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COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF CHILD SEXUAL ASSAULT:

CASE STUDY OF NGANGELIZWE COMMUNITY IN MTHATHA

By

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DECLARATION

This is to confirm that this

Thesis is my own work which

I have never previously submitted to any other university for

any purpose. The references used

and cited have been acknowledged.

Signature of candidate…………………………………

On the 15 day of December 2016

DEDICATION

This paper is devoted to the children who are experiencing sexual violence in their lives and to those who are survivors of sexual violence.

It is also dedicated to my parents and Mrs T Dyasi, who gave me the opportunity to study and went out of her way to make my academic journey as easy as possible.

I also dedicate this work to my siblings, particularly my late elder sibling V. P. Mphatheni, who passed away on 30 July 2016.

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ABSTRACT

Numerous studies have been done on child sexual violence/abuse (CSV/A). Sexual victimization of minors remains a constant problem globally. Section 28(1) (d) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 (South Africa, 1996) provides that every child has the right to be safeguard from ill-treatment, desertion, exploitation and degradation. November 2014 marked the 25th anniversary of the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). On this occasion, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) called on the South African government to once again prioritise children's rights as a key government agenda, to commit to its obligations under the CRC, to uphold the promise made to South Africa's children by the late Nelson Mandela, and to heed his powerful words: "History will judge us by the differences we make in the everyday lives of children".

In-depth interviews were conducted with 20 community members of Ngangelizwe Township in Mthatha, Eastern Cape province. The interviews were held in the period August 2016 - September 2016. The aim of the investigation was to determine the social, biological, and psychological effects of child sexual offences on children and as well as their parents, families, and the community at large. The study explored the authentic views of Township people, as there is limited scholarly literature on child sexual abuse and particularly on the experiences of Township residents of this atrocious act. Community members shared their views on the effects of child sexual assault, and there was common agreement that the sexual abuse of a child destroys the psychological and physical well-being not only of the child, but also of the parents. Sexually abused children show signs of depression, anxiety, suicidal thoughts, mental disturbance, and post-traumatic stress disorder. They also lose focus at school and they often isolate themselves from other children. These children lose trust not only in the person who sexually abused them, but in all older people, as it is usually adults who perpetrate this crime. Sexually abused children experience memory loss, always live in fear, and experience anxiety disorders long after the event.

Keywords: Children, community, public, perceptions, sexual, assault, sexual abuse.

Contents

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996 section 28(1) (d)) states that "every child has the right to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse and degradation" (South Africa, 1996). Therefore, at the opening session of South Africa's first representatively elected parliament, the then President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela committed the country to a "First call for children" commitment. This call challenged the country to ensure that children remain loyal in the agenda of the National Programme of the Action Working Group: Children (1994:1). The Agenda for Action, as it is commonly known, is the document that examined the state analysis statement and explored suggestions for the establishment of a countrywide agenda of action for children.

In December 1993, the then President FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela together signed the 1990 Assertion and Plan of Action of the World Summit for Children and, more notably, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Guided by the CRC, in February 1994 the National Commission on the Rights of the Child (NCRC) hosted a meeting to discuss the "operational and technical aspects of a National Programme of Action for Children" (NPAC) (Special Report, Twenty-five years of children's rights, 2014). The conference resulted in the establishment of a National Programme of Action for Children (NPAC) commissioned with the mandate to prepare a NPAC outline for presentation to the new democratic government post-April 1994. President Mandela made the above call on 16 June 1994 after the task team had presented its NPAC. The work initiated by the United Nations (UN) on the protection of children had significant influence on the late President Nelson Mandela, who put the safety and care of children first (Special Report, Twenty-five years of children's rights, 2014).

November 2014 marked the 25th anniversary of the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). On this occasion the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) called on the South African government to once again prioritise children's rights as a key government agenda, to commit to its obligations under the CRC, to uphold the promise made

to South Africa's children by the late Nelson Mandela, and to heed his powerful words: "History will judge us by the differences we make in the everyday lives of children (Special Report, Twenty-five years of children's rights (21 November 2014).

In light of the previous arguments, this dissertation is the contribution result of an in-depth investigation into community perceptions of child sexual assault in an attempt to contribute to scholarly knowledge of and insight into this phenomenon. A comprehensive literature review was conducted which formed the foundation for the in-depth interviews with affected community members to note the mental, societal, and biological impact of child sexual offences on the child as well as on the parents, family and the community at large.

According to Schurink, Nyman and Kruger (1996), child abuse is not a new problem, although it was only formally described by Cafferey in the 1940s. Similarly, Gavin (2005) holds that child sexual abuse has been occurring for a very long time, but that it is only recently that the act was defined by society and scholars. However, history gives countless examples of child abuse and neglect prior to the 1940s. Currently, child abuse is accorded a great deal of exposure in the media in South Africa. Child sexual abuse is an extremely sensitive subject that cannot be ignored because it does exist. Most parents would like to avoid this issue, but it has to be dealt with extensively.

According to Johannesburg Child Welfare Society report (UNICEF, 2012) it is noted that 50 000 incidences of child sexual abuse were reported to the South African Police Service in 2005. Earlier, Fox and Nkosi (2003) informed regards estimated prevalence of unreported child sexual abuse was more than one million, with one in three girls and one in five boys anguish either sexual or physical abuse or neglect before reaching the age of 18. Official statistics, reported a child is being raped every hour. The actual figure is probable to be even higher, since official statistics do not comprise the rape of boys (*Daily Dispatch*, 23 April 2006).

There is considerable speculation about what motivates child sex offenders to commit their offences and researchers seem to agree that child sex offenders represent the normal population. They are thus ordinary people who do not qualify for any psychiatric diagnosis. However, child sex crimes are rarely sexually motivated and there are many theories of why men commit sexual offences on children. Natural, psychosomatic and sociological approaches have been developed

to elucidate the beginning of the unwanted sexual behaviour (Richard, 2011). According to Bickley and Beech (2001), there is still a lack of theories that adequately explain the motivating factors that lead an adult male or female to have sexual intercourse with a child. Theories that will be discussed in this study that explain child sexual abuse include the psychodynamic theory and the attachment theory. These theories will be discussed in detail under the theoretical framework section in Chapter three.

Bickley et al. (2001) are of the view that an understanding of the aetiology and the reasons for the persistence of this crime is crucial in order to implement policies that are appropriate to curb the actions of sexual offenders. Their study was based on the community perspectives of child sexual assault. Almost every week the media such as television and newspapers report on cases of children who have been sexually abused. Cohen, Johnson and Salzinger (1998) report that the abuse does not take place away from where the victims reside and that the perpetrators are also not strangers to the victims. Sadly, children are frequently abused by the people whom they trust, and these people are in many instances close relatives.

This chapter presents further discussions on the following: the background to and motivation and rationale for the study, statement of the problem, the aim and study objective of the study, and the key research questions. A structural summary of the dissertation concludes this chapter.

1.2 Background to the Study
In contemporary South Africa, the increase in child sexual abuse has been rife. This is evidenced by the available statistics, for example Hirschowitz (2000) states that between 1993 and March 1998, about "2,7% Coloured, 2,7% African and 0,9% white" children at about 16 years of age reported sexual abuse. A spokesperson for the non-government organization (NGO) Sonke Gender Justice, Czerina Patel (2009), wrote in a column that the trade union Solidarity had indicated that a "child was raped every three minutes in South Africa". More recently, educator at Western Cape Debbie Schafer cited a report compiled by Solidarity Helping Hand in which it was stated that while about 60 incidences of child rape were reported "in South Africa every day, more than 88% of child rapes" were never reported (Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention, 2005).

Child sexual abuse is reported by many scholars (Finkelhor, 2014; Barth, Bermetz, Trelle & Tonia, 2013), and the figures reveal that it has become both a global and a local problem. According to Esposito (2014), recent international studies have reported that between 8% - 31% of girls and 3% - 17% for young males experienced childhood sexual abuse. It is estimated that in Australia 1% - 16% of men and 4% - 36% of females were sexually abused as children (Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2013).

Finkelhor, Araji, Baron, Browne, Peter and Waytt (1986) report that child sexual abuse has received public awareness and concern through media attention and that more professionals and academics have started to show interest in this phenomenon. They further report that more extensive literature on child sexual abuse has developed. However, despite the attention given to the child sexual abuse phenomenon and the extensive studies conducted on the issue, child sexual abuse continues unabated. Finkelhor (1986) acknowledges that child sexual abuse studies are difficult to conduct due to the shame and stigmatisation that accompany it, and for this reason people are hesitant to cooperate in research on this subject. Factors such as personality, family environment, and the community in which he/she dwells could influence a child's ability to disclose a sexual assault experience. Age is also a predictor of sexual assault disclosure, as younger children are less likely to disclose sexual assault than older children (Finkelhor, 1986). Gender also affects the ability of the victim to report sexual abuse. Females tend to report the experience more often and sooner after the sexual abuse took place than males. However, males tend to report more in-depth information of the sexual abuse experience when impelled (ibid).

The reluctance of the victims, offenders, and their families to cooperate in studies based on sexual abuse of children could be attributed to the failure of the legal system to establish effective measures to address the issue. Family structure and functioning can influence a child's ability to disclose sexual assault. For example, static and inflexible family structures with firmly established gender roles and closed communication practices are silently preventing a child from disclosing sexual abuse through the family structure. Sexual abuse committed by a family member or by someone close to the family is not easy for a child to disclose. The reason is that the child worries about the aftermath to him/herself and to the family, or the child may feel loyal to the offender. Moreover, if a child is living in a family where violence is the norm, the fear of more or severe violence may prevent him/her from disclosing the sexual experience. In this

context, if a community does not regard sexual culture and norms regarding virginity, sexual taboos and desire as shameful, it could deter a child from reporting sexual abuse (Goodman-Brown, Edelstein, Goodman, Jones, & Gordon, 2003). Communities that have limited understanding and awareness regarding child sexual abuse may be hostile towards children and may not believe them when they report sexual abuse. Ignorance of the services provided to the family and the victim of sexual abuse may also discourage disclosure, as it may be seen as pointless. However, Esposito (2014) sees disclosure of sexual abuse as significant in providing effective support and appropriate intervention.

Child sexual abuse could affect the life of the child even in adulthood. According Briere and Elliott (1994), child sexual abuse causes a sense of self-awareness in the victim. Therefore, early sexual abuse could impair a child's development of self-worth. The impairment caused by sexual abuse is reported to result in difficulties in distinguishing self from others. Older people who are survivors of child sexual abuse are reported to experience problems of understanding or relating to others without reflecting on themselves (Briere & Elliott 1994). Thus, they may not be able to perceive or experience their own internal state without relating to the reactions or expectations of others. This may contribute to a prolonged inability to differentiate between their reasonable rights and those of others when being faced with the needs or demands of others in the interpersonal environment. Briere and Elliott (1994:58) suggest that such problems "are associated with subsequent psychosocial difficulties, including increased suggestibility or gullibility, inadequate self- protectiveness, and a greater likelihood of being victimised or exploited by others."

Child sexual abuse is mostly committed behind closed doors and is often not witnessed by others; for this reason, it is a crime that is difficult to detect. Moreover, Martin and Silverstone (2013) suggest that in most cases child sexual abuse is not reported to officials. It is also very difficult to redress the wrongs done by child abuse as working with children is reported to be complex and challenging. Keeping children safe and away from sexual abuse therefore requires that prevention strategies be implemented by child protection workers.

The current study sought to add literature on the level of societal knowledge about the phenomenon of child sexual abuse. It is envisaged that a greater understanding of the knowledge and perceptions of community members will be of value, as the community will be able to voice

their rejection of and their perceived interventions to curb this devastating form of child abuse. Their perspectives will be presented in conjunction with relevant findings from the literature review.

The value of the study will be that it will enable communities to plan appropriate preventive and management strategies to curb the sexual abuse of children. This study sought to respond to the call that was made by the late former president Mr. Nelson Mandela, who committed the country to a "First call for children". This call challenges the country to ensure that children remain on the agenda of the national program of the Action Working Group that is charged with ensuring the well-being of the country's children. Mr Mandela warned, "History will judge us by the differences we make in the everyday lives of children" and stated that any country and any society "that does not care for its children is no nation at all" (Special Report, Twenty-five years of children's rights, 2014). The golden question that was the driver for this study was: *How can you get involved*? The study was therefore an integral part of the involvement of the researcher in caring for children.

1.3 Motivation for the Study
The study addressed a social phenomenon that is causing atrocities, instability, emotional disturbance, physical harm, and psychological issues not only in children's lives, but also in the lives of many families and societies. Rural people are isolated and ignored in most studies and for this reason studies representing the views, experiences and knowledge of rural people are rare. Moreover, a review of the literature also revealed that child sexual assault in Townships is under researched. According Lalor (2004), studies by United Nations (UN) "agencies such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO)" have focussed "on the commercial sexual exploitation of children" and ignored to a large extent the pervasive abuse of children in their "own communities by relatives and neighbours". It was therefore essential to pursue the current investigation as the findings would represent the views and experiences of the adult community residing in a relatively isolated area.

It has been reported that there is a low rate of child sexual attack in rural areas while the level of child sexual attack is much higher in urban areas (Royse, 1999). Conversely, the assumption that drove this investigation held that there was high rate of child sexual assault incidences in rural

areas but that most of these incidences remained unreported. In urban areas, it is easier to determine the rate of child sexual assault incidences because most cases are reported to the officials (i.e., the police, the courts, health care centres, and social workers) (Royse, 1999). Therefore, the paucity of literature on child sexual abuse in a rural Township setting motivated the decision to conduct this study. Another factor that motivated this study was the presumption that, when males talk to one another, they often express their fantasies of sexual intercourse and share the perception that sexual intercourse is an acceptable and satisfying experience in the male culture. It was therefore this preconceived knowledge that motivated the researcher to conduct the study. This motivation was thus underpinned by the researcher's increasing awareness that societies create favourable grounds for the sexual assault of children by condoning perverse sexual practices in discussions, particular among males.

1.4 Problem Statement

According to Leedy (1993:74), it is important that the researcher establishes "the reason for undertaking, or the rationale for the study, or what practical value the study will have."

"Globally, estimates show that between 7% - 37% of female and 5% - 10% of male children have experienced sexual abuse". According to Mathews, Loots, Sikweyiya and Jewkes (2013:86), in South Africa "one in six of all reported chronic sexual abuse cases is a girl under the age of 12 years." It is strongly argued that the "social context of child sexual abuse in South Africa" is "hinges on inequality and patriarchal constructions of masculinity that reinforce male dominance over women and girls, thereby increasing their vulnerability" (Vetten, 2008:4). According Vetten (2008), :sexual abuse reported in Gauteng province in 2003 showed that girls between 0-11 years were twice more likely to be raped by friends, acquaintances and neighbours than were adult women". Moreover, children of this age group were more likely to be raped in their own homes than either adolescent girls or adult women. It was also found that, due to their vulnerability, weapons were rarely used in violence against young girls and that coercion was mostly based on the authority or power of the perpetrator.

In cases of child rape, genital injuries were recorded in two out of three girls (65.3%) and 66.2% of such injuries were caused in the rape of teenagers (Vetten, 2008). Young girls were the group mostly told to 'keep quiet' about the event, and for this reason the abuse they suffered would mainly be revealed through behavioural changes or psychological symptoms. Fifty-five per cent

of young girls' cases led to an arrest, but only 22.1% went to trial and a mere 10.1% resulted in a conviction. Children keep quiet about sexual abuse because the abuser tells the child that they are "sharing a special secret" (Newham, 1997:23). Children are gullible and naïve and generally accept the authority of the adult who perpetrates the crime. Therefore, although incidences of child sexual abuse are increasing, only a few cases are reported to the police. According to Winship (1997:11), the increase of unreported cases of child sexual assault "is caused by family members who do not want to expose their families, more especially in cases where the father is the perpetrator, or because the victim does not receive proper or satisfactory treatment from the society and the justice system." The relation of trust therefore does not exist, and this "delays and complicates diagnoses and treatment" (Winship, 1997:12).

Public perceptions of child sexual assault may instigate child sexual abuse. Child sex offenders may therefore either be motivated or demotivated by the way society views the act of abusing children sexually, and therefore general public views on child sex offences have a significant impact on the escalation or the decline of this crime. Offenders of child sexual abuse may thus continue victimizing children because the society in which they live has created societal norms that view child sex offences as acceptable (Postmus & Koenick, 2011). Moreover, the increase of child sexual abuse may be attributed to the exposure of sexual activities on the social media as well as prevalent poverty in the settings where victims and offenders stay, which is often in the same house. In this context, many victims of sexual abuse reported that what they experienced as 'sexual abuse' was considered normal within their societies (Postmus et al, 2011).

In the province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), the sexual abuse of children, especially young boys, is on the increase, and Pillay (2014) states that the ages of victims and offenders now often range from 5 to 14 years. She also reveals that the age and incidences of child sexual abuse in South Africa are highest in KZN. She cited the fact that Child Line received about "350 000 calls a year from abused children with the majority of complaints involving sexual abuse". Pillay confirmed that 250 cases of sexual abuse were reported a month (Cole, 2014). She also argued that some children did not know that they were being abused and she acknowledged that some cases of child sexual abuse, particularly those that took place in the family context, were "swept under the carpet" and never reported. She closed her arguments with the plea that children need to be educated about what is good and what is bad touching, as some victims may not be aware

that they are being sexually abused when an adult insists on 'touching' them inappropriately (Cole, 2014).

According to Education Minister Reginah Mhaul of the Mpumalanga Department of Education, this department dismissed 60 teachers for sexually abusing students over a period of 5 years (Khoza & Msinga, 2010:1). Ten of the 60 dismissed teachers appealed their dismissal. The MEC reported that most of the cases of abuse had occurred "in rural areas where the victims and their parents were hesitant about reporting the abuse to the police". She also mentioned that parents were not reporting the incidences of child sexual abuse because they regarded these acts as a source of funding/income, and thus they supported the teachers who were the perpetrators (Simufurosa, 2015).

It is a known fact that child sexual abuse is reported only peripherally. For this reason, insufficient empirical data on child sexual assault was the backdrop against which the current investigation was conducted in an attempt to find guidelines towards an effective solution for addressing the sexual assault of minors. The disruption of the traditional childcare system, the rise of foreign investment, famine, and the submissive position of the female child in many societies are said to be implicated in the prevalence of child sexual assault. Force, deceit, and the exchange of commodities are common drivers for sexual relations among minors and the perpetrators of this form of abuse (Lalor, 2004).

1.5 Aims of the Study
The main aim of the study was to explore and understand perceptions of child sexual assault at societal level in a Township area known as Ngangelizwe in Mthatha in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. A specific study aim was to illuminate the opinions of the public and to discover, through their eyes, who the people who are the perpetrators of child sexual assault. The study also attempted to discover by what means, if any, the community felt that the incidences of child sexual assault could be combated. The study also aimed to uncover the psychological, social, and biological effects of child sexual offences on the child, the parents, the family, and the community at large. These aims were partly achieved by means of an extensive review of available literature which comprised mostly of similar/relevant studies that had already been conducted by scholars, and partly by conducting interviews with selected community members in Ngangelizwe Township in Mthatha, Eastern Cape.

1.6 Rationale for the Study

The rationale for the study was underpinned by the words of the late Nelson Mandela: "History will judge us by the differences we make in the everyday lives of children" (**Twenty-five years of children's rights, 2014**). By heeding this call, the researcher did not only want to contribute to existing literature in this field of study, but he also wishes to make a real difference in the lives of children who live under the threat of sexual abuse. Therefore, despite the many legislative polices to prevent child sexual offences, this phenomenon may be better combated by applying polices that are constructed, managed and prevented by societies. This may only be possible through a better understanding of why the travesty of child sexual abuse occurs in the first instance. A clear understanding of community/public views on the motives and reasons that make someone commit a sexual offence against a child will therefore go a long way in dealing with the issue effectively.

1.7 Key Research Questions

In the quest to address the research aims, clear guiding questions needed to be answered:

- What are the perceptions of the community regarding child sexual abuse?

- Who are the perpetrators of child sexual assault?

- What is the effect of child sexual abuse on children, parents, family, and the community as a whole?

- What measures do community members recommend for the prevention of child sexual assault?

1.8 Objectives of the Study

The objectives were to:

- Explore a community's perceptions of child sexual abuse;

- Determine who the perpetrators of child sexual assault are;

- Determine the effects of child sexual abuse on children, parents, family, and community as a whole; and

- Investigate measures that community members might recommend to prevent child sexual assault.

1.9 Structural Summary

Chapter one introduces the study and presents a brief justification for conducting this investigation. This chapter also presents the background to the study, the problem statement, the rationale for and aims of the study, the key research questions, and the objectives of the study.

Chapter two comprises of an introduction and a discussion of the literature that was reviewed. The review process involved the perusal of newspaper articles, scholarly articles in journals, and academic books. The literature of previous researchers and their contributions in this particular area of study were deemed crucial as a foundation for this investigation.

Chapter three presents the theoretical framework within which this study was located, with specific reference to two theories that formed the basis of the investigation.

Chapter four presents the scope and delimitations of the study. The area in which the study was conducted is defined. This chapter also defines the population and sampling of the study, the data collection methods, the ethical considerations, and the limitations of the study.

Chapter five offers a discussion of the data analyses and presents an evaluation of the results in an in-depth discussion of the study findings. In this chapter the researcher thus combines all the strands of the given arguments to illuminate convincing findings and addresses the questions that originally instigated the study. The researcher justifies various conclusions and shows how the stages of the investigation and the reasoning were connected.

Chapter six presents an appropriate evaluation of the implications of the findings for possible policy developments. An evaluation of the limitations, strengths and weaknesses of the study are also discussed in Chapter six.

1.10 Conclusion

Chapter one provided a general overview of the study. Moreover, the core insights into the drivers of the study were elucidated. Chapter one therefore discussed the background to the study, the problem statement, the motivation and rationale for the study, the key questions, and the aim and objectives that underpinned study. These aspects formed the heart for and the

foundation on which the study was built. The following chapter presents the literature review, which established the basis for the investigative processes.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The objectives of a literature review, according to Leedy (1989:12), "is the referral in an area, not specifically similar but collateral to, the area of study." The literature review closely looks at the works of other scholars who conducted studies that were relevant to a current investigation. In the context of this study, the findings of other studies on child sexual abuse will be discussed, with particular emphasis on the extent to which the findings of these studies addressed the aims and objectives of the current study. For example, the public's perceptions of child sexual assault are discussed with reference to the findings of both international and local studies. The literature review in this study was therefore used as the starting point that guided the formulation of the research questions and it also guided the analyses of the information that was gathered. In the data analysis section, information from the literature was used as a referral point to determine correlations among the findings.

This chapter commences by defining various terms as they applied to the study, followed by a discussion of current legislation that guides legal measures to address the crime of sexual abuse of children. A broad discussion concerning child sexual assault is presented in relation to community perceptions of child sexual assault; this section therefore includes the extent of people's knowledge of the phenomenon of child sexual assault. The social context of child rape, the factors that cause it, and the nature (or profile) of the perpetrators of child sexual assault are illuminated. Based on the literature review, this chapter also highlights possible actions that could be implemented to combat the sexual assault of minors, the effects of sexual abuse on children, and the possible reasons that make children vulnerable to sexual assault.

2.2 Definitions of Key Terms

Attachment: Attachment is referred as "the emotional ties binding people together over space and time" (Ainsworth, 1974:12). Another author comments that "attachment is necessary for the survival and healthy development of the infant" (Bowlby, 1973: 33).

Assault: "It is an intentional act by one person that creates an apprehension in another of an imminent harmful or offensive contact" (Qureshi, 2016:2).

Blesser: The term 'blesser' in "South Africa has become synonymous with someone who blesses a partner with money and gifts". The 'blesser' "is similar in many ways to the traditional sugar daddy" (Adams, 2016:1).

Child: The term child is used in a legal sense. The Child Care Act of 1983, which came into effect in 1987 stipulates that a "child is anyone below the age of eighteen (18) years" (Glaser & Frosh, 1988:4).

Children: Section 30 of the Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa also defines children as people under the age of 18 years (Glaser & Frosh, 1988:4).

Child abuse: Herman and Theart (1988:2) contend that child abuse includes "any physical or psychological harm which a child does not incur by accident".

Child sexual assault: The World Health Organisation (WHO) (1999:62) states that child sexual abuse "is the involvement of a child in sexual activity that he/she does not fully comprehend, is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared and cannot give consent, or that violets the laws or social taboos of society." Similarly, Kempe (1978:23) defines child sexual abuse as: "The involvement of dependent, developmentally immature children and adolescents in sexual activities that they do not fully comprehend, to which they are unable to give informed consent or that violate activities that they do not fully comprehend and to which they are unable to give informed consent, or that violate the social taboos of family roles." Salter (1988:18) defines sexual abuse as: "Sexual activity between a child or adolescent with an adult or another child five years or older than the child." Sexual acts included in this definition are "exhibitionism, voyeurism, fondling, oral genital sex, attempted

intercourse, intercourse" (involving or not involving penetration), child pornography, exposure of children to pornographic material, and forced sexual acts with each other or with animals.

Poverty: Poverty is "humiliation, the sense of being dependent on, and of being forced to accept rudeness, insults, and indifference when we seek help" (Latvia, 1998:12).

Rape: Rape takes place when "a male person has intercourse with a female [or another male person] without his/her consent". Sexual intercourse between an adult male and a girl under the age of 16 years is regarded as statutory rape (Steven, 1988:126).

Research: Research is "a procedure by which a person attempts to find support for or demonstrating facts, the answer to a question, or the solution to a problem"; and the manner in which the investigation is carried out is referred to as research methodology (Leedy, 1997:5).

Sampling: Sampling can be defined as "an exercise or process where the researcher identifies the "population of interest and" selects a "sample from" that population using sampling techniques (Baily, 1972:36).

Sexual abuse: Gelles and Conte (1990:23) define sexual abuse as coerced, tricked, or forced sexual behaviour between a minor person and an older person. Mgilane (1994:12) defines sexual abuse as "the exploitation of the child for the sexual pleasure of an adult that include [sic] fondling of the genitals, inappropriate remarks regarding the child's private parts, sexual illusions to stimulate or to shock a child, pornography, sodomy, rape, and incest."

2.3 Legislation that Guides Action against the Sexual Assault of Children
For the purposes of this research, the following definition applied:

"Child sexual abuse is any sexual interaction including all forms of intercourse, attempted intercourse, genital contact, kissing, touching of breasts, exposure to and participation in pornography between a child and another child without consent, or between a child and an adult with or without the child's consent, and where there was force, coercion or threat, for sexual gratification or benefit of the abuser, which can potentially have negative short or long-term impact on the child" (Adapted from Collings, 1994).

Legal systems construct CSA as a "criminal offence and they rest on a legal framework within which CSA is managed". There is a noticeable inequality in the procedures and levels of ban against sexual abuse in different countries, that echoes the irregular understandings of problems in respectively countries. It is said that "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". Meanwhile, the disciplinary codes in Pakistan, as well as the punitive codes in India and Bangladesh, offer no protection for boys against rape and the sexual abuse of boys is rife in certain parts of these countries. It is also noted that in South and East Asia, existing laws that should protect children are not strongly implemented and imposed. Only in Indonesia are there specific laws that offer protection against sexual abuse in the home, school and other settings. At the meanwhile, the punitive codes in these areas do not acknowledge that boys are susceptible to unwanted sexual intercourse and sexual abuse (Jones et al., 2008).

In South Africa, "social services, the police, the courts, the health-care" services and schools construct the 'reality' of CSA as conditional upon some form of physical evidence. In this country, distinct protection is given to "children in terms of Section 28 of the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amended Bill of 2007" (Bezuidenhout, 2008: 165). The National Assembly of South Africa passed the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) "Amendment Bill of 2007 on 22 May 2007", whereby the definition of rape was broadened. This Act also addresses various other matters relating to sexual offences, including male rape (Bezuidenhout, 2008). In the context of this legislation, 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, 2008:165).

South African legislation that previously guided rape was mostly criticised for being "archaic, illogical, discriminatory, irrational, unjust, and unconstitutional" (Snyman, 2008:353). According Bezuidenhout (2008:230), the new Act differs from the previous legislation in the following ways:

It revokes the common-law view of the crime of rape by replacing "it with an expanded statutory crime of rape applicable to all forms of sexual penetration without consent, irrespective of the gender of the perpetrator or the victim".

It replaces the common-law crime of assault with the statutory crime of sexual assault that is applicable to all forms of sexual violation without consent.

It repeals various other common-law crimes dealing with the commission of sexual acts, namely bestiality (intercourse with an animal), incest, and necrophilia (intercourse with a dead person) and replaces them as statutory crimes.

It creates a number of new crimes relating to sexual acts against children and the mentally disabled.

It spells out very specific provisions relating to services for victims of sexual crimes. It enacts compulsory HIV testing of all alleged sexual offenders.

It ratifies the creation of a national register for sexual offenders.

It enacts the creation of a national policy framework regulating all matters concerning sexual crimes.

The revised Act is thus more comprehensive than the previous Act which gave much opportunity for discussion and debate. For the purposes of the current study, interest was focused on the sexual assault and rape of minor girls.

2.4 Child Sexual Assault in an International Context

In the last decade, violence directed at women and children has gained acknowledgment internationally as a grave social and human rights violation. The World Report on Violence and Health identifies child sexual abuse (CSA) "as an important public health problem" (Wattam, Ikeda, Hassan & Ramiro, 2002). Similarly, Lalor (2004) argues that CSA is a worldwide occurrence that transpires across cultures and socio-economic levels. Correspondingly, Abeit, Muganyizi, Osslon, Darj and Axemo (2014) acknowledge rape as a hidden but common problem in all communities. Sexual violence occurs in every culture, at all levels of society, and in every country. Meel (2008:20) defines sexual violence as ubiquitous. Child sexual abuse is known as one of the forms of gender based violence (GBV). Gender based violence is caused by an imbalance of status in societies where women and children are denigrated to a position of inferiority (Abeid et al., 2014).

Globally, statistics estimate that between 14% and 25% of adult women experience sexual abuse and that the prevalence of CSA varies between 2% and 62% (Abeid, Muganyizi, Massawe, Mpembeni, Darj, & Axemo, 2015). In Tanzania (Abeid et al, 2015), sexual abuse by an intimate

partner was reported by 44% of married women aged 15 - 49 years. The same study found that 39% of married females recounted having experienced somatic sexual abuse and 20% of the sample recounted having experienced sexual violence. The study suggests that about one in three females and approximately one in seven males in Tanzania had experienced sexual violence.

Based on their study that was conducted in Tanzania, Abeid et al. (2014:2) suggest that about "three quarters of both females and males may have experienced sexual violence before reaching the age of 18 years". This study found that the most common type of childhood sexual abuse was unwanted touching, as reported by 16% of girl and 8.7% of boys. Attempted unwanted intercourse "was reported by" 14% of girl and 6.3% of boys, followed by touching. In this study, it was found that 6.9% of girls and 2.9% of boys had been "physically forced into sexual intercourse before the age of 18" (Abeid et al., 2014:2).

Heartbreakingly, the sexual abuse of children as young as three months old were reported in the news and in the media in Sub-Saharan Africa and other developing countries (Meel, 2008). It is difficult to accurately say which country has the highest prevalence of sexual abuse, because it is a known fact that this crime is largely unreported. Most countries rely on police data for sexual abuse rates, which of necessity depend upon reported cases and not on the actual number of cases. Moreover, countries vary in terms of the application of definitions for sexual assault. What is termed illegal and as a sexual crime in one country may be acceptable sexual behaviour in another. This makes it difficult to make inter-country comparisons of sexual assault (Vetten, 2014).

2.5 Child Rape in South Africa

 The Human Sciences Research Council (1997) released a report appealing that child rape in South Africa had stretched "epidemic proportions" (Shelver, 2014). "Between 1993 and 1996, child abuse cases reported to the South African Police Service's Child Protection Unit increased by 47% from 15 224 to 32 033 cases, with 18 079 of these being cases of child rape". "Five years later, on 15 May 2002, it was reported in Parliament that of the 15 650 child rapes reported to the police between January and September 2001, 5 859 were of children between 0 and 11 years of age. This means that approximately 10% of all rapes reported during that period in South Africa were of children under the age of 12" (Shelver, 2014). A report compiled by Solidarity Helping Hand stated that while there were about 60 cases of child rape reported in South Africa every

day, more than 88% of child rapes were never reported. If this is correct, it means that about 530 child rapes take place every day – which is one rape every three minutes (Shelver, 2014). In Gauteng, statistics showed that in 2003 about one in six sexual abuse cases reported to the police were those of girls under the age of 12 years, and in these cases the girls had been severely abused (Vetten et al., 2008).

Reports have revealed various myths that have an impact on the growing extent of child rape in South Africa. For example, one such myth resulted in the rape of a nine-month-old baby in South Africa in 2001, as the myth had emerged that having intercourse with a baby was a means of curing HIV/AIDS. Moreover, children have increasingly become targets of rape because there are those who believe in the 'virgin myth' (Adelman, 2010), which claims that sleeping with a virgin will cure HIV/AIDS. The 'virgin myth' is among several speculations about what accounts for the high incidence of infant rape. Other justifications have referred to patriarchy and poverty as drivers for child rape (Fraser, 2015). Moreover, the ignorance of people has the potential to cause severe harm, and therefore people of all walks of life need to be educated that sleeping with a virgin will not cure HIV/AIDS. Conversely, other studies claim different reasons why offenders sexually abuse children.

One argument is that sex offenders specifically target children because children are physically weak and, in some instance, they depend on the perpetrator for welfare support. Children's inability to resist/retaliate makes them extremely vulnerable to sexual offenders (Tanner & Brake, (2013). One study (Adelman, 2010) argues that children are targeted by offenders because their daily routine is predictable as they walk about on foot a lot, play in open fields or in bushy areas, and children are asked to go to shops without guardians by older people. Many walk to school on foot and many are obliged to stay with other people while their parents are at work. Due to the easy access to or contact with children, offenders find them easy targets and victims (Adelman, 2010). With reference to the above statements, it may be inferred that not all children are targeted by child sex offenders because they experience some special arousal pleasure which only a child can satisfy, but it may also be because children are easily accessible to opportunistic offenders.

In a study conducted by Fraser (2015), 27 incarcerated child sex offenders in eight South African prisons were interviewed. The offenders were between the ages of 16 - 86 years. All had been

convicted for sexual abuse of children who were six years old or younger (Fraser, 2015). The perpetrators in the study did not cite the 'virgin cleaning' myth as their reason for sexually abusing young children. On the contrary, Fraser (2015) found that a common driver of rape among the offenders was negative childhood socialization experiences. In this context, Fraser (2015) argues that socio-cultural factors such as patriarchal notions of manhood and particularly the perpetrator's belief about sexual entitlement were strong drivers for CSA. His study revealed that a father would rape his daughter simply because his wife might be away from home. Therefore, sexual demand for instant gratification was cited as an important factor in CSA (Fraser, 2015).

Child offenders who were in their teenage years and practically considered to be adults would blame their deeds on their own abuse because they had allegedly been seduced as young children, even at the age of two. The vulnerability of children is attributed to their gender and powerlessness; offenders see them as objects to be abused, and not people (Fraser, 2015). One of the offenders in Fraser's study blamed childhood sexual abuse, physical abuse, neglect, abject poverty and the absence of a father figure for his deviant behaviour, stating that he had never had an opportunity to learn about manhood. This had an impact on his struggle to establish and maintain 'normal' intimate relationships with the opposite sex in his age range. The offender developed violent arousals which were not easy for him to control. According to Fraser (2015), the offender reported to have been getting along with younger children among whom he felt secure, and he ended up sexually abusing a six-year-old girl in his neighbourhood. The offender was 19 years old at the time he committed the sexual offense against a six-year-old child.

2.6 The Extent of Rape in South Africa

South Africa is "alleged to be the rape capital of the world. Between 2005 and 2006, there were 54 926 reported cases of rape of women and girls – four times higher than those reported in the United States" (US). Crime statistics released in 2014 reflected that reports of these crimes had dropped to 46 253 (Fraser, 2015). The reported drop in the data on rape between 2005 and 2014 may have been due to under-reporting; however, the statistics still reflected a dark figure. The lower figures may reflect that women have become less likely to report their rape because of the associated stigma and the lack of police assistance, but young children may not even know who to go to or whether they will be believed even if they do (Fraser, 2015). In a randomly selected

study of 1 686 males in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal provinces, a 2010 report stated that 5% had raped a child under 15 years and that 27% had raped a woman (Jekes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dankle, 2010).

In South Africa, some forms of sexual violence are not considered a crime. One of these is sexual harassment, which is regarded as naughtiness and is only addressed internally or by labour law bodies. The treatment of sexual harassment as an internal matter among members of staff leaves a gap in regarding sexual harassment as an act of sexual violence. Statistics released by the South African Police are also not reliable, as some sexual offences are committed in institutions and the work place, where management is not compelled to report the incidences to the SAPS (Vetten, 2014).

A new approach to child protection is required as existing legislation proves to be fruitless in curbing this phenomenon. Many stories of this crime reveal shocking pictures of child vulnerability and demonstrate that child protection remains a huge challenge for South Africa. There should be continuous engagement at all levels with this social evil which continues to affect many children. More often than not, they are disempowered by age, gender, race, socio-economic standing and the system to prevent or act against the abuse. For example, the tragic story of Thendo (Stop the horror! 2002) shows the brutality of child sexual offenders and their lack of empathy:

> *"When admitted to hospital, an hour before she died, the child was found to have septic buttocks, a severely damaged anus and rectum, and her abdominal cavity was visible through the gaping hole created by her injuries. She had been vomiting and was dehydrated. The child reportedly told her family that the perpetrator had hit her with a stone. The chronic nature of the child's injuries and her dehydration at the time of her death indicated that, apart from her subjection to repetitive sexual penetration by a lodger in the house, her caregivers, for unknown reasons, did not observe or act on her distress and poor condition. The police examination and investigation following her death were incorrect, incomplete and incompetent. Thendo Nenzhelele was apparently one of close to 300 children treated at the Tshlidzini Hospital for rape or sexual abuse during 2002"* (Richter et al., 2004:22).

This case should have been a wake-up call and a catalyst for policy makers and the public to unite and form an organic society with strong solidarity to stand up against any form of child abuse.

Sexual abuse is not a new phenomenon. In the 1980s, Jaffe and Roux (1988:33) stated that "the sexual abuse of pre-pubertal children occurs with unacceptable frequency in South Africa. "Eighty-eight cases of suspected sexual abuse of children aged between 10 months and 13 years were investigated at one tertiary hospital in a single year, more than 15 years ago". This is corroborated by the following statement: "In South Africa, the younger the child, the more likely it is that the abuse is repeated over time and is perpetrated by a related or familiar adult in the child's home" (De Jong, Hervada & Emmett, 1983). More recently, a case of child rape was reported in the media, where police spokesperson Major Pelonomi Makau was quoted as saying that two girls aged 5 and 10 had allegedly been raped by a 20-year-old suspect in Rooigrond near Mahikeng in the North-West province. The suspect had allegedly asked the victims to accompany him to a nearby tuck shop to buy sweets. The suspect allegedly … ended up (in the bush) where he allegedly undressed and raped the victims (Genever, 2015). After the attacks, the victims returned home and reported the matter to their families. The girls were taken to hospital where the rapes were confirmed. The suspect was tracked down, arrested, and brought to trial. The outcome of the case is still pending/unknown.

In another incident, a 48-year-old man was arrested in connection with the repeated rape of his six-year-old daughter in Limpopo. A police official said the man was arrested after neighbours had found the child crying and in pain. They had taken her to the local hospital where it was confirmed that she had been sexually penetrated. Apparently, the girl had been living with her father for three years since his divorce from her mother, and she had been raped repeatedly during that time (Dawes, Higson-Smith,2004). This article is only one of many that show that some fathers cannot be trusted alone with their own daughters. However, due to a paucity of literature on the subject, there is a need for studies to investigate why so many child sex offenders target their own children. Such studies are needed as a matter of urgency, particularly now that it seems as if the sexual abuse by fathers of their biological daughters may be escalating. Understanding the factors that cause men to engage in illegal sexual activity with their daughters would be the only way to profile fathers and to reveal those characteristics that

father sexual offenders may possess. Those characteristics can only be known after extensive research.

2.7 Extent of Child Sexual Assault in Mthatha

South Africa is regarded as one of the countries with the highest rates of sexual assault in the world and, tragically, sexual exploitation of children is becoming more common in this country. In 2000, the SAPS statistics revealed that 52 550 cases of rape of women and attempted rape of women were reported in South Africa. Of these reported cases, 21 438 were children under the age of 18 years. The rape of children under the age of 12 years and minors between the ages of 7 and 11 years comprised 7 898 of these reported cases of rape (Meel, 2008).

The prevalence of child sexual assault is a serious social and health concern in the Transkei sub-region of the Eastern Cape province in South Africa. The rate of sexual abuse in Mthatha, which is a town in the former Transkei and now known as the Eastern Cape province, is reported to be increasing. Particularly adolescent girls between the ages of 12 - 17 are at high risk of being sexually abused. About 55 000 rape cases in this region were reported to the SAPS in 2004. However, it is said that the reported cases of sexual assault are just the tip of the iceberg. Eight out of every nine cases are estimated to be unreported. A survey among the community estimates that 100 000 women are sexually abused each year, but that they remain silent.

Sinawe Centre at Mthatha General Hospital was established in 2001 to deal with cases of sexual assault. It recorded a total of 2 378 victims of sexual assault since its inception in 2001 to 2006. In the year (2001) that the centre opened, it reported 78 cases of raped women. Victims of rape dramatically increased in 2002, and gotten to the peak level in 2006. Children and young people between 16 - 20 years, 11 - 15 years, and children of 5 years and younger (24.6%, 23.4%, and 9.4% respectively) were deemed to be the most vulnerable to sexual assault (Meel, 2008).

2.8 Why Child Sexual Abuse is so Common

Research has showed that "one in four girls and one in seven boys will be sexually abused". The criminals will be somebody known, could be a relation, a family friend, or one of the many volunteers or professionals who come in contact with children every day - someone most parents would never suspect (Jewell & Jensen, 2002). Correspondingly, Vetten et al. (2008) reported that in Gauteng province on 2003, girls about the ages of 0 - 11 years were more probable to be raped

by companions or neighbours. The rape was also more likely to occur at the victims' homes. Jewell et al. (2002) mention that scholars suggest that one in five children will be sexually abused during childhood and that most sex offenders commit many crimes before they are apprehended. Salt (2003) also found that most psychologists and experts on sexual offending found that all sex offenders admitted privately to have victimised more than those that they had been arrested for. In light of the reported interviews by psychologists and experts on the sexual offences admitted by sex offenders, the extent of sexual abuse is unknown and sex offenders are therefore not effectively punished. According to Cesaro De Baccaria (cited in Hoggard, 2013), in order for the punishment to be effective, it has to be swift and fit the crime that was committed. Punishing sex offenders based on the crime they were caught for does not make the punishment equal to the offence, as many offences may be unknown. This implies that the punishment of sex offenders is generally ineffective (Hoggard, 2013).

It is estimated that the arrest rate for sex offenders is only about 3%, and another suggestion that 1 out of every 20 boys has been sexually exploited a child. Professionals suspect that women perpetrators are not noticed more frequently than males, and that one-third of the people molesting children are other children (Jewel et al., 2002). The low rate of apprehension of child sexual abusers, female offenders who go unnoticed, and other children who molest children, means that many child sex offenders walk free in our societies where they live with children who are vulnerable to these potential child sex offenders.

It is generally accepted that children are physically weak and dependent on adults for their well-being. Their dependency therefore puts them at great risk of being sexually victimised. Children are victimised because they cannot retaliate or deter victimization as effectively as those with more strength and power can. Social toleration of sexual misconduct also plays a role, as society has an influential set of values that it imparts to its citizens (Lynch, 1991).

A significant generalization regards children high vulnerability risk of victimization relates to the correlation between choice and susceptibility (Lynch, 1991). Children have comparatively little choice over whom they associate with; less choice perhaps than any segments of the population apart from prisoners. This can put them into involuntary contact with high-risk offenders and thus at great risk for victimization. Children are obliged to live with other people, travel collectively and to function in high-density, heterogeneous environments such as schools.

Child sexual assault has become more prominent in school settings whereas sexual harassment of adults is more prevalent in the workplace. In a focus group discussion at Inkomazi in Mpumalanga province, women reported that they had been forced to sleep with *indunas* (occupation leaders) in order for them to be given a job on farms. It was also reported that those who were already employed had to sleep with their bosses to keep their jobs and, if they refused, they risked losing the job or they would suffer victimization (Jewkes et al., 2002). Similarly, school girls reported that teachers would tell them that they would fail at the end of the year if they did not sleep with them (Wood & Jewkes, 1998). Students reported that they were threatened by teachers. If they refused to have sex with the teacher, they would risk receiving low marks and failing their grade (Jewkes et al., 2002).

Children struggle gaining admission to the system and mechanisms in society that support segregate people from unsafe connections and surroundings. Thus making the minors more helpless (Robert, Davis, Lubrigio & Skogan, 1997). The persistent contributing factors to CSA include poverty, patriarchal ideas of masculinity, weak parenting and venomous childhoods, alcohol abuse, and weaknesses in the criminal justice system (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla & Ratele, 2009). All these factors significantly create environments that are conducive to CSA.

2.9 Types of Child Sexual Assault

There is limited considerate of the sexual attack phenomenon of pre-pubertal children among the general public, because people reason and express about child erotic assault as if it were one thing; as if all incidents of sexual assault of a young child follow the same pattern, are driven by the same inspirations, and lead to the same results. This is a fallacy, as there are numerous dissimilar types of sexual abuse committed against minor children. Child sexual assault varies in features in the nature of the event, the experience of the child, the duration of the abuse, the age of the child, the circumstances under which the abuse takes place, and the effects of the abuse on the child and the family (Robert et al., 1997).

According to WHO (2002), child sexual assault comprises rape and attempted rape and may include forced physical vaginal and/or anal penetration with the penis or other body part or object. Sexual activities against children often involve excessive force and also include sexual

harassment, sexual humiliation, and unwanted sexual contact. The sexual abuse of children also involves:

- the prostitution of children;
- virginity testing;
- female genital mutilation; and the
- participation of children in pornographic performances or the production of materials or exposure to pornography.

Numerous studies have revealed that about 20% of teenagers between 10 - 17 years who are actively on the internet or used the internet have been unwittingly exposed to pictures of naked people or people having sex (Ringrose, Gill, Livingstone, Harvey, 2012).

Sadly, the most precise quantified information regards child sexual abuse exist in in police profiles, in the notes of service organisations, in whispered disclosures between friends and the family, and in the memory of children and perpetrators. Little of this knowledge has currently informed theory or recommended practice in South Africa (Richter, Dawes & Smith, 2004).

2.10 The Role of Patriarchy on the Sexual Assault of Children

A study conducted by Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Rose-Junius (2005) in South Africa and Namibia had its roots in recent concerns about the high prevalence of child rape in Southern Africa. Jewkes et al. (2005:17) argue that children "are rendered vulnerable to abuse because of a series of ideas which create opportunities, the most significant of which is the dominant patriarchal dogma, compounded by the pronounced age hierarchies found in societies". Men are regarded as having high prestige with regard to female children, and this leads to the vulnerability of girls because they are unable to decline men's sexual advances and this creates the perception among males that that they should control women and children (Jewkes et al., 2005) and that they are free to do so in any way they prefer.

In Tanzanian communities, just like in South Africa and Namibia, patriarchal kinship patterns are followed whereby inheritance and power are vested in the husband and his male offspring (Jewkes, 2005). Decision making is vested in men, whereas women have limited say or decision making powers. Decisions and authority in various issues such as how, when and where to have

sexual intercourse are vested in men, and thus sexual intercourse with multiple partners is encouraged (Abeid et al., 2014:2).

Rape is sometimes used as an act of castigation, to validate power over girl children, and for control purposes (Jewkes et al., 2005). Rape is also used as an act of communication to demonstrate the power/control that men have over women and children. Contrary to this type of communication, rape can also be used as an instrument of communication with the rapist himself to assert his masculinity and power (Jewkes et al., 2005).

2.11 Has Society Created an Environment that Makes Child Sexual Assault Acceptable?

Child rape creates a threat to the moral order of society and the act itself generates anger. Bird and Spurr (2004 cited by Jewkes et al., 2005) state that it is little wonder "that the mass media in South Africa and internationally has clamoured for stories of child rape in South Africa, often inventing aspects of the events where facts are not known". The broadcasting industry and office-bearers have been very quick to point out the most prominent rapes to others, for example rape by desperate people with HIV in search of a cure (Jewkes, 2004).

About 20 000 girls and more than "30 000 adult women" in South Africa are raped and report the incident to the police every year (Crime Information Analysis Centre, 2004, cited by Jewkes et al., 2005). It has also been reported that Namibia has similar rates of rape to South Africa. According to Jewks, Penn-Kekana, Rose-Junius and Malala (2004 cited by Jewkes, 2005) "child rape is not a fringe activity of a small number of paedophiles" (cf. Mager, 1999:184). The number of child sex offenders "suggests that there are important aspects of society that, if not legitimate, provide space for these activities" (Jewkes et al., 2005:1810). Runyam et al. (2002 cited by Jewkes et al., 2005) argue that sexual assault is more prevalent in homes where poverty and deficiency of social support exist or in homes that are located in communities with less shared wealth. Some participants in the study by Abeid et al. (2014) argued that neglecting traditional standards and modelling Western behaviour contributed to rape in traditionally African societies. They argued that the gradual transformation of African societies that abandon traditional social norms and that adopt Western values and practices presents favourable environments for child sexual assault. However, the majority of the participants in the study by Abeid et al. (2014) differed from those who blamed abandoning traditional social norms in favour of Western values, as they criticised some old traditions and considered them harmful to

the well-being of society. Abeid et al. (2014) attribute child sexual assault to poverty, inadequate parental care, substance abuse, and the influence of globalisation.

Research reports based on investigations of the influence of child rape include crucial facets of community perspectives within which the crime occurs, such as social customs surrounding gender roles, parent-child relations, the nature of the societal well-being system, and the nature and extent of social defence and receptiveness of the criminal justice system (Jewkes et al., 2005). The latter authors further argue that failure to situate child rape within the broader context of child rearing is another contributing factor to this phenomenon. They also urge that "the development of a sociological understanding of child rape requires reflection on multiple aspects of childhood, including ideas about the sexual desires and sexual activities of children, intergenerational perspectives on sexual desires, child rearing, and social hierarchies". According to Jewkes (2005), the assumption that the widespread rape of girls fundamentally becomes possible because of a series of ideas that make children vulnerable through creating opportunities for abuse must be taken into consideration. For example, "sexualised games played by children and ribaldry between adults and children have been a long-standing feature of normal childhood in South Africa and Namibia" (Jewkes et al., 2005:1 812). For example, in South Africa some adult men and women speak of 'taking snuff', which is an example of adult-child ribaldry. Jewkes et al. (2005:12) describe this ribaldry as follows:

> *"A child jumps out of the water undressed and granny tickles his penis and says 'Oh, snuff let me have some'. Everybody laughs and the child runs away to get dressed and that is over. Men would also similarly touch girls, including fathers touching their daughters. If they were teenagers, the men might touch their breasts."*

Ntlabati, Kelly and Mankayi (2001) and Mager (1999 cited by Jewkes et al., 2005) explain that sex play sometimes includes penetration and that this is very common amongst girls and boys from a young age. Sexual practices such as '*Chagulaga mayu*', which means 'choose one among us', are not rare in Tanzania. '*Chagulaga mayu*' is a practice common among the biggest ethnic tribe, namely the '*Sukuma*' from the Mwanza region. It is a custom practised during harvest time. The practice encourages men to chase unmarried women who attended the dance; a man will choose a woman to have sexual intercourse with at the end of the ceremony (Abeid et al., 2014:

2). This practice deprives women of the choice to have consensual intercourse as they have no choice but to submit to the sexual act because, culturally, it is expected that a woman succumbs to a man's wishes (Abeid et al., 2014).

The customariness of sexualised play and teasing amongst and within generations seems to create space for vagueness about the boundaries between conventional and unacceptable practices. Currently, children are exposed to contradicting values with no clear guidance on the acceptable and unacceptable standards of behaviour (Abeid et al., 2014), thus making it difficult for children to distinguish between conventional and unconventional sexual behaviour.

Guardians and girls, and probably even boys or men, might discover that the boundaries of 'normal' play overlap with unacceptable behaviour without warning (Jewkes et al., 2005). In the latter study, it was found that a "16-year-old Namibian boy had molested his nine-year-old step-sister" about more than a year before his step-mother considered his actions to be abnormal and did something to halt them. "His step-mother said she knew he had erotic feelings for her daughter, but inferred that that this was fairly normal and had risen from seeing the girl after school in the house just wearing her panties". In the interview, the mother revealed that she had observed a long period of sexual touching and teasing before the girl was raped. She had not seen the touching as abnormal, so she had not tried to put a stop to it (Jewkes et al., 2005:1 812). In this narrative, the step-mother noticed the signs of sexual abuse but turned a blind eye. Her failure to take action sooner was influenced by her socialisation that assumed that the actions of her step-son were normal.

In their findings, the respondents of the Jewkes et al. (2005:1812) study held the common view that it was unthinkable for an adult man to desire a child, but that teenagers were not thought of as adults in this respect. In both South Africa and Namibia where Jewkes et al. (2005) conducted their study, adolescent girls' bodies were constructed as extremely sensual and a 'natural' object of male sexual desire. A Namibian informant elucidated this as follows:

> *"Sexually desiring girls is normal. Herero men are proud of their manhood and of their status in society. They are also expected to show it by being manly towards women, even young women. By that I do not mean they must use [have sex with] young girls, but it happens and I know the community often turns a blind eye. Yes,*

it can be accepted as normal ... our girls mature earlier than their brothers ... it used to be (accepted for men to be attracted to girls within the family). Family men could even take their nieces as brides at an early age, but I do not think so anymore."

In South Africa, the case described above by the Namibian man would have been seen as an incest or taboo, because sex within the family circle is prohibited by most social groups (Guma & Henda, 2004; Niehaus, 2002). In both countries the respondents agreed that it was common for teenage girls to have relationships with older men, or so-called 'sugar daddies' that are now known as 'blessers'. This is a term that became popular in early 2016. One of the respondents stated that both the man and the girl would be criticised in a 'sugar daddy' relationship, but in most cases it is the girl who is condemned and criticised. Apart from verbal criticism of the sugar daddy/blesser relationship, the question arises: *What is being done to demise it*? By not doing anything, society silently accepts this phenomenon and creates a favourable environment for child sexual abuse by these sugar daddies, or 'blessers'. It is also said that privately, in many poor families, sugar daddies are accepted, and even sometimes encouraged, if they are likely to be a benefactor to the girl's family (Jewkes et al., 2005). Some parents from low socio-economic contexts encourage children to sexual risk activities to solicit financial gain.

> "*Poverty is a problem that pulls us into other problems. Humanity is on sale at the moment... very often we see that parents themselves send their daughters to go do these things [prostitution] so as to bring something home."* (Respondent in the study by Abeid et al., 2014:17).

2.12 Role of the Media in Child Sexual Assault

The media has been acknowledged as one of the most significant role players in recognising, monitoring and exposing child sexual assault (McWhirter, 2007). Conversely, the media is also accused of spreading messages and pictures that reveal risky and reckless sexual behaviour. Bourke and Donohue (1996 cited Becker & Stein, 1991) give evidence that 89% of young people who were sexual offenders had been exposed to sexually explicit pornographic images.

In the last two decades, there has been an increase in the media coverage of CSA in South Africa (Bird & Spurr, 2004). The media is also widely criticised for representation of CSA; thus holistic

media coverage and a critical approach to CSA in a manner that is respectful of children is called for by researchers, practitioners and civil societies (Delaney, 2005). Activists for children's rights criticise the media for only focusing on sensational facts and ignoring the many critical underlying issues of CSA (Bird & Spurr, 2004). If the media could be shifted from sensationalist to responsible reporting, it could play a crucial role in exposing sexual violence and the exploitation of children. The power and influence of the media could also be harnessed to change public opinion against CSA (Save the Children, 2003). The media could be a powerful tool in educating the public and making people aware of the many sexual crimes perpetrated against children.

2.13 Are Men out of Control and Dangerous?

Males, particularly adult men, enjoy the privilege of being highly respected and even revered, which often causes their actions to go unquestioned. On the other hand, women are easily criticised, ostracised or reprimanded if they behave contrary to societal norms and commit a socially undesirable deed. In many instances, for example, the blame for rape is placed on the woman, and not on the man (Jewkes, 2005).

Jewkes (2005) found that most respondents thought that when a man was sexual aroused, it was imperative that he had sex. It was also argued by the participants that a "man might find a child a convenient object to have sex with when aroused for some other reason". Minors were said to be suitable sexual partners because they were either too young to talk, or could be 'bribed not to talk' by men who just wanted instant sexual gratification.

The participants in the study of Jewkes et al. (2005) linked poverty to child sexual assault. It was argued that underprivileged or jobless men who were not able to get adult girlfriends would turn to children for prompt sexual pleasure. In some cases, abuse seemed to have occurred not because the abuser was attracted to the minor in the classic sense, but just because at that moment the child was available in the absence of a consenting partner. For a man, not to submit to sexual arousal would seem a sign of weakness. Meursing et al. (1995) and Wood, Maforah and Jewkes (1998 cited by Jewkes, 2005) state that "the idea that men who are sexually aroused are not able to control themselves…could be used as an excuse for rape [as has been shown] in other Southern African literature on sexuality."

An elderly South African woman made the following comment: "Men are dangerous; anything can happen...men can do sex anytime, anywhere" Jewkes (2005:1814). The view that men are sexually out of control and dangerous was found to be mutual among South African respondents, and was held by both men and women.

Rape is often an act by ordinary men in violent societies as they fulfil their sexual desires and show their supremacy over women (Mager, 1999 cited by Jewkes et al., 2005). Rape is also seen as a powerful tool that is used to enforce fear of men in women. Some of the male respondents in the Jewkes et al. (2005) study felt that this was a myth, and were concerned that it might negatively affect their relations with their immediate families. For example, one respondent stated, "As a man, you also feel like a rapist". These men admitted that it was hard for them to play with their own kids because of the fear that they might be suspected of being potential sexual offenders who would abuse their own children (Jewkes et al., 2005:1 814).

Men are often seen as threat to the sexual well-being of children. This may be deduced from their privileged position in society and the home, their supremacy in the workforce, their sexual unpredictability, and their inability to control themselves when sexual stimuli aroused them. It was reported by some of the interviewees in the Jewkes et al. (2005) study that some men who held high positions used their status to commit sexually abusive acts. It was also reported that men in a position of authority felt entitled to sex by virtue of their position. As an example, Jewkes et al. (2005) cite the incident in which a policeman sexually molested children in a cell. It is argued that such an act constitutes the demonstration of gendered power by men over women. Moreover, this notion of 'entitlement' creates space for men with marital difficulties to commit acts of sexual abuse when the absence of a wife due to work commitments or pregnancy leave the children vulnerable, because they are available as substitutes. According to a South African man, "…some men feel they can control their wives and daughters as they wish, so they have sex with them" (Jewkes, 2005:1815). Child sexual abuse is therefore not only an act of entitlement, but it is also an instrument of control.

2.14 Rape: An Instrument of Communication

In some instances, rape is used by fathers to send a message to their daughters. A 19-year-old Namibian girl recalled an incident in which her father raped her because she came home late (Jewkes et al., 2005:1815):

"My friend Vanessa and I... arrived home at 4.00 am. When we entered my father called us but my friend just walked on. When I got to the room he asked me to close and undress. 'I want to see whether you have had sex with the guys, apparently you are looking for sex.' My father forced me to suck his penis. He was violent. He inserted his penis into my vagina. I tried to scream and he said he would call my siblings to come and watch what we did. Thus I kept silent until he had satisfied himself."

In this incident the girl's father sent a strong signal to the girl never to come home late.

2.15 The Influence of Alcohol on Acts of Rape

According to Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), alcohol is likely to be involved in the rape of females of all ages. In the study of Jewkes et al. (2005), it was found that alcohol created vulnerability as it was shown that offenders were often under the influence of alcohol. Consuming a lot of alcohol retards cognitive thinking and thus people under the influence of alcohol act irrationally.

In many instances, young female girls were raped after their drinks had been spiked with drugs, hence they could not tell who had raped them (Jewkes et al., 2005). Alcohol directly or indirectly creates a favourable environment for the act of rape (Jewkes, 2005:1815). In one case, a young man admitted that he stayed out at night because his violent, drunk father made the home intolerable. In cases where parental guardians are alcoholics, children are likely to be left alone at home. Offenders then have easy access to the children in the absence of a parental guardian. Parental guardians who are alcoholics provide inadequate childcare which, according to Albeid et al. (2014), contributes to child rape.

2.16 Hunger Makes Children Vulnerable to Rape

Children in South Africa are sometimes left in the care of a teenager sibling, particularly in areas where there are high rates of unemployment. In search of jobs, parents then go to urban areas where job opportunities are greater. When the parents fail to send money home for the children to buy food, the children become vulnerable to sexual exploitation (Jewkes et al., 2005). One respondent in the study stated that "poor and hungry children would be tempted to agree to anything in return for food" (Jewkes et al., 2005). Another informant, who was a nurse, reported

that many molested children would say that they were out looking for food when they were accosted. This clearly puts the onus on government to hasten the pace of addressing poverty, as some young children are used by their families to engage in sexual activities with older people for economic reasons. Older people use money to lure children who are unable to make the right judgment about consenting to sleep with them. By eradicating poverty, a substantial decrease of the rape statistics will be seen in South Africa.

2.17 Community Responses to Child Sexual Abuse Incidences

The South African law disapproves of any violent action, whether it is committed by an individual or by a group. Bad behaviour cannot be corrected or made right by another wrong act. For example, when a culprit of child rape is caught, the public reacts with anger and often uses violence to obtain justice, which is against the law.

The age of the victim also determines the community's reaction, as Jewkes et al. (2005) found that when a child had been raped, the community responded with greater anger and used excessive violence, while if a victim was an older woman, the community responded with less enthusiasm.

A Namibian man said that men who raped children were outcasts in their community. A person who raped could even be killed. People who raped lost the trust and respect of the community. Also, no woman would want to marry someone who had committed rape and children would not be left under their guardianship. The study clearly revealed that rape is unacceptable and that the community is filled with repulsion when it occurs. However, the community's response to incidences of rape is complicated, as some families would defend their relatives and believe that reporting the case to the police is unnecessary. The family would say: "It is an internal matter that needs to be discussed and resolved by the family." To some extent, the victim of an act of rape would be blamed, and not the perpetrator (Jewkes et al., 2005:1818).

Jewkes et al. (2005) summarise the response of the community to the act of child rape in three points: First, the incidence would be reported to the police who continue with the case to the court or report it to a traditional court. Second, the victim may consider the incident, and decide to turn blind eye; and third, the victim/her parents may accept compensation in the form of money or livestock.

2.18 Are there Social Issues that are Worse than Child Sexual Assault?

Being forced to have sexual intercourse without your consent or even having your private parts touched against your will is embarrassing and traumatic. It must be worse for children. Children have neither experience of sexual activity nor of fondling. However, Jewkes et al. (2005) found that in the South African hierarchy of social problems, many things were seen as worse than child rape and incest.

In the case of child rape at home, the incident would often be overlooked. Jewkes et al. (2005) maintain that this is a form of gender hierarchy where family structures are more important than taking action against an offender. Facing the prospect of family disruption is thus seen as a more serious social problem than child sexual abuse. This means that if reporting the case to the police would disrupt the family, the incident would not be reported. Similarly, family reputation is highly regarded in African countries such as South Africa and Tanzania. If rape has been committed by a family member, it would not be reported to the authorities as this would bring embarrassment to the family and put "the family's honour and reputation at stake" (Abeid et al., 2014:6). This shows that families may regard family cohesion higher than a child's pain.

Often, the sexual assault of a child, when it occurred outside the family circle, is seen as very bad and needs serious attention, but when it happened close to the family there is a level of tolerance (Jewkes et al., 2005). Correspondingly, Abeid et al. (2014) found that child sexual assault that was committed by an unknown person was defined as unacceptable and deserving of severe punishment, but that family members were treated with more tolerance.

Excessive poverty was also feared more than child sexual abuse. Some parents would encourage sugar daddy relations if that would mean rescuing the family from poverty.

It became clear that a child's traumatic experience will often not be given the attention it deserves because of other social issues that are held in higher regard than the rape of a child.

2.19 The Community's Empathy with Sexually Abused Children

A community's understanding of child sexual abuse affects its ability to protect children against sexual abuse (Ige & Fowale, 2011). It is generally believed that girls mature earlier than boys. There is also a common belief in some communities that sexually abused children like attention; they seduce men and they are to be blamed for the abuse. However, many believe that the

offender is to be blamed if the child who is abused is younger than eight years old, but if the victim is 10 years or older, some communities will wonder if they (i.e., the abused children) could not have avoided the abuse (Jewkes et al., 2005). Participants in the study by Abeid et al. (2014) were also of the view that sexual assault committed on older children was not taken seriously or regarded as rape, compared to their views when younger children were assaulted. It was implied that the socio-cultural norms within certain societies condone, or at least turn a blind eye to, the rape of older children.

It often occurs that victims of abuse are blamed for the abuse that they experienced. For example, the father of a three-year-old boy who had been raped in his sleep beat the boy when he found out that the boy had been raped. A girl who got pregnant at 13 from rape was not forgiven by her mother, even two years after the rape had occurred (Meursing et al., 1995). Raped children are not only blamed for the rape, but they are also stigmatised and isolated from the community. Abeid et al. (2014) agree with Jewkes et al. (2005) that more than 60% of girls who do not report cases of sexual abuse do not want to give their families or the community reasons to neglect them. Raped girls mostly fear abandonment or being separated from their families. Boys who did not disclose sexual abuse (58%) gave personal reasons for their silence. A common reason was that they did not think it was a problem, while 36% did not want to embarrass the family. Other reasons were that they were afraid of being beaten and they thought that people would not believe them. Only 1 in 5 girls and 1 in 10 boys sought legal advice and health care after their forced sexual experience (Abeid et al., 2014). Jewkes et al. (2005) reported that a girl dropped charges against a man who had raped her because she was afraid that other children would find out and ridicule her. The girl attempted suicide. Jewkes et al. (2005) argue that child sexual abuse is a hot topic for gossip, as only some people that they interviewed in their study believed that child sexual abuse was a sensitive issue that had to be kept private. The sensational element of rape is probably due to the fact that most people derive pleasure from the problems of others.

2.20 Barriers to the Disclosure of Sexual Assault
Reporting an event that was unpleasant and humiliating that could be associated with shame, guilt, and blame is not easy (World Health Organization, 1999), and therefore the fear of being blamed and stigmatized is a powerful hindrance to the disclosure of sexual abuse. According to Collin-Vezina et al. (2013), stigmatization involves the assimilation of negative views spread by

the offender's scheming discourse. This scheming results in attitudes of criticism and rejection that are directed at victims by society. Many studies report that women are not always believed when disclosing sexual abuse, and they are often accused of consenting to the sexual act (Abeid et al., 2014). Correspondingly, Collin-Vezina et al. (2013) state that victims are often labelled as bad people and deserving of the sexual abuse, or they are blamed for being responsible for the abuse. Reporting an unwanted sexual act is also often perceived as bringing shame and dishonour on the family (Abeid et al., 2014:7):

> *"When the child gets raped, for the mother to disclose such an incident is not easy, it is a shame on her because it's like exposing herself naked in front of society. Sometimes the society expresses views that it was not truly rape but the result of negotiations and agreement between the two … also out of fear that the young man would not make her his bride. A man cannot pick a sexual violence survivor as fiancée."*

Victims of sexual abuse fear the response of their partners or parents and are concerned about the family dignity. Fear of the outcome after disclosing sexual abuse is therefore a major barrier that prevents victims from reporting unwanted sexual acts (Abeid et al., 2014).

Insufficient support at health centres and ineffective policy and judiciary follow-up are also barriers, particularly in rural areas where these services are not easy to access. Another barrier is that victims of sexual assault attempting to reach these services are burdened by financial costs that they cannot afford. It was also found that corruption within these services discouraged victims of sexual violence from reporting the event. Moreover, few reported rape cases actually go to court and those that do go to court are often thrown out, resulting in an unacceptably low percentage of successful conviction (Masimanyane, Women's Support Centre, 1999).

Another barrier is the perception of police corruption that is prevalent among communities. The literature reports accusations of police corruption that result in a lack of trust in the police, and many victims fear to report their experience of sexual abuse to the police (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Bribery is also a barrier, as victims reported that offenders of sexual violence would bribe police officers to make dockets disappear. The disappearance of dockets is a widely known problem in the system; for example, in the researcher's experience it is rumoured in Mthatha that

to 'lose' a docket costs about twenty rand. In southern Johannesburg, it was reported that 1 in 20 dockets got lost in what was regarded as a fraudulent manner (CIET Africa, 1998). The range of corrupt practices reported by police who were interviewed in a study by CIET Africa (1998) included dissuading women from reporting acts of sexual violence. Police officials, prosecutors and other court officials were accused of accepting money in exchange for dropping a case, and in some instances they even took the perpetrator to the victims and told them to accept money and drop the case. The request for money from the complainant to conduct the investigation is a technique to make the complainant drop the case. This travesty of justice was reported by the focus group (ibid.). It was also reported that officials would demand sex from the rape survivors to 'determine' if the complainant had really been raped (CIET Africa, 1998). It was also reported that the police were slow and tardy in responding when called (Abeid et al., 2014).

Fear of offender retaliation is one of the major obstacles why minors do not report sexual abuse, because it has often been reported that the perpetrators would threaten to kill them if they told anyone. The relation abusers have with children, their motivation for offending, and the grooming tactics they use are complex and deeply disturbing factors in the failure to report abuse by children. The majority of offenders are the people children encounter every day - parents and step-parents, aunts, uncles, grandparents, siblings, family friends, teachers and coaches. Statistics reveal that very few child molesters or rapists, perhaps less than 5%, are 'strangers' (Jewel, 2002). Children are therefore faced with an insurmountable dilemma, as it is virtually impossible for them to report a person they are close to, coupled with the lack of empathy among authorities and the fear of what might happen to them if the offender is charged.

Offenders are also extremely adept at seducing children in a non-threatening and sometimes 'playful' and tricky manner, which makes children feel like 'partners' who 'share a secret' rather than victims. Because of the tactics perpetrators use, most children fail to understand that they are being abused until it is too late. Children reported that once the abuse started, they felt trapped and were unable to tell anyone because of the subtle threats and manipulation (Jewel, 2002). Most children feel trapped in their misery; they blame themselves and are afraid of what the community will think of them.

Jewel et al. (2002) argue that fewer than 10% of children report sexual abuse while it is happening, and that the majority of victims wait till adulthood before they disclose their abuse.

One of the most disheartening statistics that emerged from sexual offender studies was that more than half of all abusers reported that other adults knew that they were abusing children and failed to report them to the police. Offenders reported that not being 'turned in' resulted in the sexual victimization of more people and triggered the offenders' criminal sexual behaviour to continue (Jewel et al., 2002).

Vetten (2014) corroborates the findings of earlier studies and highlights the following as the reasons for low sexual offences reporting: victims fear that they will not be believed and that they will be blamed for being deceitful; feelings of shame, guilt, humiliation and embarrassment; care for and sympathy with the offender; difficulties in reaching the police or social workers; fear of reprisal; and being terrorised by the offender. Other barriers to reporting that are listed by Vetten (2014) are: uncertainty of fair treatment by the criminal justice system organs; fear of court procedures; police insolence; and having to face examination and giving details of the painful incident during the investigation and at court. Vetten (2014:11) also argues that "insensitive and dubious response directed at victims of sexual abuse by society trivialise [sic] the victims of sexual assault." Giving evidence of a survey that was conducted among 31 health services around the country that care for rape survivors, Vetten (2014) mentions that one in three health experts (32, 6%) did not consider rape to be a serious medical condition. She argues that among the 26 medico-legal services that she evaluated in Gauteng, insensitive, hypercritical and irritated assertiveness was demonstrated by health workers towards the victims of rape. Moreover, she found that the attitude of judges towards rape complainants discouraged them from going through with their rape cases (Vetten, 2014). Similarly, Kakhobwe (2009) is critical of Judge Van der Merwe's judgement in Jacob Zuma's rape case. In his opinion, Judge Van der Merwe showed lack of sympathy and was insensitive towards the victim, and he questions the judge's ability to conceptualize the meaning of rape. It can be argued that if this is the message that is sent out in such a high profile rape case, then the judicial system has become a powerful deterrent in sexual offence reporting.

Another strong contributing factor to the reluctance to report sexual offences is the powerful attachment most people have to their social culture. Cultural values, norms and beliefs often take precedence over legal recourse when issues have to be resolved within communities. Moreover, fear of expulsion and being mocked by peers often results in victims suffering the aftermath of

their sexual abuse alone and remaining silent. The victims of rape rather suffer internally than bear the stigma of being a rape victim (Vetten, 2014). Even as far back as the late 1900s, a South African survey reported that the most common unwanted sexual act (i.e., rape) was committed against the most vulnerable group - i.e., those who could not report the act to the police (Wood et al., 1998) because of their subverted status in the societies in which they lived.

In summary, the most important barrier to the disclosure of sexual abuse is fear. Victims fear the consequences of reporting the crime such as further physical harm, isolation, family stress, or breaking up the family. Children fail to report sexual abuse because of the fear that they will be blamed for the sexual abuse. They fear they will be held responsible for the sexual abuse and this shames them. Children fear the negative reaction by society which deters older children from disclosing sexual abuse. They live in fear due to the threats directed at them by the offenders. Younger children find it difficult to understand and name what happened to them and they fear that their parents will be angry. Moreover, naïve and innocent children may not know where or who they may report the sexual abuse to. The feeling of being responsible for the sexual abuse and that they will be held to blame is also common among children who have been sexually abused more than once (Esposito, 2014).

2.21 Characteristics of Child Sexual Offenders

The question: *How can we spot a child molester?* is often asked. Global efforts to recognize the commission of child sexual abuse have been controlled by a number of significant conceptual and methodological problems. First, there was broad consensus among researchers that child sexual offending and child sexual offenders were mixed. That is, it was believed that there was substantial dissimilarity both in the ways sexual offences against children were perpetrated (for example, tactics employed to select and 'groom' children; sexual and other behaviours involved in the commission of the offence; and methods of avoiding detection). In addition, efforts were made to define (i.e., 'profiling') the characteristics of typical child molesters, for example their age, ethnicity, education, psychosocial and psychosexual background, level of sexual interest in children, relationship with victims, and general criminality tendencies. Causal explanations were similarly varied and, although there were several established theoretical formulations (psychoanalytic, biological, behavioural), none enjoyed the support of a strong empirical base. There was a lack of conceptual consensus; most researchers agreed that sexual offending against

children was a multi-dimensional and multi-determined phenomenon (Smallborne & Worthy, 2014).

In the contemporary context, it must be acknowledged that although research efforts have been expanding rapidly, sexual offending against children remains, for a variety of reasons, a difficult phenomenon to study, not least so because of the secrecy that typically surrounds the commission of these offences. The majority of research data on child sexual offending have been derived from clinical studies of convicted (usually incarcerated) offenders undergoing treatment. Although such studies have produced a large and rich empirical literature, it is unclear to what extent these findings can be generalised, particularly to the larger population of convicted offenders. The reliability and validity of these data were typically compromised by the absence of confidentiality, since such offenders would normally be aware that information provided by them might affect decisions concerning their incarceration (Smallborne & Worthy, 2014), probably despite promises of confidentiality.

One case study may be cited as a case in point. Former Penn State assistant football coach, Jerry Sandusky, was on trial for allegedly abusing ten boys over a period of 15 years. The testimony was shown in pictures. One of the victims who was 25 years then, said he had been forced to have sex; afterwards he would be threatened never to tell anyone. Another victim survivor who was crying during the testimony described a terrifying sexual incident in 2001, when he heard the sound of "skin on skin". He then saw Sandusky, who was naked, with a boy in the shower. To him it looked as if Sandusky was raping the boy (Shadow, 2012). No one believed the victims and the cases were dismissed. The point is this: most people did not believe that Sandusky was capable of being a child sexual offender. In the organic society, a person who does not 'look creepy' does not commit an offence – they are 'respectable' people and can be trusted. However, being respected does not eliminate the fact that a respectable-looking the person has the potential to commit a sexual crime (Shadow, 2012). According to the latter author, there is still a lack of clear identification traits of potential child sex offenders. No one can confidently say that a person was a child sexual offender or that another will be a child molester. Taking into consideration Shadow's argument, it is safe to say that child sex offenders come from all walks of life; they have different physical appearances, different occupations, and they can be the most trusted persons assigned to take care of children.

One factor that seems a general pointer to a potential child sexual offender is the fact that the majority are known to their victims, and they may even be in positions of trust. About 2 068 cases of rape were reported in Gauteng province in 2003. An analysis of the data showed that girls under the age of 12 were particularly likely to be raped by people they knew; these perpetrators were relatives, friends, and neighbours. The study reported that people known to the victim (Vetten, 2014) committed about 80% of the rapes.

2.22 Paedophiles and Child Molesters

A German psychiatrist, Richard von Kraff, coined the word 'paedophilia' during the late 19th century to describe a psychosexual perversion in which an adult is erotically attracted to children (De Young, 1982:22). To some extent, the term paedophilia explains the motives that instigate adults to sexually abuse children.

Some child sex offenders specifically target children because they want to molest them, sexually abuse them, and they desire to harm the children. This kind of child sex offender is referred to as *mysope paedophiles*. Another typical child sexual offender is referred to as a *regression* child sexual offender. They are usually older people who are undergoing a difficult and stressful time in their lives. They will therefore transgress and look at younger people because they want someone they can control. They turn to sexual activities with children because children are easy, accessible targets for these individuals to gratify their needs. These offenders displace the stressful events in their lives by sexually abusing children instead of focusing on solving the situational factors in their lives that caused a stressful time (De Young, 1982). As offenders who lack the social skills that would help them acquire partners of their own age, these offenders do not feel secure or comfortable around adults. These offenders 'love' children and do not want to hurt them and they have a negative definition of abuse. For these offenders, sexual activity with a child is a form of showing affection. The researcher calls this particular offender a *fixated paedophile* (De Young, 1982).

Frenzel and Lang (1989) conducted a study in which they interviewed 52 incest and paedophile offenders. They discovered that child sex offenders are most likely to be 34 years or older, as 25% of the study group was older than 40 years. The modus operandi these offenders use is to befriend the parents of their potential victim and to first earn the trust of the child. The offender will cautiously get closer to the child when there are no other people around, without the child

realising what is happening. Then the offender will slowly insert himself into the victim's life. After the offender has succeeded in getting closer to the victim, the cuddling process will start (Lofton, 2012).

It must be taken into account that offenders usually act with the intention of not being noticed or identified. They display themselves as nice, caring people. For example, 54-year-old Anthony was convicted of 89 offenses against young girls. His friends and neighbours were shocked when they discovered that 'kind' Anthony was in fact a child molester. Anthony had worked in a position that required a person to be trusted; he had volunteered as a Scout master and was active in a parent-teacher organisation. He knew how to get people to trust him. Over the period of nine years, he had molested 11 girls (Lofton, 2012).

Child sex offenders target victims who are not given much care and who are shy, vulnerable and needy. They also focus on those children who seem social `ly troubled or a child who seems to be socially rejected or ignored. They know that such a child is in need of love and care. Such children are submissive and do not present any difficulties for the perpetrator (Lofton, 2012).

Understanding the modus operandi of child sex offenders is important for society and for the public protection of children. Also, understanding the type of children sex offenders want and the motive for sexually abusing children will facilitate the establishment of measures to protect children against this "social evil done by cruel people who lack empathy" (Lofton, 2012:11).

2.23 Health Risks Associated with Child Sexual Abuse

Child sexual abuse is associated with an increased risk of sexual and reproductive health problems, mental health problems, increased health risk behaviours such as smoking and alcohol abuse, and behavioural problems (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana & Rose-Junuis, 2005). Child sexual abuse adversely affects the cognitive development of the child (Collin-Vezina et al., 2013) as the child victim may develop a distorted self-concept and emotional orientation of the environment. Similarly, Perry (2001) argues that the "effects of abuse during early childhood have also shown to negatively affect the development of the brain, with consequent cognitive, psychological and social impairment". Studies found that the victims of CSA experience some psychopathology, which includes post-traumatic stress and dissociation (Collin-Vezina et al., 2013). In the latter

study, it was noticed that children at ages four to six showed symptoms of dissociation over a period of a year after disclosing sexual abuse.

Apart from dissociation and post-traumatic stress, other forms of mental health and behavioural disturbances have been associated with CSA. Children who have been sexually abused demonstrate "high levels of mood disorders, such as major depressive episodes" (Collin-Vezina et al., 2013:4). Sexually abused children also tend to engage in risk behaviours such as inappropriate sexualised behaviour. Teenage victims of CSA often engage in substance abuse, self-harm conduct, and suicidal attempts (Collin-Vezina et al., 2013).

Participants in the Abeid et al. (2014) study demonstrated acknowledgement of the short- and long-term consequences of sexual assault. They mentioned injuries to the genitalia, bruises, bleeding, foul-smelling discharges, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), HIV/AIDS, fistula, and the inability to conceive.

2.24 Interventions and Measures to Combat Child Sexual Abuse

Treatment and precautionary measures that can be adopted to ensure effective intervention in child sexual abuse remain mostly under researched, particularly in African countries (WHO, 2010). Many perpetrators of child sexual assault do so for brutal and harmful purposes to provoke horror. The law needs to be revised, and policy and procedures need to be improved. Corruption and inefficiency among authorities who deal with the victims need to be rooted out, and the police and justice staff need to be better trained. Moreover, efficient services need to be put in place to treat and support the child, the family, and the perpetrator. There is a need for improvement and empowerment in dealing with the child sexual offence phenomenon. Urgent action and rooting out of procrastination are vital. The tragic story of two-year-old Thendo Nenzhelo (Richter et al., 2004:22) is a case in point (Stop this horror! 2002).

Collin-Vezina et al. (2013:6) argue that, "to effectively prevent CSA, global preventive approaches targeting personal, family and societal conditions need to be explored and validated so as to protect the next generations of children and youth from sexual victimization." These suggested widespread programs could be implemented at no cost if communities care for and protect their children. It is easy to suggest the implementation of broadly reaching interventions that reach all children who are not exposed to stigmatization by the societies in which they live.

It is therefore vital that any universal approach should be refocused to the development of intervention programmes that will be community and family based. The programmes must target societal norms that curb, and not promote, the risk of sexual assault behaviours. Only then will the prevalence of CSA be reduced extensively. Moreover, active parental participation is essential for the successful implementation of initiatives directed at the acquisition of sexual abuse deterrent methods. Collin-Vezina et al. (2013) believe that universal approach programmes would ensure the best and most efficient deterrent efforts. Also, making use of modern technologies and social networks could specifically be relevant in the prevention efforts aimed at minors.

Awareness campaigns and training programmes for people who are working with children and victims of sexual abuse are essential. The media must be provided with comprehensive information that discourages and strongly condemns CSA incidences. Information that is free of sexism, biases, sensationalism and exaggeration must be promoted in media reporting with regards to sexual assault cases (Collin-Vezina et al., 2013).

A list of measures that may be implement in combating and curbing sexual offences is provided by Vetten (2014). This list includes the need for accurate recording of sexual offence statistics by the police. Moreover, to address the crime of sexual abuse, regular community based surveys that are well designed must be conducted. Exposing the factors that are obstacles in reporting sexual crimes is thus a must; these factors need to be addressed and victims of sexual offences should be encouraged to report the crime without avail. Gender inequality also needs to be addressed. Quality services must be provided, and drugs and alcohol attraction must be addressed. Finally, child care attitudes and practices must be improved in many communities.

2.25 Conclusion
Neglected children are the targets of child sexual offenders. Child sexual abuse results in health related problems. Appropriate police development and intervention are required and widening and deepening the understanding of sexual violence in its diverse contexts should be addressed as matters of urgency. More and regular surveys of the perceptions regarding sexual practices and traditional beliefs are fundamental and should target rural areas in particular. This should be done in the quest to understand the strengths and weaknesses in the available support structures within communities. Knowledge of the potential barriers to the prevention of CSA and the care

of victims in both urban and rural areas is crucial in the fight against gender based violence (Abeid et al., 2014).

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

According to Bickley and Beech (2001), there is still a lack of theories that adequately explain the motivating and sustaining factors that provoke an adult male to have sexual intercourse with a child. Bickley and Beech (2001) are also of the view that an understanding of the aetiology and the reasons for the perpetuation of CSA is crucial order to implement policies that will curb, and eventually eradicate, sexual offences against children.

There is no single theory that on its own adequately explains the motive of an adult offender who sexually abuses children; therefore, child sexual abuse can only be better explained through an integration of theories. Bickley and Beech (2001) argue that biological and sociological theories have been designed to explain the onset of deviant sexual behaviour, but that they do not give a satisfactory explanation of the motivating factors that cause an older person to have sexual relations with a minor. In this study, two theories were used as a framework and point of reference to investigate this phenomenon in greater depth. These theories are the psychodynamic and the attachment theories.

3.2 Psychodynamic Theory

The psychodynamic theory that explains deviant sexual behaviour is attributed to Sigmund Freud (McLeod, 2007). Sigmund Freud emphasises the impact of unconscious psychological processes on human behaviour and contends that childhood experiences are crucial in shaping adult personality (Bornstein, 2010). The psychodynamic theory suggests that our behaviour is influenced by psychological forces that we are not aware of; in fact, we absolutely do not know what is going on in our own minds. It was this void in the human consciousness that prompted the researcher to engage in an investigation of child sexual offenders (CSO) and the reasons for and effects of this crime. The question that was asked was: *Could the sexual behaviour of CSOs be motivated by psychological forces that they are not aware of, as the psychodynamic theory presupposes?* This study sought to obtain an answer to this question, among others.

Sigmund Freud proposes five states of childhood development: the oral, anal, phallic, latent, and genital (Schwartz, 1995). Psychodynamic psychology attempts to look deeper inside one's mind in order to obtain understanding of human functioning in relation to past experiences and to discover how a person assimilates the world. With reference to the psychodynamic approach, this study looked at CSOs through the eyes and views of community representatives to determine whether the community had created an environment that condoned the sexual abuse of children, and whether the community was conscious of perpetrators' unresolved past experiences as drivers of sexual abuse. The psychodynamic approach emphasises that childhood experiences are determinants of later personality and behavioural manifestations. Early experiences, even those experiences that occurred very early in life such as in the first weeks or months of a baby's life, affect later life (Blatt & Levy, 2003; McWilliams, 2009). It was therefore deemed important to conduct a societal-based study, as community members are the observers of children who grow up. As the idiom says, '*It takes the whole community to raise a child*'. It was therefore envisaged that some community member participants might be able to provide peripheral background information on adult sexual offenders who might have experienced sexual abuse as children. It must be noted here that knowledge of particular CSOs and their childhood background was not an inclusion criterion for sample group selection in this study, and that their knowledge of sexual offenders' childhood experiences was therefore not explored in detail.

The psychodynamic approach views human functioning in relation to the interaction of drivers and forces within an individual, taking into account unconscious functioning and psychosexual stages (McLeod, 2007). The current study attempted to investigate the link between early life experiences and the sexual offending pattern in later life through studying relevant literature and conducting in-depth interviews with community respondents in Ngangelizwe Township in Mthatha in the Eastern Cape.

According to Sigmund Freud (1900, 1923 & 1993 cited by Kaplan, 1998), three levels constitute human awareness. The first is the conscious level that makes up one's immediate awareness and that comprises only a small portion of the total mind. The second level of awareness is the preconscious level that comprises of memories that can easily be brought into awareness within the conscious mind. The third level of awareness is the unconscious level that serves as the storage reservoir of all the unacceptable impulses and wishes of a person, because they are

opposed to those of the general society and are therefore suppressed. This component of the unconscious mind is said to be beyond normal awareness. The unconscious mind emerges in many ways, for example through dreams or a slip of the tongue. In this context, the sexual behaviour of older men against minors' forms part of anti-social behaviour that is against societal standards and values. The offender might for a long time have harboured wishes of sexual behaviour that is socially unacceptable. This urge is then stored in the unconscious mind and the behaviour is brought into the conscious mind through the availability of an opportunity to sexually engage with a minor. The relevance of the theory is that it facilitates an understanding of the pushing factors that prompt offenders to engage in sexual behaviour with minors. The application of the three levels of awareness was therefore crucial in this study that investigated the sexual behaviour of older persons who targeted children. According to Freud (1933 cited by Kaplan, 1998), behaviour can be caused and maintained by early experiences that have been forgotten. These experiences are said to be stored in the unconscious level and are beyond normal awareness. Although these experiences are not found on the conscious level, they are said to be playing a crucial role in one's behaviour. Kaplan (1998) gives the example of a person who may experience sexual difficulties in marriage because of a traumatic childhood sexual experience that the person no longer remembers.

Freud views sexual offences as a manifestation of the unresolved glitches experienced in the phases of development. These unresolved problems engender fixations or hindrances during stages of development, with consequent distortion of a sexual object or a sexual aim (Schwartz, 1995). In relation to the current study, the use of this theory was significant in the researcher's efforts to determine if any past unresolved problems were perceived to have links with the behaviour of adult sexual offenders. The psychoanalytic theory views people as they develop; certain parts of the body cause frustration, excitement or both. Freud emphasises the importance of the first five years of development in a child's adult personality formation (McLeod, 2008). It is this adult personality formation that this study was interested in. The study was determined to discover if there was a link between adult sexual behaviour and past experiences; i.e., whether CSA was moulded by early experiences, as the psychodynamic approach proposes.

The psychodynamic theory also proposes that boys experience what is termed 'the oedipal conflict' during the phallic stage of development. The oedipal conflict is characterized by

competition between father and son for the mother's affection. At the same time, boys discover the differences between themselves and girls and are often confused by the myth that girls are actually boys whose jealous fathers cut off their penises (Schwartz, 1995). Schwartz (1995) argues that this 'castration anxiety' leads to the oedipal conflict, which is when boys no longer compete with their fathers for their mothers' affection. However, if a boy fails to resolve the oedipal conflict, he may develop a permanent aversion to females as an adult if their appearance brings back this fear of castration (Schwartz, 1995). The link of this argument with the current study was that, if a man was harshly rejected by his mother and also threatened by his masculine father, he is likely to experience a poor sense of self-worth when it comes to sexuality and thus fails to engage in consensual sexual relations with peers and therefore resorts to child sexual abuse. In the same vein, if a girl is rejected by her father and threatened by her mother, she is likely to think less of herself or may become more feminine. Conversely, if the girl received affection from her father while her mother was made to feel inferior and less worthy, the girl child may grow up to be self-centred and arrogant, and possibly acquire more masculine and assertive properties.

On the other hand, if a boy child is more affectionate and preferred by the mother over the father, he may develop an opinion of himself and may suffer a lot when he is rejected or not loved equally by the outside world when he is older (Schwartz, 1995). All these elements may affect the ability of both genders to engage in 'normal', legitimised sexual behaviour with consenting peers. It was arguments such as the above that prompted the researcher to investigate the sexual behaviour of sex offenders that directed their unacceptable sexual behaviour towards minors.

The psychodynamic theory also identifies three personality components: the id, the ego, and the superego. In order to understand how all three components, cooperate, Freud argues that all "human behaviour is motivated by wishes that often exist at a preconscious level" (Holmes & Holmes, 2002:23). The id is the unconscious sphere from which all the intuitive human drives originate, for example hunger, the sex drive, and aggression. Sigmund Freud explains id as the drive that is "ruled by the pleasure principle that demands instant gratification of these urges" (Holmes & Holmes, 2002:30). This personality foundation related to the study as it gave rise to the question: *Could the sex offenders have been 'id' driven?* Taking into account the assumptions of the psychodynamic theory, it was thought that child sexual offenders might be dominated by

the 'id' drive, and this rendered the psychodynamic approach relevant to the study. The id force needs to be regulated to conform to social norms; if not, the result is a clash between unfulfilled desires and social standards (McLeod, 2008).

Ego, which is the second personality component of Freud's psychodynamic theory, is the conscious portion of the human mind that works as the arbitrator amongst the id and the external environment. This element is mainly cognisant and is ruled by the reality standard that accepts that there is a time and a place for everything (Holmes & Holmes, 2002). For instance, child sexual abusers could wait; they could find peers or husbands/wives/partners who would consent to sexual behaviour according to the assumptions of the ego. Ego is the feature of the psyche that interrelates with the external environment in order to ensure subsistence. Therefore, as the community is the social principle makers that regulate people's behaviour, it was deemed important to use community participants in an investigation of child sexual offenders to determine if the ego played an important part in the psyche of CSOs according to the psychodynamic theory.

The last component, i.e. superego, is more commonly referred to as 'integrity'. This aspect of the mind has both conscious and unconscious features and, as Holmes and Holmes (2002:30) state, "most lessons about the consequences of behaviour stem from experience and not from perceptions of how the self would look relative to its environment". Therefore, the superego is reinforced by earlier experiences that clearly outline the conducts that permit retribution and reward. These ideas are then adopted in such a manner as to consent to the advancement of a system of ethics (Holmes & Holmes, 2002). Similarly, for McLeod (2008), ego and superego function as control mechanisms that direct the need for instant gratification into socially acceptable behaviour – or not. Sigmund Freud sees the human mind as being in a skirmish with the superego to fulfil the desires raised by the id. The psychodynamic theory thus assumes that sexual offenders are deficient in resilient superego and are driven by the influence and needs of the id (Schwartz, 1995). In light of these arguments, the current study found the psychodynamic/psychoanalysis theory/approach highly relevant in attempting to explain child sexual assault and the offenders of this crime.

The psychodynamic approach is criticised for being unscientific in its psychoanalysis approach to human behaviour. However, studying child sexual assault is not easy and it may never be

scientifically demonstrated why people sexually abuse children. It was thus appropriate that this study looked at the public's opinions of child sexual assault and that it should use the psychodynamic approach in its attempt to explain child sexual assault. It is acknowledged that some concepts within the psychoanalysis approach are not objective and not easy to test scientifically and that people's behaviour could not be scientifically tested; therefore, the phenomenon of child sexual assault is part of human behaviour that cannot be scientifically tested. In this context, McLeod (2007 cited Bargh & Chartrand, 1999) argues that psychodynamic theories cannot be empirically examined and therefore it may be argued that the psychodynamic approach cannot be falsified. Kline (1989) argues that although the psychodynamic approach cannot be scientifically tested, it does have strong explanatory power. It is for this reason that the current study saw the potential of this approach in providing explanations why people behave in certain ways later in their lives. The sexual abuse of children is strongly related to psychodynamic explanations of an individual's behaviour later in life, and hence it was selected as one of the theories that underpinned this study.

Table 3.1: Summary of the Psychoanalytic Theory

Theory	Basic Premise	Values and Strengths	Criticism and Weakness
Freud's Psycho-analytic theory	Behaviour is motivated by unconscious thoughts, memories, and feelings. Life is the unfolding of the sexual instinct. The child's early experiences are critical to the child's later personality. The manner in which the parents satisfy the child's basic needs is crucial to later	Encourages developmental specialists to look beyond the obvious visible behaviour and to seek insights into the unconscious. Emphasizes the importance of the child's early experiences and relationships, which in turn focuses our attention on the caregiver-infant relationship. The idea that later problems may be due to	Since the theory is based on upon clinical experiences with troubled people, it may have more to say about unhealthy than healthy development. Hypotheses are very difficult to test. Failure to appreciate

mental health. Children develop through a sequence of stages called psychosexual stages. People protect themselves from anxiety and other negative emotions through unconscious and automatic reactions called 'defence mechanisms'.	disturbed early relationships is challenging. The concept of stages in Freudian theory has become a popular way of viewing the development of children. The emphasis on sexuality, while debatable, still alerts us to the existence of sexuality at all stages. Serves as a focal point for other theories.	the importance of culture.

Source: Adapted from Kaplan (1998)

3.3 Attachment Theory

McLeod (2015) defines attachment as "an emotional bond between two people in which each seeks closeness and feels more secure when in the presence of the attachment figure", whereas, according to Ainsworth (1974:33), attachment is "the emotional binding tie that a person develops with another that is borne over time".

The development of the attachment theory can be traced back to the late 1950s and early 1960s and is associated with the work of John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth (McLeod, 2015). John Bowlby used his clinical work to relate to offenders who committed crimes early in their lives, which gave rise to the formulation of the attachment theory. In his early writing, Bowlby (1944 cited in Developmental Psychology, 1992) argued that the lack of affection in young offenders was associated with interrupted maternal attachment. Based on this observation, Bowlby formulated the attachment theory drawing from the observation of a child's ties to the mother and the disruption of such ties by separation, deprivation, and bereavement. Mary Ainsworth (1973) contributed to the attachment theory through establishing empirical methodology to test

the theory. She expanded on the theory and is credited with the new direction the theory has taken. Ainsworth underwrote the conception of the "attachment figure as a secure base from which an infant can explore the world" (40). She also added the "concept of maternal sensitivity to infant signals and its roles in the development of infant-mother attachment patterns" (Developmental Psychology, 1992:1). Bowlby and Ainsworth reportedly worked independently of each other during their early careers; they were both influenced by Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis approach in different ways.

The current study drew from both theories, particularly because the pioneers of the attachment theory were influenced by psychoanalysis thinkers. Hence the researcher felt it was relevant to integrate both theories. As the psychoanalytic approach has been discussed above, the employment of the attachment theory will be further substantiated below.

Kaplan (2008) cites Erik Erikson (1963), who argues that human behaviour and the basic attitudes of people develop from early relationships with caregivers. Therefore, if the early needs of a child are met in a warm environment, the child develops a sense of trust. However, if the needs are met with great hostility accompanied by rejection, the child develops a sense of mistrust and perceives the world as an unfriendly place and the child will find difficulties in relating with others. Kaplan (2008) argues that a child's relationships and early experiences form the basis for how he/she will view the world later in life. The sexually abusive behaviour of people could therefore be traced back to early childhood interactions with caregivers. A sense of autonomy is crucial to children, and therefore an understanding that children are individuals in their own right and have some control over their own behaviour is pivotal to the development of children. Denying children to do what they are able to do and being critically overprotective, or forcing children into doing things for which they are not ready, could a create sense of shame or doubt, and this will impact children's capability to deal with the biosphere around them.

In this context, it is argued that older people who are sexually assaulting children could have had improper attachment with their caregivers at their early stage of development. It could be said that such a person at a later stage lacks sufficient social skills and thus directs sexual behaviour towards minors. The present study deemed it appropriate to use the attachment approach in order to explain the sexual behaviour directed at children by older people. This was done by investigating public perceptions that would provide information with regards to public

knowledge pertaining to child sexual abuse and, possibly, to their knowledge of known sexual offenders in the community. Kaplan (2008) cites Karen (1990), who argues that motivating children to pursue work that they are able to do is the key to a child's ability to develop a sense of autonomy. The attachment theory was thus employed to better understand the nature of early childhood and the parent/caregiver bond.

In earlier studies, attachment problems of offenders were reported to be both a predisposing and precipitating influence on their sexual offending behaviour (Smallbone et al., 2008). Based on their exploratory study of the onset of sexual offending behaviour, McKillop, Smallbone, Wortley and Andjic (2012) reported that offenders had insecure childhood attachments. The findings of McKillop et al. (2012) were also consistent with similar studies on the childhood attachment of sexual abusers (Marsa et al., 2004; McCarthy, 2004; Smallbone & Dadds, 1998; Smallbone & Wortley, 2000). Most scholars agree that a paternal relationship with children is significant. For example, McKillop et al. (2012:602) argue that "negative interactions of fathers with their children have been associated with the child's attachment insecurity, problems with peers, and conduct problems." They reported that boys' attachment to their fathers seemed to be significant, particularly as a foundation for later social competence (Diener, Isabella, Behunin & Wong, 2008).

The study by McKillop et al. (2012) gave evidence that child sexual offenders lacked or experienced insufficient secure attachment during childhood. In light of the psychodynamic approach, McKillop et al. (2012:603) report that a "high prevalence of adult-childhood insecure attachment suggests that … offenders may have experienced life events since childhood that have adversely affected their general orientation to intimate relationships…"; [therefore], insecure childhood attachment seems to serve as a strong driving factor for offensive sexual behaviour. Attachment problems may also impair offenders' ability to have conventional relationships later in life, which causes difficulties in regulating 'normal' behaviour which may, in turn, manifest in a desire to engage in intimate relationships with children. McKillop et al. (2012) also argue that attachment problems during childhood, specifically between sons and fathers, re-emerge in adult life in the milieu of relationships.

Bowlby argues that a mother is the child's ego and superego at the time a child is still realizing its full potential and self-regulation. It is the mother who puts ideas to the child about what is right and what is wrong. Bowlby (Developmental Psychology, 1992:7) explains this as follows:

> *"It is not surprising that during infancy and early childhood these functions are either not operating at all or are doing so most imperfectly. During this phase of life, the child is therefore dependent on his mother performing them for him. She orients him in space and time, provides his environment, permits the satisfaction of some impulses, and restricts others. She is his ego and his super-ego. Gradually he learns these arts himself, and as he does, the skilled parent transfers the roles to him. This is a slow, subtle and continuous process, beginning when he first learns to walk and feed himself, and not ending completely until maturity is reached. . . . Ego and super-ego development are thus inextricably bound up with the child's primary human relationships."*

Insufficient maternal love at an early stage of a child's life could therefore later manifest as sexual offending behaviour. If a child is abandoned, rejected or just unloved and has to find his own way of reaching full potential and self-regulation with no mother to assist him in understanding the difference between right and wrong, the potential exists for adverse deviant behaviour later in life, particularly in the sexual domain. It is for this reason that research has focused on the impact of "early parent-child attachment on the development of empathy and perspective-taking, moral reasoning, and self-regulation of aggression and violence." Research has also focused on "the development of positive social attachment as a critical aspect of informal social control" (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990 cited by McKillop, 2012).

During early childhood development, reciprocal empathy is significant, as it is a form of interaction between caregiver and toddler. A caregiver and the child are active participants of reciprocal behaviour and the interaction between a toddler and the caregiver is significant in the somatic, social, and mental development of the toddler. These aspects later influence the life of the child. It is during the reciprocity period that the child learns trust and mistrust and this shapes how the child will relate to the environment and learn from and form relationships throughout his/her life (McLeod, 2015).

Early attachment is of great significance in the later relationship formation of any child. It therefore follows that early attachment glitches link to later attachment problems (McKillop, 2012). Bowlby (1969 cited by McLeod, 2015) relates the style of a person's later life to the continuation of attachment learned throughout childhood. Based on a literature review, McKillop (2012) found that most sexual offenders were likely to report poor paternal attachment during their childhood. Smallbone, Marshall and Wortley (2008) report that sexual perpetrators' attachment problems could be both a predisposing and precipitating factor in their sexual exploitation conduct. The present study therefore attempted to explore community insights on whether the participants agreed with the attachment theory.

According to the attachment theory, people have a tendency to form resilient and passionate bonds with others and, "when individuals have some loss or emotional distress, they act out as a result of their loneliness and isolation" (Terry, 2012:165). Marshall and Barbee (1976) highlight that the time spent at pubescence and early adolescence is critical in the development of both sexuality and social competence. Parenting at this point in the development of a child is crucial because it prepares a child for future competence in engaging in social and intimate relations in later life (McLeod, 2015). In relation to the current study, this explains one of the objectives of the study as it sought to know who the perpetrators of child sexual abuse are. Also, the question was asked whether people who sexually abuse children act out due to emotional distress or because of loneliness and isolation, as the attachment approach suggests.

Parenting style is crucial in enforcing a sense of self-confidence in the developing young person as well as a strong emotional attachment to others. According to Marshall (1989), a relationship exists between poor attachments and sexual offending. Marshall (1989) also argues that males who sexually abuse children frequently have not developed the social skills and self-confidence necessary for them to form effective, intimate relations with their peers. This leads to frustration in these males, who then seek prolonged intimacy with under-aged partners (McLeod, 2015).

Seidman (1994) conducted two studies. In both studies he found that sex offenders had deficiencies in social skills, for example they had difficulty in accurately perceiving social cues, deciding on appropriate behaviour, and they lacked the skills to enact effective behaviour. The lack of these social skills restricted the possibility of attaining intimacy with peers.

3.4 Conclusion

The psychodynamic theory and the attachment theory were employed in the current study due to their similarities. Both theories focus on the importance of childhood development and both posit that early childhood experiences significantly impact the later behaviour of adult people.

The psychodynamic theory emphasises the effect of early childhood experiences on the human mind and psyche, while the attachment theory emphasises the importance of the child-caregiver relationship in early childhood. The psychodynamic theory was chosen for the present study due to its strengths in explaining sexual behaviour and looking at deeper pushing factors that drive sexual offenders. This theory also illuminates invisible psychological factors that are difficult to explain scientifically; however, the theory offers significant explanations for the causes of sexual behaviour. The attachment theory was selected to frame this study because it was most relevant in explaining the causal factors of sexual behaviour.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide information with regards to the research methodology and the validity of the study. Clear and precise explanations of the methods used in the study are presented. The rationale for the use of particular research procedures will be explained and discussed. The methods of data presentation, analyses and discussion are substantiated. A description of the research materials, an explanation of how the materials were prepared for the research, a description of the research procedure, and an explanation of how the measurements were made are presented. All these are as clearly and logically constructed as possible.

Crucial evidence by which the validity of the current study could be arbitrated is thoroughly explained. Authentic descriptions of the procedures used in conducting the study are provided so that the study could be replicated by other scholars who may wish to test whether the results are reliable replicable. This chapter also outlines the characteristics of the participants and the ethical considerations that framed their participation.

4.2 Nature of the Study

The study adopted a qualitative research method. The qualitative approach enabled a favourable environment in which the respondents could be interviewed and in which they could adequately express their full insights in relation to the sexual assault of children and the features of alleged perpetrators in their community. The qualitative research technique involved intensive individual interviews (also known as in-depth interviews) as a data collection instrument with a small number of participants during which their perceptions and insights with regards to the topic under study were explored (Boyce & Neale, 2006). Rich information was obtained despite of the small number (20) of participants.

 The study used a qualitative research design because no variables were compared. Instead, the investigation aimed at obtaining a better understanding of the topic under investigation by utilising first-hand experience. By first-hand experience, the researcher means receiving

information from sampled members of a selected community who had not been directly affected by the sexual assault of children but who resided within a society that was vulnerable to the sexual assault of children and where incidences of this phenomenon were rife. Truthful reporting and quotations of actual conversations were enabled by the use of the qualitative research method. The study aimed to understand how the participants derived meaning from their surroundings and how the meaning they attached to their surroundings influenced their behaviour as community members who were affected by CSA. A qualitative approach was therefore best suited for the study design.

The study explored a subject (child sexual assault) that is sensitive and something that most older people do not like talking about it; therefore, the researcher wanted to grasp the meanings, motives, reasons and patterns that are usually unnoticed in standardised approaches.

According to Ross (1999:7), a qualitative approach to research is based on the world view "that holistically assumes that there is no single reality; that reality is based upon perceptions that differ from person to person and change over time and that what we know has meaning only within a given situation or context." The aim and objectives of the study could therefore be best achieved through the use of a qualitative approach.

Gray (2009) argues that a qualitative approach is appropriate in studies that seek to understand the perceptions of the members concerned and that attempt to understand their actions. According to Sarantakos (2005), a qualitative approach is used when the knowledge of the research subject is limited and the variables in relation to the phenomenon cannot be known prior to conducting the study. In this context the researcher wanted to know whether the way community members reacted to sexual abuse of children created an atmosphere that might be conducive to the acceptance, or tolerance, of sexual assault on children. The above arguments were also relevant to the study as there has been limited research on child sexual assault in Townships (Babatsikos, 2010; Lachman, 2004; Townsend & Dawes, 2004).

Rubin and Babbie (2011) note that the qualitative approach stimulates rich understanding as it is not limited to predicted variables. Qualitative methods are also well suited for studies where the research subject is best understood from the inside and when the study aims to understand the participants' reality through seeking their perspectives (Sarantakos, 2005). This guided the

researcher to believe that the lack of protection of children against sexual assault could be understood from a study of public perceptions. The study drew its data from in-depth interviews that enabled the researcher to interpret and analyse the data through the lens of having listened to the voices of community participants. The use of in-depth interviews as a data collection technique is further substantiated in the next section.

In order to study the public perceptions of community members of child sexual assault, the researcher drew from the psychodynamic and attachment theories, as elaborated in Chapter three. The research thus drew information and data from both secondary (books, journals, Acts) and primary (in-depth interviews) sources of information. Although the participants were not victims of sexual assault themselves, they were a primary source of information because their personal, authentic views and perceptions were obtained as was intended by the objectives of the study. Information obtained from journals and books comprised the secondary sources for data collection.

4.3 Research Design

Research design could be understood as the precise procedure or steps taken by a researcher in search of obtaining answers to the research questions (Fouché, Delport & de Vos, 2011). Research design is therefore a work plan with details of what needs to be done to complete the study. Study design helps in ensuring that the information received during the conduct of the study responds to the initial questions unambiguously. Yin (1989:29) explains this as follows: "Research design deals with a logical problem and not a logistical problem."

The present study was a case study among community members in Ngangelizwe Township. The study design that was employed was explorative, as the study explored the perceptions of community members regarding child sexual assault. Elements of descriptive analysis were also employed as the community members' feelings, perceptions and some aspects of their emotions are described in detail in this study report.

4.4 Profile of Ngangelizwe Township as the Study Setting

The study was conducted among community members residing in Ngangelizwe Township in Mthatha in the Eastern Cape (formerly known as Transkei). The Township is located in the King Sabatha Dalindyebo local municipality under the OR Thambo district municipality. According to

available statistics, Ngangelizwe has a population of 18 181, with females comprising 10 010 (55.06%) and males 8 171 (44,96%) of the population (children included). The area occupies 1.69^{2}km (Statistics South Africa, 2011). The Township is predominantly populated by Black Africans (18 027 or 99.15%), whereas other ethnic groups residing in the area are Coloured (74 or 0.41%), White (22 or 0.12%), Indian (14 or 0.08%), and other (44 or 0.24%). IsiXhosa speaking people are the predominant group within the Township at 16 695 (92.74%).

Ngangelizwe consists of about 12 800 households residing in formal housing, with a scattering of informal settlement areas. Little economic development within the area has resulted in widespread poverty. Lack of economic development has also led to the rise of crime, particularly property crime. The rise of crime could be attributed to the idle, bored youth who has resorted to substance abuse.

A photograph that was taken of Ngangelizwe in 2006 and that appeared in the *Daily Dispatch* (28 June 2007) shows the following features:

Many dwellings do not have street numbers, which would make it difficult for police to locate crime scenes or apprehend criminals and for specific service delivery.

About 75% of the roads are in a bad condition, thus creating a favourable environment for crime.

The landscape is dominated by open spaces. Reportedly, youths use these spaces to consume alcohol, which in turn leads to crime.

The rationale for choosing Ngangelizwe Township as the locale of the study was based on the interest of the researcher to add to the limited studies on CSA conducted in Townships. Townships, like rural areas, are isolated areas in many respects, and therefore this study attempted to investigate the perceptions of the community of Ngangelizwe Township regarding the prevalence and causes of CSA. Ngangelizwe is reportedly also notorious for criminal activities such as substance abuse, theft, and pick-pocketing. At the time of the study, information about sexual violence was rare; thus the researcher attempted to determine if sexual violence was a 'hidden' crime in this area and, if so, what impact it had on the community and the children. The study explored the perceptions of people who were not linked personally to

any act of sexual violence as the researcher did not want to provoke any traumatic feelings among the participants.

4.5 Methodological Considerations

4.5.1 Sampling

Conducting research among an entire population can be time consuming and costly. According to Spring (2007), most research conducted among human beings, places, and things focuses on a sample as the chances of studying the whole population are limited. Therefore, a representative sample of the population is selected and the information gathered from the selected sample is used as data (Spring, 2007). Sampling can therefore be explained as the selection of a representative group of the population to obtain data from them that can be used as research information. Fink (2003:1) defines a sample as a "proportion or subset of a larger group called a population." Venter and Strydom (2002) define sampling as "a process of selecting units from a population of interest so that, by studying the results, [the findings] may be fairly generalized back to the population from which they were chosen." Bless, Higson-Smith, Kagee, (2006:97) defines a sample as "the subset of the whole population which is actually investigated by a researcher and whose characteristics will be generalized to the entire population." The sample size of the current study was twenty (20). The sample was chosen using the non-probability sampling technique, which is explained below. In brief, the researcher visited convenient households and requested an interview with one member of the household who was present at the time, or who was willing to be interviewed at an allocated time.

4.5.2 Sampling technique

The study used the non-probability sampling technique which allowed the construction of a sample that would provide the most useful insights regarding CSA in the area under study. It is acknowledged that the data collected from the relative small sample size of participants using the non-probability sampling technique in this study cannot be generalised to the whole population of Ngangelizwe Township; however, the findings hold adequate weight of information that is, to some extent, representative of the common information received from the participants. Therefore, the results of the study may be generalised to the population of the Ngangelizwe Township, but not to all Townships across South Africa (Bless et al, 2006).

The non-probability sampling technique as a form of convenience sampling was selected for this study on the principle that it would allow easy access to the participants. Convenience sampling was the most appropriate method to recruit participants for this study. However, as stated before, the data did not represent the views of the entire population. Ideally, the entire population, including victims of rape and their families, could have been interviewed. However, as the population (18 181) was too large and the issue under investigation too sensitive, the researcher had to rely on the convenience sampling technique. This technique was also convenient and cost-effective and thus it was appropriate for the study.

4.6 Characteristics of the Participants

The study was conducted using a sample size of 20 participants. The participants were all Black Africans, chiefly isiXhosa speakers. Both genders above the age of 21 comprised the sample of the study. The study included members of the community who had been citizens in the Ngangelizwe Township for two years or more. The participants comprised seven elderly women who were pensioners, one elderly man who was a pensioner, five middle-aged women who represented the working class, five youth females and two youth males. The sample thus included seven youth participants. Of the two youth males, one male was an unskilled labourer while the other was a Love Life worker. Among the five female participants, one was a Love Life worker. In total, two youth informants were Love Life workers, which ensured gender balance in the study. The study excluded people with a personal history of sexual violence. The exclusion was to avoid the provocation of traumatic memories.

4.7 Method of Data Collection

In-depth interviewing augmented by an extensive literature review was used as the method of data collection. The rationale for the use of in-depth one-on-one interviewing was its significance in allowing participants to give detailed information. The informants were thus able to give a complete picture and were able to express their feelings and thoughts regarding child sexual assault without fear of interruption or contradiction. The nature of the study required participants to freely express their views and perceptions. Using unstructured questions made it possible for the realisation of the objectives of the study as the unstructured questions created space that was conducive for the informants to express themselves and substantiate their perceptions of CSA. The use of the local language (isiXhosa) made it possible for the interviewees to open their

hearts and it prevented them from withholding information that would otherwise not have been disclosed if they had been using a language that they did not understand properly. After the interviews, the information that had been recorded by permission on audio tape was translated into the language of instruction of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, which is English. The translations were rechecked by both isiXhosa and English speakers to ensure their accuracy. The data obtained from the interviews were compared with the secondary data that had been garnered from journals, books, and newspaper articles. The use of audio recordings was approved by the participants.

4.8 Procedure

Individual interviews were conducted with 20 participants who had been selected for the study. The interviews were conducted during the period August 2016 to September 2016. A friend who resided in the Township suggested potential participants and the researcher visited each participant at his/her home. Possible participant bias was overcome by excluding the friend from any subsequent selection processes and contact with the potential participants. After the final selection of the study sample had been made, each participant was asked permission to be interviewed. The research rationale and process were explained and an informed consent letter was presented to each participant. The consent letter and declaration form were thoroughly explained in the language (IsiXhosa) that was understood by the participants. The participants were then asked to sign both the consent letter and the declaration form as evidence that they understood the content and the purpose of the study, that they had no objection to participating in the study, and that they agreed to be interviewed.

The participants were requested to participate in one-on-one in-depth interviews during which unstructured questions would be posed with regards to their knowledge of child sexual assault. Each interview took between 8 to 20 minutes. Both isiXhosa and English were used when appropriate to ensure complete understanding of the questions and the responses.

4.9 Materials

The study utilised journals, books, newspaper articles as secondary data collection instruments and one-on-one interviews that were audio recorded as primary data collection instruments. Unstructured questions that were underpinned by information garnered from the literature review were used to gather information from the participants. Audio recordings were made to capture

and secure all the information given by the participants. Information in-store from the audio recordings was used later when analysing and discussing the data. The use of modern technology (computer, printer, audio recorder) facilitated the administration of the interviews and the analyses of the data.

4.10 Data Analyses

The raw data from the interviews and the secondary sources that were used to formulate the findings were analysed thematically. Thematic analysis is seen as analysing data according to themes that emerge from data (King, 2003), and thematic analysis enables the identification of themes and patterns. Clarke (2006:79) defines thematic analysis as "a process whereby the data are identified and analysed resulting in the identification of patterns or themes within a data set." The emerging patterns and themes were then analysed. First, each participant's interview audio tape was listened to repeatedly in order for the researcher to be familiar with the content and also to be able to recall the content of the information provided by each participant. This process was repeated more than twice to ensure reliability in decoding the information from the audio recordings of the in-depth interviews. Rich information resulted in the identification of essential themes and topics.

Common ideas and shared information that emerged from the informants were examined. Similar and contradictory ideas and patterns were marked and analysed according to their relevance to the objectives of the study. Themes that were not relevant were discarded, and relevant themes were compared with the findings obtained from the literature review. Finally, each theme was analysed and interpreted and the findings from the analyses were recorded. During the analysis process, differing perceptions of the participants were examined by taking their demographic profiles into account (age range, employment status, and gender). This was carried out to test if the demographic profile affected the cognition of the participant, thus influencing the informant's perceptions of child sexual abuse in a biased direction.

4.11 Familiarisation and Immersion

Immediately after each interview had been conducted, the researcher transcribed and translated the data. For accuracy, the opinion of a knowledgeable colleague was sought. The transcribed interviews were read repeatedly throughout the data analysis process. Continuously reading and recording themes emerging from the transcribed data ensured that no omission of important

information or themes was ruled out. This way of familiarization of the data allowed the researcher to gain a preliminary understanding of the data. Accuracy in understanding the data was achieved and this facilitated accurate transcriptions and analyses to reach valid findings.

4.12 Elaboration

The researcher correlated the data; data that were contradictory were integrated and presented as such in the analysis. Information received through observation (gestures, facial expressions and tone of voice) supplied rich and supplementary representations of the informants' true ontology regarding CSA. In the analyses and discussion, information acquired through observation was integrated with the information provided by the informants.

4.13 Ethical Considerations

When conducting studies using human or animals as subjects, ethical principles must be adhered to, and research may not be conducted if those ethical processes are not followed. Conducting a research without full approval by the ethics committee of a concerned institution is unacceptable and such study cannot be published in "reputable, peer reviewed science journals" (Richard, 2014:1 231). According to Bless et al (2006), the word 'ethics' is originally taken from the Greek word 'ethos' which refers to person's personality. Ethical issues are concerned with conformity to the set of codes or principles by a researcher. Adherence to research ethics helps scholars to understand their responsibilities as ethical investigators and prevents research abuses. "Research ethics places emphasis on the humane and sensitive treatment of research participants who may be placed at varying degrees of risk by research procedure" (Bless et al, 2006:140). It is therefore significant that, before a researcher contacts any research participant, he/she ensures that the research proposal has gone through research ethical evaluation. Ethical standards are mediated to ensure a balance between "supporting freedom of scientific inquiry" and "protecting the welfare of the research participants". Researchers have the right to look for truth and knowledge, but that should not be done at the expense of the rights of the members of a society (Bless et al, 2006:140).

The present study was conducted under the auspices of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Ethical clearance was applied for in May 2016 from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee. Ethical clearance was granted with full approval on 19 July 2016.

To ensure that informed consent, voluntary participation and the confidentiality status of each participant was guaranteed, an informed consent letter was given to each participant to sign. The letter substantiated what was expected from each participant, what the participant should expect, and what the envisaged outcomes of the research might be. The participants were assured of the confidentiality of their participation and that any information provided by them could only be used for research purposes.

A brief explanation of the study was discussed with each participant. They were made aware that the interview would be recorded on an audio tape recorder. The recorder was visible to the participants during the interview. Only two potential community members refused to be interviewed after the brief explanation of the study. One older community member declined to be interviewed due to her busy schedule and another older community member had visitors and couldn't be interviewed. The consent form and the declaration letter informed the participants that their involvement was entirely voluntary and that they could withdraw at any time during the study, that they would not be reprimanded for doing so, and that they could not expect any financial gain from participating in the study.

In addition, the researcher took the stance that any information received from the informants would be reported accurately and truthfully. The researcher took full responsibility for the well-being of the participants during the interviews and ensured each participant of adherence to the agreement prior to the interview. The researcher also abided by the research proposal submitted to the University Ethics Committee according to which the study had received full ethical approval (Appendix 8). No alterations were made regarding the research topic, questions, interview schedule, informed consent form, location of the study, research approach, or method after full approval had been received to conduct the study.

4.14 Informed Consent

People participating in a research have the right to know what the research is about; they also have the right to know if they are going to be implicated in any way by participating in the research (Bless et al, 2006). Research participants need to be aware of the risks and benefits of participating in any research project. Participants also have to be told that they have the right to decline to participate if they wish to do so (Bless, 2006). Each participant was presented with an

informed consent letter with full details of what was expected of them. It was also mentioned that they had the right not to participate in the study if they were not comfortable in any way.

The researcher understood the sensitivity surrounding the topic regarding sexual abuse and anticipated that some people would not be comfortable. The consent letter also mentioned that participants would not be reprimanded if they wanted to withdraw from the study in the middle of the interview. The participants in this study were made aware of the research tools that were going to be used before they participated; i.e., that open-ended questions would be asked and an audio tape recorder would be used.

The participants were assured of their confidentiality and anonymity during the data collection and in the data presentation and discussion processes and report respectively. This was done by informing the participants that information that could be traced back to an individual participant would not be used and that pseudonyms instead of original names would be used. The participants were also assured that audio recordings would be stored in a safe place for the period of five years, after which they would be destroyed. The participants were repeatedly assured that their participation was entirely voluntary.

4.15 Procedures Followed to Gain Access to the Study Site and Participants
Application for conducting the study was submitted to the Ward Two councillor. The councillor welcomed the proposal to conduct the study in the Ngangelizwe Township and granted permission without additional requirements.

As a former resident of Mthatha in 2008-2013, the researcher approached a friend who resided in the Township (Ngangelizwe) and who was familiar with the area for assistance. Access to the Township and potential respondents was therefore easily facilitated. The researcher was accompanied by his friend who was well known to most residents residing in the Township at the time. If a resident was approached and did not trust the researcher, the friend explained the researcher's purpose briefly, which allowed a relationship of trust to be established between the researcher and the eventual respondents. Residents who consented to be interviewed after the purpose of study had been explained to them agreed to sign the consent form and declaration and were interviewed at a time that was convenient to them. To avoid any bias and possible interference with the interview process, the researcher's friend was not present at any of the

interviews and in no way informed the participants of the purpose and/or nature of the study. This person merely served as an introduction agent and thereafter withdrew from any communication about the study.

4.16 Challenges Experienced and Limitations of the Study

4.16.1 Challenges experienced

Some challenges emerged during the process of the data collection. The researcher cautiously monitored those limitations in order to ensure that the objectives of the study were achieved without compromising the validity and reliability of the findings.

Obtaining a permission letter from the local municipality was not easy as the Township had three councillors at the time. It was also not easy to reach one particular councillor as she was busy preparing for the 2016 local election that took place on 3 August 2016. The researcher had to communicate with the councillor over the phone various times before meeting her personally. At first, the councillor did not understand the researcher's quest; fortunately, her personal assistant (PA) explained the researcher's request because she was a student herself. It was after the intervention of the PA that the councillor granted permission for entry into the Township to conduct the study.

Another challenge was that the study was costly, as the researcher had to travel between Durban, Port St John's and Mthatha. The University of KwaZulu-Natal is located in Durban, Port St John's is the home town of the researcher, and Mthatha was the location of the study. Students' country-wide cry for *'#feesmustfall'* occurred at the time of the study, which resulted in an increase of the financial burden the researcher had to carry for the study as the library and computer laboratories were closed. The material for the study had to be printed at an internet café which was more expensive compared to when the material would have been printed at the school library.

The timing of the study occurred during the local government elections. Some community members refused to listen to the researcher as they thought he might be a political representative. Some potential participants showed no interest in the study while others would not consent to be interviewed if an audio recording was made.

4.16.2 Limitations

The sample size of this study was small (i.e., 20 participants) and therefore the findings from this sample cannot be regarded as representative of the large South African population. It is acknowledged that different trends about the same topic may be found in areas that are dissimilar to the one from where the participants were sampled.

Another limitation regarding the sample was that none of the participants had directly been affected by the sexual assault on a child. A particular limitation was therefore that the findings were not directly comparable to some aspects of the psychodynamic and attachment theories in that the respondents were not familiar with the childhood backgrounds of any known CSOs.

4.17 Conclusion

This chapter presented an overview of the methodology that was employed in the study. The nature of the study, its setting, ethical considerations, and limitations were discussed. Despite the limitation of a small sample size and the fact that that results cannot be generalized to the South African context at large, it is argued that the study holds value as a means for further research into Township residents' perceptions of sexual assault on children. The study could be a point of departure for further studies in the field.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

Chapter five presents a discussion on and analyses of the findings of the research that was conducted in the period August 2016– September 2016. The researcher conducted this study on community perceptions of child sexual assault in Ngangelizwe Township in Mthatha, Eastern Cape. The data that had been obtained were analysed and are presented and discussed in this section. The information that was obtained by means of in-depth interviews formed the basis from which the findings of this study were derived. The interviews were meticulously translated from isiXhosa and transcribed into English. The translations were checked by a person proficient in both languages. Common ideas were paraphrased and integrated and are presented in this chapter. Patterns that emerged from the common ideas were formulated into themes and will be discussed as such.

All the identified themes that emerged from the participants' comments were collated to form a comprehensive picture of the collective perceptions of the community. Corresponding or contradictory themes from the literature review as presented in Chapter two were used as points of referral to link the findings with existing literature. The similarities (and where appropriate the contradictions) between the current study with the literature are evidence of the reliability and validity of the study and they also indicate the shared perceptions of the Ngangelizwe community with those of areas presented in the literature.

First, this chapter provides relevant background information about the respondents. The purpose is to provide insight into the brief demographic information of the participants and how the information given by each participant will be presented. Next, the analyses of the themes that emerged from the data will follow. The actual words and opinions as expressed by the research participants are presented in line with the study's qualitative approach. Direct quotations are presented in italics. In keeping with the purpose of the study, the focus of the analyses and discussions will be on how the participants perceived the sexual assault of children, and the impact this form of abuse had on affected children and on other role players (parents, friends and the community). Further, the analyses of the themes relate to the objectives which were outlined

in Chapter one. The literature reviewed in Chapter two will be applied in order to support or contradict the themes and the results of the study as a whole.

In accordance with ethical requirements, the participants provided their verbal and written consent. The names used throughout the report are not the real or original names of the participants, but pseudonyms. This was done in order to preserve the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants in accordance with ethical requirements as presented in Chapter three.

The study employed thematic analyses as the method of data analysis.

5.2 Background Information of the Participants

The table below illustrates the age, race, gender, and occupation ranges of the study participants.

Table 5.1: Demographic data of the study participants

Participant	Age	Race	Gender	Occupation
Participant 1	65	Black	Female	Pensioner
Participant 2	27	Black	Female	General worker
Participant 3	70	Black	Female	Pensioner
Participant 4	66	Black	Female	Pensioner
Participant 5	80	Black	Male	Pensioner
Participant 6	27	Black	Female	Unemployed
Participant 7	26	Black	Female	Unemployed
Participant 8	30	Black	female	Unemployed
Participant 9	39	Black	Female	Hawker
Participant 10	25	Black	Female	Unemployed
Participant 11	27	Black	Male	Unskilled

				labourer
Participant 12	30	Black	Male	Love Life
Participant 13	35	Black	Female	Unemployed
Participant 14	75	Black	Female	Pensioner
Participant 15	35	Black	Male	Unemployed
Participant 16	36	Black	Male	Carpenter
Participant 17	70	Black	female	Pensioner
Participant 18	25	Black	Female	Unemployed
Participant 19	30	Black	Male	Menial labourer
Participant 20	40	Black	Female	-

5.3 *Thematic Analyses of the Data*

5.3.1 Precipitating factors of child sexual assault

Offenders evaluate the conditions surrounding the potential criminal act prior to deciding whether to proceed or not in committing the crime. The offender then chooses the victim based on variables, and he will then accurately or incorrectly gauge the likelihood of a successful criminal activity. Offenders could take into consideration the safekeeping measures in place, whether or not the possible target is able to take deterring measures, and the non-appearance or presence of noticeable patrols or support for the potential victim (Jeremy & Wilson, 2011). This is similar to the routine activity theory and rational choice theory. The routine activity theory states that a crime can occur when three factors are in place: a motivated offender, a suitable target, and lack of capable guardianship (Cohen & Felson, 1979). In this case the child becomes a suitable target to the potential offender - that is, the person who seeks to sexually assault the child - and the vulnerability of unattended children creates a lack of capable guardianship. The presence of all three these variables could contribute towards creating the belief in the mind of the criminal that a successful crime may be committed; thus it also corresponds with the rational

choice theory. The rational choice theory assumes that an offender is a rational being who reasons and weighs means and ends. According to the rational choice theory, offenders make a decision upon evaluation of the cost and benefits. People are freely choosing their behaviour, both to commit a criminal act or to conform to societal norms. This decision is based on the person's rational calculations (Clarke, 1997). In reaching a conclusion, they weigh up their capabilities against the defence potential of the possible target (Bezuidenhout, 2008).

It was raised during the interviews that friends influence their peers to behave in manners that make them vulnerable to be sexually abused. For example, children are influenced by friends to go to places that are not appropriate for a child, which may result in child sexual abuse. Nozipho argued as follows: "*Some children are influenced by friends to go into some places that are not right and not for their use, while the influencer* [i.e., a friend] *uses influence to make a child go to these places*". She further said: "*Females are also sexually assaulted by their male friends.*" The abused child will remain silent. The silence could be decoded by the perpetrator as condoning his wrongful behaviour. The sexual behaviour would impact negatively on the victim child as she is not used to sexual conduct.

Most respondents reported that child sexual offenders used sweets to lure children, whom they would then sexually abuse. An offender would slowly build rapport with the potential child victim. The offender would familiarise himself with the child, calling the child more often and giving money to the child. This concurs with Lofton's (2012) finding that offenders present themselves over a period of time as 'nice' people to children. The offender would get closer to the child with the ultimate goal of sexually abusing her. Nokwakha used the following metaphor to explain this phenomenon: "*When trying to catch a hen, you give it maize meal one by one; once it enters the hut you catch it. Child sexual offenders also entice children with money and sweets.*"

Nomalanga said: "*The perpetrator calls a child more often and gives the child R2, in some instances asking the child to go to the shop* [with him] *with the internal motive of luring the child.*"

These findings reveal that the use of modern technology such as cell phones has become crucial in building rapport with a child as it makes it easier for offenders to reach their potential victim.

Similarly, Jewkes (2005) reports that children can easily be bribed, and thus they are suitable targets for older men. The answer that was given by most informants illuminated this theme:

Researcher: *What makes it easier for the offender to have easy access to children they sexually abuse?*

The most common answer from the respondents was: "*Children today love money. Older people give children money.*"

The money factor emerged from the majority of responses. Offering money is the easiest way of getting to children's private parts. The participants spoke in one voice that older men gave children money and they then felt obliged to do what the man required. The conclusion can be drawn that children are trapped by the lure of money to engage in sexual behaviour with older men.

Another precipitating factor that emerged was that children were allegedly sexually victimised by their mothers' partners (or stepfathers). One elderly female participant (Nokwanda) stated:
"*What pains most, is when a woman lost her husband and gets a new man and brings the man to the children. A single mother with children lives with a man who is not the biological father of the children in one or two rooms. This new man, when seeing the children, is like seeing a donkey because the children are not his own. The new man sexually abuses the children. When the children report the sexual abuse to the mother, she would use corporal punishment on them in denial and because of self-blame…*"

The theme that emerged is that the death (or absence) of a husband who is the biological father of a woman's children makes them vulnerable to sexual abuse. As reported above, in search of an intimate partner the mother would get involved with a man who sexually assaults the children, and when reported by the children, the mother fails to respond appropriately by believing the child. Instead, the mother re-victimises such a child. This reaction of a mother shows that people are not adequately prepared to deal with sexual incidences caused by people close to them. This calls for external intervention such as workshops that will educate people on how to deal with sexual violence committed by people close to them.

Contrary views emerged regarding the clothes children wear (e.g., tights, miniskirts, transparent tops, and shorts). There was no consensus whether children's dress code causes sexual arousal in men or not. Half of the participants (10) strongly rebuked the clothes worn by children as a cause for sexual violence. One participant (Thenjiwe) used the example of underwear called a 'G string', labelling it as '…*destroying the world*'. Transparent clothes were also deemed to attract male attention due to a girl's more intimate parts (particularly her breasts) being exposed. Thenjiwe further mentioned that potential offenders (people who already have sexual fantasies) got more reasons to sexually abuse children due to the clothes they wore, as revealing clothes might be a trigger for a potential offender to commit child sexual abuse. Thenjiwe asserted: "*Children are walking around naked!*"

Western culture attire was associated with sexual abuse that is prevalent among African people. As a comment on Western culture, one participant (Nokwanda) hailed the tights that are supposed to be worn with transparent clothes, but she mentioned that some children rebelled and wore those tights with clothes that revealed their underwear so that one could even tell whether it was pink, black, or red, and what it looked like.

The concern expressed by Abeid et al. (2014) regarding the neglect of traditional standards and modelling Western behaviour in Africa received conflicting views in the current study, as some participants believed that there was no excuse for sexually assaulting a minor, irrespective of the clothes worn by the child. Nomalanga, who was an elderly female participant, ascribed child sexual abuse to both offenders and the parents. She felt that children should wear clothes that cover the body and stated that mothers were to blame for allowing their children to go out wearing clothes that were revealing their private parts. Some participants disagreed, ascribing the sexual abuse of children not to the clothes they wore, but arguing that 'a real man' would not rape a child, even if a child was wearing inappropriate clothes. A real man would approach the child and tell her to wear clothes that would not entice males sexually. Some participants strongly rebuked the notion that sexual offences were precipitated by the clothes children wore. For example, Kholeka said: "*We grew up walking* [almost] *naked and we were never raped. It is this satanism that is possessing modern people. A person cannot have sexual interest in his own child!*"

Another argument was that the state of mind of a man determined the prevalence of child sexual abuse. Thus, how a man viewed or perceived children contributed to precipitating sexual abuse on children. The argument that was offered was that it was unjustifiable to say that the clothes children wore instigated sexual behaviour in adult men. Lwandile recalled a man who once trended on social media, saying, "You cannot plant cabbage and do not taste how it is". The participant argued that the man was not seeing the child as a child. She argued that it was only a sick man who was mentally twisted who saw his own child as a vegetable to be tasted.

Informants reported that child sex offenders abused children because they were possessed by evil. Such men would mentally undress a child from a distance, even before they had physical contact with the child.

Some myths were reported as the reason for child sexual abuse initiated by older people. The respondents mentioned the 'virgin myth' that was also referred to in the literature review. This myth claims that people who are HIV positive rape children because of the fallacy that if they sleep with a virgin it will cure AIDS. Jewkes (2004) highlights the view that the media and office bearers are quick to attribute rape to people who are desperately in search of a cure for HIV. This information is not accurate and is endangers the lives of girls who are virgins, as they become victims of misinformed HIV positive offenders. It is also dangerous to communities, who are challenged to create awareness and to educate people with regards to this misinformation.

The respondents also commented on the decline of moral standards in the community, which they felt became disruptive as the act of rape would create anger. This corroborates a finding by Bird and Spurr (2004), who argue that the situation is worsened by the possibility that the victim child might be infected with HIV/AIDS, as she may be the victim of sexual abuse by an HIV positive person.

It was also reported that some men are naturally violent and sexually abuse children for unknown reasons. Some informants reported that there was no reason for older men to sexually abuse children. The only reason some participants could come up with was that some men were just greedy.

The ignorance among the study sample of the causes of child sexual assault by older people justified the use of the psychodynamic theory and the attachment theory in attempting to explain

sexual abuse, as these theories attribute illicit sexual behaviour to earlier experiences that could have been forgotten by the community members. However, these respondents were ignorant of the identities of most sexual perpetrators and could therefore not comment of their earlier childhood experiences. Therefore, earlier experiences as drivers of sexual deviancy were not clearly and could not easily be understood by the general public, which was represented by the study participants.

One respondent said: "*I do not know what they see in young children.*"

Kholeka did not know what possessed people to sexually assault children. She could only attribute sexual behaviour of the offenders to satanic possession. She said: "*We cannot even trust their fathers*", speaking of a recent case in Ngangelizwe Township of a man who had been chased away from Maidan Farm and found refuge in Ngangelizwe where he raped his girlfriend's child. It was rumoured that the alleged perpetrator had been chased away from Maiden Farm for raping a girl there as well and he had lost his family due to raping his own daughter.

The lack of the participants' knowledge of the possible reasons that could make people sexually assault children could be explained by the psychoanalysis theory. However, this is a highly academic theory that explains human behaviour in such a way that it is difficult for the layman to understand. Briefly, child sexual offenders could be 'id' dominated. According to the psychoanalysis theory, 'id' is the part of the mind that seeks immediate gratification. Child sexual offenders may seek instant sexual gratification which, coupled with a lack of social skills to engage in consensual sexual behaviour with peers, may cause the offender to see the minor as an easy, available source to fulfil the desire for instant sexual pleasure.

Thandi believed that child sex offenders sexually abused children because they regarded them as 'fresh' because they had not slept with anyone. According to Thandi, the perception of the potential offender played a role in the decision of the offender to commit a sexual offence. Jewkes (2005) found that older women reported that men were dangerous and that men could have sexual intercourse at any time. This corresponds with the views of the responses in the current study. Some respondents could not assume any possible reason for older man to sexually assault children, except that such men were possessed by demons and were therefore dangerous.

5.3.2 Types of sexual abuse

Most participants only knew of rape as a form sexual violence, showing ignorance of other forms of child sexual abuse. For example, the following question was asked:

Researcher: *"In your opinion, please tell me what you know about sexual violence."*

In response to the above question, most participants only mentioned rape. Only 4 participants out of 20 mentioned other forms of sexual violence against children. This indicates that other forms of sexual violence such as physical touching and aggressive, provocative sexual comments were unfamiliar to the community members. The reason for the ignorance of other forms of sexual violence among the participants could be that other forms of sexual violence were not viewed as sexual violence *per se* by the community members. This can be understood from the social constructivism perspective which states that people's views and understandings determine certain behavioural patterns and exclude others (Burr, 2003). Community understanding of sexual violence appears to be restricted to rape, which means that residents will only identify and act to rape when they are required to protect children against sexual violence. Babatsikos (2010), and Ige and Fawole (2011) highlight that families' perceptions of child sexual abuse determine how they protect their children.

An elderly female participant (Nokwanda) who had lived in Cape Town for a long time reported that in Cape Town, women would not relax and sit back while children were sexually abused. She stated that in Cape Town where she had lived, women in the neighbourhood held meetings and talked to and advised one another regarding the danger of sexual violence against their children.

Some participants felt that, in cases of child sexual abuse, the community united and supported the parents of the victimised child. Conversely, other participants felt that not all the people in the community genuinely supported the parents of a child victim, as they would see the act as something to gossip about. The participants who had different views to those who viewed sexual abuse as a unifying factor in the community further elaborated that the child and the parents would be blamed for negligence and that it was their fault for creating a place or an opportunity that was conducive for the offender to commit the crime. In such instances the child victim and her family would become the laughing stock of the community. Those participants who reported

that families and the community at large united and supported one another, mentioned that the reaction of the community was also determined by the frequency of rape incidences. Similarly, Jewkes et al. (2005) cited the age of the victim as a determinant of a community's reaction in the case of child sexual assault.

One elderly informant (Nokwanda) stated that the parents of a child who had been sexually abused easily contracted illnesses such as high blood pressure and heart attacks, or that they contracted diseases that their parents had not. It was said that the pain of a child who had been sexually abused was severely and emotionally felt by the parents. The pain felt by the abused child became a form of abuse of the parents as well. Church-going members in the community would respond to sexual abuse by visiting the unfortunate family. Nokwanda reported: "*Church will come and make prayers; because we do not do things on ourselves, prayer with community gives healing, strength, and relief. But it's not easy to forget the sexual abuse. The child still has the picture of what happened and might be pregnant. Prayer from a supportive community helps.*"

The time frequency at which rapes occurred and the intervals between rape attacks were deemed to determine community reaction to rape. Rape is said to instil anger, and people's reactions are also predetermined by the fact that perpetrators are often seen strolling around in the community after their 'arrest'. Nolwazi Reported with anger "*SAPS are not effective as we had to confront them last Saturday. A child was raped we call them at 8:00 morning, they came late asking, where is the person raped the child. As if a person who raped a child would hand himself in.* Communities do not believe in the principle that people are innocent until proven guilty; therefore, their reaction is influenced by such preconceived information.

5.3.3 Disclosure of sexual abuse

The most painful thing, according to one participant, was the silence of children who had been sexually abused. Nokwanda made the following statement: "*The most painful thing is that children do not report things that are hurting them. A child who got raped outside the home finds it difficult to report the sexual abuse to the parents.*" The silence of victims of sexual assault reportedly hurts parents when they find out that the child has kept quiet for some time. Parents, particularly mothers, feel the pain felt by their children. An elderly female participant (Nomalanga) said: "*Mothers play a crucial role in a child's life. A child cannot report to the*

father or her brothers if she has been sexually abused." This is evidence that maternal love is crucial to the child's feelings, especially those of young girls who went through traumatic experiences. The views of the participants support Kaplan's (2006) argument that mothers are responsible for taking care of the child, while fathers are responsible for physically connecting to a child, such as playing. Esposito (2014) corroborates this sentiment by stating that most people who are sexually abused during their early years do not disclose the sexual abuse up until they are much older. Children are more likely to report sexual abuse to their mothers or siblings and teenagers are likely to disclose the incident to their peers. The findings of the current study corroborate the literature in terms of who children confide in when they were sexually assaulted.

The World Health Organisation (1999) also reported an incident that was unpleasant and degrading that could be link to shame, guilt and blame. The silence of children who were sexually abused is reportedly influenced by the preconceived notions of society. Collin-Vezina et al. (2013) associate the silence of child victims with stigmatisation and assimilation of negative views spread by the offender. Collin-Vezina et al. (2013) further link the low rate of reporting sexual abuse to the unacceptable attitudes directed at the victims by society.

The participants indicated that some changes in behaviour of a child may be a sign of sexual abuse. By observing behavioural changes, observant parents may notice that something is wrong or bothering the child. The parents should then interrogate the child, preferably in a sensitive and caring manner. Esposito (2014:1) suggests that a child should be tactfully confronted if behavioural changes have been observed, and argues that, being asked "directly or indirectly about sexual abuse can provide children with the opportunity and purpose for disclosing their abuse". As suggested by one of the female participants who was a volunteer at Love Life, children could be guided to disclose sexual abuse when people who suspect that the child is being sexually abused talk with the child and politely raise some sexual abuse topics. Esposito (2014) concurs, suggesting that open-ended questions that enquire into a child's basic welfare could help make the child feel comfortable and more at ease. Taking time to build rapport and helping the child feel safe and in control through having general and regular conversations with the child could help her to tell her story. The participants suggested that, should strong suspicion exist and if the child didn't report the sexual abuse even after interrogation, the parents should

ask someone who is trustworthy to speak to the child as the child may be comfortable to talk about her sexual abuse with someone other than her own parents.

An older female advised that sexually abused children should at least confide with an older sibling so that the sexual abuse could be exposed and be dealt with and the perpetrator be arrested. Participants stressed the importance of the mother figure in a child's life. This is supported by the attachment theory that stresses the importance of maternal love for and bonding with a child. The importance of disclosing child sexual abuse lies in the fact that the problem should be identified early so that intervention strategies and emotional support can be provided to help the child through a process of healing. It is understandable that, to some child sexual victims, disclosure may be a humiliating experience and could have a damaging impact on the child's psychological and physical functioning. Esposito (2014) suggests that disclosure of sexual abuse is significant for effective therapeutic interventions.

5.3.4 The effects of sexual assault on children and the community

The respondents did not know how to begin to describe the aftermath of child sexual abuse. Almost all the participants in the study agreed that the abuse of children sexually was the most painful experience not only for the child, but for the parents and the community as well. One participant also explained that, apart from the physical pain caused by the act of sexual abuse itself, children experienced pain when they were unable to disclose the incident. Nokwanda recalled a recent incident: "*Seven children were taken by an older man who promised to take them to sing in a competition. The man raped them. When asked by the parents 'What happened? they kept quiet. Because of the shame brought by unwanted sexual intercourse and particularly by an older man, children denied the sexual intercourse. Their silence affected them as they showed signs of unhappiness and crying.*" Nokwanda narrated this incident angrily, as the man who had taken the children didn't fulfil the promise he had made to the children; instead, he subordinated and abused the children, making them behave like his so-called 'wives'. The participant commented on the pain caused by the sexual abuse of the children, stating that sexually abused children experienced mental disturbance. It was also mentioned by Nokwanda that sexually abused children failed to comply with discipline or to appropriate behaviour at home.

Most of the participants highlighted the following as consequences of the sexual abuse of children: mental problems, anxiety, prolonged fearfulness, anger, and a loss of trust. Briere and Elliott (1994) state that anger is a common emotional outcome of child sexual abuse, which was concurred by the findings of the current study as the majority of the participants reported that feelings of anger and frustration occurred in victims of child sexual abuse. Briere and Elliott (1994) also claim that anger is bottled up inside some victims who find it difficult to release or express this anger, which in turn results in internalised self-hatred that manifests in depression.

All the participants in the study agreed that the sexual abuse children experience results in mental problems. In their view, sexually abused children also battled with their school work/performance and their academic performance was thus negatively affected. The respondents commented that abused children would isolate themselves from other people at school, at home, and in the community. They felt that this self-imposed isolation was also accompanied by the loss of trust in all male figures. This implies that the brutal and unacceptable act of one male has such a negative impact on a child that she may generalise these negative feelings to all males. Locked in fear, the child believes that all males will sexually abuse and hurt her.

Thenjiwe argued that mental disturbance was caused by the shock of sexual assault. She stated: "*When you get shocked by something you saw or that happened to you, it remains with you. It does not get out of your mind.*" She used the following example: "*It's unlike what you* [referring to the researcher] *can study in books, as you can forget it.*"

The respondents felt that the impact of sexual abuse on a child was not something to be brushed aside, but that it was quite significant. The child would lose confidence and would find it difficult to engage in robust arguments with other children as she might fear that the sexual abuse might be brought up by those who could not stand up in lively arguments. Sadly, sexually abused children might become the laughing stock of the community. Briere and Elliott (1994) argue that survivors of sexual abuse doubt their self-worth and suffer from a low self-esteem. They further state that the cognitive alteration of the sexual abuse victim often persists into adolescence and adulthood. They also argue that the negative self-evaluation of the sexual abuse victim is probably caused by the stigma society attaches to rape victims and perpetrators of rape. The

attempt of the victim to make sense of what has happened could also result in doubt and feelings of worthlessness.

It was commented that child sexual abuse not only affected the child, but also the parents and the community in which the assault took place and from where the offender came. Parents whose child had been sexually abused were reported to feel unwell because of what had happened to the child and because sexual abuse preyed on the minds of the parents. Such parents would often become over-protective of the child and find it difficult to deal with her pain. One comment was that parents could not be happy if the child was not happy. Parents would be worried that the child would be teased and mocked by other children about the sexual assault, and for this reason parents would fear that that their child might experience secondary victimisation by peers and the community.

Communities would also be disturbed when rape was perpetrated on one or more of their children, and the rest of the community would fear for the safety of their own children. It was reported that the community would be affected to such an extent that the neighbourhood of the perpetrator/offenders would be negatively labelled by the rest of society. These neighbourhoods would be regarded as unsafe and the residents would be labelled as incompetent to protect their children.

The effects of the sexual abuse of a child were also reported to be determined by the relationship parents had with the perpetrator. It was reported that if the perpetrator was known to the parents of the child, the matter would be discussed by the parents and the family of the offender to find an amicable solution. The community would put the matter to rest if both parties made peace. It is therefore safe to argue that, in some societies, peace and goodwill receive preference over the well-being of a sexually abused child in cases where the perpetrator is not a stranger.

5.3.5 Role of the female child in sexual abuse
Some respondents argued that some girls could be blamed for the rape because they 'throw themselves' at older men. One participant said: *"It's like children are possessed by evil! While a child was doing well at home, going to school and coming back home and doing all the necessary work expected of a female child, the child would abruptly stay away after school …* [and she] *would come back at night. When the child is asked where she came from she would lie*

that she was at a friend's place studying, while she was with an older man having sex." The participants attributed sudden changes in the behaviour of a child to the wrong influence of friends or, in some instances, their sexual involvement with older men. The participants also strongly blamed friends for wrongfully influencing previously well-behaved children to misbehave.

The community respondents were aware that some girls would stay indoors during day in their pyjamas but that, by 14h00, they would wash and prepare to meet their friends in the streets and by sunset they would go to the taverns. One participant recalled an incident in which gangsters entered a tavern and shot randomly into the crowd. About four to five school children were shot in that incident. The participant expressed her outrage, referring to the incident as an abuse of parents who had sent their children to school, only to find out that they had been shot in a tavern. Angrily, the participant stated that children were protected by parents but that they were disobedient; they defied parents' instructions. Participants stated that many parents really did their best to protect their children, while some children were defiant, which might put them in harm's way. It was stated that, in some communities where there was cohesion, an elder person who saw a child misbehaving would discipline the child and that would be the end of it. One respondent spoke of a child whom she had seen a week before. The child was pregnant at the early age of about 13 and was in grade 5. She stated: "*I called the child and reminded her of the hardship her parents were going through to provide for her.*"

5.3.6 Alcohol, substance abuse and child sexual assault

The majority of the participants agreed that there was a relation between substance abuse and alcohol and the extent of sexual abuse. There was some agreement that the use of alcohol and substance abuse impacted significantly on CSA. Abeid et al. (2014) obtained similar results in their study that was conducted in rural Tanzania in which the informants attributed sexual abuse to the excessive use of alcohol and substance abuse. In the current study, Luvo said: "*In this area there is a lot of alcohol abuse that leads people to do things* [i.e., having sex] *that they are supposed to do only when they are married.*" Thenjiwe expressed dissatisfaction with the use of alcohol, particularly by children and females. She attributed alcohol use to driving females to males and who would eventually engage in unsafe sexual intercourse at the risk of contracting STIs or even HIV/AIDS. Thenjiwe recalled that, in the olden days, alcohol was a strict taboo for

children and that even older women did not drink alcohol. However, she was disheartened that in contemporary society children drank alcohol because they were influenced to do so by friends. It must also be argued that peers cannot solely be blamed for the use alcohol by youngsters, as any person could resist bad influences and abide by social norms and family values. Similar to this study, the participants in the study by Abeid et al. (2014) also attributed sexual violence to the use of alcohol and drug abuse. This finding demonstrates the gradual transformation of even traditional societies that are slowly and silently killing cultural norms and replacing them with Western values and practices. Moreover, global exposure to the mass media in the form of the internet and television has been reported to have greatly impacted social behaviours and relations (Abeid et al., 2014).

However, some informants felt that there was no relation between alcohol and people's sexual behaviour. Sexual offenders were reported to be doing what they had already deliberately planned to do before they drank alcohol. Instead, these participants blamed modernisation for the excessive use of alcohol; particularly the use of alcohol by children and females. The older informants reported that, in their younger days, people did not consume alcohol to get drunk and children and females did not drink alcohol at all. Conversely, in contemporary society alcohol is deliberately consumed with the purpose of 'getting drunk' or 'having a good time'.

5.3.7 Unemployment and child sexual assault
The respondents expressed strong opinions that unemployment was associated with the prevalence of child sexual abuse and other crimes such as theft, burglary, and physical assault. The following comment was provided by an elderly female participant (Nozi): *"Seeing a household with unemployed male youth who are dirty and use drugs causes fear; fear of being the victim of theft, burglary. We are afraid of these children. Police would come but after they left they would return to us. We are afraid of death as we are old."* An elderly male also attributed the prevalence of CSA on the unemployment rate: *"Unemployment is the cause of the prevalence of child sexual abuse. People are not working; their minds are not operating. Because of unemployment people always have energy which is not appropriately used. If people were working, woke up early in the morning, went to work, came back late, and went to bed, they would not have the energy and time to sexually abuse children."*

5.3.8 Economic status and child sexual abuse

Poverty and wealth cannot be overlooked in studying the causes of the sexual abuse of children. During the study it appeared that both wealth and poverty significantly resulted in child sexual abuse occurrences. An informant (Luzipo) said: "*A person who is wealthy uses money to get children, and running away from hunger children become the victims of older, wealthy men.*" It is therefore safe to say that poverty makes children vulnerable to older men who are wealthy. In an attempt to escape poverty and in search of a better life, children fall prey to older, wealthy men who are the vultures of some societies. Abeid et al. (2014) also reveal that poverty is a major problem that pulls people into other problems. Humans are said to be 'on sale' because of poverty. Parents are reported to be sending their daughters into prostitution in the belief that the money they bring in will eradicate the poverty in which they live.

Some participants who did not believe that poverty contributed to child sexual abuse reported that children loved fancy things that their parents could not afford. Older men, or so-called 'sugar daddies' or 'blessers', provide these fancy things that children want in exchange for sexual favours. The term 'blesser' is controversial as it is deemed immoral and disrespect to God as it is only God who can bless. However, 'sugar daddies' are wealthy and publicly proclaimed via internet websites and they are publicly proud of their sexual behaviour, calling themselves 'blessers' because they provide for those with whom they engage in sexual behaviour. Sadly, it has been observed that the females of their affection are not mature women, but young girls who are often still at school. It is in this context that deep concern must be expressed, as such men will always look for 'fresh' victims and discard older ones who may be pregnant or have already given birth to a child.

It was also reported that many wealthy men took advantage of the poor. Lack of financial means in the household was reported to drive children to seek the financial care of older men, who in return for money or possessions required sexual favours. Poverty was reported as powerful anti-conventional behaviour promoter. Kholeka stated: "*Poverty leads people to do the things they do not want to do, even older people.*"

5.3.9 Suspicion of child sexual abuse

In cases where people outside the family, such as teachers or pastors, suspect that a child has been sexually abused and that the family is hiding it, it must be reported to social workers or the

police. Reporting suspicion of the sexual abuse of a child would help in initiating an investigation and saving the abused child if any suspicion can be substantiated. Nosipho commented that, in such an instance, "*You become the saviour of that child*". Other respondents said that nothing could be done if the family was not talking and the child also refused to speak out. The situation is fraught with danger, as any kind of intervention by any outside person would be causing animosity and anger from the family. Thandi, who was a Love Life volunteer, stated that when suspecting that a child might be sexually abused, the person suspecting the abuse must initiate a conversation with the child on topics that relate to sexual abuse, and observe the reaction of the child. The person may also visit Love Life for advice on topics that she/he may discuss with the child.

5.4 Measures to Combat Child Sexual Abuse

To protect children from being sexually abused, playing grounds like parks must be constructed. Children under guardianship of an older person or caregiver must supervise children in such areas.

Sokhulu, who was an elderly participant of about 70 years, strongly advocated the formation of community policing forums to effectively watch/guard and protect the community against any criminal activity. Sokhulu, who emphasised the use of sweets by potential child sexual offenders to lure children, advised that children should be educated from a very young age regarding the possible motives of people who wish to give them sweets.

Observation and experience have shown that children are naive and always in search of love. If parents do not give children the love they need, they will search for affection elsewhere which may involve sexual behaviour with older men, because they are comforted by the 'love' and care offered by these men that their parents do not give them. From the data that were obtained from the interviews, it was deduced that parents should play an active role in the lives of their children. It was argued that, if positive parental care was provided, CSA could be prevented. The active role that both maternal and paternal parents give their children and the love that they give them are therefore crucial. It was reported that children found themselves victims of sexual exploitation by older men not only because they intentionally got involved with them in search of sexual gratification, but also because they sought parental love.

Universal programs that are family and community oriented must be developed; the programmes must address societal norms that influence the sexual exploitation of children. Parents, particularly fathers, must be encouraged to play an active role in the upbringing of their children so that the children will not go outside in search of paternal love and end up being victims of sexual exploitation by older men.

5.5 Dealing with Child Sexual Offenders

People who sexually abuse/d children must be removed from society. Child sexual offenders must be arrested and taken to court. It is suggested by Jewkes et al. (2005) that a man who rapes children must become an outcast. Most community members in the current study believed that sexual offenders should be reported to the police and that the community should not take matters into their own hands, as it is unlawful to do so. Thandeka reported that in Ngangelizwe Township rape was generally reported to the police. She stated that the reason for reporting rape to the police was because community members were prohibited from taking the law into their own hands and committing 'mob justice'. However, Thandeka expressed her dissatisfaction with the manner in which the police dealt with offenders. Nokwanda concurred, stating: *"The painful thing is that an offender who has been arrested will soon be seen walking around in the community"*. The participants suggested that CSA offenders should 'rot in jail' and be used as an example to other potential offenders. They believed that imposing life imprisonment with neither parole nor probation would be a general deterrent, and that the sentenced offenders would never rape again. In this context, Akers (2000) argues that general deterrence is intended to avert crime in communities; therefore, punishment imposed by the state should serve as an example to discourage other potential criminals who have not yet committed crimes (Akers, 2000). Strongly expressing her abhorrence of CSA, Nokwanda likened CSA offenders with animals, stating that CSA offenders were "…*not human beings*!"

Thenjiwe advised that, for the well-being and development of children, CSA offenders should be sent away (i.e., to prison) so that children can grow up freely with no fear of being sexually assaulted and so that they would not need to be anxious all the time. Stressing her emotions in strong terms, Thenjiwe said that if her granddaughter were sexually abused, the police would arrive after having dealt with the offender. She stated that; "*If my child is raped by a man …do you see that samp I am cooking? The police will also arrive after cooking the offender.*" Just

like Thenjiwe, Kholeka also didn't believe that the incarceration of child sex offenders, even for 10 to 15 years, rehabilitated the offenders. Kholeka recalled a case of an offender who had been imprisoned for many years but who, after having been released, raped again. She suggested that child sex offenders should be severely punished. Angrily, she suggested the following: "*It would be better if there was a way or injection that can be used so that a person would lose his manhood and never be able to get an erection again!*" She also suggested that this would work as a deterrent and that it must be made public so that everyone would know how child sexual offenders were dealt with.

The media plays a significantly role in exposing and spreading crucial information that could be a general deterrent in preventing the occurrence of criminal acts. McWhirter (2007) acknowledges the role played by the media in monitoring and exposing acts of CSA. In this regard, the media should report responsibly and in a non-sensational manner on issues as sensitive as CSA. The fact that such acts are widely reported often results in higher levels of community awareness of the threat of CSA, but is also important to report extensively on the consequences for offenders.

In a rash statement, one informant expressed his anger and frustration with the suggestion that the police should allow community members a few minutes alone with an offender with the intention of inflicting unsupervised 'mob justice' on the perpetrator, after which the police could arrest the alleged offender. A young (25) female respondent admitted that her suggestion might be cruel, but she suggested the use of castration as a deterrent for child sexual offenders. Thandi said: "*I am rude, but they must cut off the penis of a person who has been found sexually abusing children.*"

5.6 Recommended Age for Leaving a Child Alone at Home

The participants had differing views regarding the appropriate age that a child could be left alone at home when the parents went away. In consideration of the maturity and the ability of the child to protect him- or herself, the participants suggested various appropriate ages. The first participant reckoned that a 17-year-old child might be left alone at home, because a child of 15 years old was not mentally mature even though they might seem physically developed, and

therefore such a young child should always be supervised. The participant warned that even if the house was fitted with burglar guards, a 15-year-old child was too young to be left alone at home. This respondent exaggerated somewhat to show the urgency of the argument: "*A child of 15 is still a toddler and cannot be left alone.*" The participants mentioned that children who were not properly developed mentally should not be put in a position where they might have to open the door for strangers, as they would be easily fooled or tricked.

Table 5.2: Summary of recommended age range when children can be left alone unattended for more than three days.

Participant	Recommended age to leave a child alone at home
Participant 1	17
Participant 2	15
Participant 3	17
Participant 4	17
Participant 5	18
Participant 6	18
Participant 7	18
Participant 8	21
Participant 9	18
Participant 10	21
Participant 11	21
Participant 12	15
Participant 13	21
Participant 14	18
Participant 15	18
Participant 16	17
Participant 17	17
Participant 18	18
Participant 19	21
Participant 20	18

The relatively high age range that the respondents suggested not only reflects as sense of fear of perceived threats and dangers in the Township in which they resided, but also a lack of trust in the young people within their community. This fear may thus reflect both ways: first as a sign of an unstable society threatened by crime and violence, and second, a mistrust of the society to educate growing children to act responsibly when they are not under adult supervision. However, because it is a known fact that rural societies hold stronger traditional views than communities in urban areas (Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996), these views may have been indicative of strong traditional cultural values according to which the unsupervised and un-chaperoned position of particularly young girls is regarded as a taboo. The previous comment that young people would sleep late and then visit taverns in the evenings where alcohol would be consumed may also have contributed to this sentiment.

5.7 Effectiveness of Governmental Structure in Dealing with Child Sexual Abuse

Of the 20 people who participated in the study, 15 believed that social workers were effective in dealing with child sexual abuse. Five of the participants felt that social workers were not doing enough in dealing with child sexual abuse. The role of social workers was reported as confusing by Thenjiwe. She referred to an incident when a mentally disturbed man who resided in the Township was taken away by social workers; however, the person was soon brought back to the community by social workers. Thenijwe was confused, stating: *"To my knowledge mentally disturbed people are institutionalised."* It was reported that the social workers who returned the man had been instructed to do so by higher office bearers, claiming that the police and lawyers had said that taking a mentally disturbed person away from the community was an abuse. Thenjiwe admitted that she did not know exactly what the role of social workers entailed.

With reference to the above narrative, it must be commented that it is crucial that the community be educated about different governmental structures, particularly those that are supposed to be closely working with communities, so that people like Thenjiwe will not be confused regarding the duties of such organisations. Sokhulu was also dissatisfied with the manner in which governmental structures intervened in the fight against CSA, as he felt that they were ineffective. He was critical of social workers, stating: "*To my knowledge, social workers are supposed to be coming to the people, but they are not.*"

Thenjiwe was also confused about the role and duties of the police, as she also mentioned that the police did not respond when a case was reported to them. Also, in many cases of arrest, the suspects were suddenly released, which left the community perplexed. She stated: "*In cases where the accused is taken and then released, maybe the problem is the magistrate.*" In this context, transparency of the judicial system and the flow of information are needed to build trust between government structures and the community.

Most participants (15) felt that the police were failing in the execution of their job to protect the public against any criminal act. Conversely, 5 participants were satisfied with the work done by the police in protecting the public from any criminal activity. Therefore, additional police members are required and police visibility in the community is also needed. The participants mentioned that police officers should not wait till a crime has been reported; instead, they should be proactive and conduct frequent patrols. Sokhulu blamed the prevalence of criminal activity occurring within the Ngangelizwe community on the lack of police visibility.

5.8 Conclusion

The use of thematic analyses facilitated the meaningful presentation and evaluation of the data that had been obtained from the interviews. Major topics that were constructed from similar or commonly shared opinions formed the themes that were presented, analysed, and discussed in this chapter. These themes provided a lens through which the community's perceptions of child sexual assault were presented. It appeared that community members did not know much about the nature of child sexual abuse, although they were aware of the danger that child sexual offenders may entice children with sweets, and especially with money. The respondents could not offer clear reasons why older people would form sexual relations with minors, but attributed this phenomenon mostly to alcohol, substance abuse, and poverty. The use and availability of modern technology was reported to make it easier for victimisers to connect with and lure children away for their nefarious intentions. No definitive association could be found between clothes (or young people's dress code) and the potential for sexual assault, although some informants strongly believed that girls' modern way of dressing (i.e., revealing and tight-fitting clothes) was strongly linked to their potential for becoming victims of sexual assault. The mind-set of the offender was believed to be the predominant determinant of the sexual abuse of children. This implies that if an offender has the urge to be sexually gratified by a child, there is

little that can stop him. This argument relates to the psychoanalysis theory where the 'id' personality fits the profile of offenders who commit premeditated and opportunistic sexual offences on children because young people – especially girls - are more vulnerable and naïve than mature females.

The community's attitudes to child sexual abuse seemed to be determined by the frequency this crime was reported in the community. It was also clear that some community members would not respond vehemently to CSA, nor would they take collaborative steps to deal with the phenomenon of CSA. However, there was sensitivity for noticeable changes in the behaviour of children as the respondents acknowledged that such symptoms could be a cry for help. Mental problems, fear, anxiety, self-isolation, loss of trust, and memory loss were said to be some of the consequences that child victims of sexual abuse suffered. The respondents specifically empathised with the pain parents experienced when their child had been sexually abused.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

Some of the themes that were discussed in Chapter five will firstly be presented in relation to the overall aim and the objectives of the study. The study explored community perceptions of child sexual assault and comprised a case study in the Ngangelizwe Township setting. This chapter summarises the study processes and provides appropriate conclusions based on the findings. The recommendations section concludes the discussion in the chapter.

The study aimed at exploring and understanding perceptions of child sexual assault at societal level in a Township in a rural area, known as Ngangelizwe. The study objectives included: (1) an exploration of community members' perceptions of child sexual abuse; (2) an effort to determine who, according the respondents' perceptions, the perpetrators of child sexual assault might be; (3) determine the effect of child sexual abuse on children, parents, families, and the community; (4) suggest measures that community members might recommend to prevent child sexual assault.

The psychodynamic theory and the attachment theory were applied in an attempt to explain the sexual assault of minors (specifically girls) by older people. Child sexual abuse could not be explained by a single theory; thus the two theories were employed in trying to find reasons why people engage in illicit sexual behaviour with children. The two theories mutually agree that the root causes of later behaviour of a person are strongly influenced by childhood experiences.

The study was conducted using a qualitative approach. Qualitative data were collected using unstructured individual interviews. Individual in-depth interviews were conducted in order to explore community members' perceptions of child sexual assault. In context of the findings, the limitations and significance of this study will be discussed in this chapter.

6.2 Causal Factors of Child Sexual Assault

Before commencing the field work phase of the study, the literature review suggested that, before offenders assaulted children, they would first build rapport with the child before luring it with sweets or money. After the child had built a relationship of trust with the older person, he would then take advantage of the child's trust. The study also revealed that the potential offender

evaluated the environment before deciding to commit the offence. This was surmised from the literature review as the respondents could not comment on this from an authentic perspective. Child sexual offenders are therefore clear thinking, scheming people who do not suffer any mental illness and are able to distinguish between right and wrong. The fact that perpetrators of this crime evaluate the potential for successful child sexual assault without being caught shows that offenders know that the act is wrong.

An important and predominant cause of CSA seemed to be the negative influence of friends. In this context the respondents reported that children would disobey house rules and 'hang out' with their friends in inappropriate places where they would be exposed to negative influences such as alcohol, drugs and illicit sexual opportunities. Moreover, the study also revealed that some children sexually assaulted their peers. Other perpetrators of this crime were step-fathers or a child's mother's boyfriend and even, in some instances, the child's own father. A particular problem that was exposed was that stepfathers would not regard the children of their partners as their own, and hence they felt that they were not prohibited from sexually assaulting them. Conversely, a man who assaulted his own child was ostracised from the community, as was reported in one incident in the study area when a man had to leave the community because he had raped his own child.

The modern clothes worn by children was said to be alluring for some men who fail to resist their sexual desires when they observe scantily dressed young girls. However, the views were conflicting as some respondents felt that attire cannot be entirely blamed for men's illicit sexual behaviour. The study also found that a perpetrator's state of mind is a major determinant of sexual misconduct.

Responding to objectives one and two, the study revealed that there was no concrete reason for older men to sexually abuse children. Rather, greed and a desire for instant sexual gratification seemed to be the main causes for the sexual abuse of accessible, vulnerable and naïve children. In this context, men are dangerous and children should be educated to avoid situations where they will be particularly vulnerable. It was ostensibly for this reason that the respondents set such a high store on an older age requirement before children should be allowed to stay at home without adult supervision.

6.3 Reactions to Child Sexual Abuse

The research found that the community under study had limited knowledge of the nature and forms of sexual violence that can be committed against children. All the respondents referred to rape as a form of sexual violence, which appeared to be the only form of sexual violence the majority were aware of, or regarded as abuse. The study established that the community's limited knowledge of sexual violence resulted in both the victims and the community keeping silent about the crime and/or neglect to report other incidences of CSA to the police. It must be acknowledged that people will not react to a phenomenon if they do not know whether it is wrong or right.

However, the sexual abuse of children causes cohesion and unity among some community members while, at the same time, it causes repulsion and even ridicule among others. It was people of faith who most strongly stood up against CSA as church members within the community would come together in prayer for the afflicted family. These Christian people would also give moral support to the traumatised family, whereas others would find enjoyment in the family's pain and they would nastily gossip about the misery caused by the sexual abuse of others.

The reaction of the community to sexual abuse was found to be pre-determined by the frequency such incidents occurred, as well as the ages of both the victim and the offender. The study established that the community would react with great anger if the abuse was perpetrated by an older person on a very young child, and the study also found that if the abuse was made known to the community soon after the incident, the community would react with great anger.

An extremely strong measure was suggested for dealing with CSOs, namely castration. It was argued that this would act as an appropriate deterrent for child sexual abuse. The study found that community members did not believe in the principle of an accused being innocent until found guilty, as the respondents were in favour of instant justice meted out by the community instead of the police.

The study also found that the sexual abuse of children resulted in physical illness for the parents, as they might become vulnerable to diseases that they did not have prior to the sexual assault of a child.

6.4 Detection of Child Sexual Abuse

The study findings showed that it was difficult to intervene in child sexual abuse. The study also detected that it was unlikely that community members would intervene if a sexual assault had been committed by a person known to the family, as they did not want to be seen as meddling in other people's business. It was revealed that when the perpetrator was known to the family, it was likely that a mutual understanding would be reached by the offender and the family and therefore, if the community members intervened, they would be ostracised and become notorious as people who were likely to meddle in other people's business. It may therefore be concluded that sexual abuse committed by people known to the family is unlikely to be reported to the officials (police and social workers); therefore, by brushing an incident of the sexual abuse of a child under the carpet, the result is that the child victim is deprived of professional help.

The study found that some children may not be comfortable in disclosing sexual abuse to their parents, particularly their fathers. It was established that children would rather report sexual abuse to their sisters or to any older person or peer that would be close to the child rather than to the parents. This finding concurs with recent studies that suggest that a large number of child sexual abuse disclosures are impelled by direct inquiry by friends, family, and caregivers (Esposito, 2014)

The study also established that changes in the behaviour of a child could be a sign of sexual abuse. It was also found that sudden or gradual self-isolation, fear, anxiety, memory loss, and poor school performance may manifest as a result of child sexual abuse. These symptoms are often strong messengers of abuse and a cry for help that parents need to investigate. These 'messengers' are emotional signs of possible sexual abuse that should not be ignored. Therefore, caregivers must initiate investigations into the probability of sexual assault when such signals are detected.

The fact remains that the core driver of child sexual abuse disclosure is a child's needs; every effort should therefore be made to help the child unpack this terrible burden. Someone who can help the child and bring the perpetrator to justice needs to know that she has been or is being sexually abused (Esposito, 2104)

6.5 Effects of Child Sexual Abuse

In attempts to achieve objective three of the study, which sought to determine the effects of child sexual abuse on children, parents, and the community as a whole, it was found that mental problems, anxiety, anger, fear, loss of trust, and memory loss were indicators of probable sexual abuse. In terms of the effects of CSA on children, it was revealed that after a child had been sexually abused by a person she had learnt to trust, the child would lose trust in all male persons, not only in the perpetrator. It was also reported that father-daughter relationships were often compromised as fathers expressed concern that they might not be trusted by their own children because of the behaviour of male perpetrators who sexually assaulted their daughters.

Poor school performance is also one of the effects of sexual abuse. The psychological impact of sexual abuse on a child results in loss of focus on school work as the child's mental and psychological functioning becomes overwhelmed by the abuse. Similarly, Cashmore and Shackel (2013) argue that sexual abuse affects the physical and mental health functions of a child and influences social and educational outcomes. Their study also established that the victim becomes reserved and loses confidence in herself; she thus avoids engaging in constructive debate in fear of public scrutiny.

The sexual abuse of children also affects parents' emotional and psychological well-being, as the abuse preys on the mind of the parent. However, no major findings could be established with regards to the effects on the community, except that the community is divided as some members may support the family, while others may find some enjoyment in the plight of others and gossip about their traumatic experience. The study revealed that the sexual abuse of children is one of the most painful experiences a child and parents may undergo.

6.6 Measures to Address Child Sexual Abuse

In addressing the fourth objective of the study, which sought to investigate measures that community members might recommend for the prevention of child sexual assault, it was reported that the role of mothers is crucial as they are the primary guardians of female children. The findings showed that mothers had to oversee their daughters before they left the yard. For example, they should see that their daughters are dressed properly and that they do not wear provocative clothes that render them vulnerable to sexual assault.

6.7 Significance of the Study

A long-term potential benefit of the study is that it has provided important information in identifying child sexual abuse. This information should be used to educate communities in efforts to assist them to deal with the stigma attached to the sexual assault of children. By affording a small group of community members an opportunity to voice their understanding of child sexual assault, the information may be transferred through educational programmes and community upliftment initiatives to the broader community. Concerted efforts should be made to reveal to communities that rape is not the only form of child sexual abuse. Moreover, they should be made aware of the causes and effects of CSA and how it can be dealt with. The part of the aim of the study, namely to raise awareness of child sexual assault and some of the issues surrounding this phenomenon at Township level, was therefore achieved.

6.8 Limitations of the Study

6.8.1 Omission of the sexual abuse of males/boys

Due to the narrowed definition of sexual violence committed against girls, the sexual violence committed against boys was not investigated in the study. The participants defined sexual violence as the penetration of the vagina by males, therefore ruling out any information with regards to sexual violence committed against males.

6.8.2 Language barriers: the use of English and IsiXhosa

Most of the interviews were conducted in IsiXhosa. Because the idiomatic use of this language differs distinctly from that of English, it was sometimes difficult to translate the expressions and words used by the respondents in corresponding idiomatic English. For this reason, some of the nuances of the ideas expressed in IsiXhosa were somewhat lost in translation. However, every effort was made to keep the translations as close to the original expressions of the respondents as possible, and the researcher is confident that the voices of the respondents were not compromised at all.

6.8.3 Insufficient knowledge of child sexual assault

The limited knowledge of the community members regarding the nature of child sexual assault compromised the findings somewhat as the responses did not produce rich, in-depth data in this regard. For example, some participants could not distinguish between sexual abuse and domestic

abuse, with the result that some participants provided unnecessary information. The researcher was sometimes required to politely explain to a participant the differences between domestic abuse and sexual abuse, which was done in an effort to keep the interview on track.

Moreover, the fact that none of the respondents actually knew perpetrators of child sexual abuse personally also resulted in a lack of rich data. However, as the topic under investigation was extremely sensitive, it was deemed inappropriate to engage in purposive sampling of respondents that were close to sexual assault perpetrators, or to adult respondents whose children had experienced sexual abuse.

6.8.4 Sample representation

The study sample comprised mostly of senior citizens (pensioners) and unskilled labourers and thus lacked representation of working class community members. Insufficient representation of males may also have impacted the richness of the data negatively. Due to the similarities of the content of the information provided by the respondents, the comments of some respondents were not referred to in the data analysis section.

6.8.5 Limited scope of the study

Because the study was conducted in only one rural Township area and among a small sample size, the results cannot be generalized to the larger South African population.

6.9 Recommendations

6.9.1 Recommendations from the study

6.9.1.1 The role of fathers in rearing their children

The social role played by fathers needs to be strengthened. Fathers must play an active role in the upbringing of their children. The participants reported that girls got involved with older men because they might be looking for a father figure. Their intention is thus not sexual gratification, but rather comfort and 'love'. Therefore, if fathers get involved in raising their female children, the child will not go in search of a father figure and may thus avoid being sexually abused.

The absence of fathers from the lives of their children also makes girls vulnerable to sexual abuse. The study strongly recommends that both parents must play an active role in raising their children. Lofell (2004) shares similar views, arguing that the prevention of child sexual abuse

can be achieved by the strengthening of family ties. The researcher thus concludes that programs focusing on the strengthening role of the father in the family need to be initiated within community contexts.

6.9.1.2 Preventative strategies

In response to objective four, which sought to investigate suggested measures for the prevention of child sexual assault, the community suggested the following: (1) the establishment of an effective community police forum; (2) the creation of parks where children can play under the guardianship of a trustworthy older person; and (3) the amendment of legislature dealing with the incarceration of child sex offenders. The community members strongly suggested that child sex offenders be arrested and sent to prison for a long time with no option of parole or probation.

6.9.2 Recommendations by the researcher

6.9.2.1 Social role

The study established the following recommendations in addressing the sexual assault of children: (1) building playing grounds that will be under guardianship of caregivers; (2) the formation of a strong and effective community police forum; (3) the active role played by both parents in raising children; and (4) the establishment of workshops to educate people and redress social norms that tolerate the sexual exploitation of children.

6.9.2.2 Knowledge transference

Insufficient knowledge of sexual violence among the community results in a blind eye being turned on other forms of sexual violence involving children. The researcher suggests that awareness campaigns and workshops be introduced by educators and community leaders to educate the community about the types of sexual violence and on how to address such acts. The campaigns must also focus on how to detect child sexual abuse, means of dealing with victims of abuse without making the victim feel guilty and blamed, and on how parents and the community can support victims of child sexual abuse. Children must be educated about the danger of receiving 'nice things' and sweets from people who may have nefarious intentions, even close friends and older family members.

6.9.2.3 Establishment of playing grounds and effective police forums

The researcher recommends that open spaces should be utilised for the establishment of parks where children can play under the supervision of a caregiver. As recommended by community members, the researcher wants to emphasise the establishment of effective community police forums.

6.9.2.4 Further studies

Because the study determined that community members had conflicting views on the functioning and effectiveness of the police and social workers, it is strongly recommended that further studies be conducted on the effectiveness of governmental structures such as the police, the courts, correctional services, and social development structures to address the child sexual assault phenomenon. Public awareness should be created about the role of government structures in addressing child sexual abuse. Moreover, studies that focus on the sexual abuse of male children and sexual abuse perpetrated by females are needed to effectively eradicate child sexual abuse.

Finally, the researcher recommends that further research be conducted on public perceptions regarding sexual abuse. Such studies should particularly be conducted in rural and semi-urban areas where ignorance seems to be a driver of child sexual assault. Rural areas are isolated areas with limited access to police and social work services. The development of support infrastructure in rural areas is slow, and hence more rural area based studies will not only give a voice to rural residents, but will also make them aware of well-informed, effective interventions to curb and eventually eradicate child sexual abuse in their communities.

6.10 Conclusions

Community perceptions regarding child sexual assault revealed ignorance of some forms of sexual violence, as the only commonly known form of sexual violence was rape. It therefore follows that the ignorance of community members regarding various forms of sexual abuse means that such acts are either ignored, tolerated, or even regarded as acceptable. It thus means that community members cannot reject any actions or behaviour if they themselves are ignorant of what constitutes sexual violence. It is for this reason that sexual offenders interpret the failure

of the community to rebuke their behaviour as a sign of tolerance, which exacerbates the problem. Unless this problem is addressed, perpetrators will persist in believing that the community has created an environment where some forms of sexual abuse and violence are socially acceptable.

The sexual assault of children has an emotional effect on parents as much as it affects the victim. It is likely that parents and the child victim will experience health issues because of the sexual assault on a child. The victims of sexual assault are psychologically and socially affected by the assault as the community experiences repulsion and often blame the victim and/or the parents for the incident. The community in which child sexual assaults occur are also affected, as the areas in which this crime occurs regularly or even rarely are labelled and stigmatised by neighbouring communities as 'dangerous areas'.

Child sexual offenders are perceived as a danger to the community and are regarded as outcasts. No definite information could be attributed as the causal factors of the sexually illicit behaviour of offenders other than that child sexual offenders were regarded as satanically possessed, greedy, lustful, and dangerous. Unemployment, alcohol and substance abuse as well as poverty and wealth were offered as reasons for the promotion of the sexual assault of children.

Strong action is needed for the prevention of CSA. For example, long term imprisonment and castration were suggested as the most effective punishments that could eventually eradicate CSA. Long term imprisonment would prevent close contact between offenders and children, while castration will deprive a man of his manhood. Naturally, such a man will not be able to rape again.

In conclusion, the study attempted to contribute to the body of research on the child sexual assault phenomenon by conducting an investigation among community members in a rural Township context. The study was limited to the sexual abuse of girls by older males and therefore did not explore the sexual abuse of boys or the sexual abuse perpetrated by females. However, although limited in scope, the researcher expresses the hope that the findings and recommendations of this study have highlighted the need for further studies on child sexual assault that should be conducted in other rural and semi-urban areas. Only by constructively

adding to information and the discourse on this travesty, will effective measures be put in place to prevent, and finally eradicate, the sexual assault of children in all its forms.

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Appendix 1 Informed Consent Letter

Dear participant

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

Title: Community Perceptions of Child Sexual Assault, Case study of Ngangelizwe community in Mthatha.

Principal Researcher and Contact Information

Initials and Surname: MR Mphatheni
Cell no: 078 6254 002
Email: doc.mandlenkosi@gmail.com

Purpose of the study:

I am a student at University of KwaZulu-Natal major in Criminology. I am conducting a research project as part of my Criminology Master's thesis. I am working closely with my supervisor Dr Sazelo Mkhize, who will be the main contact person for this project. I would like to know if you would be willing to take part in a research study on Community Perceptions of Child Sexual Assault. The project is part of the researcher's interest on exploring community perceptions on child sexual assault and to determine who are perpetrators of child sexual assault and investigating measures that community members may recommend combating the child sexual assault.

Procedures:

You will be asked in an individual in-depth interview with the researcher. You will be asked questions related to child sexual offenses. Your opinions regarding child sexual abuse will be highly required. **Take note of the following:**

Confidentiality:

All the information you provide will be strictly confidential, and your name will not be mentioned. Instead you will be regarded as the respondents/informants. It is guaranteed that your true identification will be treated as highly confidential and in any part of the research your name, surname or any clue that would be traced back to you will not be mentioned/used. Any information given by you cannot be used against you, and the data collected will only be used for purpose of this study only. The data will be stored in secure storage and destroyed after 5 years.

Note about Voluntary Nature of Participation, duration of the interview and Statement about Compensation:

Your participation is voluntary. You may refuse to participate or may discontinue your participation at any time during the interview. You will not be refused/denied if you decide to discontinue at any time of the interview. You will not be reprimanded for taking such an action. Note that participating, not to participate, or stop participating in the research is your voluntary choice. The duration time for the interview will be about 45 minutes to 60 minutes. The researcher will not be able to compensate you for your time. The research is purely for academic purposes only, and therefore no financial gain involved.

Willingness to be interviewed

If you are willing to be interviewed, please indicate (by ticking as applicable) whether or not you are willing to allow the interview to be recorded by the following equipment:

Equipment	Willing	Not willing
Audio equipment		
Photographic equipment		
Video equipment		

Information about this study:

You will be given the opportunity to ask, and to have answered, all your questions about this research by e-mailing or calling the principal researcher, whose contact information is listed at the top of this letter. All inquiries are confidential. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant or if problems arise, which you do not feel you can discuss with the Primary Investigator, please contact the researcher's supervisor Dr. S Mkhize at 0312601773, email: Mkhizes12@ukzn.ac.za and University HSSREC, Ms. Phumelele Ximba: 0312603587, email:ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your interest/contribution to the study.

DECLARATION

I………………………………………………………………… (Full name(s) 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 have freedom to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so wish.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT   **DATE**

………………………………………   …………………………………

Appendix 2 Incwadi Yesicelo Mvume

Mthathi nxaxheba obekekileyo

INCWADI YESICELO MVUME

Isihloko: Indlela uluntu elulubona ngayo uxhatshazo lwabantwana ngezesondo, isifundo singoluntu lwaseNgangelizwe eMthatha

Umfunilwazi ophambile ne ncukacha zonxibelelwano

Inishiyali ne fani: MR Mphatheni
Inombolo yomnxeba: 078 6254 002
I imeyile: doc.mandlenkosi@gmail.com

Injongo yesisifundo:

Ndingumfundi kwiDyunivesithi yaKwaZulu Natal owenza izifundo zobuntlola kwezolwaphulomthetho. Enye yenjongo yezifundo zam kukwenza uphando. Ndikwasebenzisna noGqirha Sezelo Mkhize ondikhankatheleyo koluphando, kukwanguye nomntu abantu abayakuthi banxibelelane naye xa kukho oko banqwenela ukuqonda. Ingaba ungathanda na ukuthatha inxaxheba kule mfunalwazi ingendlela uluntu elulubona ngayo uxhatshazo lwabantwana ngezesondo. Lo msebenzi uyinxalenye yenjongo zomphandi zokufumasisa iimbono zoluntu ngoxhatshazwa kwabantwana ngezesondo, nokufumanisa ukuba ngobani abangabaxhaphazi kwaye nokukhangela indlela kuluntu eziyakuthi zivelise izisombululo kule ngxubakaxaka.

Umgaqo:

Uyakuthi ubuzwe ngumphandi imibuzo, le mibuzo inxulumelene nohlukunyezwa kwabantwana ngezesondo. Izimvo zakho ngalomba zibalulekile kakhulu.

Qaphela oku kulandelayo:

Kuyakubayimfihlo oku:

Izimvo zakho osinike zona ziyakubayimfihlo, negamalakho alizukusetyenziswa. Uyakubizwa ngokuba ungumthathi nxaxheba. Uyaqinisekiswa okokuba igama lakho lizakugcinwa liyimfihlo nakwesiphi na isigaba soluphando. Naluphi na uluvo othe wasinika lona alusayikusetyenziselwa ezinye iinjongo ngaphandle kwale yesisifundo qwaba. Izimvo ezicholacholweyo ziyakuthi zigcinwe kwindawo ekhethekileyo kuthi emva kweminyaka emihlanu zitshatyalaliswe.

Qaphela, indlela yothatha inxaxheba, ixesha lodliwanondlebe nenkacaza ngamaqithiqithi:

Ukuthatha inxaxheba kuxhomekeke kuwe. Ungakwala ukuthatha inxaxheba, ukwavumelekile nokuyeka phakathi kudliwanondlebe xa uthandile ukwenjenjalo. Awusayi kuxoxiswa ngokwenjenjalo. Qhaphela ukuthatha inxaxheba, okanye ukungathathi nxaxheba, okanye ukuyeka phakathi kuxhomekeke kuwe. Udliwanodlebe luyakuthi lithathe imizuzu ekuma- 45 ukuya kwema – 60 yemizuzu. Awusayikubhatalwa ngokuthatha kwakho inxaxheba koludliwanondlebe. Oluphando luyakusetyenziselwa injongo zezemfundo qwaba, ngoko akusayi kubakho kubhatalwa kwabantu.

Ukulungela udliwanondlebe

Ukuba uyanqwenela ukuthatha inxaxheba kudliwanondlebe, cacisa (ngokorekisha) uhlobo loshicilelo oyakuthanda ukulwenziwa, ngokwesixhobo esibandakanyiweyo apha ngezanzi:

Isixhobo	Ndingathanda	Andingethandi
Soshicilelo zwi		
ikhamera		
Ividiyo khamera		

Ulwazi ngesifundo/uphando

Uyakunikwa ithuba lokuba ubuze imibuzo, kwaye iphendulwe yonke imibuzo yakho ngophando ngokuthi u-email okanye utsalele umnxeba umfuni lwazi ophambili, inkcukacha zingasentla kulembalelwano. Yonke imibuzo iyakuba yimfihlo. Ukuba unemibuzo onayo malunga namalungelo wakho njengomthathinxaxheba okanye kukho ingxaki evelayo, onganqweneli ukuyishukuxa nomPhandi ophambile, wamkelekile ukuba uqhagamshelane nekhankatha lomPhandi, uGqirha S. Mkhize ku – 0312601773, email: Mkhizes12@ukzn.ac.za kwakunye ne Dyunivesithi HSSREC nkosazana Phumelele Ximba 0312603587, email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Siyabulela ngenxaxheba yakho kwesisifundo/phando

ISIBHAMBATHISO

Mna…………………………………………………………….. (amagama onke omthathi
nxaxheba) ndiyavuma ukuba ndiyakuqonda konke okuqulethwe lelixwebhu nohlobo lophando
olwenziwayo, kwaye ndinikeza imvume yam yokuthatha inxaxheba koluphando.

Ndiyakuqonda okokuba ndikhululekile ukurhoxa koluphando nanini na xa
sukube ndithandenjalo.

Atyikitye apha umthathi nxaxheba   umhla

…………………………………………   …………………………………………

Appendix 3 Declaration of Consent

DECLARATION OF CONSENT

PROJECT TITLE:

RESEARCHER	**SUPERVISOR**

Full Name(s): Mphatheni Mandlenkosi Richard   Full name of Supervisor: Mkhize Sazelo

School: Social sciences   School: Social Science

College: Humanities   College: Humanities

Campus: Howard College   Campus: Howard College

Proposed Qualification: Masters of Social Science   Contact details: (031) 260 1773

                                  (Criminology)   Email: mkhizes12@ukzn.ac.za

Contact: 0786254002

Email: doc.mandlenkosi@gmail.com

HSSREC RESEARCH OFFICE

Full Name: Prem Mohun
HSS Research Office
Govan Bheki Building
Westville Campus
Contact: 0312604557
Email: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

I Mphatheni Mandlenkosi Richard **Student no** 215078023 **am** MASS student, at the School of Social Science, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. You are invited to participate in a research project entitled: Community Perceptions of Child Sexual Assault, Case study of Ngangelizwe community in Mthatha. The aim of the study is to explore and understand perceptions of child

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sexual assault at the community in a Township area Ngangelizwe at Mthatha in Eastern Cape South Africa. Specific study aim is to find out on public's own opinions, which people who are the perpetrators of child sexual assault and the means that that people can recommend to combat the incidence of child sexual assault. The study also aims to find out psychological, social, and biological effect of child sexual offences to the child, parents, family, and the community at large.

With your involvement, I hope to understand your perceptions of Child Sexual Assault (CSA). I would like to acquire your deeper insight of CSA, and how it has affected the children, parents, family, and the community at large. I assure you that your responses will not be recognized with you personally. Your involvement to the study is entirely voluntary and there is no penalty if you do not participate in the study. Please sign on the dotted line to show that you have read and understood the content of this letter. The interview will take about 45 minutes to 60 minutes.

Appendix 4 Declaration for Consent

UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL ™

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

DECLARATION FOR CONSENT

I…………………………………………………………………………..(Full name)
hereby confirm that I have read and understand the contents of this letter and the nature of
the research project has been clearly defined prior to participating in this research project.

I understand that I have freedom to withdraw from the study at any time, should I so desire.

Participants

Signature………………………………….

Date……………………………………….

ISIBHAMBATHISO SESIVUMELWANO

ISIHLOKO SOPHANDO:

UMPHANDI   **IKHANKATHA**

Amagama: Mphatheni Mandlenkosi Richard   Amagama: Mkhize Sazelo M

Isikolo: Sobunzululwazi

Appendix 5 Questions

Questions

What kind of child sexual abuse is common in this area?

What measures has the community taken to deal with the epidemic? What do you think is the solution to this epidemic?

Does community have any measures in place to deal with this epidemic?

Are there any government structures helpful in trying to combat this epidemic? If not in what way would you like government to help?

Do you think SAPS is doing enough in preventing child sexual abuse?

Has the involvement of social workers been effective in dealing with the epidemic? substantiate

What preventative measures would you suggest for the community? telling more information about it

In your own opinion what do you think could be reason for offenders to have easy access sexually to children?

What are the effects of child sexual abuse to children?

How does the sexual abuse of children impact/affect the parents of the victim child and the community at large?

In your view at what age can a child be left alone at home?

What can people do if they suspect a child sexual abuse?

Do the clothes children wear (tight, miniskirts, transparent and short clothes) arouse men's sexual desire which would be followed by the demand for sex (rape).

Could child sexual assault be linked to the use of alcohol and substance abuse?

Poor parenting/parental care and poverty can they make children vulnerable to sexual abuse.

Appendix 6 Imibuzo

Imibuzo

Loluphi uhlobo loxhaphazo ngezesondo oluxhaphakileyo kulendawo?

Ngawaphi amanyathelo enziweyo luluntu ukulwisana nalengxaxi?

Wena, ungcinga ukuba ingayintoni isisombululo salengxaki?

Ingaba abahlali/uluntu lunazo na izisombolulo eziqulunqiweyo zokulwisasana na le ngxaxi?

Ingaba akhona na amasebe karhulmente ancedisa nani ukulwisana na le ngxaki?

Ukuba awekho, loluphi uhlobo onqwenela ukuba urhulumente anincedise ngalo?

Ucinga angaba amaPolisa eli enza okwaneleyo ekulweni uxhatshazo lwabantwana ngezesondo?

Ingaba ungenelelo lo Nontlalontle lubenemiphumela ebonakalayo na ekulwisaneni/eqobisaneni na lengxaki? Cacisa.

Ngawaphi amanyathelo okuthintela le ngxaki ongawacebisa eluntwini? Phuhlisa.

Ngolwakho uluvo, ucinga ukuba yinto ebangela ukuba abo baxhaphazayo bafumane ikroba lula lokuxhaphaza abantwana ngeze sondo? / ucinga ukuba yintoni eyenza kuba kubelula kwizaphulimthetho ukuxhapahaza abantwana ngezesondo?/ cinga ukuba yintoni ebangela abantwana babengamaxhoba alula ekuxhatshazweni ngezesondo?

Yinto imiphumela yoxhatshazwa kwantwana ngeze sondo, kubantwana abangamaxhoba?

Ibanjani imiphumela yoxhatshazwa kwamntwana ngezesondo kubazali bomntwana olixhoba nakuluntu ngokubanzi?

Ngokweyakho imbono, ku xa ekwiminyaka emingaphi umntwana apho angaselungelweni lokokuba ashikeye yedwa kowabo?

Yinto engenziwa luluntu xa bekrokrela ukuba kukho umntwana oxhatshazwa ngezesondo?

Ingaba impahla enxitywa ngantwana (ethi maxawambi iveze malungu angasese, oothayithi, iilokhwe ezimfutshane) inalo na igalelo elithi livuselele imizwa yamadoda, ethi kamva ikhokelele kuxhatshazo ngezesondo kubantwana?

Ingaba ukuxhatshazwa kwabantwana ngezesondo kunganxulunyaniswa nokusetyenziswa kotywala neziyobisi ngokugqithisileyo?

Ingaba ukungakwazi ukukhulisa abantantwana ngendlela eyiyo kwakunye nendlala, zinegalelo ekubekeni abantwana ebungcuphekweni bokuxhatshazwa ngezesondo?

Appendix 7 Request for Permission to conduct study

King Sabatha Dalindyebo Local Municipality

PO Box 45

Mthatha

5099

17 June 2016

Dear Sir/Madam

<u>Request for Permission to conduct research</u>

My name is Mandlenkosi Mphatheni, and I am a Criminology Masters' candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The research I wish to conduct for my Masters is titled **"**Public perceptions of child sexual assault. This project will be conducted under the supervision of Dr Sazelo Michael Mkhize, a Criminology lecturer at the University. I am hereby seeking your consent to approach a number of Ngangelizwe citizens, to be participants in this research project.

Brief Objectives and hypothesis of the research

The constitution (Act 108 of 1996 section 28(1) (d)), states that "Every child has the right to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse and degradation". Thus at the opening session of South Africa's first democratic elected parliament the then president late Mr Nelson Mandela committed the country to a "First call for children". This call challenged the country to ensure that children are well taken care and protected against any kind of abuse.

Specifically, the research project has the following objectives:

To explore community perception on child sexually abuse.

To determine who are perpetrators of child sexual assault.

To determine the effect of child sexual abuse on children and community as a whole.

To investigate what measures can community members recommend preventing child sexual assault?

Upon completion of the study, I undertake to provide the Municipality with a bound copy of the full research report. If you require any further information, please do not hesitate to contact me on 0786254002, email doc.mandlenkosi@gmail.com, or at 215078023@stu.ukzn.ac.za or you can contact my supervisor at 0840720086, email Mkhizes12@ukzn.ac.za. Thank you for your time and consideration in this matter.
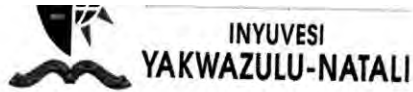
Yours sincerely,

Mandlenkosi Mphatheni

Criminology and forensic studies

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Apendix 8 Ethical Clearance Form

INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

19 July 2016

Mr Mandlenkosi Richard Mphatheni 215078023
School of Applied Human Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Mphatheni

Protocol reference number: HSS/0789/016M
Project Title: Community perceptions of child sexual assualt. Case study of Ngangelizwe community in Mthatha

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 02 June 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

....
Dr Shamila Naidoo (Deputy Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Cc Supervisor: Dr SM Mkhize
Cc Academic Leader Research: Dr Jean Steyn
Cc School Administrator: Ms Ayanda Ntuli

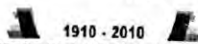Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
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Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

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100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE
Founding Campuses: Edgewood   Howard College   Medical School   Pietermaritzburg   Westville

Apendix 9 Permission Letter

NGANGELIZWE, IKWEZI WARD 02 COMMUNITY

Address: 634 Sotho Rd
Ngangelizwe
Mthatha
5099

Contact person: Cllr N.Gcingca
072 240 6333/072 3792315

06 JULY 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Sir/Madam,

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN NGANGELIZWE COMMUNITY- WARD 02 KING SABATA DALINDYEBO MUNICIPALITY

This communiqué serves confirm that permission has been granted to Mandlenkosi Mphatheni to conduct research on the public perceptions of child sexual assault in Ngangelizwe ward 02 community, for the period of ninety days, commencing on the 11 July 2016 – 11September 2016.

The permission is granted on the basis that the results of the findings will only be utilised for research purposes and a copy shall be provided for the municipality upon completion.

Hoping you will find the above in order.

Yours in developmental local government,

N.R GCINGCA
WARD 02 COUNCILLOR

WARD 2
COUNCILLOR N. R. GCINGCA
KSD MUNICIPALITY
Date....06/07/16....Sign....