual purposes, and incestuous abuse in everyday life seems to have been quite common (Kriel, 1991).

Taylor (1953) describes the dominance of the church on all matters sexual during the Middle Ages in Europe. The church considered sex for purposes other than procreation to be sinful. This included incestuous activity, and the church developed a complicated and rigid set of rules concerning the varieties of incestuous activities. A number of popes were accused of incest with siblings, and some even confessed to it. In addition to church law, most civil law by the eighth century held that having sexual relations with a girl who had not yet reached puberty was a punishable offence. The fact that the church felt it necessary to have these injunctions, and that there were laws prohibiting sexual relations with children on the civil statutes, indicates that the sexual abuse of children was common.

The dominance of males in European society during this time was also recognized by law. Sexual rights to children and women were legally held by the husband or father (Bullough, 1976). It has been argued that this particular patriarchal arrangement greatly contributes to a situation where the abuse of children is widespread (Herman, 1981). The Inquisition focused heavily on the issue of the relationship between witchcraft and sex. In one German town, 300 children aged between three and four were thought to have had sexual contact with the devil, and in another incident 15 children were burned at the stake for just such an offence (de Young, 1982). This indicates that the possibility of children being used for sexual purposes was very much a reality in the minds of the general populace in Europe, who no doubt were prime witnesses for the Inquisition in these matters.

The Black Death that swept through Europe during the Middle Ages also had an influence on how children were perceived sexually. Taylor (1953) details how many people believed that the only way to gain protection against the plague was to have intercourse with a virgin child. With the advent of the Enlightenment and the Renaissance, the situation did not improve. In 1548 and 1576, laws were passed in England that aimed at "protecting boys from sodomy and protecting girls under the age of ten years from forcible rape" (Schultz, 1982, p. 22). Yet again, this indicates clearly that if it was necessary to have such statutes on the law books, then the problem was clearly of significant proportions.

It was also believed at this time that a cure for sexual disease was to have sexual intercourse with a child (Olafson, Corwin, & Summit, 1993). As a result, the spread of venereal disease was rapid (Thearle & Gregory, 1988). Kriel (1991) suggests that "the Elizabethan era (1558-

1603) was characterised by uninhibited sexual behaviour" (p. 57), and that during this time incest was a commonly acknowledged occurrence. He goes on to point out that during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many children left home at an early age, either to work as domestics or to go to boarding school. Children were, therefore, easily exploitable, and many prominent figures such as the Marquis de Sade not only sexually abused children, but publicly argued that punishing such behaviour was uncivilised.

Between 1730 and 1789, twenty-five percent of the prosecutions for rape at the Old Bailey in London involved children younger than 10 years of age, and many accounts of the sexual abuse of children also exist in the British medical literature of the early 1800s (Gay, 1988). During the second half of the eighteenth century, British physicians documented many thousands of cases of the sexual abuse of children (Masson, 1984). Jackson (2000) observes that in Victorian England, the needs and rights of children were not as important as the wellbeing of the family. The normal father was conceptualised as one who took care of his family and was, therefore, beyond reproach. Thus, it was unthinkable to imagine that CSA took place in such 'good' and 'normal' Victorian families. In Victorian England it was the urban poor who were more likely to commit abuse. They were described as a savage tribal group in which CSA was likely to be more prevalent (Jackson, 2000). Thus, within Victorian society, the people from the lower classes were seen as dangerous and bestial with low moral standards. The perpetrator was constructed as a male and the victim was constructed as a female, a construction that still persists today. Soothill and Walby (1991) point out that presently and historically, when media accounts of CSA report on female offenders, they rarely depict the female offender as 'evil'. These accounts more often describe them as 'sex mad' or 'temptresses'. However, the male child-sex offender is described as evil.

In France between the years 1856 and 1869, three quarters of the rape cases involved children (Crewdson, 1988). One of the first books published in France that detailed the prevalence of such abuse was written by Tardieu in 1857 (Kriel, 1991). Nearly 50% of the cases of rape that he investigated involved children, and the majority of the perpetrators were their fathers. A similar book in 1886 by Bernard noted that sexual abuse was rife in some densely populated industrial areas in France. Masson (1984) has shown how these and other medical accounts argued that sexual acts against children were frequent, were not confined to the lower classes, and were generally committed by someone known to the child, such as a father or brother. These figures indicate that the problem was clearly apparent during those years.

In Britain, before 1886 the age of consent to sexual intercourse was 12 years, which resulted in the widespread prostitution of young girls. Evidence shows that during that time girls as young as four years were sexually abused in the many brothels that sprang up (Barry, 1979). The lack of seriousness with which the authorities viewed these problems was evident in the fact that punishment for petty theft was far more severe than for sexual crimes against children (Olafson, Corwin, & Summit, 1993). The pornography of this time was also "full of incestuous abuse" (Kriel, 1991, p. 64).

The preceding review of the literature pertaining to the history of CSA in both Europe and the ancient world highlights the fact that CSA is a not only a modern-day phenomenon but has a long history dating back to antiquity, and has been a common ordeal in the lives of children throughout human history.

At different points in time several versions and discourses of sexuality have been identified by scholars. In the nineteenth-century, knowledge about sex was dominated by four strategic units (Foucault, 1979a): masturbatory children; abnormal perverse pleasure; procreative behaviour that was socialised; and the hysteric, who was a female. In research conducted later by Hollway (1984, 1989), opposing discourses of the male sex drive, the have_or_hold discourse and the permissive discourse were identified.

In the next section, I begin with a review of the literature pertaining to the history of CSA in the South African context and highlight the fact that the study of and literature available on CSA with reference to African communities and South Africa, is a field of research that has only become prominent in the last few decades. Prior to that, research in South Africa had predominantly emulated Euro-American trends.

2.2.2 African history

Studies of historical accounts of CSA in Africa show that CSA has also been found among African societies. In anthropological studies, LeVine and LeVine (1981) found evidence of the sexual abuse of young girls amongst the Gusii in Kenya. Amongst the Swazi people, marriage with a person of one's own clan was prohibited, while incest, through marriage, between a king and his sister was common practice to ensure the continuation of the royal line (Kuper, 1986). There is also evidence that this practice occurred amongst the royalty in Zulu society (Kuper, 1986). Amongst the Gusii, prepubescent girls are raped by adult men

who in many instances are the classificatory fathers of these children, and father-daughter incest is a well-known phenomenon.

Historical literature on CSA in South Africa tended to focus largely on the plight of victims who were white South Africans (McKendrick & Hoffman, 1990). The study and literature available on CSA with reference to African communities in South Africa is a field of research that has only become prominent in the last few decades. In South Africa, the Child and Family Welfare Society assisted victims of child maltreatment from as early as 1918; however, it was not until the 1970s that victimology, child abuse and CSA in particular became more apparent (McKendrick & Hoffman, 1990). In 1976 the first child abuse facility in South Africa was established at Addington Children's Hospital in Durban but it was not until the early eighties that the sexual abuse of children was recognised as a serious and ever increasing paediatric problem. The plight of victims in general began to be taken up by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in South Africa, with studies focusing on criminal victimisation as well as the development and evaluation of treatment programmes for rape victims (McKendrick & Hoffman, 1990).

The recognition of CSA has evolved slowly in South African society. This evolution has been outlined by Sandler and Sepel (1990), who point out that at first there was a denial that child abuse existed at all. Then child abuse was considered to be an extension of psychiatric illness and alcohol or drug abuse. Thereafter, physical child abuse was recognised and the concept of emotional abuse was accepted, followed by the acknowledgement of the existence of sexual abuse. This was followed by the recognition of the rights of children to loving care and protection.

It is clear that CSA has been a scourge throughout recorded human history, and across all cultures, and has been and continues to be a phenomenon of serious local relevance that affects the lives of African and South African children. While the literature on the subject of CSA has increased in volume, the field remains rife with contradictions and controversies. The next section reviews literature pertains to the construction of CSA and highlights the fact that constructing CSA is fraught with difficulties. It discusses some of the challenges in constructing CSA and refers to the wider literature to explore some of the contradictions and dilemmas in producing workable constructions.

2.3. Constructions of child sexual abuse

For the past three decades CSA has been an area of concern for researchers, child therapists and child advocates. The research and clinical literature concerning CSA has grown dramatically and there has been considerable progress in the campaign to protect children. In spite of these advances, a number of important issues regarding CSA remain contentious and unresolved. One important issue concerns the construction of "child sexual abuse," a term that has never been unequivocally constructed. Most constructions are based on values and belief systems that are often bound by culture and time. Constructing child sexual abuse is fraught with difficulties. There is no fixed meaning of CSA that is agreed upon by researchers, practitioners and those who make the laws. In fact, the words "child", "sex" and "abuse" within the context of the term "child sexual abuse" have been operationalised differently by them with no agreement on the definitions of the three words that make up the term. Many associated concepts — coercion, sexuality, consent, victim, wrong, harm, force, guilt — are equally difficult to define specifically and clearly. This issue has been discussed in the work of all the most influential researchers in this field (Finkelhor, 1984a; Friedman, 1990; Spaccarelli & Kim, 1995; Levett, 2007; Collings, 2008; Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009; Haugaard, 2000).

Most constructions of CSA are based on the acknowledgement that sexual relations between an adult and a child, or between a young person and a younger child, are a violation of the rights and personhood of the child, often with severe and long-lasting psychosocial consequences. Most constructions include a focus on how the coercion and betrayal of trust involved in most acts of CSA is deeply destructive to both child and family (Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009). Physical contact may or may not be involved in CSA. CSA may include penetrative acts such as rape, non-penetration and non-contact acts. Non-contact sexual acts may include permitting children to watch sexual scenes, encouraging children to behave in sexual ways, exposing them to sexual material and drawing children into prostitution and pornography (Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009).

In a study by the United Nations (UN) (2006) on violence against children, CSA is constructed as the inflicting of sexual activity on children, specifically by a person who takes care of them or somebody who exercises power over them or who controls them and whom they trust. Sexual abuse includes a broad range of acts, including "forced sex in dating relationships, rape by strangers, systematic rape, sexual harassment, demands for sexual

favours in return for grades, sexual abuse of children, child marriage, and violent acts against the sexual integrity of women, including female genital mutilation and obligatory inspections for virginity" (UN, 2006, para 80). Sexual abuse is also promoted through the Internet, which "has not only stimulated the production, distribution and use of materials depicting sexual exploitation of children, but has also become a tool for solicitation and 'grooming', (which is securing children's trust in order to draw them into a situation where they may be harmed), as well as harassment, intimidation and bullying" (UN, 2006, para 80).

Some constructions of the sexual abuse of children include a range of exploitative activities while others highlight the commercial aspect of these activities. In keeping with the broader context of abuse and its relationship with other forms of child abuse, the World Health Organization (WHO) (1999, cited in Jones and Jemmott, 2008-2009) constructs the abuse of children as:

> all forms of physical and/or emotional ill treatment, sexual abuse, neglect, or negligent treatment or commercial or other exploitation, resulting in actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity in the context of a relationship of responsibility, trust or power (p. 55).

According to Jones and Jemmott (2008-2009) the definition by WHO (1999) cited in Jones and Jemmott (2008-2009) contains several elements that are valuable in understanding the complex nature of CSA: (a) it brings together all forms of abuse within a single construction ― a reminder that sexual abuse often occurs alongside other forms of abuse; (b) it shows that the damage abuse causes to children is manifest in multiple ways; (c) it emphasises that most abuse occurs in the context of relationships; (d) it indicates that child abuse involves the failing of adult responsibility; (e) it mentions that child abuse involves an abuse of trust and power; and (f) the construction is broad enough to be relevant to most social and cultural contexts. CSA is constructed broadly by the United Nations (UN) and includes different forms of sexual exploitation, such as the prostitution of children, children being involved in pornography, children being forced into marriage and children being forced to work for or earn money for a person other than a parent or guardian. The declaration adopted at the close of the First World Congress Against the Commercial Exploitation of Children and Adolescents links this exploitation to commercialisation (Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009).

22

In a study conducted across the Eastern Caribbean during 2008 and 2009 by Jones and Jemmott, the findings suggested that despite sexual offences being clearly constructed in legal terms, sexual abuse is not fixed at the conceptual level. The conceptual construction of sexual abuse depended upon a range of circumstances. How the abuse was constructed was influenced not only by the characteristics of the victim and the abuser, but also by characteristics such as the gender and the experiences of the person. In a study of 75 countries, ISPCAN (2008) cited in Jones and Jemmott (2008-2009) found that there were greater commonalities than differences in understandings of CSA, with widespread agreement that it includes incest, sexual touching and pornography. This work suggests that establishing a common understanding is an achievable exercise. Jones and Jemmott (2008-2009) remind us that while the production of standard constructions can result in universal assumptions that negate the importance of particular circumstances, the lack of a common construction is problematic. Constructional differences may appear insignificant to the overall extent of the problem. However, language and constructions are key constituents to the way CSA is viewed and are factors that have an impact on how it is addressed. Different emphases may lead to intervention based on different targets and thus, may undermine collective efforts to address the problem of abuse (Dottridge, 2007 cited in Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009).

The fundamental premise upon which this study is built is that while the effects of CSA are part of the lived reality of victims and as such are concrete and real, it is also the case that constructions of CSA are socially constructed (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1985; Richter, Dawes & Higson-Smith, 2007). This means that the meanings ascribed to the term are a product of a specific cultural, social and historical context. As alluded to in the literature review pertaining to the history of CSA, child sexual abuse has existed throughout human history. However, the extent and interpretation of abuse, i.e. what is constructed as abuse in a particular society, changes over time and in relation to circumstances and context. For example, as a result of the growth of Internet pornography, the constructions of CSA have become wider and more inclusive than the constructions that existed 20 years ago. Constructing CSA is clearly both complex and problematic, and is often influenced by political agendas and professional perspectives that may or may not reflect the views of abuse survivors or the social reality in a specific context. Cultural and social factors are also important in the definitions and meanings associated with abuse.

2.3.1 Constructions of "child"

A fundamental difficulty that remains unresolved and controversial is constructing the "child". The age at which the child is considered a minor varies from country to country and frequently differs from the age of sexual consent. A child is constructed by the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child as a person who is under the age of 18 years, and many countries are striving towards harmonising their domestic laws with this construction. Certainly there are many ambiguities and contradictions within the law in respect of age limits, and the lack of consistency and clarity regarding the legal status of the child may be a contributory factor to the issue of sex with minors. However, it is also the case that much CSA occurs in situations in which childhood status is not in doubt. In Western contexts, some researchers have also constructed a child as any person who is under the age of 18 years (Russell, 1983; Wyatt, 1985) while others have constructed a child as any person who is younger than 17 years of age (Finkelhor, 1979; Fromuth, 1986). Some have constructed a child as anyone under the age of 16 years (Wurr & Partridge, 1996). It is only at the age of 21 that one is legally regarded as an adult in Botswana.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) constructs a child as any person below the age of 18 years. However, in many parts of the world, this cut-off point does not apply as the period of childhood ends for most children a long time before or a long time after this cut-off point (Richter, Dawes & Higson-Smith, 2007). In Botswana, while defilement of minors is constructed as "unlawfully and carnally knowing any person under the age of 16" (Women and Law in Southern African Research Trust, 2002, p. 60), the marriage age is set at 14 years for girls and 16 for boys. In a study conducted across the Eastern Caribbean during 2008 and 2009 by Jones and Jemmott, the majority of the respondents were of the view that children were children at least until the legal age of sexual consent (16 years). However, there were a significant number of people who believed that childhood ends at 13 years. Another important issue was that some people believed that childhood ends if a girl becomes pregnant. This suggests that at the conceptual level, the state of motherhood is not considered compatible with the status of childhood. Juxtaposed against the construction of young motherhood, however, is the reality that these respondents overlooked the fact that she must have first been a 'child' victim of rape or unlawful sexual intercourse before she become pregnant (Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009).

The fact that the period we call childhood is culturally and socially constructed presents challenges for policy makers and law makers in areas that have cultural diversity. The appropriateness of children's sexual activity, depends on what we determine childhood to be. According to Richter et al. (2007), the fact that the CRC constructs a child as any person under the age of 18 years of age is a very modern idea. This raises questions around how culturally and socially different constructions of CSA are perhaps understood but not necessarily accepted.

2.3.2 Constructions of "sexual"

Another fundamental difficulty that remains unresolved and controversial is constructing "sexual". Although there is some consensus that certain behaviours, such as intercourse or genital fondling, are sexual, there is not as much consensus on other behaviours, such as bathing children or sleeping with them. The intentions of the adult are often taken into consideration when deciding whether behaviour is sexual or not. However, judging intentions presents difficulties in some cases (Haugaard, 2000). For example, it is difficult to judge the intentions of parents who appear naked in front of their teenage children. Their intentions are not so obvious and are almost always open to different interpretations.

Distinguishing between behaviour that has a sexual meaning and that which does not, is also a matter of cultural convention, not to mention philosophical dispute. There are guidelines within cultures that assist in distinguishing between behaviour that has a sexual connotation and that which does not. They also aid in providing rules relating to who may touch whom, how to touch and when to touch. This cultural diversity related to who may touch whom, how and when, is clearly illustrated by Olson (1981) cited in Korbin (1990). It has been found that caregivers frequently touch the genitals of children while caring for them. In many societies, adults ritually touch the genitals of children as an important ritual in their practices (Korbin, 1990). A practice amongst the Turks is that of kissing a baby's genitals, which is an act of recognising the assurance of future fertility (Olson, 1981 cited in Korbin, 1990). Highland communities in New Guinea grasp the testes of an adult male as a way of greeting non-sexually (Korbin, 1990). In both the practices described above, the contact is not seen as sexual. However, these acts may be seen by other communities who are ignorant of the cultural practice, as sexual. In culturally diverse communities, the possibilities for misinterpreting behaviours abound (Richter et al., 2007). What is important when seeing whether the behaviour is abusive or not, is the meaning attached to the behaviour in all

cultures. Constructions concerning normal sexuality and pathological sexuality are not universal and there are no precise constructions of both. Furthermore, the domain of constructions is a place of fierce contestation because conflicting cultural values affect the framing and interpretation of constructions.

2.3.3 Constructions of "abuse"

The constructions of abuse vary across cultures while including many common characteristics (Korbin, 1990). The abuse of infants is proscribed in every culture and Korbin notes that "virtually all societies have proscriptions...on sexual behaviour among related individuals" (p. 47). Contemporary constructions of abuse include a wide range of acts, some of which involve touching a child's genitalia. In broader contexts, the word "abuse" has many meanings. Abuse is characteristically constructed as "to use wrongly or improperly, to misuse or injure by maltreatment" (Friedman, 1990). Constructing what is "proper" and what is "improper" are also matters of cultural convention, not to mention philosophical dispute.

The meaning of the construct "abuse" has been severely contested. Constructing abuse unambiguously has met with huge difficulties. There is an endless grouping of characteristics that can be taken into account when deciding whether behaviour is abusive or not, and there is no agreement about the meaning of any of these groupings (Haugaard, 2000). According to Haugaard (2000), most characteristics of abuse lie along a continuum. The continuum must be divided at a certain point in order to determine whether behaviour is abusive or not, and identifying this point is often problematic. Haugaard (2000) cites examples to illustrate these difficulties. For example, few people would consider the situation of a father bathing his one-year-old daughter to be abuse, but there would be many who would argue that it is abuse for that same father to bathe his 16-year-old daughter. Deciding whether behaviour is abusive or not is dependent on the context in which the behaviour occurs. For example, the context is taken into account when considering whether it is abusive for a father to massage his 10-year-old daughter's upper thighs at night while she is in bed, or when considering whether it is abusive to massage that same daughter's upper thighs on the soccer field after a tiring game.

2.3.4 Constructions of "perpetrator/abuser/offender"

The constructs "child abuser", "sexual offender" and "perpetrator" are often used interchangeably within the literature by professionals who work with children (psychologists,

social workers, counsellors and health professionals), by policy makers and by law enforcement officers. According to Jones and Jemmott (2008-2009), these constructs create problems as they shift debates about CSA away from a focus on individual psychopathology to the responsibility of society. With regard to the construct of "sex offender", it is primarily a law enforcement term that refers specifically to those abusers who have been convicted of sexual offences. These researchers recommend the construct "abuser" or "child sexual abuser", since it encompasses the range of abusive behaviours and clearly indicates responsibility. They point out that there are also circumstances in which they think the construct "abuser" is inappropriate, for example when the behaviour, although it may be sexually harmful, would not be constructed to be sexual abuse. While their study showed that the term "sexual abuser" is appropriate for some men who are dangerous serial predators and who inflict devastating harm on children, there are others, especially adolescent men, who may unknowingly have had unlawful sexual intercourse with a minor but who do not present any threat to children generally. For these men, they argue that the construct "sexual abuser" is unhelpful and unnecessarily pathologises young people. They suggest that describing such young people as engaging in "harmful sexual behaviours" is more appropriate as it implies the need for education and behaviour change rather than punishment.

Conventional constructions throughout the literature typically describe the perpetrator of sexual abuse as a "sexually mature person". As a consequence the assumption is often made that this is an adult. However, one notices a new trend in the literature that shifts the profile of the perpetrator to youth. One notices that there is a high percentage of adolescent perpetrators and sexual acts committed between children. There is the assumption that children engage in sexual activity in childhood either because of the initiation of these acts by adults or because they are part of a cycle of abuse where adults engage in acts with children who then go on and compulsively re-enact them with other children of their own age or younger. This assumption has proliferated because children are viewed as asexual. However, in many Caribbean countries sexual activity occurs at a younger age. However, the World Bank's Caribbean Youth Development Report of 2003 shows many young people being initiated into sexual behaviour as a result of child abuse as early as 10 years of age and in some cases even earlier (World Bank, 2003) and that the Caribbean has the earliest age of sexual 'debut' in the world. Early sexual initiation has also been correlated with CSA in other studies. Jewkes, Morrell and Christofides (2009) note that by the age of 17, half of all teenagers are sexually active.

According to Haaken and Lamb (2000), there are two critiques that are absent in the conventional literature on children as perpetrators. The first critique is one that describes the effects of adolescent boys growing up in a context that promotes the sexual entitlement of males and unfair group denigration of girls. This critique focuses on how boys and girls are socialised into gender roles, a process that entrenches the dominating behaviour of teenage sex offenders towards females and normalises the acts of boys as part of the male socialisation process. There is a second critique that is absent in the literature and it focuses on the controversial issue of children's sexuality. Freud's psychosexual stages of development, which included infant sexuality, angered and still anger those who believe in a romantic construction of children as asexual.

2.3.5 Constructions of "consent"

Another fundamental difficulty that remains unresolved and controversial is the exact age at which it is possible for a child to consent to sexual interaction. There is no agreement across cultures and legal systems as to the exact age at which it is possible for a child to consent to sexual interaction. The age at which the victim is constructed as a minor varies from country to country and differs from the age of sexual consent for other offences within the same country. The age of consent in Great Britain was raised from ten to 13 years in 1875 and to sixteen in 1885 (Olafson et al., 1993). For example, in the Bahamas, St. Lucia and Jamaica, the age of sexual consent is 16 years, yet the procurement of a person younger than 18 years of age for sexual purposes is prohibited. Despite the fact that Guyana has the lowest age of sexual consent, the law prohibits the procurement of women under the age of 21. However, procurement of minors for prostitution as a specific offence in Guyana deems the age of consent to be 12 years of age. Other countries such as Surinam have no explicit legislation to deal with the exploitation of children (Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009).

It can be argued that many children give their "consent" to become involved in a sexual relationship with an adult. Finkelhor (1979) points out that a strong ethical argument surrounds why CSA can never be acceptable. If a child gives his or her consent, the ethical considerations embedded in such consent need to be understood, as they shed light on the legality and acceptability of it. That a child is able to give consent is known, but what is important is whether or not children *understand* what they are consenting to, and whether or not they are free to permit or object to a sexual encounter. These two conditions, making it an

28

informed consent, do not occur in CSA and, as children are not able to satisfy either condition, sexual interactions between an adult and a child cannot be permitted under a moral standard that requires consent to be present (Finkelhor, 1979).

Thus, it can be inferred that a strong ethical argument surrounds why CSA can never be acceptable. A combination of a lack of power and a lack of knowledge makes children incapable of giving true consent to sex with an adult. This argument is a move away from the arguments based on traditional morality that tried to explain why incest is taboo. Furthermore, ethical clarity on this issue is important for the benefit of society, as sexual ethics are increasingly confused (Finkelhor, 1979). On the other hand, Haaken and Lamb's (2000) argument against adults engaging in sexual acts with children does not involve a romanticized construction of children as sexual innocents who get damaged easily or who are incapable of giving consent. Instead they argue that these are not carefully thought out arguments against adults engaging in sex with children, and promote common morality that argues against the sexual abuse of children and for the obligation of adults to protect children.

2.4 Scientific research and sexual libertarians that inform how CSA is constructed

The majority of empirically evaluated constructions of CSA construct children as psychologically affected by abuse (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986). However, some of the empirically evaluated constructions construct children as not affected by abuse. Existing research does suggest that abuse in school contexts has many harmful and reinforcing harmful effects on the abused child's physical and psychological development and wellbeing. A number of studies testify that sexual abuse in schools is a big reason why some girls underperform in schools and/or leave school (Dunne, Leach, Chilisa, Maundeni, Tabulawa, Kutor, Dzama & Assamoah, 2005). However, the construction of the word "abuse" in scientific research has been contested by some researchers (Rind, Tromovitch & Bauserman, 1998). They have argued that the construction of the word "abuse" in scientific research indicates that harm is involved and where no harm is involved it would be inappropriate to use the term "child sexual abuse" to describe "adult-child sexual interactions". They constructed the term "child sexual abuse" as negatively loaded and biased when appraising non-negative sexual interactions between adults and children. These researchers have argued that the dominant construction that CSA always causes harm is false. They have invited much

controversy with their suggestion that a construct that is morally neutral such as "adult-child" sex be utilised as a broad construct because the use of the construct "child sexual abuse" implies an inevitable negative outcome (Haaken & Lamb, 2000). Nelson (1989) argued that using terms implying force, coercion and harm indiscriminately, reflects and entrenches the view that these interactions are always damaging, thereby preventing an objective assessment of them. These researchers argued that a valid understanding of the pathogenicity of CSA is not possible (Okami, 1994) when interactions likely to produce damage are placed into a single category with those that are not. Fishman (1991) argued that more neutral language should be used rather than constructs such as "abuse", "victim", and "molestation", or legal and moral constructs, in constructing early sexual relations, They argued that "to impose a confining construction onto someone's experience does nothing to alter the realities of that experience for the person" (p. 284-285).

The findings in a study conducted by Jones and Jemmott (2008-2009) stated that there are numerous and complex ways in which sexual abuse harms children and they argue that the utilisation of the construct "sexual abuse" does not capture this complexity because it may be too limiting and narrow. According to them the term implies a fixed construction, which, while useful for policy and legislative purposes, does not allow for the interconnection of different factors that determine the extent to which children are harmed. Their study revealed forms of sexual behaviour that may be harmful but that may not involve abuse and that may not have the same extensive and serious consequences as abuse. Examples of harmful sexual behaviours in their study included sex between young people where one or both of them are under the legal age of consent, young people engaging in transactional sex with each other, and young people distributing sexually explicit images of themselves and using technology (cell phones, social networking sites, phone cameras) for sexual experimentation and exploration, especially where this leaves them vulnerable to sexual predators. One way forward proposed by Jones and Jemmott (2008-2009) to address constructional difficulties would be to clarify the construction of sexual abuse and to introduce the constructs "harmful sexual behaviour" and "behaviour that contributes to the sexual harming of children" (p. 8). These are constructed by them as follows:

> Child sexual abuse may or may not involve actual physical contact and includes penetrative acts (e.g. rape or buggery) and also non-penetrative and non-contact activities, such as involving children in watching sexual activities, encouraging

30

children to behave in sexually explicit ways and exposing them to inappropriate sexual material. Child sexual abuse also includes involving children in prostitution and pornography. Child sexual abuse occurs in all racial, ethnic, religious and socio-economic groups and affects children of all ages, including infants. Both boys and girls are sexually abused, although girls are more at risk (Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009, p. 8).

Drawing on the findings of their study and the diverse views expressed about sexual abuse, they construct harmful sexual behaviour as follows:

Harmful sexual behaviour is sexual behaviour which is harmful to children both at the micro level, affecting children as individuals and also at the meso and macro levels in that it contributes to creating situations in which children are placed at risk of sexual abuse (Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009, p. 8-9).

"Harmful sexual behaviour" refers not only to acts of commission but also acts of omission where adults know about the abuse and contribute to the sexual abuse of children by omitting to protect them from abuse. Jones and Jemmott (2008-2009) construct this as follows:

Behaviour that contributes to the sexual harming of children is the failing to act to prevent a child being sexually harmed or abused when one is aware that a child is at risk, failing to support a child in one's care who has been abused, failure to report sexual abuse to the appropriate authorities or, failing to fulfil professional responsibility for child protection or, acting in a way that minimises or hides the sexual abuse of children (Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009, p. 9).

While these researchers offer the above two constructions as a basis for further discussion, they do acknowledge that these constructions intentionally invite contestation and problems as they shift debates about CSA away from individual psychopathology to the responsibility of society. The above two constructions not only construct the phenomenon of CSA in terms of the perpetrator's behaviour and the effects on children, but also in terms of adult complicity. These adults are not abusers but socially sanction CSA through inaction, thereby contributing to the abuse (Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009).

Sexual libertarians have also made their contributions vocally to public discourse on CSA by challenging the construction that CSA is wrong and harmful. They have argued that adult-child sex should be constructed as a normal and natural expression of human sexuality, and that abuse is exceptional. They attribute the real problem to the perpetuation of a Victorian attitude toward sexuality that denies that children have sexual needs and desires and are inherently desirable (Jefferys, 1990).

2.5 Moral conservatives and advocates of human rights that inform how CSA is constructed

Constructions of children having positive sexual experiences have invited much criticism. A number of advocates of human rights and moral conservatives have described these constructions as reckless and having no consideration for morality.

2.5.1 Moral conservatives that inform how CSA is constructed

Moral conservatives construct CSA in contemporary society as resulting from the moral erosion of society caused by the disintegration of the traditional family system and liberalised attitudes towards sexuality. CSA is constructed within this framework as a violation of the sexual innocence of children (Haaken & Lamb, 2000). On the other hand, there are those who concur with their defence of the political and moral autonomy of science. Rind et al. (1998) argue that it is problematic to construct behaviour as abuse simply because it is generally defined as immoral or illegal. To them such a construction may hide the real nature of the behaviour and its real causes and effects. They argue that some acts that we think are abusive, may not be abusive. They also argue that this does not mean that CSA is not intensely harmful, for they agree that it is well documented that it does cause harm in specific cases.

In addressing the constructions of children having positive sexual experiences, Finkelhor (1990) argues that scientific research is not the final judge, even though scientific constructions of CSA have some relevance. He affirms his belief that the prohibition on adult-child sexual interaction is mainly an issue of morality, and that there are deeply held values and principles of equality and self-determination that are violated by this interaction. He goes on to argue that these values, which are deeply rooted in culture, are not challenged by the evidence that some children have positive experiences. There are three primary

arguments related to why sex between adults and children is abusive and all three appear to be based on traditional morality and have, it would appear, come to be accepted without question (Finkelhor, 1984b). The first argument states that sex between adults and children is intrinsically abusive. Finkelhor (1984b) contends that this statement is too categorical, as the same has been said about other taboos, such as homosexuality, which have been re-evaluated in recent times. The second argument indicates that sex between adults and children forces the child to become prematurely sexual. This, Finkelhor (1984b) also proposes, is not a sufficient argument, as children are intrinsically sexual beings and do not become sexual through a sexual encounter with an adult. The third and final argument proposes that sex between adults and children is abusive as it irretrievably damages the child both physically and psychologically. However, the notion that an experience may be damaging is not in itself enough to condemn CSA altogether.

Haaken and Lamb (2000) concur with Finkelhor's (1990) affirmation of the issues of morality. They argue that although scientific findings have some relevance, they fall short when it comes to understanding issues of morality or the subjective experiences of events. One cannot say that abuse is acceptable because abused children do not necessarily experience trauma, or that abuse is acceptable because children might experience sex as pleasurable (Haaken & Lamb, 2000).

2.5.2 Human rights advocates that inform how CSA is constructed

Human rights advocates construct CSA as "a human rights issue and has to be seen and defined as such" (Guma & Henda, 2007, p. 107). CSA is constructed as a human rights violation. Critics (Guma & Henda, 2007) of local constructions of CSA argue and that as long as CSA is viewed and explained through a local cultural lens, children will remain victims (p. 107). They argue that constructions of CSA must transcend cultural, national and continental boundaries and that CSA should no longer be constructed as a family violence issue but an issue that requires broader economic, political and cultural transformation. The acceptance of rights-based constructions has been reported to be limited. There are varied arguments, such as those concerning values imported by the West and/or differences among cultures and religions that are used to justify why some people do not comply (Save the Children Sweden, 2005). In addition, there are others who argue that there is a significant difference between a conceptual understanding of behaviour, and an actual change in

behaviour, even though children are increasingly familiarizing themselves with rights discourses (Burton, 2005).

2.6 Cultural communities that inform how CSA is constructed

According to Burr (1995) and Gergen (1985), constructions about CSA are located in history and culture. All understandings of CSA are informed by the social and cultural contexts from which they emerge. Human meanings of CSA originate in socially shared constructions. According to this position, discourses constructed and reconstructed within social and cultural contexts in which people live, influence sexual behaviour. These discourses play an important role in influencing how people experience themselves and the world in which they live, and thus, have a deep influence on how they behave. Richter, Dawes and Higson-Smith (2007) argue that sexuality and sexual abuse are deeply cultural matters and that it is the cultural community that constructs norms for sexual relationships and norms for when they are violated. Constructions of CSA and behaviours that are related to child sexuality and abuse are deeply rooted in "cultural practices". An understanding of CSA is relevant to the cultural and social context in which it occurs. The attitudes of adults and their practices towards children are deeply embedded in the beliefs of local communities about what they consider good or bad, and what is important for children. CSA is culturally constructed and can be "conceptualised as the disruption of expected roles, relationships and behaviours" (Korbin, 1990, p. 44).

Critics of empirically-oriented positions have pointed out the deep embeddedness of CSA in cultural assumptions and subjective factors (Haaken & Lamb, 2000; Richter, Dawes & Higson-Smith, 2007). Haaken and Lamb (2000) argue that CSA is both a cultural process as well as a scientific one and that it is virtually impossible to separate the two as CSA does not operate in isolation but operates within a system of meanings that provides interpretations, including a person's right to demand redress when he or she feels violated. Furthermore, Richter, Dawes and Higson-Smith (2007) argue that while we need to understand the motives of individuals who perpetrate abuse, there is also a need to consider that there are broader socio-cultural factors that play a role in contributing to abuse. For example, among southern African societies, while it is taboo to marry one's sister or brother or cousin in predominantly Xhosa- and Zulu-speaking regions, endogamy between southern Sotho- and Tswana-speaking people is seen as appropriate. First-cousin cross-marriages are encouraged in order to keep wealth in the family and this tradition is expressed in the proverb *dikgoma diya khutlela*

sakeng (literally, the cattle return to the kraal). Such practices are common, particularly among members of the royal family (Guma & Henda, 2007).

A Tswana proverb, *ba tiisa mokwatla*, refers to the importance of preparing a child for life by "strengthening the child's back". A perpetrator of CSA may claim that sexual intercourse with a child "strengthens the child's back" and that the proverb, therefore, serves as an explanation for his or her behaviour. In rural Mozambique, if a girl becomes pregnant as a result of rape by an adult, it is often demanded that he pay *lobolo* to the girl's father. This type of response ensures that the unborn child has a father but denies the trauma associated with the rape by legitimising the crime. Such ideas and practices reduce the culpability of perpetrators (Kwaramba, 2000; Maluleke & Nadar, 2002).

Magwaza (1997) describes a custom that departs from normal cultural practices with regard to sexually abused children among Nguni groups in South Africa. This practice, *inhlawulo* and *ukugeza*, stipulates that when a man impregnates a woman outside of wedlock, he is obliged to make payments of either money or livestock to the woman's father or guardian as a token of recognition of responsibility and good faith. However, when this same practice is extended to non-consensual sexual relations between adults and children, the effect of reparation can be quite different. Magwaza (1997) suggests that by making such payments to the girl's father, the abuser often can do so without conscience-driven remorse. This practice makes it particularly easy for a perpetrator to continue his abusive behaviour. It seems that patriarchy privileges male rights over children and women, with the potential for abuse of these rights. It also conveys a responsibility for protecting women and children. It is the latter mechanism of patriarchy that may well predominate in the great majority of men who do not abuse their female partners or their children.

While it is important to discuss matters of culture in the context of CSA, it is true that sexual predators often use the "cultural context" to explain away their abusive actions. Several studies suggest that more children suffer from abuse in the name of culture than is evident in official records (Levett, 1994; Mutimbe, 1999). There are socio-cultural values, perceptions and coercive practices that incline towards violence and abuse, and that tend to be interpreted and, therefore, perpetuated as the society's "custom". Maluleka and Nadar (2002, p. 14) refer to this relationship as the "unholy trinity" of religion, culture and the power of socialisation.

Patriarchy and the acceptance of gendered social divisions are common across diverse ethnic groups.

According to Dawes (2002), cultural practices normalise understandings of relations of power between men and women. Those who have more power are more likely to abuse, while those who have less power are more likely to be abused. Those who exercise power fail to recognise their actions as abusive because these actions have become intertwined with their wielding of power. These practices occur frequently in patriarchal societies between males and females. Within these societies, men view their abusive behaviour as normal and within their rights as males that are given to them by culture. Women, however, may unintentionally accept this assumption and expect their male partners to behave in abusive ways (Dawes, 2002).

It is crucial that we understand how the different cultures construct expectations and norms for men. Where cultural constructions construct men as power wielders over women, the risk of abuse is likely to increase. Unfortunately, the role of masculine identity in CSA is not commonly considered in a field that objectifies CSA in terms of individuals (abusers and the abused) who are located on the periphery of a normal, moral and ordered society. In order to explore the notion of responsibility for protection of women and children within patriarchal ideology, it may be useful to separate those who adhere to a patriarchal ideology and also sexually abuse women and children, from those who adhere to a patriarchal ideology and yet do not abuse.

Central to any society that is characterised by a patriarchal ideology is the fact that most children will be socialised into that ideology. Thus, boys learn that it is acceptable, if not desirable, to control and intimidate, and girls learn to accept that these dynamics are 'normal' (Magwaza, 1997; Marshall & Herman, 2000). Perhaps because their experiences are fundamentally informed by patriarchal ideology and the doctrines of most religions, children in most societies are socialised into trusting and obeying their parents and other adult figures of authority without question (Aronson Fontes, 1995; Marshall & Herman, 2000; Tang, 2002).

Two studies have explored cross-cultural aspects of CSA (Aronson Fontes, 1995; Lewis, 1999). Both studies provide evidence of varying cultural practices that may either protect children from sexual abuse or facilitate its commission. Obeying adults without question has a dual effect. It may place the child at risk for abuse because of his or her acceptance of the obedience script, or it may protect the child by allowing adult members in the family protective rights over children (Tang, 2002). In fact, Tang (2002) argues that the relatively low prevalence rates of CSA in Hong Kong are in part due to this protective mechanism.

In answering the question of why some men are violent towards women in the African setting, Maitse (1997) offers two interconnected arguments. The first stresses the role of a sexist ideology and men's preoccupation with qualities assigned to the male sex role. The second argument posits that African society has a "rape culture" in which violence against women and children has become unquestioningly accepted. The findings of an ethnographic study by Bhana (2005) attempted to highlight the gendered and violent cultures in which children live.

2.7 Educational institutions that inform how CSA is constructed

A prevalent discourse in the African literature is the institutional role that schools play in the construction of masculine and feminine identities that are acceptable. They do this by the gendered role models provided by educators, and the sanctioning and discouraging of particular types of behaviour by both boys and girls (Dunne, 2007). African masculinity is constructed on the basis of the sexual prowess of the male, and the competition and aggression of males, which serves to eclipse gender-based violence in schools. Sexual violence in schools is not only widespread but has become institutionalised in most regions in the African continent and is widely seen as an acceptable part of school life (Leach, 2003), with the education authorities doing nothing to tackle the problem. This is further entrenched by a wider culture of gender violence and inequality that includes violence in the family and the dominant view that men own women and women occupy a lower status and have a lower value (Leach, 2003).

The problem of sexual abuse and violence in schools has come to receive increased attention by the public and scholars because of the overwhelmingly high rates of African school girls becoming infected with HIV/AIDS (Mugawe & Powell, 2006). In the school setting,

children's experiences of sexual abuse are highly gendered. An overwhelming problem is the sexual harassment that is carried out against female learners by male learners and teachers (Save the Children Alliance, 2005). In a UN study on violence against children, it was found that girls in the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama and Nicaragua are sexually coerced by educators and sometimes threatened that they will get lower grades if they do not do what they are told (UN, 2005). In many regions, dominance and aggression by males are viewed as normal within the school setup while a lack of protest and passivity on the part of the female are promoted and entrenched (UNICEF, 2005 cited in Jones, Moore, Villar-Marquez & Broadbent, 2008). This is often most visible in the sexist and discriminatory content of educational resources in the school curriculum that reinforces gender-based violence in schools. In certain school contexts the authorities in schools and also parents do not show disapproval of sexual relations between learners and educators (Leach, Fiscian, Kadzamira, Lemani & Machakanja, 2003). Although the research on violence in schools in Africa is still limited, a growing body of research points out that authoritarian school management systems and curricula that are highly gendered entrench the problem (Kent, 2004; Dunne, 2007).

Similarly in Nicaragua, for example, a module on sex education that has conservative religious underpinnings, and that is popularly called the "catechism of sexuality" was approved by the educational authorities to be used in schools. Instead of eradicating school violence and gender discrimination, it further entrenched gender roles and stereotypes (CLADEM, 2005 cited in Jones et al., 2008). The behaviour of teachers is also instrumental in influencing the attitudes and behaviour of students. Through activity and passivity, teachers play an important role in reinforcing gender practices and attitudes that are culturally accepted. When teachers and the school authorities do not report or respond seriously to complaints, they send the message that sexual abuse is permitted or something to be accepted as a part of life (Jones et al., 2008).

Gender differences have their roots in cultural norms and values that are deeply embedded. Appropriate masculinities incorporating aggression, competition and dominance, and femininities incorporating passivity and acceptance, are often exemplified by educators and are entrenched by them accepting the unequal relations of power and different patterns among males and females. While the aggression of males is often seen as behaviour that is

normal to males, passive female behaviour is unquestioningly condoned. While the literature shows that there is a greater incidence of girls being sexually harassed and abused, it also suggests that boys are the more likely to be bullied and to bully others (Mugawe & Powell, 2006).

In a recent African study done by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) of 12 diverse schools in South Africa, six each in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng provinces (Higson-Smith, 2007 cited in Richter, Dawes & Higson-Smith, 2007), it was the school culture that determined the extent to which schools developed attitudes and beliefs about abuse (a culture of male entitlement to leadership, or a highly separated subculture of males that dissociated itself from female educators). Rather than seeing harassment as a symptom of a wider culture of gender violence, oppression and inequality, these schools attributed abuse to playfulness on the part of boys and viewed it as a natural aspect of boys' nature that girls provoke. The blame for abuse was placed on female victims and abuse was viewed as an inevitable aspect of male-female relationships.

2.8 Legal systems that inform how CSA is constructed

Judicial systems construct CSA as a criminal offence. They rest on a legal framework within which CSA is managed. Among the countries reviewed for this research, most have them have laws that generally protect children against sexual abuse. There is a marked difference in the forms and levels of prohibition against sexual abuse in each country, which reflects the peculiar experiences and problems in each country. Pakistan is the only country where there are no clear laws against CSA or sexual exploitation, and there is no law that gives a clear definition of sexual consent. At the same time, the penal codes in Pakistan as well as the penal codes in India and Bangladesh, offer no protection for boys from rape. The sexual abuse of boys is common in certain parts of these countries. It is also noted that in South and East Asia, existing laws protecting children are weakly implemented and enforced. Only in Indonesia are there specific laws that offer protection against sexual abuse in the home, school and other contexts. At the same time, the penal code does not recognize that boys can be vulnerable to rape and sexual abuse (Jones et al., 2008).

Other countries such as Surinam have no explicit legislation to deal with the exploitation of children for the purpose of prostitution or pornography, while in St. Vincent and the

Grenadines, legislation does not take into account that young boys can be sexually abused through prostitution and sexual intercourse (Sealy-Burke, 2006 cited in Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009). Similarly, a number of countries limit the definition of sexual intercourse to vaginal intercourse and rule out other sexual acts such as anal/oral sex or penetration by other methods (Sealy-Burke, 2006 cited in Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009). Some countries prosecute children between the ages of 12 and 18 for adult prostitution offences even if their sexual activity occurred under circumstances of violence and intimidation. In the United Kingdom, children trapped in trafficking are sometimes treated as offenders rather than as victims.

In South Africa, the 'reality' of CSA is constructed by the social services, the police, the courts, the medico-legal services, the health-care services and the schools as contingent upon some form of physical evidence. In South Africa, special protection is afforded to children in terms of Section 28 of the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amended Bill of 2007 (Bezuidenhout, 2008). The National Assembly of South Africa passed the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Bill, 2007 on 22 May 2007, whereby it broadened the definition of rape. This Act also addresses various other matters relating to sexual offences, including male rape (Bezuidenhout, 2008). Rape is broadly defined as "sexual intercourse without the consent of one of the parties, who is usually a female. It is a behaviour that is both deviant and criminal because the actions of the rapist oppose the values of sound, voluntary and non-violent interpersonal relationships" (Bezuidenhout, 2008, p. 165).

A new definition, contained in Clause 3 of the draft Sexual Offences Bill, is a broader and more gender-neutral definition that includes the rape of males. Sexual penetration includes the penetration of genital organs into the anus, mouth or genital organs of another person and the penetration of an object into the anus or genital organs of a person to simulate sexual intercourse. Incest is defined as sexual intercourse engaged in between two persons who are prohibited by law from marrying one another (Nel, 2003).

There are several problems with this construction as a sufficient explanation of CSA. The first problem is that criminal definitions are different from those that have been developed in the technical literature to describe sexual abuse (Richter et al., 2007). South African crime categories do not map neatly onto the abuse categories used by those who treat abused

children nor do they fit into the categories used by the research community. The second problem is that framing CSA as primarily the concern of the police, the courts and the welfare services leads to a reactive rather than a preventive and health-promoting approach.

2.9 Ecclesiastical institutions that inform how CSA is constructed

The church constructs CSA as a sinful and evil act committed by a "depraved" humanity. This construction of CSA exists in uncomfortable tension with scientific constructions and argues that the abusive nature of any culture is a reflection of the abusive nature of human beings which has its source within the human heart (Collins, 2007; Dobson, 2000; MacArthur, 1998). According to this construction, every human being is constructed as capable of sin and doing evil act even before birth. The human heart is constructed as programmed for sin. "Evil, in this sense, implies not simply the absence of good, but an active principle seemingly bent on the negation and destruction of goodness, and ultimately, life itself, the black fiend ever working in man's nature" (Jung, 1959/1969 cited in Ivey, 2002, p. 54). This construction argues that the nature of the manifestation of sin differs amongst individuals in that it does not express itself fully in every person's behaviour. It is nonetheless called total depravity because every aspect of the human personality, mind, emotions and will is constructed as corrupted by sin. Every person is constructed as having the potential to become an abuser if sin is allowed to reign freely.

According to this construction, depravity is constructed as not a learned behaviour but deriving from an inbred disposition (MacArthur, 1998). People inherit it from their parents, who in turn inherited it from their parents and so on, right back to Adam, the first human being who sinned. This is called the position of original sin. Thus, the legacy of sin, evil and corruption is constructed as being handed down to every subsequent generation. This construction does not explain why some people act in sinful abusive ways while most others do not. The psychopathological construction of sexual abuse that is constructed on the basis of objective observation methods, makes the description of such behaviour in religious terms unnecessary (Ivey, 2002).

2.10 Child advocacy movements, health professionals, social workers and feminist activists that inform how CSA is constructed

Child advocacy movements, medical practitioners, psychologists, social workers as well as feminist activists that inform how CSA is constructed are unified around the construction that

CSA is not only wrong but that it has devastating effects on the lives of children, on women and on the mental health of women and girls in society. This construction has support from the devastated lives of many victims. Clinical histories and consciousness raising movements are rife with stories of such damage. Although unified around the issue of trauma of abuse, child welfare advocates construct CSA as a family problem and feminist activists construct it as a product of a history of patriarchal oppression.

2.10.1 Child welfare advocates' construction of CSA as a "family dysfunction"

Child welfare advocates construct CSA as a family problem and look at poor or distorted relationships between family members. The blame for sexual abuse is often placed on the mother, or even the child, as well as the father.

A number of critics, for example Cossins (2000) and Guma and Henda (2007) have challenged the "family dysfunction" construction, arguing that it is too narrow a construction of CSA. According to Cossins (2000), the behaviour of child sex abusers is symptomatic of a broader cultural framework. In support of this argument, Guma and Henda (2007) state that as children we are taught to adhere to family and societal rules, norms and moral values that must be viewed within a broader economic, political and cultural context. In explaining that sexual abuse occurs within a patriarchal ideology of masculinity in which sexuality and power are inextricably linked, they argue that CSA should no longer be viewed as a family violence issue but an issue that requires broader economic, political and cultural transformation. Addressing the problem of CSA, they argue, must transcend cultural, national and continental boundaries.

2.10.2 Feminist activists' construction of CSA as a product of patriarchal oppression

Feminists' activists construct CSA by highlighting the unequal gender-based power relations within patriarchal society (Jewkes, 2002). They provide a powerful argument for how children are socialised into a set of unequal gender relations of power that perform the function of perpetuating patriarchal ideology and creating a culture of the sexual entitlement of males (Jewkes, 2002). They assume that sexual abuse is perpetrated almost exclusively by men and that sexual abuse occurs in normal and dysfunctional families. These men come to believe that they have a right to abuse because of ideological influences and socialisation processes. They learn that their power is supported by patriarchy, which gives them an

opportunity to intimidate and control those who have less power than themselves. One way in which they intimidate and control is through the sexual abuse of women and children.

There are several problems with the feminist construction as a sufficient explanation of CSA. The first is that the great majority of men do not sexually abuse children (Calder, 1999). The second argument is that the feminist construction fails to explore the issue of female offending. In the Jones and Jemmott study (2008-2009) there was evidence of sexual aggression by girls. There was evidence from several countries in the Eastern Caribbean of girls engaging in sexually aggressive behaviour in which groups of girls 'gang up' on individual boys and abuse them sexually. A critical question arises. In a predominantly patriarchal society, how and why is it that females also sexually abuse children? While women abuse children too, they also make a major contribution to the problem in that they fail to protect children by ignoring the abuse that is taking place, by not believing the child, by putting male partners before the protection of the child, by viewing as minimal the harm that abuse does, and in some instances, by allowing or actively encouraging abuse to take place in exchange for material benefits (Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009; Sealy-Burke, 2006).

Jones and Jemmott (2008-2009) identified a number of factors that contribute to this state of affairs: (a) single mothers who economically depend on men and who ignore abuse within the home in order to ensure the family's economic survival; (b) patriarchal values typified by men's sense of entitlement to sexually abuse the female children of their partners because the men are the breadwinners; (c) gender socialisation and gender norms; (d) cyclical abuse; and (e) the predatory behaviour of some men who target and exploit vulnerable families. The third problem is that although feminists assert that patriarchal ideology is a pervasive phenomenon, evidence is in short supply. While most victims are girls, the extent of sexual abuse of boys seems to have been largely ignored by researchers (Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009).

2.10.3 Medical practitioners' constructions of CSA as a disease
Medical practitioners construct CSA as a disease, rationally explained in naturalistic terms with reference to maladaptive mental events (dysfunctional thoughts) and a deviant personality. This construction of abuse serves to localise the cause of the disorder in the brain of the perpetrator even if mediated by some interpersonal or social context. This presentation of CSA as an illness allows the construction of the abuser as a victim of a disorder rather than

a perpetrator of abuse. The construction of CSA as an illness is located in the normative discourses on medicine. It is organised around the constructs of aetiology (causation of CSA), epidemiology (prevalence and incidence of CSA) and treatment.

One notices an expanding divide between medically oriented constructions of CSA and the complex conceptual constructions provided by contemporary social philosophers and critical theorists (Levett, 2007). Collings (2008) provides a brief review of how the medical construction of CSA has come to take its present form. The medical construction of CSA has its origins in nineteenth-century Europe and was constructed through subjecting CSA to a transformation that involved three quite distinct interpretative strategies: (a) marginalisation, which involved shifting CSA to the margins of everyday society, CSA being constructed as a consequence of psychopathology; (b) mitigation, which involved shifting culpability for CSA from the offender to other involved parties (the child and the non-offending mother); and (c) minimilisation, which involved the construction of sexual abuse as a non-abusive experience.

Marginalisation finds its earliest expression in the nineteenth-century work of Krafft-Ebing, a German psychiatrist who documented psychopathological manifestations of human sexuality (Krafft-Ebing, 1905). Moral degeneracy, neuropathology and/or psychopathology constituted the primary motive for offending and the offender was constructed as a dirty old man or a stranger. The phenomenon was thus, constructed as a disease. Krafft-Ebing's (1905) perspective not only informed the work of researchers and clinicians but also emerged as the dominant construction of CSA during the early part of the twentieth century.

Mitigation finds its expression in the first half of the twentieth century. The culpability of offenders was mitigated through a series of interpretations that transferred culpability for the abuse from the offender to the child and/or non-offending mother (Collings, 2008). In terms of the child-based aetiologies of the early twentieth century, the dominant construction of the sexually abused child was that of the mentally ill child or the child as sexual delinquent. The construction of the child as complicit is evident in much of the empirical research conducted during the early years of the twentieth century. Furthermore, in terms of the mother-based aetiologies of the mid-twentieth century, it was the nervous, neglectful, mentally disturbed mother who was often found to be responsible (Collings, 2008).

Minimilization finds its expression in the early and mid-twentieth century. In much of the research and psychoanalytic literature that was published in the early and mid-twentieth century, CSA was constructed as a non-abusive experience that may have beneficial effects, authors even going as far as suggesting that non-coercive incest can produce competent and notably erotic women (Yates, 1978) and can contribute favourably to later socio-sexual development (Kinsey, Pomeray, Martin & Gebhard, 1953).

These three interpretative strategies combined to provide a dominant construct of CSA which was (a) firmly anchored in notions of individual pathology thus, making CSA the province of the helping professions, and (b) was objectified in terms of individuals (offenders, the abused and mothers) who were located on the periphery of a normal, moral and ordered society. These strategies combined to provide a dominant construction of CSA that challenged the notion of CSA as a reflection of culturally sanctioned norms and practices (Collings, 2008).

Towards the end of the twentieth century, the medical explanation of CSA had moved beyond the "reified universe" of science, to form a basis for both media and shared common-sense understandings of the phenomenon (Collings, 2008). CSA is now constructed as the province of the helping professionals, located in the normative discourses of medicine and organised around constructs of aetiology (causation or disease), epidemiology (prevalence and incidence of disease) and treatment.

A medical construction of CSA has been considerably scrutinised over the years (Southwell, 2003; Collings, 2008; Seligman, 2001; Levett, 2007; Haaken & Lamb, 2000). Seligman (2001), the father and the founder of positive psychology, argues that this exclusive focus on pathology has resulted in a picture of human beings that lacks the positive features that make life worth living. In the first half of the twentieth century, Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin (1948) argued that scientific constructions of sexual behaviour echoed the theological explanations and the moral pronouncements of English common law in the fifteenth century. This law was in turn based on medieval ecclesiastic law, which was based on the tenets of certain Greek and Roman cults and Talmudic law. Collings (2008) takes issue with the medical construction of CSA and states that no construction of CSA has managed to reverse effectively the epistemic gaze established by medicine, to the detriment of children. He instead proposes that the epistemic gaze established by the medical construction should be reversed to a social construction. This construction can be distinguished from the medical

construction in a number of important respects. Collings (2008) makes three broad points. First, the social construction places CSA at the centre of everyday life. Second, this construction tends to focus not so much on notions of individual pathology but rather on socially sanctioned practices and beliefs. Third, this construction emphasises the ubiquitous nature of CSA. Also taking issue with the medical construction, Levett (2007) argues that empirically oriented constructions, assuming that everyone knows what CSA is and agrees on its construction, proliferate even though what exactly it is that is being researched is unclear (p. 429).

2.10.4 Psychologists' constructions of CSA as the product of a deviant personality and a 'cycle of abuse'

The construction of CSA as a product of a deviant personality is similar to the medical construction of CSA. In defining a personality type that may predispose particular individuals to be more likely to abuse a child, this position emphasises the idea that child abusers form part of a distinct group of deviants (Driver & Droisen, 1989; Glaser & Frosh, 1993), and in so doing separates the pathological abuser from "normal" men. Research has provided us with an abundance of factors that appear to have some association with perpetrators of abuse. These include: (a) fragile self-esteem and vulnerable body images (Tardif & Van Gijseghem, 2001), (b) cognitive distortions relating to sex with children (Blumenthal, Gudjonsson & Burns, 1999), (c) avoidance of social responsibilities and interpersonal relationships (Tardif & Van Gijseghem, 2001) and (d) behavioural problems (O' Halloran, Carr, O'Reilly, Sheerin, Cherry, Turner, Beckett & Brown, 2002).

Critics, for example Townsend and Dawes (2007) have challenged this construction. They argue that the research on the relationships between individual perpetrator factors and tendencies toward CSA fails to produce fairly focused and consistent findings. This is perhaps a reflection of a failure to apply a unified theoretical framework in understanding the relationships between individual perpetrator factors and tendencies toward CSA (Becker, 1994; Townsend & Dawes, 2007). The second argument is that the construction is too narrow a construction and that narrow constructions to sexual abuse minimise men's responsibility and fail to explore sexual abuse within a patriarchal ideology of masculinity in which sexuality and power are inextricably linked.

Psychological inquiry into the causes of abuse has also explored the notion of the 'cycle of abuse'. According to this notion, people who experience sexual abuse as children are more likely to abuse the next generation (Calder, 1999). Their initial experience of abuse is only the beginning of future abuse, which is described in the literature as the "cycle of abuse" (Save the Children, 2006). There is strong evidence for this view that sexual abuse may be a reactive, conditioned and/or learned behaviour pattern (Veneziano, 2000). Veneziano's study (2000) of 74 adolescent offenders demonstrated that the age of first abuse, the gender of the abuser, the nature of the victim-abuser relationship and the type of abuse that these adolescents experienced as children, had a significant effect on the nature of their own abusive acts. Those who were first abused at an age younger than five years were twice as likely to victimise a child of a similar age. Those who had been abused by males were also twice as likely to go on to abuse males. Those who had been abused by a relative were 1.5 times more likely to abuse a relative. Those whose abuse involved intercourse were 15 times more likely to offend similarly. Those whose abuse involved fondling were seven times more likely to behave in a similar fashion and those whose abuse involved fellatio were twice as likely to offend similarly.

Although there is evidence to suggest that CSA is perpetuated through a "cycle of abuse", critics of this position, for example Levett (2007), Collings (2008), and Jones and Jemmott (2008-2009), have pointed out several problems with the "cycle of abuse" position as a sufficient explanation of CSA. The first problem with this position is that while many people are victimised by CSA, most victims do not go on to engage in behaviours that place children at risk (Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009). The second problem is that this position does not account for the percentage of sexual offenders who were not abused during childhood. Several studies (Rice & Harris, 2002; Tardif & Van Gijseghem, 2001) suggest that a large percentage of sexual offenders did not experience sexual abuse during childhood. For example, 64% of incest offenders were not sexually abused as children in the study by Rice and Harris (2002). In a study of paedophiles by Tardif and Van Gijseghem (2001), 37% were not sexually abused as children. Also, there is evidence that shows that many survivors of CSA do not actually remember their abuse. Studies show that one in three incidents of CSA are not remembered by adults who experienced abuse as a child and they also show that the abused child is more likely to forget the abuse if the child was very young at the time of abuse and if the child had a very close relationship with the abuser (Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009). The third argument is that the "cycle of abuse" position fails to explore the issue of

male offending. A critical question arises. Sexual abuse is commonly associated with the girl child and if we accept that the great majority of victims are female children, why is it that the great majority of offenders are males? If the "cycle of abuse" position were to be accepted, surely the great majority of offenders should also be female? It is in this instance that it is most evident that the "cycle of abuse" position begins to fall apart.

2.10.5 Social workers' constructions of CSA as a product of social factors

Social workers emphasise social factors that place the child at risk for abuse and increase the opportunities for abusers to abuse (Marshall & Herman, 2000). Sociological constructions link abuse with poverty and social deprivation. They include social factors such as inadequate housing, conditions of overcrowding, lack of amenities, unemployment, insufficient income, financial difficulties and poor educational opportunities. Unemployment creates a fertile ground in which abuse thrives and affords greater opportunity for abusers to abuse their victims. Economic hardship also creates stressful family relationships. In Africa, many researchers identified poor economic conditions and inequality as the main factors contributing to sexual abuse (Harber, 2001). Another equally important problem is young teenage girls using their bodies as assets for earning money and in so doing normalising what is called transactional sex (Burton, 2005). This problem of the commercialisation of sex as a commodity for material exchange is an increasing practice among minors. Research suggests that boys and girls, especially those living in poverty, are increasingly selling sex to earn money or obtain material things (Phillips, 2006 cited in Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009). Girls are often particularly vulnerable to sexual abuse because of the pull of transactional sex, where they provide sexual services in exchange for money, fees for school, gifts or food (George, 2001; Dunn, 2001; Kempadoo & Dunn, 2001 cited in Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009; Ahmed, 2003 cited in cited in Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009; Barrow, 2005 cited in Jones & Jemmott, 2008-2009). Research on abuse in Africa has identified country-specific problems. In Malawi, schoolchildren are vulnerable when offered transactional sex by people called 'sugar daddies' and 'sugar mummies,' or by foreign tourists (Ng'ombo, 2004). Van Niekerk (1999) explored the prevalence of survival sex in the context of extreme poverty in South Africa. She noted that many of the children engaged in sex work and paid the rent, bought food and had school uniforms and books paid for by the abuser. A pertinent structure of poverty environments that raises the risk of CSA is overcrowding (Dawes, 2002). Co-sleeping may provide additional opportunities for CSA.

According to Jones et al. (2008), abuse is strongly linked with poverty and social exclusion, with HIV/AIDS and with the vulnerable positions of orphans and children who have lost parents in conflictual, post-conflictual and post-emergency contexts. The risk of HIV/AIDS is an important theme in the African literature on CSA. In southern Africa, particularly South Africa, there is a very high incidence of HIV/AIDS. This has raised concerns about the exposure of schoolgirls to infection, either through sexual abuse or male teachers or pupils coercing these girls to engage in sex (Mirembe & Davies, 2001). The cultural myth that having sex with a virgin will 'cure' HIV/AIDS, further compounds the problem and increases the risks to CSA. Even girls who are very young are exposed to attack (Save the Children Alliance, 2005). Estimates indicate an alarming number of emerging orphans in South Africa, and suggest that by the year 2015, orphans will make up between 9 and 12% of the total population. There will be between 3.6 and 4.8 million vulnerable children without protection (Smart, 2000). In South Africa, over a period of five years from 2002 to 2006, there was an increase from 17% to 21% in the proportion of children who have lost one or both of their parents. In 2006, the number of children who had suffered the loss of one or both parents totalled 3 768 000. Of that number, children who had lost their mothers amounted to 16%, 66% were paternal orphans and 18% had lost both mother and father. In South Africa, a large number of children have been orphaned due the high HIV/AIDS incidence among people of reproductive age. Globally, children who are orphaned because of AIDS are estimated to amount to about half of all the orphans throughout the world. The estimated number of orphaned and vulnerable children in South Africa amounted to 1.5 million in October 2008. There is evidence to suggest that many of these orphans will not have the protection of growing up in adult-supervised homes (Townsend, 2001). These children face a great vulnerability to sexual abuse by neighbours and relatives (Nelson Mandela Children's Fund, 2001). It has to be noted, however, that the extended family provides the care and support to many children who have suffered the loss of one or both parents.

Finally, with regard to the virgin-cleansing myth, Groce and Traci (2004) provide some evidence on the high level of vulnerability of girls and women with disabilities to rape because of the myth that HIV/AIDS can be cured if one has sex with a virgin. It is often incorrectly assumed that disabled people are sexually inactive and thus, virgins. They are 'easy targets'. There is anecdotal evidence from a southern African country that the sexual abuse of virgins and disabled people has extended to educational facilities where children are

sexually abuse in a school for the deaf (SAFOD, 2007 cited in Jones, Moore, Villar-Marquez & Broadbent, 2008).

2.11 Complexities of constructions of CSA

Some conclusions can be drawn from the preceding literature review. Constructions of CSA are not static and universal, but are rather contextually bound. Even though we may necessarily accept different approaches to CSA, it is important for us to understand these different approaches. CSA cannot be completely understood without looking at its social context. Different social contexts have different ideologies, different beliefs and different morality codes, which vary amongst people and at different points in time. Cultures change more than they remain the same. Policies and laws reflect cultural change and are products of agreement in many parts of the world that sexual abuse is harmful to all children.

Constructions of CSA through a cultural lens have invited criticisms. Guma and Henda (2007) have argued that as long as CSA is viewed and explained through a local cultural lens, children will continue to remain victims. It is important to understand that discussing cultural issues in the context of CSA does not necessarily promote relativism or reinforce the excuses of those perpetrators who make use of culture to justify their abusive behaviour. These matters are difficult to discuss but it is important that we address them because they are part of the controversies involved in our understanding of CSA and also part of the controversies that need to be considered as we rethink our knowledge on CSA. It is necessary to discuss cultural matters as one potential component of the complex human encounter that constitutes CSA.

Another even more difficult and complex issue that attends our understanding of CSA is the issue of children's sexuality. Adults find the idea of children as sexual beings very disturbing (de Mause, 1976). Literature about children's sexual knowledge, interests and experiences is limited. Freud's radical psychosexual stages of development incorporating infant sexuality angered Victorian romantics, who constructed children as asexual. Anthropological work reveals huge variations in sexual activity in children. Many cultures encourage children's "hands-on" learning of sex. Research has shown that children as young as three years of age can achieve orgasm and that it is quite common to find older children engaging in mutual sexual play (Sears, Maccoby & Levin, 1957). Freud suggested that children's sexual

activities do not decrease during the later childhood years, but increase throughout the childhood years. Children have the ability to experience sensual and tactile arousal and sexually stimulate themselves at some point during their childhood years (Richter, et al., 2007).

2.12 Conclusion

Some conclusions can be drawn from the preceding review. Firstly, it is evident that sexual relations between adults and children, and the sexual abuse of children are documented age-old practices. CSA has occurred in most, if not all, societies since the beginnings of recorded history. Secondly, while the literature on the subject of CSA has increased in volume, the field remains rife with contradictions and controversies. There are a number of salient debates surrounding the construction of CSA. The debates alluded to in this chapter highlight the fact that conceptualising and defining CSA is fraught with difficulties. There are a number of conceptual dilemmas faced in defining this construct. The dilemmas regarding definition become apparent when one examines the varying nature of the constructs of "childhood", "sexual" and "abuse". Other aspects, such as childhood sexuality and the ability of a child to give consent, vary from culture to culture and according to historical periods, resulting in difficulties in creating a static definition of CSA. Conceptualisations and definitions of CSA are not static and universal but are rather contextually bound. Thirdly, the various constructions of CSA and/or arguments alluded to in this chapter highlight the fact that no single construction has ever been able to explain CSA fully. Finally, some of these frameworks of meaning have become deeply embedded in our laws, policies, practices and institutions.

The next chapter discusses the background against which these frameworks have emerged, together with the principal objections that have been levelled against them. It serves to locate these frameworks epistemologically and offers a rationale for the theoretical perspectives that inform this study. Following on from this, I discuss the selected theories that inform this study. Here, I draw on two interrelated perspectives in social theory — social constructionism and Foucault's notion of power and discourse — that are in some ways highly critical of these dominant frameworks and are significant perspectives for understanding human social and anti-social behaviours like CSA from a deep historical and critical perspective.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Nasrudin ran to an appointment in a nearby town, stark naked. People asked him why. "I was in such a hurry to get dressed that I forgot my clothes" (Fox & Prilleltensky, 2001, p. 197).

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two comprised a history of child sexual abuse where I demonstrated that contrary to the belief that CSA is a modern-day phenomenon, the sexual abuse of children has been a common ordeal in the lives of children throughout human history. Following on this, I reviewed literature pertaining to the constructions of CSA, highlighting the debates and the dilemmas surrounding its construction. I also provided a review of how the various institutions, individuals and authorities construct CSA and highlights some frameworks of meaning that have become deeply embedded in laws, policies, practices and institutions. Since the purpose of this study was to reconsider these deeply embedded frameworks, this chapter, therefore, discusses the background against which these frameworks have emerged, together with the principal objections that have been levelled against it. I do this in order to highlight ways in which epistemological origins influence constructions of CSA, and the assumptions and judgements upon which these constructions are based and qualified.

This brief review serves to locate these frameworks epistemologically and offers a rationale for the theoretical perspectives that inform this study. Following on from this, I discuss the selected theories that inform this study. Here, I draw on two interrelated perspectives in social theory ─ social constructionism and Foucault's notion of power and discourse ─ that are in some ways highly critical of such a deeply embedded sense of 'knowing' and are significant perspectives for understanding human social and anti-social behaviours like CSA from a deep historical and critical perspective. My aim in this part of the thesis is to orient readers to the theoretical terrain from which my arguments in this study develop. The terms of my theoretical engagement are pragmatic. While theory is extremely important for my use here, it is imported in the service of unpacking questions about the constructions of CSA and not in the service of theoretical elegance as an end in itself: it is a servant rather than a master.

3.2 Epistemological ideal of science that underpins the dominant frameworks of CSA

The theoretical background against which deeply embedded frameworks of CSA have emerged brings to mind the instructive Sufi story mentioned above: these frameworks on CSA have been in such a hurry to put on the scientist's white laboratory coat that they quite forgot about the social context. The epistemological ideal of science that underpins these frameworks to explain human behaviour treats the analysis of human behaviour by the methods of natural science as simply natural. It aims to identify laws or principles of human behaviour, assuming that "all behaviour, individual and social, moral and immoral, normal and psychopathic is generated from the same primary laws" (Hull, 1943, p. v). An important feature of the epistemological ideal of science is its claim that knowledge is about 'facts', not about 'values' (Richardson & Fowers, 2001). Unobservable processes of mind cannot feature in causal accounts of behaviour. Values reflect only 'subjective' attitudes or feelings about 'objective' states of affairs. Traditional 'higher values' and mythical elements are relegated to the sphere of the merely subjective. In older or more traditional world views, like those of the Bible, of the Greek philosophers and of almost all times and places outside the modern West, moral values or spiritual insights were considered anything but 'subjective'. This outlook of science disenchants the world in which humans live (Richardson & Fowers, 2001). The objective world is viewed as a giant collection of material objects to be mapped by empirical observation. According to this view, individual minds are sharply distinguished from the world, each other and the ordinary social realm's unthinking customs or traditions. Unless humans fall prey to ignorance and superstition, they realize that they confront a world of objects to be known or represented with clear, explicit ideas and scientific explanations. These explanations alone provide objective and useful knowledge (Richardson & Fowers, 2001).

This 'naturalistic' view of knowledge and its role in life can be considered to be excessively detached and rationalistic, and too individualistic. This view can also be considered to be overly concerned with instrumentally controlling events, and neglectful of other important concerns and purposes in living. Richardson and Fowers (2001) have also pointed out a great paradox in this view: humans stand completely apart from the world as free thinkers and scientific investigators at the same time that their activities are part of the natural world governed by deterministic laws. The epistemological ideal of empirical theory may not be appropriate and adequate for explaining human behaviour like CSA because of its ahistorical

and acontextual approach. A positivist framework neglects the social and historical dimensions of human subjectivity. There have been numerous calls for social contextual understandings of the human experience. Seedat, Duncan and Lazarus (2001) point out that values and social needs should, therefore, inform the field, direct priorities and form the context for understanding and valuing human subjectivity.

Gergen (1982), the leading social constructionist theorist, concludes that a "fundamental difference exists between the bulk of the phenomena of concern to the natural as opposed to the socio-behavioural scientist" (p. 12). Although a great deal of attention is often focused on trying to substantiate the basic aspects of human behaviour in an empirical sense, Gergen asserts that most patterns of human behaviour are always subject to significant alteration (Gergen, 1982). In Gergen's view, human agents are not detached knowers. They are active participants in a historical and social realm, often called an inter-subjective "life-world". Human action is purposive and goal-oriented rather than determined by outside causes. It is deeply social and consists more of cooperative activities guided by common meanings and shared values than in radically self-interested behaviour. Even in a competitive, individualistic modern society where most people view themselves as quite distinct individuals capable of doing their own thing, they do so in a very similar manner. They must follow largely the same detailed rules and customs to participate successfully in that society. From this perspective, human activities are governed by changing, periodically renegotiated social rules or conventions rather than by natural law. These ever evolving meanings and conventions shape both their outward practices and institutions, and their most inward beliefs and feelings.

By putting on the scientist's white laboratory coat, dominant frameworks for understanding CSA have taken on a privileged knowledge position with their claims to truth about CSA through rationality and effective methods.

3.3 Background against which dominant frameworks for understanding CSA have emerged

Levett's (2007) historical account of research frames proved to be quite useful in tracing the background against which the dominant frameworks for understanding CSA have emerged. She notes that the most accessible work prior to the 1970s focused on the behaviour of the individual, with positivistic science being successful and learning theory being the dominant

paradigm in psychology. After World War 2, the social sciences became preoccupied with what were termed critical epidemics: forms of social "deviance" — truanting, delinquency, crime, drug abuse, child abuse, prejudice and racism, family violence and CSA. The focus of surveillance through research had shifted to groups, group dynamics and to deviances, broadly constructed on the basis of depictions of what is normal.

Moving further and further away from the philosophical discussions of early authors such as William James and Sigmund Freud, psychology had become expert in technologies setting up norms for expectations of group behaviours. Individual behaviour was the basic unit of research around which theories were to be constructed. Within this modernity model, norms for a range of "separate" aspects of human behaviour became the focus of interest — followed by deviance and implicit or explicit notions of abnormality. There was no serious consideration of the social context. Debate occurred around models of language and perception. It was as though language, thought and culture derived from within individuals with the capacity to learn from the social surroundings. The major debates concerned the relative influence of nature and nurture.

Levett (2007) notes that one influential exception to this dualistic view arose out of psychoanalytic theories of unconscious behaviour, where the assumption was that most human behaviour is shaped by unconscious factors that can be inferred by experts. So, from this perspective, although not aimed at prediction and control, some modest claims could be put forward about the likely behaviours of particular individuals in certain circumstances — on the basis of knowledge about their past histories, especially childhood and family history, and current relationships. Theories of the unconscious were not regarded as "real psychology". Those working within these models (in the United States, almost exclusively medical doctors) constituted their own professional groups. Levett (2007) argues that it is only more recently that psychoanalytic thinking has become acceptable as a differently-based paradigm of explanation of human behaviours. She goes on to argue that, even today, most psychologists do not have a foundational education in models of human understanding that give a different slant on "facts" and "truths" and lay emphasis on subjective meanings and motivations.

A central and very important point made by Levett (2007) is that for many psychologists the social environment has long been regarded as a potentially confounding variable for

experimental and quasi-experimental approaches. Social outcomes tended to be bracketed off by "controls". Language group, gender, age, class, education level, ethnicity and personality categories might be factored into a "sample" of individuals subjected to observation, questioning or testing in a study by way of representative subgroups or by simple exclusion. In positivistic empirical research it was assumed that if the research participants were randomly drawn from a group regarded as sufficiently homogenous in important features, then variations would be smoothed out and prioritised by using sufficiently large numbers of individuals studied with the application of statistical analyses. Norms would be established in this way. When apparently anomalous individuals needed to be investigated, their behaviours could be viewed against the norms for a comparable group. "Such an approach was long regarded as objective and sufficiently 'scientific' for a loose approximation of science given the complexities and unpredictability of the subject matter — human behaviours" (Levett, 2007, p. 432)

3.4 How appropriate are dominant frameworks to explain CSA?

Dominant frameworks of CSA emerging from the background discussed above assume that humans can study the phenomenon objectively and that answers to any questions about CSA and other problem behaviours can be researched through this approach. The basic premise is that if you hit on the correct variables to count or measure, it is possible to find acceptable probabilities of cause-effect links to explain problem behaviours like CSA. Then, based on other groups of similar or differently grouped individuals, one can build up a "true" or fairly reliable explanatory picture of the phenomenon. Dominant frameworks on CSA have followed the scientific dictum that, in identifying and explaining these variables that occur in CSA, the researcher would be able to arrive at a true picture of the occurrence and existence of CSA itself. Then the logic would be to intervene somehow (disrupt the links) so that the consequences change. Dominant frameworks on CSA have identified certain variables perceived to be consistent with CSA and these have been given priority to the relative exclusion and neglect of other factors.

According to Richardson and Fowers (2001), fundamental to this modernist approach is the idea that knowledge is neutral, that human qualities, acts and their motivations and subjective experience are comparable if you categorise them as similar. There is no bias involved in this naming and categorisation. Knowledge cumulatively evolves as an increasingly sophisticated

process of explanation. Its commitment to value neutrality tends to blind it to troubling contradictions and possible serious defects in human behaviour (Richardson & Fowers, 2001). Since it thinks it only "tells it like it is", this epistemological ideal has difficulty making sense of contradictions or inconsistencies in human behaviour or doing anything more than just describing these inconsistencies. To do more would involve interpreting their sources in social forces and human motivations in ways that inescapably make some evaluation about the human goods or moral evils involved.

According to Levett (2007), any phenomenon that involves multi-determined, sensitive, complex, unresolved ambiguous, controversial and poorly defined issues — all of which characterise CSA — requires many differently conceived views to help better understand the phenomenon. As alluded to in Chapter Two, there are no fixed meanings in many critical aspects of the field of CSA. We have a confusing array of legal, epidemiological, sociological and psychological definitions of CSA in which insertion of a penis is regarded differently to the insertion of a finger, in which consent and force and pressure are left undefined, which differentiate homo- from heterosexual behaviour, and which include contact, non-contact, electronic and media forms of sexual abuse. This multiplicity of definitional features mirrors the complexity of human sexuality and the variety of its forms of expression. CSA can be perceived as a script from which competing, conflicting and sometimes contradictory messages are written, read and interpreted.

Few would argue today that it is possible to understand problem human behaviours like CSA through 'social engineering' but, in many ways, these modernist traditions of understanding CSA had this as an admirable but unsustainable goal (Levett, 2007). Modernist notions are accompanied by an assumption that humans can be understood without taking serious account of their social context, including ideologies and beliefs, the limitations and power of language, and the potent influence of morality codes and individual emotional investments, all of which vary greatly from one person to another and from one moment to the next. There is also an assumption that the categories and groups identified for study are "natural" in the sense that the language of labelling is regarded as uncontaminated by expectations and social histories. According to Levett (2007), paradigm shifts tend to be resisted in this model.

There have been numerous calls for social contextual understandings of the human experience (Seedat et al., 2001; Richter et al., 2007). According to Seedat, Duncan and

Lazarus (2001), values and social needs should, therefore, inform the field, direct priorities and form the context for understanding and valuing human subjectivity. In the paradigm shifts since 1980, the complexities of what goes into human thought, motivations, emotions, arguments and actions have been reconceived as multiple, fluid, and often contradictory, changing from one context to another; as socio-historically constructed; and as not necessarily logically clustering within categories constructed by researchers.

We cannot divorce human behaviour from unconscious processes or from social contexts in situations where what is under investigation (CSA) is a societal and moral problem and where it is clear that attitudes, identities, ideologies and the unquestioned misuse of power are implicated. There seems to be little doubt that in the sexual abuse of children by older children and adults, the dominant roles of men in the public arena, together with widespread attitudes of and towards male privilege and male entitlement, as well as common beliefs and ideas about sex and sexualities, are all variably present and implicated.

As alluded to in Chapter Two, conceptions of childhood, sexuality and sexual abuse are profoundly cultural matters. Attitudes and practices of adults towards children are embedded in local beliefs about what is good, what is bad and what is necessary for children. Cultural communities create norms for sexual relations and for their violation (Richter et al., 2007). Beliefs and behaviours that are associated with child sexuality and abuse are embedded in cultural practices, and knowledge about CSA is historically and culturally located (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1985). All understandings of CSA are informed by the social and cultural contexts from which they emerge. Human meanings of CSA, therefore, originate in socially shared constructions.

Some conclusions can be drawn from the preceding discussion about the epistemological ideal of science that underpins dominant frameworks of CSA. Firstly, it is an inadequate framework for understanding human behaviour like CSA because it neglects the social and historical dimensions of the phenomenon (Seedat et al., 2001). It is unwilling or unable to consider traditional social, historical and political dimensions in discourse and practice. Criticisms are aimed at its underlying assumptions about science and humans, its ahistorical and acontextual approach, and the role of the social scientist in knowledge production. Secondly, it is unwilling or unable to consider traditional 'higher values' and mythical elements, which are relegated to the sphere of the merely subjective.

It is clear that it is those frameworks that are underpinned by empiricism and rationalism that have come to dominate the understanding of CSA, and have assumed a privileged knowledge position. These frameworks propose, according to structuralist and modernist principles, that a subject can be definitively understood, that processes are universal, that research is always progressive, and that using the correct research methodology allows one to reveal these various truths. As a consequence, the dominant framework used to approach the study of CSA has also assumed that there is a clearly defined body of knowledge about CSA to be accessed and revealed, and that all that is required is a rational scientific method to uncover the medical, psychological, social and cultural processes involved. From there, the assumption is that it is a simple matter of using these certainties to formulate preventive and reformative systems. Gergen (1992) describes the "imprisoning effects" of such an approach, because, as Foucault (1970) has shown, these frameworks do not exist objectively outside the systems of power, but are implicated within them. The purpose of this study is, therefore, to deconstruct the idea that a definitive understanding or approach towards CSA exists, and to demonstrate that standard existing approaches towards understanding, dealing with and preventing CSA need to be reassessed and revised.

To deconstruct frameworks that assure us that a basic, knowable knowledge about CSA exists, I draw on two interrelated perspectives in social theory — social constructionism and Foucault's notion of power — that are in some ways highly critical of these dominant frameworks and are significant perspectives for understanding human social and anti-social behaviours like CSA from a deep historical and critical perspective. I also include aspects of psychoanalysis to develop an explanatory framework of the constructions of CSA in Chapter Seven. I draw on aspects of post-Freudian psychoanalytic theory to explore whether the supernatural constructs that emerged in practitioners' constructions are comprehensible through rational concepts or in psychological terms.

3.5 Social constructionism

My interest in interrogating trained practitioners' constructions of CSA led me to pose questions about the frameworks they utilised in their assumptions and judgments that underpin their frameworks. Such a focus directed me to a number of interrelated aspects: the values that these practitioners uphold, their attitudes, and education; their employers; their positions in the social structure; the power they have in relation to others; and what the

dominant views of CSA are in their contexts at this moment in time. As I proceeded, what became apparent was the need to explain (a) how these trained practitioners come to know and understand CSA, and (b) how this knowing is shaped by layers of influence (social and cultural).

A fundamental principle on which this study builds is that discourses that are constructed and reconstructed within the social and cultural contexts in which people live play an important role in shaping their sexual behaviour. In playing such an important role in shaping how people experience themselves and their worlds, these discourses have a very great influence on how they act. All understandings of CSA are informed by the social and cultural contexts from which they emerge. Human meanings of CSA originate in socially shared constructions. "Child sexual abuse is a product of social definition. Some sets of facts come to be labelled as CSA because they go beyond the limits of what is now considered to be acceptable conduct towards a child" (Stainton, Hevey & Ash, 1989, p. 44). Since CSA is always viewed in the context of society, I drew on two interrelated perspectives in social theory: social constructionism, and Foucault's notion of power and discourse. They offered tools to unearth and describe how practitioners' come to know and understand CSA. I begin with a description of the framework of social constructionism.

This framework offered some insight into how knowledge on CSA is historically and culturally constructed (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1985). Issues of sexuality and by implication CSA run deep in discourses about social life and social action. Instead of viewing CSA as an ahistorical and asocial phenomenon, social constructionism views human meanings of CSA as originating in socially shared constructions. Within the framework of social constructionism, language is not simply a means through which we express ourselves but is also instrumental in constructing reality. Social constructionists view language as organised into discourses that are socially and historically constructed (Burr, 1995; Burton, 1999). These discourses not only make up our knowledge of the world but also bestow power, since how we construct CSA is dependent on the meanings that are attached to this phenomenon (Burton, 1999). These meanings are accessed through the environment and the knowledge that circulates within the broader community, and are supported by various institutions. For social constructionists, the construction of anything, including CSA, is not seen as a neutral process. Social constructionism focuses on power relations, and thus, how we gain our understanding of CSA is seen as a political process.

60

3.5.1 A social constructionist account of meaning

Social constructionism highlights the social, historical and collective nature of human consciousness. Social constructionism is not a unitary movement but is comprised of a number of different, overlapping perspectives that have informed approaches to literary criticism, anthropology, sociology, political studies and cultural studies (Durrheim, 1997). For this reason, social constructionism may be best defined in terms of its resistance to the institutionalised dominance of empiricism as the guiding philosophy of the human sciences. The leading social constructionist is Kenneth Gergen (1982, 1985).

Social constructionists challenge the idea of singular truth and doubt the validity of objective research. Hoffman (1993) suggests that "we cannot ever really know what 'social reality' is" (p. 9). Social constructionism can be seen, therefore, to hold as its basic tenet the eradication of objectivity. Reality is constructed through social discourse and is not discovered through objective means. We live in a multiverse, with as many descriptions as describers, and reality is constructed through conversation (Real, 1990). Furthermore, Gergen (1985, p. 3) states that "our experience of the world does not dictate the terms by which the world is understood". This thought further criticises the positivist-empiricist conception of knowledge of CSA and thus, invites one to challenge the objective underpinnings of this conception.

Social constructionism moves outside of and beyond the traditional "subject-object dualism" (Gergen, 1985). A social constructivist approach negates the use of one's experience as any sort of proof or measure of objectivity, emphasising that any description of one's experience is essentially a narrative, a linguistic construction that reflects the particular discursive conventions of a specific time and place. This has important implications for psychological inquiry, as according to this approach there can be no claims to accuracy, and no 'truth through method' that produces objective findings and theories. There is only an analyst or researcher's skill at inviting, compelling and stimulating the audience through various subjective narrative techniques and not through techniques of accuracy.

According to social constructionism, the empiricist account of meaning — under the guise of behaviourism or cognitivism — makes the single error of restricting and fixing the meaning of words (Durrheim, 1997). This stems from its foundationalist aspirations of seeking a unitary truth. It does this by distinguishing between the subjective world of ideas in the head

and objective reality in the world, and assuming that ideas and their expression in language may correspond with, mirror or represent reality. According to the empiricist account of meaning, words are pictures that refer to fixed things or processes (either in mind or behaviour). The behaviourist definition of CSA is inadequate because it is limited to a fixed pattern of observable behaviour and is thereby mechanistic, ignoring the meaningful nature of human action. The cognitivist account is similarly inadequate. The meaning of what is happening is dependent upon individual mental processes. For example, the cognitivist would argue that we need to understand the intentions of the sexual abuser if we are to define what is going on. Exploring the intentions of the sexual abuser does not help to define what is going on because "intending" has no fixed meaning. It is not possible to find intention or thought processes or understanding in the mind, for the meaning of "intending" is context and convention bound. According to Coulter (1979), a word or the physiological actions that constitute that word may have many different meanings depending on the context and how the actions are put into language. Also, the public criteria for understanding and intending are bound by circumstances and not by a codified set of related behaviours or experiences.

Social constructionism offers an alternative understanding of meaning and the relation between language and reality. Instead of a statement gaining meaning by virtue of whether or not its objective truth conditions are met, "the meaning of a word is its use in language" (Wittgenstein, 1953, p. 43). The meaning of words is found in their use. Words are tools and language is like a tool box. The functions of words are as diverse as the functions of objects (hammer, pliers, saw) in a tool box. This constitutes a fundamental shift away from empiricist accounts. No longer is there a clear distinction between the subject of knowledge and the object of knowledge (mind and matter). Words no longer merely refer to or mirror things in the world. Instead, words are used to do things in the world and the distinction between the "subjective" aspect of meaning and the "objective" component is collapsed. The relationship between what something is and what we say it is, cannot be evaluated in terms of accuracy, truth or correspondence, for there are no independent things in the world that are merely pictured by words.

Social constructionism located in sociology emphasises that language does not simply mirror reality and is not a neutral tool. Language has the power to structure social reality. It highlights certain aspects of what it represents and the situations and experiences it describes. When a term becomes accepted in common use, it influences how we perceive the world.

Consequently, in communicating with others and in generating ideas, the terms available to us constrain what we say and what we know. We not only use language, it uses us. How people talk about their experience determines what their experience is. Thus, when a person is given a particular diagnostic label, this has a profound influence on what people think of him or her and on how he or she thinks about himself or herself.

Thus, the social constructionist perspective can be seen as focusing on the importance of language in social interchange and further holds that what we know evolves primarily within language. As we move through the world, so we build up and construe our ideas and experiences in conversation with others (Hoffman, 1993). Gergen (1985, p. 4) states that, "the terms in which the world is known, are products derived from historically situated interchanges among people. Understanding is, therefore, not automatically evident by the forces of nature, but rather an interchange between people in relationships". Gergen (1985) provides the example of the broad, historically varied conceptualisations of "the child", in which it is suggested that such changes are not reflections of changes in the actual object, but that these changes are lodged in historically contingent factors. In a clear and vivid way, Gergen argues that the "terms in which the world is understood are social artefacts, products of historically situated interchanges between people" (1985, p. 4). As a result, conceptions of phenomena like CSA differ markedly in different cultures.

Language, according to social constructionism, is not referential but constructive, just as psychological concepts do not refer to single objects or processes (e.g. mind, thinking). Language has a doing function and all speech is constructive of reality (Austin, 1962). By transcending the dualism between the external real world and the internal world of ideas, social constructionism rejects the notion that language reflects, mirrors or purely describes reality in favour of an understanding of language as constructive (Curt, 1994; Gergen, 1985; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The variable use of words and the social construction of reality by means of language do not mean, however, that we can misuse words or construct strange or unacceptable versions of reality. Cognitive processes are not just what anyone does but what someone does correctly or incorrectly (Harre, 1992). The criteria for distinguishing between the correct and incorrect use of words cannot be the truth or falsity of our representations. For Wittgenstein, the ability to use words correctly originates in a given cultural form of life: "I did not get my picture of the world by satisfying myself of its correctness…No: it is the inherited background against which I distinguish between true and false" (Wittgenstein,

1969, para. 94). The background is the broad range of social practices or "forms or life" that provide the context of meaning. In other words, language and action derive meaning from social convention, where "language and communication are cultural practices within which the various realities one encounters are constituted" (Sampson, 1993, p. 1221). For example, the meaning of CSA is specified by social convention. CSA is rendered meaningful within a context, against an inherited, historical social background. The meanings that motivate actions are not defined in terms of individual representations of CSA but in terms of shared conventions (Wertsch, 1991).

If one takes a social constructionist approach, it becomes clear that any perceived objective 'knowledge' about CSA is in fact constituted through various mechanisms of social consensus. There are various 'truths' that we agree on that shape our reality and are created as a result of our social experiences and interactions. However, there is also an awareness alongside this that different communities and social systems have differing moral standards and methods of establishing morality. It is in the area of sexual behaviour that this becomes most apparent, as standards of sexual morality and deviancy vary drastically between and even within communities, and between and within generations. Thus, social constructionism understands knowledge of CSA as historically relative and meaningful against a background of contemporary social practices (Hacking, 1995). The words that refer to CSA are analysed in terms of their function (how they are used) in relation to social practice. Sexual behaviour may mean different things under different "forms of life". According to Durrheim (1997), we should analyse the uses to which terms are put within different socio-discursive regimes. Language is neither an outer expression of inner states nor a reflection of reality but is "social in origin, uses and implications" (Gergen & Semin, 1990). Given that the use of language is social and indexical, and that meanings of words fluctuate across context, a social constructionist approach holds that these different meanings come about by a process of reflexivity.

Thus, if we want to understand the meaning of CSA, instead of representing an accurate picture of what is happening, we should view it from within a frame of reference (i.e. a "language game" or discourse). This could involve "seeing" abuse through a discourse that frames the action as a "crime against humanity". Being embedded in a particular "form of life" makes available certain discourses that lend meaning to objects and events. This is what

Foucault means when he claims that "discourses are practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak (Foucault, 1972, p. 49).

According to social constructionism, with no final truth to lend meaning to our words, reflexivity is an endless activity. The only way to understand our use of a word (i.e. its meaning) is to compare it with other uses. Meaning derives not from the referential world but arises against other meanings (Parker, 1992). Eco (1983) captures nicely the notion that words refer to other words, meanings to other meanings: "Until then I had thought each book spoke of the things human or divine that lie outside books. Now I realized that not infrequently books speak of books: it is as if they spoke among themselves" (p. 286). Finally, based on the thoughts of Anderson and Goolishian (1988) social constructionism can be summarised by the premises that: (a) human systems generate language and meaning, and (b) meanings and understandings are socially constructed, and we obtain meaning and understanding when we engage in a meaning-generating discourse.

Social constructionists have also challenged the fundamentals of traditional psychology that reflected and furthered certain dominant cultural themes and ideologies. The questions they raise are: (a) whose ideas and interests are reflected in diagnosis, treatment, standards of mental health and priorities for research? and (b) who can decide what is the truth? Language, as Barthes (1972) has said, is a labelling, defining and ranking sign system in the hands of the powerful. Making meaning using language is found within certain groups because of their pre-eminence in society and their influence on the print and electronic media. The meanings put forth by them can be seen as partial because they exclude the experiences of other groups. The dominant meanings maintain the status quo and justify the existing hierarchies of power and status (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990). Categories of normality and abnormality define ideals of behaviour as well as which behaviours and actions are to be avoided in oneself and stigmatized in others. In this way the dominant meanings of "normal" and "abnormal" influence and constrain everyone's behaviour. Dominant meanings are not the only meanings, although they may be the most visible and legitimated ones. There may be alternative ways of understanding CSA, alternative interpretations of CSA and alternative meanings put forth by groups such as working-class and poor people, women, and members of other non-dominant cultural groups. These alternative accounts are key resources both for challenging the status quo and for formulating new knowledge on CSA.

Social constructionism has serious limitations in that it is denounced as subjective, relativist and irresponsible (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). It is argued that its outlook sets forth a paradoxical and ultimately implausible view of the human self. On the one hand, it is radically determined by historical influences. Yet on the other hand, it is radically free to reinterpret both itself and social reality, for its own self-invented purposes. The question posed is: but where would such historically embedded beings get the leverage to reinvent themselves in this way? Also, social constructionists sometimes suggest that just denying what is metaphysically and morally universal will free us from tendencies toward dogmatism and domination. The question posed is: but where in this brave new world would we find the conviction or character needed to keep from discarding our society's ideals of freedom and universal respect? The social constructionist recommendation that we evaluate our values in terms of their "pragmatic implications" is a very weak interpretation of what it means to take responsibility in everyday life.

Since the purpose of this study was to interrogate the ways in which trained practitioners in particular fields related to and construct CSA, a social constructionist perspective offered valuable tools for examining the constructive effects of the language practitioners used in constructing CSA. This perspective thus, opened the possibility of questioning knowledge on CSA that is taken for granted, by looking at the ways in which CSA is constructed by these practitioners through various linguistic practices. It helped me to analyse the objectivity, independence and value neutrality of the language they used, and the social and cultural practices shaping or influencing their constructions of CSA. A social constructionist perspective offered valuable tools for challenging constructions of CSA that become fixed and pass as truth. Who can decide what the truth is? Dominant meanings of CSA are not the only meanings, although they may be the most visible and legitimated ones. There may be alternative ways of understanding CSA. A social constructionist perspective offered valuable tools both for challenging dominant constructions and for formulating new knowledge on CSA. Since the purpose of this study was to overturn and deconstruct the idea that a basic, knowable knowledge about CSA exists, a social constructionist perspective offered valuable insight into how particular conceptualisations of CSA have become dominant and come to be accepted as truth. Reflexity was employed to produce new meanings by utilising other alternative discourses to show the constructed nature of dominant constructions of CSA.

3.6 The social theory of Michel Foucault

In this study, Foucault's view on our embeddedness in culture offered a more realistic but much less cheery view than did social constructionism. As already stated in the preceding discussion, a fundamental principle on which this study builds is that discourses that are constructed and reconstructed within the social and cultural contexts in which people live play an important role in shaping their sexual behaviour. While one would not wish to underestimate the very real and devastating effects of CSA, another fundamental principle on which this study builds is that constructions, meanings and practices ascribed to sexuality are where CSA is produced, interpreted and read. CSA amplifies issues of sexuality, the sexual self and associated meanings and interpretations. An investigation into CSA has to therefore, consider its locatedness and associations with the broader discourses of sexuality.

As part of my inquiry into CSA, this study therefore explored the ways in which trained practitioners who work in particular fields related to CSA position the child subject in relation to discourses of childhood sexuality, innocence and abuse, and raised important questions about how these practitioners represent and discursively constitute childhood sexuality. I do this by drawing on Foucault's work in *The History of Sexuality* (1978), in which he developed an argument that thoroughly challenges formulations of sex and sexuality that are seen as 'natural'. Foucault's position on sexuality goes beyond reductive individualistic understandings of sexuality and instead highlights how culturally saturated people's conceptualisations of sexuality are. This different way of thinking about sexuality allows us to examine commonsense understandings of sexuality and to de-naturalise some of the assumptions of sexuality that are not true universally but are taken for granted. It also shows how these understandings of sexuality are specific to particular historical and cultural contexts.

The position Foucault takes is that sexuality should be understood as historically and socially constructed. The social construction of sexuality suggests that sexuality is determined by culture rather than by biology. He argues that sex is far from being just a natural drive and urge that society has repressed. According to Foucault (1981), sex is "deployed". Ideas about sexual morality are created by the social practices of the time and place in question (Foucault, 1981), and this deployment of sexuality serves to regulate and control social behaviour. Theorizing sexuality in this way underlines how constructions of sexuality are based on establishing and manipulating power relations within society, rather than on any 'natural' or

objective criteria. The multiplicity of positions available to men, women and children in relation to sexual behaviour and identity are, therefore, constrained by these criteria. Foucault (1981) suggests that the whole proliferation of discourses on sex that has taken place in the last few centuries is related to increasing forms of what has come to be known as governmentality. Is the government not motivated, he asks, "in short, to constitute a sexuality that is economically useful and politically conservative?" (Foucault, 1981, p. 37). This possibility has clear implications for understanding the strict norms of sex that we currently know as culturally produced rather than self-evidently natural.

Foucault describes the medical discourse on sex that appeared during the eighteenth century: "One had to speak of sex as of a thing to be not simply condemned or tolerated but managed, inserted into systems of utility, regulated for the greater good of all, made to function according to an optimum" (Foucault, 1978, p. 24). The confession rituals of thirteenth-century Christianity were absorbed into this scientific discourse, and through the use of examinations and questionnaires, together with fixed categories of signs and symptoms, the patient's account was reinterpreted and codified in medical, clinical terms. Empirical categories of interrogation and interpretation thus, existed to decode the latency and elusiveness of sexuality and sexual behaviour, which could only be understood through confession on the part of the patient, and interpretation on the part of the practitioner, who was considered the "master of truth" (Foucault, 1978, p. 67). Sex was "medicalised" or "placed under the rule of the normal and the pathological" (1978, p. 76).

Foucault (1976) outlines how this interpretation on the part of the practitioner relied on specific processes of medicalisation through the expert clinical gaze and surveillance of the doctor that had evolved, most notably with the development of a new environment and style of medical thought and practice in the "clinic". This gaze looks past the obvious signs of illness on the surface of the body, and relies on language to describe what lies below the surface – it focuses on an "invisible visibility" (Foucault, 1976, p. 149) – but is heavily implicated in a power structure that gives the medical practitioner selective and subjective interpretive possibilities and that encourages normative judgements.

In Foucauldian terms power is inherent in relations and this power can be seen in relations between practitioner and patient. Through discourses power is linked to knowledge and as such, actually produces knowledge. It was through Foucault's notion of power that I was able

to respond to another key aspect of the purpose of this study, namely, the relations of power that accept certain interpretations of CSA and reject others. Such a perspective made it possible for me to explain how scientific knowledge on CSA is linked to professional practice. Foucault's work was useful for this study in that it helped to identify how CSA, a scientifically neutral concept, is deployed in scientific discourse, and how these discourses play a role in producing practices that regulate how CSA is managed, normalised and pathologised within a medical discourse.

According to Foucault (1970), knowledge on any subject matter underpinned by science is part of the deployment of power, even though science claims that it is external to the workings of power. Thus, it is not possible to have what is called a discourse of truth as scientific fields of knowledge including their claims on what they perceive to be true are produced through sets of discursive rules or relations of power that are instrumental in creating and constituting particular forms of knowledge. According to Foucault (1970), relations of power are neither consensual nor coercive but are the countless ways people are arbitrarily controlled by a system of power/knowledge. Foucault (1970) speaks of "biopower", a term that describes detailed surveillance and control of people in line with the current regime and argues that even though the human sciences claim that that their aim is truth, such surveillance and control reflects a modern obsession with creating a 'normal' and healthy population.

Foucault has illuminating things to say about how modern penology, psychiatry and other human sciences contribute to this process. He analyzes how the individual is formed in line with the current system. He shows how processes in the individual actively formed by self are controlled by practices usually through an external authority figure (Foucault, 1980a). For Foucault, power forms the subject but it is also that which subordinates the subject, and this process of forming and subordination occurs simultaneously and takes place in and through discourse (Foucault, 1982a). Subject positions are constituted in discourse and are set up within power/knowledge relationships (Hetherington, 1998). Discourses are "ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledge and the relations between them" (Weedon, 1987, p. 108). Discourses are embedded, competitive and contradictory, occurring within what Foucault calls "discursive fields". Weedon (1987, p. 108) states that these are "competing ways of giving meaning to the world and of organizing social institutions and processes" that

offer a subject "a range of modes of subjectivity". Discourses are "tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations" (Foucault, 1981, p. 10). Force relations are the fields compromising social institutions that are the location for "discursive conflict" where regulatory rules are. They are contextually situated and taken up through hierarchically constituted relations of class, race, gender, religion and age (Weedon, 1987).

For Foucault, no entity has meaning outside the context of the discursive field in which a broader network of power relations is at play, often within established institutional boundaries like education, medicine and welfare (Weedon, 1987). The most influential discourses are articulated within established institutions which are in themselves spaces of contestation. Important too is the recognition that even within a particular discourse there might be more than one subject position (Weedon, 1987). There might be a privileged position of subjectivity within a particular discourse but by its very structure there will be an inference of other subject positions.

Foucault's theory and genealogical method offer valuable additional tools for detecting the sort of rationalisations about historical inevitability or unquestionable validity that those in power sometimes use to dress up their views and values. Foucault (1977a) proposes that explanatory theories of humankind are far from representing objective truths and instead reflect instruments of social power that are imperialistic. No social theory can claim validity outside a particular historical context or value system. Foucault (1977a) unmasks our damaging modern pretensions to exaggerated autonomy, certainty and control. He helps restore a sense of belonging to a historical culture that has formed us. He provides new, helpful tools for recovering diverse and possibly valuable experiences and understandings that indeed have sometimes been "subjugated" by scientistic, rationalistic, or masculinist ways of thinking. However, for Foucault, "power" is simply the arbitrary, accidental way that social processes work and change, not something that can be limited or used in the service of any sort of better way of life. Foucault clearly sides at times with those who resist or refuse totalizing discourses. Philip (1985) argues that without a conception of the human good, Foucault cannot explain either why people should struggle at all or what they should struggle for. Similarly, Taylor (1985) suggests that Foucault's analyses of power/dominion and disguise/illusion really only make sense if some critical dimension or genuine goods are implicit in his own analysis.

One can argue that Foucault does not moralise in any way. Instead of social science or a discussion on ethics, he recommends the practice of genealogy, which uncovers the possible beginnings of "totalising discourses". Genealogy shows how the unity and truth claims of these discourses arose historically and from the powerful influences exerted by those who had some advantage at the moment. In some ways, this approach resembles a highly austere "descriptivism". One might view it as a natural consequence of feeling the need to abandon strictly all traditional and modern value commitments, resulting in an extreme, existentialist-like sense of absurdity and meaninglessness. It is attractive to a number of thinkers today who perhaps despair at how, in a modern context, new "solutions" to human problems only seem to generate new confining entanglements and social evils to replace old ones. One could easily argue that this approach is a somewhat defensive and escapist response to life's difficulties and disappointments. It undermines any commitment to clarifying how personal and social dynamics relate to justice and oppression. It is neither desirable nor possible to remain as detached as Foucault recommends from the struggle for justice. Some support for this view may be found in the fact that Foucault himself often supports those who "resist" or "refuse" what he takes to be totalizing discourses. He seems to place a positive value on resistance, which opens a space for the rediscovery of certain broken, local forms of knowledge or understanding that are marginalised or suppressed.

In this study, I drew on Foucauldian explanations of how sexuality can be seen to be socially practised. Although I drew on Foucault as a major influence, I did not pretend to present a pure "Foucauldian" analysis. I drew on his explanations and used them as it best suited my own theoretical framing of this study or my own theoretical perspectives, for he himself said:

> All my books...are tool boxes...if people want to open them, to use this sentence or that idea as a screwdriver or spanner to short-circuit, discredit or smash systems of power, including eventually those from which my books have emerged...so much better (Foucault, 1975, 'Interview with Roger Pol Droit, cited in Paton, 1979, p. 115).

I used these ideas as a means to an end, as tools to think differently about sex and sexuality, rather than to further any theoretical agenda or history of ideas. A Foucauldian analysis was useful for this study in that it situated CSA in a broader discourse of sexuality. An analysis of

this kind of sexuality derived from Foucault's work on discourse, power and sexuality provided liberating insights into how sexuality is shaped by culture. His approach helped to shift thinking on CSA beyond reductive individualistic ways of understanding sexual behaviour. It also illuminated how culturally saturated our own conceptions of ourselves are; how culturally shared patterns of meaning and normative practices limit us in various ways — not through repression of more authentic natural ways of being but through the installation of frameworks of meaning and practice that guide us on how to be normal members of our cultures. This different way of thinking about people-in-culture is important because it allows us to de-naturalise some of our assumptions about everyday life. "It allows us to appreciate the rich logic of some choices that might seem on the surface irrational and self-defeating — by providing a way of understanding how individual rationality must always operate alongside compelling cultural scripts or guidelines that impose other considerations for us, as social beings, to continually navigate our way through" (Gavey, 2005, p. 134). In opening doors to new ways of thinking on CSA, the theory provides liberating insights into our own cultural formation and possibilities for transformation.

Employing the inspecting eye of a Foucauldian-based discourse analysis of practitioners' constructions of CSA offered tools to unearth and describe how CSA is normalised and pathologised within a medical discourse. Foucault's notion of power enabled me to do two things already described earlier, namely, describe how CSA is constructed in scientific discourse and show how this discourse produces practices that act as forms of regulation. In applying his theory, I was able to extract the dominant institutions, rules and discourses that act as broad frames of reference structuring the institutions in which they operate.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the background against which dominant frameworks of CSA have emerged, together with the principal objections that have been levelled against it. This brief review served to locate these frameworks epistemologically and offered a rationale for the theoretical perspectives that informed this study. Following on from this, I discussed the selected theories that informed this study. Here, I drew on two interrelated perspectives in social theory: social constructionism, and Foucault's notion of power and discourse. Social constructionism clarifies what constructions are current and Foucault's notion of power and discourse clarifies the effects of constructions. In essence these theorists made it possible for me to examine critically (a) the naming of CSA by practitioners; (b) the language that

practitioners use to talk about CSA; (c) the frameworks they use to explain CSA and how these frameworks limit their understanding of the phenomenon; (d) the significant power they exercise in generating knowledge about CSA; (e) how practitioners are institutionally organized to operate and think in relation to CSA; and (f) the marginalized voices that are ignored in the social construction of meaning around CSA and the institutional structures that silence these voices.

The next chapter discusses the methodological orientation of this study and proposes discourse analysis as an appropriate orientation for this study. I offer a rationale for this orientation and show how it offers a useful explanation of the constructive effects of language and the ways in which language constructs particular objects and the function such constructions serve in social relations (Burton, 1999). I show how it offers useful tools to explain how certain conceptualisations of CSA have become dominant and have come to be considered as true and how "objects" in the world are constructed against a background of socially shared understandings that have become institutionalised and have come to be considered as facts. I show how it gives an account of how "forms of language serve social, ideological and political interests", how conceptions reveal the subjectivity of their authors, and how their conceptions are related to their feelings, thoughts and place in society.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Has not the practice of revolutionary discourse and scientific discourse over the past two hundred years freed you from this idea that words are wind, an external whisper, a beating of wings that one has difficulty in hearing in the serious matter of history?
(Foucault, 1972 cited in Fairclough, 2006, p. 37)

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Three discussed the background against which dominant frameworks of child sexual abuse have emerged together with the principal objections that have been levelled against it. It highlighted ways in which epistemological origins influence constructions of CSA and the assumptions and judgements upon which these constructions are based and qualified. It served to locate these frameworks epistemologically and offered a rationale for the theoretical perspectives that informed this study. Following on from this, I discussed the selected theories that informed this study. Here, I drew on two interrelated perspectives in social theory: social constructionism, and Foucault's notion of power and discourse.

As alluded to earlier, the purpose of this study was to interrogate dominant frameworks of meaning surrounding CSA as articulated through the expert or trained practitioner in particular fields related to CSA in contemporary society. It looked at how these frameworks have become interwoven into the fabric of our social world and how some of them have come to function as truths. Since the purpose of this study was to deconstruct the notion that a basic, knowable knowledge about CSA exists, I drew on discourse analysis as a methodology. To this end, language became an important sphere of investigation, and discourse analysis offered tools to examine: (a) the constructive effects of language, (b) the ways in which language constructs particular objects and (c) the function such constructions serve in social relations (Burton, 1999). Discourse analysis offered useful tools to explain how particular conceptualisations of CSA have become dominant and have come to be accepted as true. It also offered an account of how conceptions of CSA have been constructed against a background of socially shared understandings that have become institutionalised and have come to be accepted as true. It offered some insight into how these understandings

that are taken for granted are in fact fixed firmly in particular 'regimes of truth'. It also offered useful tools to deconstruct commonly accepted understandings of CSA by drawing on other (marginalised) discourses to demonstrate the constructed nature of these common understandings. Thus, Foucault (1984a, p. 60) sets himself the task of "seeing how effects of truth are produced in discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false".

Since this study turned an inspecting eye on discourses utilised by trained practitioners in their constructions of CSA, discourses analysis proved useful for this study in that it helped to analyze how CSA, a scientifically neutral concept, was deployed in their discourses and how these constructions produce practices that act as forms of regulation. It gave an account of how forms of language are not innocent of serving social, ideological and political interests, how conceptions reveal the subjectivity of their authors, and how their conceptions are related to how they feel, think and the positions they occupy in society. This chapter discusses the methodological orientation of this study and proposes discourse analysis as an appropriate methodology for this study. Here, I draw on two approaches that have come from two different theoretical traditions, one that is critical and one that is more cautious. The first, relying on Foucault's theoretical insights, offered a useful explanation of (a) the validity of the knowledge on CSA in a particular place and at a particular time, and (b) the arising of this knowledge and how it is passed on.

Discourse analysis links discourse with power and ideology, and looks at the intimate relation between language and politics. A Foucauldian-based discursive analysis of practitioners' knowledge of CSA offered tools to unearth and describe the language of truth used to construct CSA. The second, relying on Potter and Wetherell, looked at the many and opposing discourses practitioners used to explain CSA. This approach focuses more on how people talk about a phenomenon and is not so concerned about bringing about change in society (Parker, 2001). The discourse analysis utilised in this study moved between these two theoretical frameworks.

4.2 Theoretical and methodological aspects of discourse analysis

4.2.1 Introduction

Distinctive approaches have emerged from different disciplinary locations and different theoretical traditions. There is now a huge variety of perspectives that lay claim to the name "discourse analysis". There are linguistically-oriented approaches to discourse analysis (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Labov & Fanshel, 1977; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Pecheux, 1982) that focus upon texts and textual analysis. In a clear and vivid way, Fairclough (2006) argues that these approaches do not sufficiently attend to important social aspects of discourse. Foucault has been a great influence on the development of discourse analysis. Social perspectives on discourse analysis in his work look at discourse analysis as a form of social analysis. Fairclough (2006) argues that when doing social research, greater attention to texts and linguistic analysis would increase the value of discourse analysis. Fairclough (2006) proposes a multidimensional approach which is a synthesis of two views of discourse, one that is socially oriented and one that is linguistically oriented. This approach moves towards what he calls a "social theory of discourse" (p. 62).

Even though all these perspectives have emerged from different disciplinary locations and different theoretical traditions, all these perspectives reject the notion that language is simply neutral in its reflection or description of the world. They also share a conviction of the central role discourse plays in its construction of social life. Language constructs versions of the world.

4.2.2 The concept of discourse

Discourse analysts are often asked to define the concept of "discourse". The term "discourse" is often used to mean a "text", which is an extended piece of speech or writing that is connected. "Discourse analysis" then means "the analysis of a text, or type of text" (van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 144). Van Leeuwen (2009) defines discourses as "socially constructed ways of knowing some aspect of reality" or, to put it another way, "context-specific frameworks for making sense of things" (p. 144). "Different discourses, different ways of making sense of the same aspect of reality, we do all this in different ways, including and excluding different things, and doing so in the service of different interests" (van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 145). Discourses are when we use different patterns of meaning to talk about

phenomena in a way that defines them as aspects of humanity that do not change. The term "discourse" also incorporates the many different patterns of meaning that exist amongst different cultures. The identities of people are developed and "expressed" verbally, non-verbally and symbolically.

According to Parker (2001), discourses define the different aspects of the world and the nature of things in certain ways. These discourses about the different aspects of the world and the nature of things are produced and reproduced when people feel that their expressions of things inside themselves are genuine. The discovery of the many things inside us is defined by the analysts of discourse as forms of discourse (Parker, 2001). Analysts of discourse define descriptions of acts and experiences as discourses that are a part of powerful discursive practices within Western culture that distinguish between acts and thoughts that are normal and those that are abnormal. A "medical discourse" will interpret a difficult experience as reflecting an underlying illness (Parker, 2001). Traditional psychological discourses locate the position of mental phenomena inside the heads of people and not in language between people (Parker, 2001). They lay claim to the truth value of accounts of the human mind and human behaviour. However, people do not take a step back and raise questions around the origins of those discourses and the interests they may serve. Critical discourse analysis, however, will step back and work out how these accounts work and raise questions around the origins of those accounts, why they appear to be so probable, whose interests they may serve, and which institutions and forms of power they produce. While discourse analysis is concerned with the workings of the different forms of language, critical discourse analysis focuses on the social, ideological and political interests they may serve (Parker, 2001).

Language, as Barthes (1972) has said, is a sign system used by the powerful to label, define and rank. Pre-eminent and influential groups in society and in the media monopolize the making of meaning through language. This hierarchy of pre-eminence and influence is justified and these dominant meanings maintain the status quo (Harre-Mustin & Marecek, 1990). Dominant meanings are not the only meanings, although they may be the most visible and legitimated ones. The meanings they make cannot be impartial as they ignore and marginalise the experiences of other groups, such as working-class and poor people, women and members of other non-dominant cultural groups, and also ignore and marginalise alternative meanings and ways of understanding and interpreting behaviour put forth by these

groups. These alternative accounts are key resources for developing a critical approach. They are crucial both for challenging the status quo and for formulating new knowledge of CSA.

According to Link (1983, p. 60), a discourse can be defined as "an institutionalised way of talking that regulates and reinforces action and thereby exerts power". This definition can be illustrated by the image of discourse as knowledge flowing through time. Different discourses are "intimately entangled" with each other and together form the "giant milling mass of overall societal discourse" (Jager & Maier, 2009, p. 35). "This milling mass of discourse is growing constantly and exuberantly" (Jager & Maier, 2009). Discourses not only merely express social practice but also serve the ends of exercising power. The concept of power, in the Foucauldian sense, refers to a "whole series of particular mechanisms, definable and defined, that seems capable of inducing behaviours or discourses" (Foucault, 1996). Discourses are able to exercise power in a society through institutionalising and regulating talk, thoughts and actions.

4.2.3 Theoretical background

4.2.3.1 Foucauldian approaches to discourse

Discourse analysis of practitioners' constructions of CSA based on Foucault's theory of discourse focused on (a) the validity of their knowledge of CSA in a certain context and at a certain time and (b) how this knowledge of CSA emerged and was passed on. "Knowledge" speaks of the making of different kinds of meaning to help people in the interpretation and shaping of their environment. People derive this knowledge from the discursive surroundings into which they are born and in which they are enmeshed throughout their lives. Knowledge is, therefore, conditional. Its validity depends on where people are located in history, geography and class relations (Jager & Maier, 2009). Discourse analysis aims to identify the knowledge contained in discourses and how this knowledge is firmly connected to relations of power. All sorts of knowledge can be subjected to analysis.

Foucault's focus on the "rules of discourse" helps us to make sense of how we talk presently about phenomena like CSA. His engagement with an "archaeology" of culture and a "genealogy" of knowledge uncovers how certain understandings of phenomena like CSA that are taken for granted, come about (Foucault, 2002). Many phenomena are not studied on their own, separated from culture. To discover or reveal the "essence" of phenomena like CSA,

Foucauldians deflect us from focusing on one issue at a time and then exploring its different permutations in different contexts. Foucauldians help us ask instead: "How has the phenomenon CSA come to be conceptualised like this, and what discursive conditions in a society made these conceptions of CSA possible? Foucauldians then help us to look at how discourses constitute the phenomenon of CSA, elaborate on it, naturalise it and persuade us to take it as true. Foucault (1977) speaks of a "regime of truth" that helps us make sense of our talk of phenomena. A part of this "regime of truth" is a network of theories and practices that cover the observation, categorisation and regulation of people in modern Western culture. By looking at how certain discourses produce relations of power, Foucauldians help us to promote "counter-discourses" and alternative understandings of the conceptualisations of CSA that have been taken for granted (Foucault, 1977).

4.2.3.2 Discourses and reality

According to Link (1992, cited in Wodak and Meyer, 2009), discourses are not only mere reflections of reality but also shape and enable reality. Social reality is made possible through discourses. "Discourses can thus, be understood as material reality *sui generis*" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 36). Discourses do not occupy second-class material status nor are they "less material than real reality and passive media into which reality is imprinted" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 36). "Discourses are fully valid material realities among others" (Link, 1992 cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 36). Reality is determined through discourses that are co-produced by active subjects intervening in their social contexts. These subjects are able to do this because they are entangled in discourse and, therefore, have knowledge at their disposal.

4.2.3.3 Discourses and power

"The power of discourse", according to Link (1990, cited in Wodak and Meyer, 2009) "lies in the fact that discourses delineate a range of 'positive' statements, which are sayable. This means that they simultaneously inhibit a range of other statements, which are not sayable" (Link, 1990 cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 37). Society's interpretation of reality and its organization of discursive practices like talking, thinking and acting, are determined by discourses that are interpreted as a flow of knowledge through time. The individual and the masses are made conscious through discourses and in this way constitute subjects individually and collectively. Discourses determine the action of people because consciousness determines action that results in the creation of materialisations. Discourses thus, guide the creation of reality both individually and collectively. Thus, from this point of

view, the subject is not the maker of discourses, but discourses are the makers of the subject. The subject is a product of discourse and his acting status is of no interest. As Foucault argues:

> One has to dispense with the constituent subject, to get rid of the subject itself, that is to say, to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework. And this is what I would call genealogy, that is, a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects etc. without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history (Foucault, 1980a, p. 117).

Even though different individuals and groups are given different opportunities of influence, all of them are unable to stand against dominant discourses, and not one of them has the power alone to fully control discourse. According to Jager and Maier (2009, p. 38), "discourses are supra-individual". Even though all are co-producers of discourse there is no one individual alone or a group that can control discourse or who is able with precision to determine its final result. Discourses take on a life of their own as they evolve. The knowledge that they transport is more than that which the individual subject is aware of (Jager & Maier, 2009). There may be a difference between a speaker's reasons for using a particular discourse and the social consequences of doing so (Burr, 2003).

4.2.3.4 Interpretative repertoires
This approach to discourses analysis looks at contrasting ways of explaining phenomena like CSA and these contrasting explanations are called interpretative repertoires (Parker, 2001). It looks at the many and opposing discourses people utilise in explaining facts and behaviours like CSA. According to Parker (2001), this approach finds favour with psychology as discourse analysis is still held within the traditional categories of psychology and also because it makes no reference to politics or power. Analysis through this approach is contained within a specific text and not located widely in discursive practices, even though it makes relative the categories that psychology prefers to see in an essentialist and unchanging manner. This approach is not so critical of psychological discourses that are ideological and

political but has certain advantages in that it satisfies psychology by making available to it some main aspects of discourse analysis.

Scholars like Potter and Wetherell (1987) have attempted to shift the attention of researchers away from dependence on traditional ideas in psychology to a critical stance. Foucault's (1972) writings also allude to these three characteristics of discourse. These scholars shift attention to three characteristics of discourse, power and practice, from (a) variability to contradiction, (b) construction to constitution, and (c) function to power.

In the shift from variability to contradiction, traditional psychology in explaining human behaviour looks out for an underlying consistency in behaviour or meaning, whether it is in statements observed or in reports of experience, through tools that will perform a consistent predictive function (Parker, 2001). By contrast, discourse analysis in explaining behaviour will look out for inconsistencies and diverse accounts of human behaviour. However, this is intended to shift people to varied and opposing meanings that are found in a particular discourse. Discourse analysis is not underpinned by the assumption that there is something undivided in the person underneath the discourse. Parker (2001) points out that the idea of a unified "self" that contemporary psychology and society proposes is just an image. How discourses contradict each other and tear the self in different directions has been the focus of Foucault (Parker, 2001).

In this study, the notion of variability to contradiction proved useful in helping to look for diversity in forms of knowledge about CSA and contradictions in them. It was also utilised to deconstruct dominant constructions of CSA, undo common assumptions of CSA and make clear which ideas on CSA were privileged and what function they served. While the idea of variability used in this study helped me to look for diversity of meanings, the notion of contradiction helped me to examine practitioners' constructions of CSA in relation to power and deconstruct discourse in practice.

In the shift from construction to constitution, traditional psychology views people as apart from culture and an individual's mental processes as disconnected from his or her world. According to Parker (2001, p. 289) "construction refers to the way in which every symbolic activity must make use of cultural resources to make sense to others". Discourse analysis views the meanings of terms, words, phrases and other aspects of knowledge as closely

linked to other meanings and acts (Parker, 2001). People join in meanings that are already in existence because they are unable to attach meanings to symbols. As people take part in new texts, meanings are produced in discourse and are not passed on from the head of one individual to the head of another. "Discourses then construct ways in which people are able to relate to one another" (Parker, 2001, p. 290). Foucault's (1970) focus on the structures of knowledge and their penetration of our understanding of the world show how concepts in psychology and in our daily lives that are taken for granted emerge out of a history that has been characterised by quick changes in knowledge. Modern forms of knowledge regulate our talk and thoughts about science, progression and the meanings that we attach to personal aspects. We have no control over patterns of discourse within which our ideas are constituted. In his later work, Foucault focuses on the difficult ways in which meanings emerge and shows how human activity is characterised by instability and struggle. Structures and the power they hold are now always open for contestation and resistance.

The notion of construction to constitution proved useful in this study as it helped me to view practitioners' constructions of CSA as not "just cognitively constructed in a social void" but as "historically and politically constituted" (Parker, 2001, p. 290).

In the shift from function to power, traditional psychology believes that discourse does not make provision for a distinct view of the minds of individuals or of the outside world. According to Parker (2001, p. 290), "language organised through discourse always does things". A mere description of something is not without effects as it always has other effects of "legitimising or challenging, supporting or ironising, endorsing or subverting what it describes" (Parker, 2001, p. 290). The language we utilise daily and descriptions in psychology are "acts of speech" and what these acts do become the focus of discourse analysis (Parker, 2001). Foucault's (1982a) account of power also radicalises the functions of discourse.

In adopting a Foucauldian view of power in this study, I was able to view power as bound up with practitioners' constructions of CSA. This view helped me see their constructions differently from a standard social scientific view, which reduces power to what a person has and uses according to his or her wishes. The use of discourse in this study helped me to locate practitioners in "subject positions", which proved to be a valuable tool in this study for

examining the issues of people's rights to speak, who will speak and what they may speak. To enable the discourse to function, people must take on these positions. This perspective also helped me to examine equally the ways in which practitioners talk about certain issues on CSA and their silence on certain issues.

Since the purpose of this study was to examine the constructed nature of commonly accepted understandings of CSA by trained practitioners in particular fields related to CSA, the above three characteristics of discourse offered tools to help (a) examine the various and contradictory discourses these practitioners use to explain CSA, which notions of CSA occupy a privileged position and the functions they serve; (b) see how practitioners' meanings of CSA are not just cognitively constructed in a social void but constituted in history and politics; and (c) examine the subject positions from which they speak and the way they position their subjects in relation to domination and subordination. The use of these three characteristics of discourse helped to aim at overturning conventional knowledge on CSA and deconstructing notions of CSA that have come to be accepted as true, and at disrupting the dominance of institutionalised discourses.

4.2.3.5 Discourse analysis: an appropriate methodology

> If you accept, as I do, that every "social action" and every "cultural product" or "text" has to be treated as a source or as an opportunity for creating multiple meanings, or further texts (Gilbert & Mulkay, 1982), then forms of analytical discourse which are designed to depict the singular, authoritative, supposedly scientific meanings of social phenomena can never be entirely satisfactory (Mulkay, 1991, p. 9-10).

Although discourse analysis is employed for different reasons in different settings, and each analysis may have a distinct aim, discourse analysts view research as a practice that interprets and produces, and does not describe (Parker, 2001; Parker & Burman, 1993). Instead of focusing on a description and explanation of the world, the aim of discourse analysis is to give an account of how certain conceptualisations of the world have become dominant and have been accepted as true (Rommetveit, 1990). This is a reflexive process, the aim of which is to give an account of how aspects in the world are constructed against a background of

understandings that are socially shared and that have become institutionalised and accepted as true. In the words of Curt (1994, p. 10), discourse analysis "encourages us to see 'objects of study' as so many texts that we read (decipher and make sense of) as opposed to viewing them as consisting of entities or essences which we strive to know".

As used in this study, discourse analysis had two broad goals. First, it aimed to provide an account of "objects" (mind, intentions, reasoning), human action and social practice by showing the "conditions of possibility" within which they are embedded. Reflexivity was employed here to stimulate new meanings of CSA by showing how understandings of CSA that are taken for granted are fixed firmly in certain "regimes of truth". A second related aim was to deconstruct dominant accepted constructions of CSA by drawing on alternative (marginalised) discourses to show the constructed nature of dominant constructions of CSA. Thus, the task was one of "seeing historically how effects of truth are produced in discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false" (Foucault, 1984a, p. 60), overturning convention and disrupting the effects associated with institutionalised discourses and forms of life. Discourse analysis is a critical enterprise that does not aspire to truth but to change. "Knowledge is not made for understanding; it is made for cutting" (Foucault, 1984c, p. 88).

4.3 Research questions

This study focuses on the discourses trained practitioners in particular fields related to CSA utilized in their constructions of CSA. It examines how dominant contemporary discourses and/or alternative representations of CSA influence or shape practitioners' current constructions of CSA. The study was guided by the following research questions:

- What discourses do trained practitioners in the field of CSA utilise in their constructions of CSA?
- What functions do these discourses serve?

Three core questions formed the basis for exploring the main question in this study

    1. What language do practitioners use to talk about CSA? Is their language objective, independent and value neutral?

    2. What social and cultural practices shape or influence practitioners' constructions of CSA? How powerful or powerless are they in relation to others? Are they

influenced by the dominant views of CSA in the culture at the given moment? How are they institutionally organised to act and think in relation to CSA?

3. What assumptions and judgements underpin practitioners' knowledge about CSA? How do they work to produce and reproduce this knowledge, marginalising or suppressing alternative constructions of the problem?

4.4 Data production techniques

This study was a qualitative study since qualitative methods are more appropriate for understanding meanings of phenomena and are particularly relevant for the study of complex social problems such as CSA. Data was generated through the use of open-ended questionnaires with six purposively selected trained practitioners in the field of CSA in the Central Durban area, and through an analysis of two case documents of CSA from a hospital in the Central Durban area. The research material was generated using five representations of CSA: (1) a historical representation of CSA; (2) a media representation of children sexually abusing other children; (3) a fictional 'consensual' representation of children as sexual beings; (4) a fictional video representation of children as sexual beings; and (5) two case documents of CSA. The five representations embedding different discourses were used to gain insight into how practitioners constructed the phenomenon of CSA. The first four representations were utilised as prompts to push what is "off stage on stage", to set the cat among the pigeons and disrupt contemporary notions of what CSA is. The two case documents contextualised the phenomenon under investigation in an institutional context and were utilised to obtain relatively nonreactive discursive material.

In centering my analysis on the impact of powerful discourses of sexuality on the child's subjectification, I drew on the work of Davies (2000), who argues that the use of fiction as an analytical space of inquiry can "make visible and also eclipse the certainties of dominant discourses" (p. 180). The act of uncovering such discourses engenders possibilities for the reimagining of the child subject — a situated and politicised act of transformation. I seek to position my analysis in relation to these insights.

In relation to such a morally loaded issue as childhood sexuality, my use of fiction as an analytical space of inquiry was a deliberate one: by virtue of its fictionality, these representations allowed me to explore spaces of ambivalence, as Burrows (2004) suggests,

"to sustain the paradox without falling permanently to one pole or the other" (p. 12), without sliding into the dangerous ground of moral rhetoric and child saving, nor into the realm of the sexualisation of the child. My use of fiction was a convenient and ethically acceptable means of exposing practitioners to morally loaded issues in CSA that are otherwise difficult to reproduce in reality. My use of fiction exposed practitioners to "short stories about hypothetical characters in specified circumstances" (Finch, 1987, p.105). It allowed for features of the context to be specified, inviting the practitioner to make statements about specified circumstances and allowing me to gather data with regard to moral issues by eliciting context-related responses to hypothetical scenarios. The use of fiction moves further away from a direct and abstracted approach. Finch (1987) argues that the use of fiction may make the questions posed to participants seem less threatening. If the questions are focused on real characters in a fictional representation, practitioners may not feel as threatened as when questions are posed about what the practitioners personally feel and value. This is a particularly important advantage when researching sensitive issues such as CSA or rape.

4.4.1 A historical representation of CSA

A historical representation of CSA was utilised to see the influence of such a representation on practitioners' constructions of CSA. It was adapted from a historical religious text and contextualised the phenomenon under investigation in terms of its 991 B.C. setting, using archaic language and a narrative style peculiar to that context. The language and narrative style used in this representation of CSA was veiled and no direct reference was made to penetration and intercourse *(It seemed impossible for him to do anything to her*, "*Come to bed with me, my sister*", *Since he was stronger than she, he forced her and lay with her*, "*Has that Amnon, your brother, been with you*", *Don't take this thing to heart*"). CSA was not named. This representation is presented below:

"In the course of time, Amnon son of David fell in love with Tamar, the beautiful sister of Absalom son of David. Amnon became frustrated to the point of illness on account of his sister Tamar, for she was 11 years old and a virgin, and it seemed impossible for him to do anything to her. Amnon pretended to be ill. When the king came to see him, Amnon said to him, 'I would like my sister Tamar to come and make some special bread in my sight, so I may eat from her hand'. David sent word to Tamar: 'Go to the house of your brother Amnon and prepare some food for him.' So Tamar went to the house of her brother Amnon and served him the bread, but he refused to eat. 'Send everyone out of here,' Amnon said. So

everyone left him. Then Amnon said to Tamar, 'Bring the food here into my bedroom so I may eat from your hand.' And Tamar brought the bread to her brother in his bedroom. But when she took it to him to eat, he grabbed her and said, 'Come to bed with me, my sister.'

'Don't, my brother!' she said to him. 'Don't force me. Such a thing should not be done in Israel! Don't do this wicked thing. What about me? Where could I get rid of my disgrace? And what about you? You would be like one of the wicked fools in Israel.' But he refused to listen to her, and since he was stronger than she, he forced her and lay with her. Then Amnon hated her. Amnon said to her, 'Get up and get out!' 'No!' she said to him. 'Sending me away would be a greater wrong than what you have already done to me.' But he refused to listen to her. He called his personal servant and said, 'Get this woman out of here and bolt the door after her.' So his servant put her out and bolted the door after her. She was wearing a richly ornamented robe, for this was the kind of garment the virgin daughters of the king wore. Tamar put ashes on her head and tore the ornamented robe she was wearing. She put her hand on her head and went away, weeping aloud as she went. Her brother Absalom said to her, 'Has that Amnon, your brother, been with you? Be quiet now, my sister; he is your brother. Don't take this thing to heart.' And Tamar lived in her brother Absalom's house, a desolate girl. When King David heard all this, he was furious. Absalom never said a word to Amnon; he hated Amnon because he had disgraced his sister Tamar."

<div align="right">(The Bible: 2 Samuel chapter 13: verses 1-22, p. 343-344)</div>

4.4.2 A consensual representation of children as sexual beings

A consensual representation was created to see the influence of such a representation on practitioners' constructions of CSA. It contextualises the phenomenon under investigation in a context that depicts two children consenting to have sexual intercourse with each other. It was written in a descriptive and 'neutral' fashion. The children are described as being a couple and as having a relationship. Such a consensual lexical description served to maximise the consensual nature of the 'act', which in turn reduced the impact on the audience. The text, hypothetically created, is presented below:

Susan and Graham are both 11 years old. They have been going out together for 6 months and are really close. Last night Graham asked Susan to have sexual intercourse with him. Susan had been thinking about this all day and has just told Graham that she would like that.

4.4.3 A media representation of children abusing other children

The media plays a powerful role in the representation of the social reality of CSA (Gough, 1996; Atmore, 1996). Representations in the media provide a structure that defines the extent, the characteristics, the meaning, the effect and the responses to CSA (Atmore, 1996). This influences and shapes, yet not necessarily determines, the knowledge that people actively construct about CSA (Croteau & Hoynes, 1997). In this study two newspaper articles depicting the sexual abuse of children by other children were utilised to see the influence of such a representation on practitioners' constructions of CSA. The children were described as sexually active and abusive. Blame was conveyed very blatantly, with the offender shown as an active agent affecting a victim. Such an abusive lexical description served to maximise the seriousness of the offence, which in turn increased the impact on the audience.

These articles are presented below:

APPENDICES
APPENDIX 1
INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

1. <u>Nature of the research project</u>

Child Sexual Abuse: A Construct Reconsidered

RESEARCHER	Mrs. V. Jairam [B. Paed.-B.A. (Honours)-M.Ed. (Ed. Psych.)-Natal]
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PURPOSE	To reconsider the construct of CSA by examining the discourses trained practitioners in the field of CSA utilise in their constructions of CSA. A critical understanding of this phenomenon constitutes a prerequisite for the development of effective primary prevention strategies.

2. <u>Reasons for choosing participants</u>

- Special training and vast experience in dealing with CSA cases.
- Often the first line of contact when abuse occurs and the meanings they bring to CSA circulate within the broader community and are supported by various institutions.
- In South Africa they form an integral part of the country's Inter-Departmental initiatives (Department of Health, Department of Education, Department of Justice and the South African Police Service) in its integrated and multidisciplinary approach to preventing sexual abuse. Their constructions of CSA can help the public and policy makers toward a deeper understanding of this age-old practice. A critical

understanding of this phenomenon constitutes a prerequisite for the development of effective primary prevention strategies.

3. <u>What is required of participants</u>

- 1 self-administered questionnaire based on a historical representation of 'CSA'.
- 1 self-administered questionnaire based on a media representation of children sexually abusing other children.
- 2 self-administered questionnaires based on two fictional representations of children as sexual beings.

4. <u>Rights of participants</u>

- Participation will be voluntary and subject to informed consent.
- Participants are free to withdraw from the study at any stage.
- Rights of the participants will be safeguarded in relation to the preservation of confidentiality, access to research information and findings and misleading promises regarding the benefits of the research.
- Anonymity/confidentiality will be ensured through a coding system to avoid the inclusion of personal identifiers. The participants will not be identifiable when the researcher presents her findings. Confidentiality will be maintained in storing and disposing of research findings.

5. <u>Declaration</u>

I, ……………………………………………………………. (full name of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, so I should desire.

_____   _____

Signature of applicant   Date

APPENDIX 2: REPRESENTATIONS OF CSA

HISTORICAL REPRESENTATION OF CSA

Self-administered questionnaire based on a historical representation of CSA (The story of Amnon and Tamar 991 B.C. (The Bible, 2 Samuel chapter 13: verses 1-22)

In the course of time, Amnon son of David fell in love with Tamar, the beautiful sister of Absalom son of David. Amnon became frustrated to the point of illness on account of his sister Tamar, for she was 11 years old and a virgin, and it seemed impossible for him to do anything to her.

Amnon pretended to be ill. When the king came to see him, Amnon said to him, "I would like my sister Tamar to come and make some special bread in my sight, so I may eat from her hand." David sent word to Tamar: "Go to the house of your brother Amnon and prepare some food for him."

So Tamar went to the house of her brother Amnon and served him the bread, but he refused to eat. "Send everyone out of here," Amnon said. So everyone left him. Then Amnon said to Tamar, "Bring the food here into my bedroom so I may eat from your hand." And Tamar brought the bread to her brother in his bedroom. But when she took it to him to eat, he grabbed her and said, "Come to bed with me, my sister."

"Don't, my brother!" she said to him. "Don't force me. Such a thing should not be done in Israel! Don't do this wicked thing. What about me? Where could I get rid of my disgrace? And what about you? You would be like one of the wicked fools in Israel." But he refused to listen to her, and since he was stronger than she, forced her and lay with her.

Then Amnon hated her. Amnon said to her, "Get up and get out!" "No!" she said to him. "Sending me away would be a greater wrong than what you have already done to me." But he refused to listen to her. He called his personal servant and said, "Get this woman out of here and bolt the door after her." So his servant put her out and bolted the door after her.

She was wearing a richly ornamented robe, for this was the kind of garment the virgin daughters of the king wore. Tamar put ashes on her head and tore the ornamented robe she was wearing. She put her hand on her head and went away, weeping aloud as she went.

Her brother Absalom said to her, "Has that Amnon, your brother, been with you? Be quiet now, my sister; he is your brother. Don't take this thing to heart." And Tamar lived in her brother Absalom's house, a desolate girl.

When King David heard all this, he was furious. Absalom never said a word to Amnon; he hated Amnon because he had disgraced his sister Tamar.

1. Do you like mythology and religious stories?

    _____

    If so, what is your favourite one and why?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

    If you don't like them, what are your main objections to them and why?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

2. What would you consider acceptable or unacceptable in the story of Amnon and Tamar and why?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

3. How did Tamar view "that" which was done to her by Amnon?

    _____
    _____

_____

_____

_____

4. How would you view "that" which was done to Tamar by Amnon?

_____

_____

_____

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5. Tamar adopts the term, "wicked thing", to describe "that" which was done to her by Amnon.

    If you were asked to adopt a term to designate "that" which was done to her by Amnon, what term would you adopt and why?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. Recent history has also seen widespread use of mythico-religious terms (wicked, sinful, evil) to describe "that" which was done to Tamar by Amnon.

    What stance do you adopt toward the use of mythico-religious descriptions of such behaviour?

_____

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7. Tamar views "that" which was done to her by Amnon as "wrong". Absalom views "that" which was done to Tamar by Amnon as a "thing" that shouldn't be taken to heart as Amnon is her brother.

   Who would you agree with and why?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

8. What are your views on Tamar laying charges against Amnon and why?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

9. If you were asked to make recommendations to a task team on possible actions to help Amnon or to be taken against Amnon, what would your recommendations be?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

10. What do you think of Amnon's treatment of Tamar after he did "such a thing" and why?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

11. What do you think of Absalom's response to "that" which was done to her by Amnon and why?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

12. What do you think of David's response to "that" which was done to her by Amnon and why?

_____

_____

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_____

13. If you were David, how would you have handled the matter?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

14. Describe the effects of "that" which was done to Tamar on Tamar.

_____

_____

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15. Tamar's outcry, "Such a thing should not be done in Israel! Don't do this wicked thing. What about me? Where could I get rid of my disgrace? And what about you? You would be like one of the wicked fools in Israel", reveals that such behaviour was regarded as taboo in Israel.

How would you explain Amnon's behaviour in a society that considered such behaviour unacceptable?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Why do you think he behaved the way he did?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

16. Who or what would you attribute causal blame to for "such a thing" and why?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

17. Do you think that Tamar will forget "that" which was done to her by Amnon and why?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

CONSENSUAL REPRESENTATION OF CHILDREN AS SEXUAL BEINGS

<u>Self-administered questionnaire based on a fictional consensual representation of children as sexual beings (Characters: A male and a female teenager both 11 years old):</u>

Susan and Graham are both 11 years old. They have been going out together for 6 months and are really close. Last night Graham asked Susan to have sexual intercourse with him Susan had been thinking about this all day and has just told Graham that she would like that.

1. Did Graham force Susan to have sexual intercourse with him?

   _____

   _____

   _____

2. Should Susan ask her family or friends what to do?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   Why?

   _____

   _____

   _____

3. Is it okay for Susan and Graham to have sexual intercourse with each other?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   Why?

   _____

   _____

   _____

MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF CHILDREN ABUSING OTHER CHILDREN

Self-administered questionnaire based on a media representation of children sexually abusing other children:

1. In article 1, the journalist reports on children "<u>as young as seven sexually abusing other children</u>", according to RAPCAN.

   As child-care workers with vast experience in working with child sexual abuse cases, how would you explain children sexually abusing other children?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

2. In article 2, the journalist reports that children "start taking drugs and get involved in gangs at primary school and indulge in cellphone and internet pornography even before they reach the legal age to consent to sex".

   How would you define the boundaries of normal childhood sexual behaviour?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

3. In article 2, the journalist reports on initiatives to help the youth – "abstention from premarital sex, drugs, gangsterism and cellphone pornography".

   If you were asked to make recommendations to a task team on possible actions to help or to be taken against children who sexually abuse other children, what would your recommendations be?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

4. In article 2, the journalist reports that "children as young as seven are sexually active, according to Childline", which throws away the romantic picture of children as sexual innocents. What are your views on children as sexual beings?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

5. In article 1, the journalist reports that "40 % of reported rape cases in South Africa were perpetrated by people under 18", according to RAPCAN, which throws away the conventional picture of the perpetrator as a sexually mature person.

   How would you explain the profile of the perpetrator shifting to children?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

VIDEO REPRESENTATION OF CHILDREN AS SEXUAL BEINGS

<u>Self-administered questionnaire based on a video representation of children as sexual beings (*Kids*):</u>

The movie, *Kids*, throws away the romantic picture of children as sexual innocents. What are your views on the film's casting of children as sexual beings?

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APPENDIX 3

LETTERS OF PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

25 Eastwood Road

Centenary Park

Phoenix

4068

15 April 2005

Professor R. Green-Thompson

Director of health

Department of health: Kwazulu-Natal

Re: Request for permission to conduct research at .... hospital

I, Mrs V Jairam, am registered with the University of Kwazulu-Natal for the Doctor of Education degree which requires the completion of a thesis. I am keenly interested in carrying out my study at the above institution. In order to conduct the research I require access to data that are contained in files as well as data from trained practitioners through self-administered questionnaire protocols. My proposal will be submitted to the University ethics committee for approval on the 11 November 2005. An ethical clearance certificate together with the research proposal will be made available to you as soon as ethical clearance is obtained.

In addition, please find enclosed the following documents:

1. Certificate of registration as a psychologist with the Health Professions Council of South Africa.
2. Confirmation of registration as a student at the university
3. Curriculum vitae.

Finally, I would like to place on record my appreciation to you in granting me permission to conduct research in 2003 at .... Hospital for the Masters in Educational Psychology degree (Reference: 9/2/3/R-Vol.11). This is sincerely appreciated.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully

Mrs V Jairam

23 February 2006

Director of Health
Department of Health: Kwazulu-Natal
Natalia
330 Longmarket Street
Pietermaritzburg
3200

Re: Request for permission to conduct research at .... hospital

Further to our recent conversation (22 February 2006) and in line with your requirements (file reference-9/2/3/R: 15 June 2005: copy attached), please find attached the following documentation:

1. A copy of my protocol.
2. A copy of my data production schedule.
3. Approval from the Ethics Committee of the University of Kwazulu-Natal.

An application for permission to conduct research at .... Hospital was made on the 15 April 2005 and in support of this application, the above documentation was forwarded to Dr. .... (23 February 2006), the Medical Manager. I am awaiting a response which will be forwarded to you as soon as it is obtained.

Your consideration of this request would be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully

Mrs V Jairam

25 Eastwood Road

Centenary Park

Phoenix

4068

23 February 2006

Dr ....

Hospital manager

.... hospital

P. O. Box ....

Durban

4000

Re: Request for permission to conduct research at .... hospital

Further to my application to you for permission to conduct research at .... Hospital (15 April 2005) and in line with the requirements of the Department of Health (file reference-9/2/3/R: 15 June 2005: copy attached), please find attached the following documentation:

4. A copy of my protocol.
5. A copy of my data production schedule.
6. Approval from the Ethics Committee of the University of Kwazulu-Natal.

An application for permission to conduct research at .... Hospital was made to the Department of Health on the 15 April 2005 and in line with the Department's requirements, the above documentation were forwarded to the Department on the 23 February 2006. Please find attached a copy of the response received from the Department. Comments/ recommendations from you are required before my request can be considered.

I look forward to your response in this regard and trust that it will be a positive one. Your consideration of this request would be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully

Mrs V Jairam

<div align="right">
25 Eastwood Road

Centenary Park

Phoenix

4068

15 April 2005
</div>

Dr ....

Hospital manager

.... hospital

P. O. Box ....

Durban

4000

Re: Request for permission to conduct research at .... hospital

I, Mrs V Jairam, am registered with the University of Kwazulu-Natal for the Doctor of Education degree which requires the completion of a thesis. The title of the thesis is: Child Sexual Abuse: A Construct Reconsidered. I am keenly interested in conducting my research at the above institution. In order to conduct the research I require access to data that are contained in files as well as data from trained practitioners through self-administered questionnaire protocols. My proposal will be submitted to the University ethics committee for approval in November 2005. An ethical clearance certificate together with the research proposal will be made available to you as soon as ethical clearance is obtained.

In addition, please find enclosed the following documents:

1. Certificate of registration as a psychologist with the Health Professions Council of South Africa.
2. Confirmation of registration as a student at the university
3. Curriculum vitae.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully

Mrs V Jairam

15 April 2005

Dr ....

CMO: Full-time district surgeon services

Private Bag X ....

Durban

Re: Request for permission to conduct research at .... hospital

I, Mrs V Jairam, am registered with the University of Kwazulu-Natal for the Doctor of Education degree which requires the completion of a thesis over 3 years. I am keenly interested in conducting my research at the above institution. The title of the thesis is: Child Sexual Abuse: A Construct Reconsidered. I am keenly interested in conducting my research at the above institution. In order to conduct the research I require access to data that are contained in files as well as data from trained practitioners through self-administered questionnaire protocols. My proposal will be submitted to the University ethics committee for approval in November 2005. An ethical clearance certificate together with the research proposal will be made available to you as soon as ethical clearance is obtained.

In addition, please find enclosed the following documents:

4. Certificate of registration as a psychologist with the Health Professions Council of South Africa.
5. Confirmation of registration as a student at the university
6. Curriculum vitae.

Finally, I would like to place on record my appreciation to you in granting me permission to conduct research in 2003 at .... Hospital for the Masters in Educational Psychology degree

(Reference: 9/2/3/R-Vol.11). This is sincerely appreciated. A copy of this research report, obtained with a distinction, was forwarded to the department (Mr. G. Tromp) as was requested.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully

Mrs V Jairam

23 February 2006

Mr Alwar
The Research Officer
Private Bag X9137
Pietermaritzburg
3200

Re: Request for permission to conduct research with school counsellors in 3 secondary schools in the central Durban area

I, Mrs V Jairam, am registered with the University of Kwazulu-Natal for the Doctor of Education degree. The title of the thesis is: Child sexual abuse: A construct reconsidered. The purpose of this study is to investigate the constructions of Child Sexual Abuse by trained counsellors involved in the field of CSA for the development of effective primary prevention strategies. I am keenly interested in conducting my research with the counsellors at these schools. In order to conduct the research I require access to data from counsellors through self-administered questionnaires. My proposal was submitted to the University ethics committee for approval in December 2005. Please find attached the following documentation:

7. A copy of my protocol.
8. A copy of my data production schedule.
9. Approval from the Ethics Committee of the University of Kwazulu-Natal
10. Permission letters to the 3 secondary schools in the Central Durban area.
11. Letter from Research Officer: University of Kwazulu-Natal.

I look forward to your response in this regard and trust that it will be a positive one. Your consideration of this request would be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully

Mrs V Jairam

25 Eastwood Road

Centenary Park

Phoenix

4068

23: 02: 2006

The Principal

.... College

P. O. Box ....

Greyville

4023

Re: Request for permission to conduct research with school counsellors

I, Mrs V Jairam, am registered with the University of Kwazulu-Natal for the Doctor of Education degree. The title of the thesis is: Child sexual abuse: A construct reconsidered. The purpose of this study is to investigate the constructions of Child Sexual Abuse by trained counsellors involved in the field of CSA for the development of effective primary prevention strategies. I am keenly interested in conducting my research with the counsellors at your school. In order to conduct the research I require access to data from counsellors through self-administered questionnaires. My proposal was submitted to the University ethics committee for approval in December 2005. Please find attached the following documentation:

12. Approval from the Ethics Committee of the University of Kwazulu-Natal.
13. Permission letter to Mr Alwar: The Research Officer: Department of Education.
14. Letter from Research Officer: University of Kwazulu-Natal.

I look forward to your response in this regard and trust that it will be a positive one. Your consideration of this request would be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully

Mrs V Jairam

23: 02: 2006

The Principal

.... Secondary School

P. O. Box ....

Marbleray

4035

Re: Request for permission to conduct research with school counsellor

I, Mrs V Jairam, am registered with the University of Kwazulu-Natal for the Doctor of Education degree which requires the completion of a thesis. The title of the thesis is: Child sexual abuse: A construct reconsidered. The purpose of this study is to investigate the constructions of Child Sexual Abuse by trained counsellors involved in the field of CSA for the development of effective primary prevention strategies. I am keenly interested in conducting my research with the counsellor at your school. In order to conduct the research I require access to data from the counsellor through self-administered questionnaires. My proposal was submitted to the University ethics committee for approval in December 2005. Please find attached the following documentation:

1. Approval from the Ethics Committee of the University of Kwazulu-Natal.
2. Permission letter to Mr Alwar: The Research Officer: Department of Education.
3. Letter from Research Officer: University of Kwazulu-Natal.

I look forward to your response in this regard and trust that it will be a positive one. Your consideration of this request would be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully

Mrs V Jairam

23: 02: 2006

The Principal

.... Secondary School

P. O. Box ....

Mayville

4058

Re: Request for permission to conduct research with school counsellor

I, Mrs V Jairam, am registered with the University of Kwazulu-Natal for the Doctor of Education degree which requires the completion of a thesis. The title of the thesis is: Child sexual abuse: A construct reconsidered. The purpose of this study is to investigate the constructions of Child Sexual Abuse by trained counsellors involved in the field of CSA for the development of effective primary prevention strategies. I am keenly interested in conducting my research with the counsellor at your school. In order to conduct the research I require access to data from the counsellor through self-administered questionnaires. My proposal was submitted to the University ethics committee for approval in December 2005. Please find attached the following documentation:

1. Approval from the Ethics Committee of the University of Kwazulu-Natal.
2. Permission letter to Mr Alwar: The Research Officer: Department of Education.
3. Letter from Research Officer: University of Kwazulu-Natal.

I look forward to your response in this regard and trust that it will be a positive one. Your consideration of this request would be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully

Mrs V Jairam

Superintendent ....

Child Protection Unit

40 Commercial Road

14th floor

Commercial City

Durban

4000

Re: Request for permission to conduct research with child protection officer

I, Mrs V Jairam, am registered with the University of Kwazulu-Natal for the Doctor of Education degree which requires the completion of a thesis. The title of the thesis is: Child sexual abuse: A construct reconsidered. The purpose of this study is to investigate the constructions of Child Sexual Abuse by trained officers involved in the field of CSA for the development of effective primary prevention strategies. In order to conduct the research I require access to data from a child protection officer through self-administered questionnaires. I am keenly interested in conducting my research with the child protection officer at your station. My proposal was submitted to the University ethics committee for approval in December 2005. Please find attached the following documentation:

1. Approval from the Ethics Committee of the University of Kwazulu-Natal.
2. Permission letter to Mr Alwar: The Research Officer: Department of Education.

3. Letter from Research Officer: University of Kwazulu-Natal.

I look forward to your response in this regard and trust that it will be a positive one. Your consideration of this request would be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully

Mrs V Jairam

09: 12: 2005

The Director

Child Protection Unit

_____

_____

_____

Re: Request for permission to conduct research with child protection officer

I, Mrs V Jairam, am registered with the University of Kwazulu-Natal for the Doctor of Education degree. The title of the thesis is: Child sexual abuse: A construct reconsidered. The purpose of this study is to investigate the constructions of Child Sexual Abuse by trained counsellors involved in the field of CSA for the development of effective primary prevention strategies. I am keenly interested in conducting my research with the officer in your unit. In order to conduct the research I require access to data from the officer through self-administered questionnaires. My proposal was submitted to the University ethics committee for approval in December 2005. An ethical clearance certificate together with the research proposal will be made available to you as soon as ethical clearance is obtained. Please find attached the following documentation:

In addition, please find enclosed the following documents:

1. Certificate of registration as a psychologist with the Health Professions Council of South Africa.
2. Confirmation of registration as a student at the university

3. Curriculum vitae.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully

Mrs V Jairam

APPENDIX 4

LETTERS OF PERMISSION GRANTED TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Faculty Research Committee
Faculty of Education
Edgewood Campus
University of KwaZulu-Natal

Mr Alwar
Department of Education
Pietermaritzburg

To whom it may concern

RE: Research Clearance – Jairam, V - 205523892

This letter serves to confirm that Mrs Jairam, V is a bona fide student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and is currently studying towards his/her Masters/Doctoral Studies.

He/She currently wishes to engage in research and as such requires permission to conduct research in the schools identified in her research proposal.

Should there be any queries please contact Derek on the following telephone number 031 260 3524.

Many thanks

D Bushler
Research Officer
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Edgewood Campus

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
EDUCATION
2005 -11- 18
FACULTY RESEARCH OFFICE

PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI
PROVINSIE KWAZULU-NATAL

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
UMNYANGO WEMFUNDO
DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS

Tel: 033 341 8610
Fax:033 341 8612

Private Bag X9137
Pietermaritzburg
3200

228 Pietermaritz Street
Pietermaritzburg, 3201

INHLOKOHHOVISI **PIETERMARITZBURG** **HEAD OFFICE**

Enquiries:		Reference:		Date:	
Imibuzo:	Sibusiso Alwar	Inkomba:	0153/06	Usuku:	
Navrae:		Verwysing:		Datum:	10 December 2005

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to serve as a notice that Mrs V Jairam has been granted permission to conduct research with the following terms and conditions:

➢   That as a researcher, he/she must present a copy of the written permission from the Department to the Head of the Institution concerned before any research may be undertaken at a departmental institution.

➢   Attached is the list of schools she/he has been granted permission to conduct research in. however, it must be noted that the schools are not obligated to participate in the research if it is not a KZNDoE project.

➢   Mrs V Jairam has been granted special permission to conduct his/her research during official contact times, as it is believed that their presence would not interrupt education programmes. Should education programmes be interrupted, he/she must, therefore, conduct his/her research during nonofficial contact times.

➢   No school is expected to participate in the research during the fourth school term, as this is the critical period for schools to focus on their exams.

for SUPERINTENDENT GENERAL
KwaZulu Natal Department of Education

PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI
PROVINSIE KWAZULU-NATAL

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
UMNYANGO WEMFUNDO
DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS

Tel: 033 341 8610
Fax:033 341 8612

Private Bag X9137
Pietermaritzburg
3200

228 Pietermaritz Street
Pietermaritzburg, 3201

INHLOKOHHOVISI   **PIETERMARITZBURG**   **HEAD OFFICE**

Enquiries:
Imibuzo: Sibusiso Alwar
Navrae:

Reference:
Inkomba: 0153/06
Verwysing:

Date:
Usuku:
Datum:

List of Schools where Research will be conducted:

1)   College

2)   Secondary School

3)   Secondary School

4) Child Protection Unit

for SUPERINTENDENT GENERAL
KwaZulu Natal Department of Education

PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI
PROVINSIE KWAZULU-NATAL

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
UMNYANGO WEMFUNDO
DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS

Tel: 033 341 8610
Fax:033 341 8612

Private Bag X9137
Pietermaritzburg
3200

228 Pietermaritz Street
Pietermaritzburg, 3201

INHLOKOHHOVISI   **PIETERMARITZBURG**   **HEAD OFFICE**

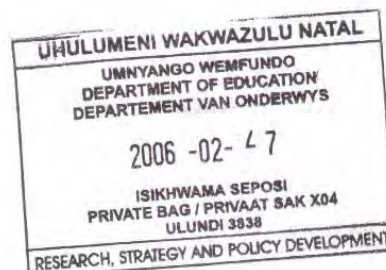| Enquiries:
Imibuzo: Sibusiso Alwar
Navrae: | Reference:
Inkomba: 0098/06
Verwysing: | Date:
Usuku: 27 February 2006
Datum: |

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to serve as a notice that **Mrs V Jairam** has been granted permission to conduct research with the following terms and conditions:

➢   That as a researcher, he/she must present a copy of the written permission from the Department to the Head of the Institution concerned before any research may be undertaken at a departmental institution.

➢   **Mrs V Jairam** has been granted special permission to conduct his/her research during official contact times, as it is believed that their presence would not interrupt education programmes Should education programmes be interrupted, he/she must, therefore, conduct his/her research during nonofficial contact times.

➢   No school is expected to participate in the research during the fourth school term, as this is the critical period for schools to focus on their exams.

for SUPERINTENDENT GENERAL
KwaZulu Natal Department of Education

UHULUMENI WAKWAZULU NATAL
UMNYANGO WEMFUNDO
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS

2006 -02- 2 7

ISIKHWAMA SEPOSI
PRIVATE BAG / PRIVAAT SAK X04
ULUNDI 3838
RESEARCH, STRATEGY AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT

PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL   Tel: 033 341 8610
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI   Fax:033 341 8612
PROVINSIE KWAZULU-NATAL

Private Bag X9137
Pietermaritzburg
3200

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
UMNYANGO WEMFUNDO
DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS

228 Pietermaritz Street
Pietermaritzburg, 3201

INHLOKOHHOVISI	**PIETERMARITZBURG**	**HEAD OFFICE**

Enquiries:
Imibuzo: Sibusiso Alwar
Navrae:

Reference:
Inkomba: 0098/06
Verwysing:

Date:
Usuku: 27 February 2006
Datum:

To: **Mrs V Jairam**
25 Eastwood Road
Centenary Park
PHOENIX
4068

RE: APPROVAL TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Please be informed that your application to conduct research has been approved with the following terms and conditions:

That as a researcher, you must present a copy of the written permission from the Department to the Head of the Institution concerned before any research may be undertaken at a departmental institution bearing in mind that the institution **is not obliged to participate** if the research is not a departmental project.

Research should not be conducted during official contact time, as **education programmes should not be interrupted,** except in exceptional cases with special approval of the KZNDoE.

The research is not to be conducted during the fourth school term, except in cases where the KZNDoE deem it necessary to undertake research at schools during that period.

Should you wish to extend the period of research after approval has been granted, an application for extension must be directed to the Director: Research, Strategy Development and EMIS.

The research will be limited to the schools or institutions for which approval has been granted.

A copy of the completed report, dissertation or thesis must be provided to the RSPDE Directorate.

Lastly, you must sign the attached declaration that, you are aware of the procedures and will abide by the same.

for SUPERINTENDENT GENERAL
KwaZulu Natal Department of Education

UHULUMENI WAKWAZULU NATAL
UMNYANGO WEMFUNDO
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS

2006 -02- 47

ISIKHWAMA SEPOSI
PRIVATE BAG / PRIVAAT SAK X04
ULUNDI 3838

RESEARCH, STRATEGY AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT
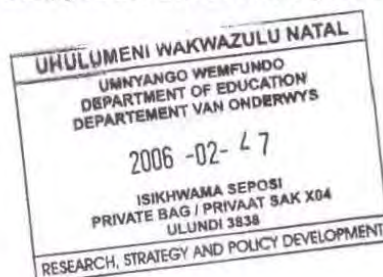
Att : Sibusiso Glwar

Declaration and Understanding

I the undersigned declare that I acknowledge that I have read and understood the abovementioned terms and conditions and agree to abide by them. The Research, Strategy, Policy Development and EMIS Directorate reserve the right to withdraw my approval should I be found not to abide by the terms and conditions. I undertake to bide myself to the RSPDE directorate, to submit a copy of the completed report, dissertation or thesis as per terms and conditions.

Name (print): VISVALANIE JAIRAM

Date: 24.07.2006   Signature of applicant: Jairam

PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
HEALTH SERVICES

ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI
EZEMPILO

PROVINSIE KWAZULU-NATAL
GESONDHEIDSDIENSTE

PRIVATE BAG X 9051
PIETERMARITZBURG
3200

TELEPHONE   : (033) 395-2542

330 LONGMARKET STREET
PIETERMARITZBURG
3201

ENQUIRIES : Miss NP Beeton
EXTENSION : 2542
REFERENCE : 9/2/3/R

2005 -06- 1 5

Mrs V. Jairam
25 Eastwood Road
Centenary Park
Phoenix
DURBAN
4068

Dear Mrs Jairam

RE: REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT   HOSPITAL

Your letter dated 15 April 2005 refers.

Kindly be advised that before your request can be considered, the following documentation will be required:-

 a) A copy of your protocol;
 b) A copy of any questionnaire that is to be used;
 c) Approval from the Ethics Committee of a tertiary institution; and
 d) Comments/recommendations from the Head of the Institution where the research will be conducted.

Yours sincerely

SUPERINTENDENT-GENERAL
HEAD: DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
NPB/research v jairam

PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL . ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATALI   PROVINSIE KWAZULU-N.
HEALTH SERVICES   EZEMPILO   GESONDHEIDSDIEI

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       conducted.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL

SPECIAL SUPPORT SERVICES

Natalia, 330 Longmarket Street, Pietermaritzburg, 3201
Private Bag X9051, Pietermaritzburg, 3200
Tel.: 033 395 2813, Fax.: 033 345 4433

Enquiries: Ms A. Kopman
Extension: 2813
Reference: 9/2/3/R – vol. 29

0 9 MAR 2006

Mrs V. Jairam
25 Eastwood Road
Centenary Park
PHOENIX
4068

Dear Madam

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT   HOSPITAL

Your correspondence dated 23 February 2006 refers.

Please be advised that authority is granted for you to conduct a research entitled " **Child Sexual Abuse : A construct reconsidered**" at   Hospital, provided that :-

(a)   Prior approval is obtained from the Head of the hospital;

(b)   Confidentiality is maintained;

(c)   There is no disruption of service delivery and patient care is not compromised;

(d)   The Department is acknowledged; and

(e)   The Department receives a copy of the report on completion.

Yours sincerely

**HEAD : DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
KWAZULU-NATAL**
A.J.K.jairam

Umnyango Wezempilo   Departement van Gesondheid

251

APPENDIX 5

ETHICAL CLEARANCE

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL

ADDINGTON HOSPITAL

Erskine Terrace, South Beach
P.O. Box 977, Durban, 4000
Tel.: 031 327 2970/2568, Fax.: 031 368 3300
E-mail: reshmab@adh.kzntl.gov.za

AD/9/2/3/1

Enquiries: Dr
Extension: 327 2568/2970   15 May 2006

Mrs V Jairam
25 Eastwood Road
Centenary Park
PHOENIX
4068

Dear Mrs Jairam

RESEARCH: CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE: A CONSTRUCT RECONSIDERED

Your research in the above regard refers.

Please liaise with Dr   (District Surgeon), for further arrangements.

Dr   is contactable on :

MEDICAL MANAGER

DKN/mp

c.c. Dr   -   District Surgeon

KINDLY RETURN ALL DOCUMENTATION WHEN REPLYING

Umnyango Wezempilo   Departement van Gesondheid

Aids Helpline - 0800 0123 22

252

RESEARCH OFFICE (GOVAN MBEKI CENTRE)
WESTVILLE CAMPUS
TELEPHONE NO.: 031 – 2603587
EMAIL : ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

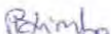20 MARCH 2006

MRS. V JAIRAM (205523892)
EDUCATION

Dear Mrs. Jairam

ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPROVAL NUMBER: HSS/06042A

I wish to confirm that ethical clearance has been granted for the following project:

"Child sexual abuse: A construct reconsidered"

Yours faithfully

MS. PHUMELELE XIMBA
RESEARCH OFFICE

PS: The following general condition is applicable to all projects that have been granted ethical clearance:

THE RELEVANT AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE CONTACTED IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THE NECESSARY
APPROVAL SHOULD THE RESEARCH INVOLVE UTILIZATION OF SPACE AND/OR FACILITIES AT OTHER
INSTITUTIONS/ORGANISATIONS. WHERE QUESTIONNAIRES ARE USED IN THE PROJECT, THE
RESEARCHER SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE QUESTIONNAIRE INCLUDES A SECTION AT THE END
WHICH SHOULD BE COMPLETED BY THE PARTICIPANT (PRIOR TO THE COMPLETION OF THE
QUESTIONNAIRE) INDICATING THAT HE/SHE WAS INFORMED OF THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE
PROJECT AND THAT THE INFORMATION GIVEN WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL.

cc. Faculty Research Office (Derek Buchler)
cc. Supervisor (Dr. Z Naidoo and Dr. P Ramrathan)

APPENDIX 6

REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE WITH THE HEALTH PROFESSIONS COUNCIL OF SOUTH AFRICA

![HPCSA logo]

Health Professions Council of South Africa

P. Ruumacran
s. Bo. [signature]
[signature]

OFFICER

CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT

SURNAME:	**JAIRAM**
FIRST NAMES:	**VISVARANIE**
REGISTRATION NUMBER:	**PS 0087327**
QUALIFICATIONS:	**M Ed (Educ Psychology) Natal - 2004**
REGISTER:	**PSYCHOLOGIST**

IS REGISTERED AS A

PSYCHOLOGIST

in the Category

INDEPENDENT PRACTICE (EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY)

With effect from
29 Apr 2004

[signature]

REGISTRAR
PRETORIA

HPCSA Building
553 Vermeulen St
Arcadia, Pretoria
0002

02432974   2004/04/29