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JOURNAL PURPOSE

The purpose of the *Ngenani - Zimbabwe Ezekiel Guti University Journal of Community Engagement and Societal Transformation Review and Advancement*, is to provide a forum for community engagement and outreach.

CONTRIBUTION AND READERSHIP

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Abstract: must be 200 words

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Italicise *et al.*, *ibid.*, words that are not English, not names of people or organisations, etc. When you use several scholars confirming the same point, state the point and bracket them in one bracket and ascending order of dates and alphabetically separated by semi-colon e.g. (Falkenmark, 1989, 1990; Reddy, 2002; Dagdeviren and Robertson, 2011; Jacobsen *et al.*, 2012).

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POLICING THE SCOURGE OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE IN HATCLIFFE COMMUNITY, HARARE, ZIMBABWE: A PRAGMATIC APPROACH

ADMIRE MTHOMBENI¹, KENNEDY CHINGOMBE², IREEN DZINGAI³, SHINGIRAI SIZIBA⁴, STEPHEN MAKAZA⁵ AND MORGEN SITHOLE⁶

Abstract

The main aim of this study was to investigate the effectiveness of crime awareness campaigns in curbing child sexual abuse. Hatcliffe Community in Harare, Zimbabwe, was the focus of the study. The research's objectives were, inter alia: to determine various forms of child sexual abuse, to determine factors leading to child sexual abuse, to establish the challenges faced by ZRP Borrowdale in curbing child sexual abuse and to proffer strategies that could be adopted to curb child sexual abuse cases in Hatcliffe Community. The study utilised a pragmatic approach to research, applying both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Questionnaires and interview guides were used to collect quantitative and qualitative data which was then presented in the form of graphs, tables and charts created with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Data were gathered

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from police officers at ZRP Borrowdale. The study findings show that crime awareness campaigns can effectively reduce child sexual abuse cases. It is recommended that the Zimbabwe Republic Police should formulate a comprehensive partnership with other stakeholders like religious organisations, children's rights protection advocacy groups, schools and the mass media to raise an equally comprehensive public awareness campaign programmes against child sexual abuse.

Keywords: *child, sexual abuse, juvenile, rape, child marriage, indecent assault.*

INTRODUCTION

This article seeks to critically evaluate the effectiveness of crime awareness campaigns in reducing in policing the scourge of child sexual abuse. As observed by Princeton University (2015), child sexual abuse is a serious social problem that has gained global public attention since around the 1970s. Child abuse has increasingly been recognised as deeply damaging to children and thus unacceptable to societies worldwide. Children are in danger of experiencing child sexual abuse across multiple settings in their lives, ranging from household, communities to various social institutions such as, schools, religious and political organisations across all societies globally (WHO, 2015).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Figure 1 depicts how the independent variables of the study are linked with the intervening and dependent variables. Crime awareness campaigns seem to have a direct impact on the rise or decrease of the problem of child sexual abuse. The crime awareness campaigns can be carried out in various forms as shown in the conceptual framework such as word of mouth, social media, mass media and the Police website. The word-of-mouth campaigns means that the Police physically interface with members of the public and key stakeholders

in groups or individuals to raise awareness on the need to fight child sexual abuse. Through social media, the Police utilise platforms like WhatsApp, Facebook and Twitter to disseminate information; crime awareness campaigns can equally be made through mass media in which the Police makes use of mainstream print and electronic media like newspapers, magazines, television and radio to reach out to the target audience; and the Police can also use its website wherein educative information on child sexual abuse is fed on internet for general public access. The adoption of each or all of these and other forms of crime awareness campaigns strategies, has a bearing on the quality of information received and subsequent increase or decrease of child sexual abuse.

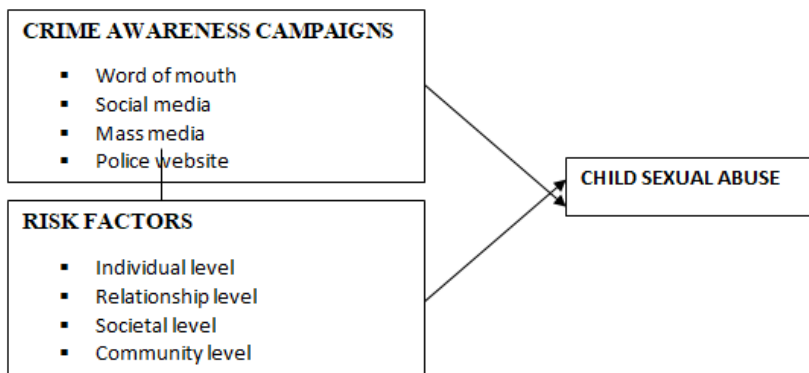


Figure 1: Independent variables (Authors, 2023)

The risk factors can predispose children to the problem of child sexual abuse if awareness about them is not raised to change the individual, relationship, society and community attitude about them. Therefore, crime awareness campaigns affect how people become aware about the risks found at individual, relationship, societal and community level. Subsequently, the knowledge gained or not gained about these risk factors directly affects the outcome in the fight against the problem of child sexual abuse.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

WHO (2013) posit that one in five women and one in thirteen men, aged 17 years or more, have been sexually abused worldwide. In 2018, a study conducted by Australian Institute of Health and Welfare in Australia highlighted that one in six Australian women, and one in nine men, have been sexually abused at the age of 15 years or younger. The trend is corroborated by evidence from Australian Bureau of Statistics of 2009 which indicates that about 42% of child sexual abuse cases reported to Australian police from Northern Territory Aboriginal communities were perpetrated against children under the age of 14 years and majority of the cases were largely committed by perpetrators known to the victims. As a reaction to the social problem of child sexual abuse, the Australian police agency enforced a series of subsequent legislation that came to be known as “the intervention” to contain the scourge. However, as observed by Roffee (2016), the Australian police intervention received widespread criticism and has been largely unsuccessful as child abuse cases continued to rise. The Centre for Disease Control and Prevention 2022 survey highlights that about 1 in 4 girls and 1 in 13 girls in the United States of America experience child sexual abuse every year. The survey also points out that the total lifetime economic burden of child sexual abuse in the USA in 2015 was estimated to be at least US\$9.3 billion. This huge figure undoubtedly indicates the significant impact of child sexual abuse on the country’s socio-economic wellbeing. UNICEF (2020) contends that about 676 000 children in the USA have experienced child sexual abuse from 2015 to 2016. In 2017, the figure rose to 685 000, indicating about 1, 3% increase within a year despite government funded multi-sectoral strategies to address the social scourge.

After noticing an incremental trend in child sexual abuse cases, prevention programmes designed to raise awareness and reduce risk factors related to child sexual abuse were developed in the United States of America during the 1970s (Loyd, 2015). Some programmes

were delivered to children and included one-to-one work and group work. An example of such programmes is Maine Coalition Against Sexual Assault (MACASA) that provided local and state communities in Maine evidence-based knowledge and skills that were important for children to prevent victimisation and provided tools if victimisation occurred.

In the 1980s, other prevention programmes targeting parents were developed and took the form of one-off meetings that could last two to three hours long (Loyd, 2015). There were several of such awareness campaigns developed by New York Office of Children and Family Services to provide information in multiple languages for parents to educate, inform and protect children from sexual abuse. Around 1990s, web-based programmes were developed, school-based education programmes were also introduced around the year 2010 in various American schools to conscientise stakeholders on the need to improve on protective behaviours and knowledge among children.

Despite all the prevention strategies implemented, many child-sexual abuse cases were largely unreported (Johnson, 2004). Smith (2008) argues that accurate statistics on the prevalence of child sexual abuse are difficult to collect due to problems associated with underreporting by victims and the lack of proper definition of what constitute this form of sexual exploitation. Sawikar and Kartz (2018) concur that measuring the scale and nature of child sexual abuse can be difficult because it is usually hidden from view. In some cases, victims are unable to report their experiences and adults are not always able to recognise that child sexual abuse is taking place. As a result, administrative data sources do not represent the full scale of child sexual abuse as a global menace.

In the Sub-Saharan African region, the prevalence of child sexual abuse is deep rooted and unembroidered. A National Prevalence Survey on

Child Sexual Abuse conducted in 2007 in Swaziland established that approximately 1 in 3 female children experienced sexual abuse (Reza *et al.*, 2009). In Tanzania, 4 in 10 females the age of 18 years have experienced more than one incident of child sexual abuse (Centre for Disease Control and Prevention, 2011). An estimated 32 percent females and 18 percent males all 18 years of age in Kenya have also fallen victim to sexual abuse (Centre for Disease Control and Prevention, 2012).

Zimbabwe is not spared from this social problem of child sexual abuse. The country is equally affected by a notable increase in child sexual abuse cases. As observed by Zimbabwe Demographic Health Survey (2011), about 49 percent of women aged between 15-49 have noted that they have experienced child sexual abuse between the ages of 15 to 18 years. This is corroborated by ZimStat (2013) that concurs that a national cross-sectional survey shows how, about 33% female study respondents, experienced some form of child sexual abuse before reaching the age of 18 years, about 9% of the males reported the same, an indication that at least females are three times more likely to be victims of child sexual abuse than males.

Childline Zimbabwe (2020) has observed that about 25 000 cases of child abuse have been received in 2018 alone. The statistics point out that child sexual abuse was more prevalent among the recorded cases as they constituted 51%, followed by physical abuse with 14% while neglect contributed to 10%. Of the 51% cases of child sexual abuse recorded in 2018, 7.8% were from Hatcliffe Community alone. By mid-2021, child sexual abuse statistics had risen to 8.2% in the same community. The recorded statistics point out to the urgent need to develop prevention programmes to arrest the menace within the affected communities, such as Hatcliffe. Reza *et al.* (2009) contend that the bulk of resources channelled towards addressing child sexual abuse have been mostly centred on treatment for victims and justice-

inclined approaches for perpetrators other than prevention strategies. These efforts are important after child sexual abuse has occurred. However, researches have been made in the effectiveness of proactive primary prevention strategies such as awareness campaigns in curbing child sexual abuse in Zimbabwe.

There are rampant cases of child sexual abuse in Hatcliffe Community. Children under the age of 16 years are falling pregnant and dropping out of school and are being forced into early marriages. Child sexual abuse has mostly affected the girl child to an extent that the community residents are increasingly becoming worried about the social protection of their children against this form of sexual exploitation. On numerous occasions, the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) in Borrowdale carries out crime awareness campaigns as part of its policing strategies to educate the community on child sexual abuse in a bid to reduce cases of child sexual abuse. However, despite all the campaigns being carried out, child sexual abuse cases continue to rise. Hence, this research aims to critically investigate the effectiveness of crime awareness campaigns in curbing child sexual abuse cases. It is against this background that the research aims to investigate the effectiveness of crime awareness campaigns in curbing child sexual abuse cases. The secondary objectives of the study are as follows:

- To determine various forms of child sexual abuse in Hatcliffe Community.
- To identify factors leading to child sexual abuse in Hatcliffe Community.
- To establish the challenges faced by ZRP Borrowdale in curbing child sexual abuse in Hatcliffe Community.
- To proffer other strategies that can be adopted to curb child sexual abuse cases in Hatcliffe Community.

THE FINKELHOR'S PRECONDITION MODEL (1984)

As an entry point into the theoretical basis grounding this study, an analysis is made on Finkelhor's Precondition model on child sexual abuse offenders. This model was developed by David Finkelhor in 1984 while studying the problems of child sexual victimisation, child maltreatment and family violence. In his model, Finkelhor (1984) argues that the occurrence of child sexual abuse is based on four underlying assumptions. The first assumption is that sex with children is emotionally satisfying to the offender; the second assumption is that men who commit sexual offences on children are sexually aroused by a child; thirdly, men have sex with children because they are unable to meet their sexual needs in socially appropriate ways; and finally, the fourth assumption is that men who sexually abuse children behave in ways contrary to their normal behaviour.

Finkelhor's Precondition model considers these assumptions as possible motivational factors underlying the sexual abuse of children. Understanding theoretical explanations behind child sexual abuse as a social problem is important in determining appropriate strategies to deal with the problem. Finkelhor's Precondition model advances the idea that child sexual abuse does not start with the child but with the premeditated thoughts and desires of a person who wants to abuse children. He further posits that child sexual abusers usually fantasise about what they would like to do to a child they find a way to act on these thoughts (Williams, 2020). With premeditated thoughts and desires to sexually abuse children, the sexual offenders become fully aware that it is wrong and illegal to abuse children but the model claims that they always suppress or overcome this rational thought (Finkelhor, Cuevas and Drawbridge, 2017). Child sexual abusers overcome the rational thinking by justifying that they are not abusing but assisting the child in some way, such as teaching the child about sex.

Child sexual abusers also shift blame from themselves and blame the victim for being attractive, blame others for not fulfilling their sexual needs or equally blame their actions as being out of character due to mental illness, alcohol and drugs. Some abusers may actively use alcohol or drugs to overcome thoughts that their behaviour is wrong. Finkelhor's model also buttresses the fact that the potential child abuser finds and creates an opportunity to get the child alone or at least away from a protective adult. It further explains that child sexual abusers usually target children they have easy access to, especially in instances where parents are absent or unaware, baby-sitting, during bedtime or bathing. It is only when the scene is set that the child comes into the picture. Now with the desire to abuse, having given themselves permission to abuse and having spotted or created an opportunity to abuse, child sexual abusers only have to make sure that they overcome any resistance the child may put up. This is often easily done through use of adult authority, bribes, threats or shame (Williams, 2020)

Finkelhor's precondition model served as the earliest form of guiding framework for intervention to rehabilitate sexual offenders with the sole aim of addressing the problem of child sexual abuse. After intervention, there were notable improvements in the offender's areas such as control, the ability to maintain relationships and reduced disassociation and dysfunctional sexual behaviour. Collings and Duff (2016) argue that the application of this model had a way of addressing child sexual abuse as it worked to increase the individual's awareness of their offending behaviour while reducing denial and increasing empathy for the victim.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Knowledge of prevalent forms of child sexual abuse is cardinal in informing holistic prevention modalities (Muchacha and Mthetwa, 2015). Hall and Hall (2011) contend that child sexual abuse manifests

in variety of forms that include rape, indecent assault, sodomy, abduction and child marriage. Barrett (2009), adds that child sexual abuse also takes the form of making obscene phone calls, text messages, exposing children to digital interaction with sexually suggestive materials like pornography and masturbating in front of a child. Hall and Hall (2011) further assert that child sexual abuse can be difficult to define because of the many different forms it can take on, the different levels of frequency, the variation of circumstances it can occur within and the different relationships that it may be associated with. Discussed are other forms of child sexual abuse.

Rape is an intentional and unlawful sexual intercourse by a male over fourteen years of age with a woman with her consent (Muridzo and Malianga, 2015). This is the serious form of child sexual abuse where vaginal penetration even in the slightest degree is sufficient and ejaculation by the male is not necessary to constitute the offence. Many children have been vulnerable and left at the mercy of this form of abuse as buttressed by Chihera (2016) who averred that children in Africa are vulnerable to the crime of rape that is not only horrific form of abuse, but has serious consequences not limited to potential unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections (STIs).

As observed by statistics given by Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network (2022), one in 9 girls and one in 53 boys under the age of eighteen years' experience sexual abuse in form of rape and indecent assault respectively in the hands of both male and female adults globally. Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network (2022) further reveals that 82% percent of all victims under 18 years of age are females. The United States Department of Justice (2017) also highlighted that female children 18 years of age are four times more likely than the general population to be victims of rape and attempted rape as a form of child sexual abuse.

Indecent assault constitutes another dimension of child sexual abuse characterised by intentional and unjustified touching or fondling of a private area of a child including but not limited to, the breasts, abdomen, thighs, buttocks, genital or pubic areas of a female or buttocks, genital or pubic areas of a male (Nayman et al., 2022). Muridzo and Malianga (2015) concur that indecent assault as a form of child sexual abuse is a deliberate sexual assault perpetrated by male and female adults targeting the minors' sexual organs. It is further averred that indecent assault include such actions as performing oral sex, sexual touching or fondling, attempted rape and deliberately exposing genitals of an adult to a child. As observed by section 73 (3) of Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act, Chapter 9:23, indecent assault as a form of child sexual abuse extents to situations where male persons perform anal sexual intercourse with young male persons who are the age of sixteen years with or without their consent. The section classifies the offence as sodomy if it is performed by consenting male adults of or the age of eighteen years.

The South African Criminal Law of 2007 describes incest as an illegal and deliberate engagement in an act of sexual breach among persons who may not legally marry each other on account of some degree of relationship, either kinship or adoptive (Smit, 2021). In Zimbabwe, incest is codified under section 2 of the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act, (Chapter 9:23), as an act of sexual intercourse within a prohibited degree of relationship such as between a parent and his or her child, a brother and a sister whether of whole or half blood, an uncle and a niece, among others tied within family relations. Izibili (2012) explains that incest is viewed and categorised as a form of child sexual abuse when it occurs between adults and those who are under the majority age of 18 years.

The New York Child Welfare Training Institute (2015) argues that although incest as a form of child sexual abuse occurs within various

degree of family relationship, the father-daughter incest is the most prevalent. It is further highlighted that the prevalent father-daughter incest manifests in three stages that are the engagement stage, the sexual interaction stage and the post disclosure or suppression stage. In the engagement stage, the father spends much time with children particularly daughters, in which sexual tendencies arise. This happens when mothers (wives) are not around, thus a sexual relations build ups over time (Finkelman, 2013). The author argues that adopts and tests persuasive ways to entice the daughter and the sexual abuse results. The New York Child Welfare Training Institute (2015) also argues that opportunities for fathers and daughters to be alone may be incidental in the beginning, but can be planned or created as time goes on.

The sexual interaction stage is marked by an ongoing growth from mild to more severe sexual abuse and it happen in various degree of intimacy (Sadock and Sadock; Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman, 2010). The sexual abuse goes from fondling to oral-genital sex and ultimately sexual penetration that makes up incestuous activity. The post disclosure or suppression stage is characterised by anxiety and fear for both the victim and the family. Smit (2021) argues that the anxiety is usually influenced by the abuser's denial and the family members self-blame and insecurity, prompting majority of this form of child sexual abuse cases to go unreported. Incest is classified as a social ill and a form of sexual abuse in many nations.

Thompson and Wilkinson (2010) claim that child marriage is a violation of human rights. Many cultures, especially in Africa, practice arranged marriages that are often arranged at very young ages. As observed by Simuforosa (2015), these early marriages represent the most prevalent form of child sexual abuse where the family deliberately exposes children to sexual abuse. Child marriage as form of child sexual abuse is still a prevalent in most parts of India, Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa (Kirton, 2011). Child marriage is

equally common in other parts of Zimbabwe where parents make marital decisions for their daughters and sons with little consideration for personal implications on those choices.

It is within the context of this form of child sexual abuse that child wives are more vulnerable to child abuse (Cheal, 2008). Adverse vulnerability to child sexual abuse within child marriage setting is inevitable because of the unequal power relations that exist as men always tend to be older than their child wives (Simuforosa, 2015).

Section 81 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013) proclaims that every child has a right to be protected against sexual abuse and section 19 thereof places an obligation upon the State to identify risks that predispose children to sexual abuse to adopt necessary measures that protect the children against all forms of child sexual abuse. Economic decline has undermined family structures and conditions of poverty have made children more vulnerable to sexual abuse (Feltoe, 2017). Certain cultural and religious practices have also contributed to the occurrence of child sexual abuse (Mutangi *et al.*, 2017). Discussed are some of the factors contributing to child sexual abuse.

Child sexual abuse can also be fuelled by poverty due to socioeconomic problems in a country (Gwandure, 2012). Muridzo and Chikadzi (2020) argue that poverty is one of the major underlying factors contributing to child sexual abuse. The same scholars further buttress the fact that as country goes through an economic decline, fewer resources are channelled towards child protection leading to decline in standards of living for children. Consequently, children are left vulnerable to poverty that exposes them to the risk of child sexual abuse (*ibid.*). Odongo (2010) also concurs that the deterioration of socioeconomic standards of a nation often result in poverty, unemployment, poor housing and increase in criminal activities that leave many vulnerable children at the mercy of sexual exploitation. For

instance, due to economic challenges that impoverished many households in Zimbabwe from 2008 to 2009, many parents would leave their children alone or in the care of house maids, extended families and neighbours as they migrated to other countries to look for better employment opportunities. The situation increased children's vulnerability to sexual abuse by caregivers in the absence of the parents.

Poverty may also drive some parents to an extent of allowing their children especially girls to engage in prostitution to alleviate financial problems of the family. Such improper sexual behaviour by young girls exposed to work as sex workers heightens their vulnerability to child sexual abuse (Fekadu, 2008). This is supported by Busuttil (2011) who asserts that parents feel obligated to sell their children to pimps because their low salaries does not allow them to meet the needs of their families.

On the same footing, poverty makes parents in some families renege on their responsibility to provide for the needs of their children, who in turn get the support from extended families and strangers at high risk of sexual abuse. Busuttil (2011) further argues that impoverished households with diminished parental responsibility force children to leave their family environment to become street children with equally increased risk of child sexual abuse.

A study by Ritcher *et al.* (2014) reveal that poverty leads to squalid and overcrowded living conditions in many communities, a situation that also exposes children to sexual abuse. Lack of financial resources to pay for decent accommodation force many families to rent off living quarters in high density suburbs where people live in small crowded rooms, some divided with curtains with no privacy and exposing children to sexual abuse (Zerbo and Gonzalez, 2020). Another study by Cant *et al.* (2019) on poverty-induced overcrowding as a potential

socio-economic risk factor in child sexual abuse highlighted that in overcrowded living conditions, children often witness or listen to couples involved in sexual activities that contributes to the risk of sexual abuse.

The claim by the study is informed by Bandura's Social Learning theory (1997) that contend that social behaviour is learned by observing and imitating the behaviour of others. The theory advocates that children are surrounded by many models that always provide examples of good or bad behaviour to observe and imitate (McLeod, 2016). Children learn, observe and imitate others and by nature children are curious. Hence, such poverty-induced overcrowded environment fuels child sexual abuse as exposed children would be enticed to experience or imitate what they observe in behaviours around them. There is a possibility that this study may formulate findings that there is a strong correlation between poverty and child sexual abuse in the Hatcliffe Community.

In Zimbabwe, the cultural practice of sexual dalliance, indigenously known as *chiramu* has also been known as another risk factor for child sexual abuse as it is harmful especially to female children (Mawodza, 2019). Sexual dalliance is a cultural practice where a brother-in-law has the 'rights and or privileges' to have a casual romantic or sexual relationship with his wife's younger sister or niece (Mahachi, 2004 cited by Pasi, 2015). In such practice, the brother-in-law indecently assaults his young and unmarried sister-in-law under the guise of culture. The cultural practice is meant to teach young girls how a man proposes and how to avoid him. The girl would also learn how to look after a husband, as she would be doing it for the brother-in-law. Mahachi (2004) argues that sexual dalliance is a contributing factor to child sexual abuse because majority of female children have been abused as a result although most of these cases have gone unreported. In concurrence, Muridzo and Mhlanga (2015) observe how sexual

dalliance is a harmful cultural practice that promotes child sexual abuse as it involves customs where elder sisters' or aunts' husbands flirt or sexually indulge with their wives' younger sisters or brothers' daughters.

Those children that do not live with both biological parents are more likely to experience sexual abuse in the home. Children who stay with stepparents are at risk of sexual abuse. A stepfather runs the risk of sexually abusing a stepdaughter simply because there is no link of blood relationship. In a related study by Sammut (2014) about the study of family breakdown and child sexual abuse, it was established that children who not live with both biological parents, regardless of socioeconomic status, are far more likely to be abused than those in intact families. Sedlak *et al.* (2013) also found that children who live in step families were eight to nine times more likely to be sexually abused while children who live with a single parent with a partner in the home were twenty times more likely to be sexually abused.

The Sedlak *et al.* (2013) have further contended that step and single parent families represent more than two thirds, about 66-80% of all United States children that experienced abuse sexual child. Within the Zimbabwean context, incidences of step parents sexually abusing children are evident. Ritche *et al.* (2014) concur that children in broken homes are usually more susceptible to the sexual abuse than their peers in stable homes.

CHALLENGES OF CURBING CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

This section of the study elaborates some challenges faced in reducing cases of child sexual abuse, including limited public awareness. In Western countries, individual and societal sensitization to child sexual abuse is still only several decades old and remains incomplete (Olafson and Corwin, 2013). Knowledge gaps and misperceptions about child sexual abuse are widespread amongst the general public, professionals and societal opinion leaders (Cromer and Goldsmith, 2010). Yet, as

observed by Fontes and Plummer (2010), awareness of the nature of child sexual abuse and its various dimensions is an essential condition for prevention, recognition and action and is required at individual, institutional and societal levels.

At the individual level, awareness must be developed in children themselves, who may be victims, perpetrators and confidantes; parents and caregivers, whose supportive reaction is a cornerstone to the child victim's adjustment; and professionals in education, childcare, health, law enforcement, social welfare and other youth-serving organisations, as they are often the trusting adults to whom children turn (Collin-Vézina *et al.*, 2015). At the institutional level, it is important for management of youth-serving organisations to possess this awareness, if they are to train their staff and establish clear policies regarding abuse prevention and response. At the societal level, community leaders, religion, media, the government and judicial organisations are critical bearers of this knowledge and awareness is necessary in the general public (Wurtele, 2012).

UNREPORTED CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE CASES

Child sexual abuse remains an underreported crime throughout the world, regardless of extensive studies and resources committed both to improving investigative techniques and assisting children disclosing their ordeals (Chandran, Bhargava and Kishor, 2018). Although child sexual abuse is a prevalent phenomenon, a large number of cases go unreported and resultantly many children continue to suffer physically, emotionally and psychologically in silence. Seshadri and Ramaswamy (2017) posit that many reasons have been observed for not disclosing the abuse that arises from a complex interplay of individual, familial and social factors. The scholars argue that sexually abused children do not disclose the abuse because they are blackmailed or threatened into silence and are afraid of punishment.

Sedlak *et al.* (2010) buttress the fact that even if the child does talk about the experienced sexual abuse, the age-old belief that children lie prevents adults from taking necessary action about it. When adults do not respond adequately, it makes the victim child less receptive to the severity of the abuse and he or she may not bring it up again believing that it may not be anything to be overly worried about. When added to the stigmatising nature of sexual abuse further, this increases underreporting of child sexual abuse (Seshadri and Ramaswamy, 2017). For example, children in Indian societies grow up in an atmosphere where they are expected to respect their elders and disobedience is regarded as a sign of bad upbringing. Pallavi and Arun (2010) observe how such rigid obedience may compel children to not disclose the activities of sexual offenders.

LACK OF EMPATHY BY PERPETRATORS

Another challenge faced in fighting child sexual abuse is the empathy problem. Empathy is a contested concept that has been given different meanings within philosophy, psychology and neuroscience (Lamm *et al.*, 2015). However, within the context of child sexual abuse empathy is defined as an accurate cognitive understanding of another person's situation, feelings and needs and an affectively motivated action that is appropriate to that person's situation (Baron-Cohen, 2011). Empathy is a skill that enables understanding of another person's experience and appropriate responses and behaviours. The important point is that either as a general mechanism, or if specifically contextualised, empathic concern towards another person encourages pro-social altruistic behaviour (Hein *et al.*, 2016). In this perspective, Klimecki *et al.* (2014) observe how empathy calls for a capacity and willingness to imagine the abused child's perceptions, needs and trauma and right to bodily inviolability, while avoiding the profound distress some have claimed decreases helping behaviour.

Lack of empathy is regarded as a challenge in fighting child sexual abuse because its presence is critically necessary to reduce sexual violence generally (Jewkes *et al.*, 2013) and against children in particular (Jewkes *et al.*, 2015). Exercising empathy catalyses behaviour appropriate to the needs of the person and acts as a circuit-breaker on inappropriate impulses and harmful behaviour. Mathews and Collin-Vezina (2016) note how effort to develop and exercising empathy offer various opportunities in the fight against child sexual abuse. At the individual level, heightened empathy may contribute to a potential sexual offender resisting the impulse to abuse a child; to a parent to sensitively deal with a child's disclosure instead of suppressing it; to a professional who does not suppress his or her knowledge or suspicion of a child's experience and instead reports it.

At the institutional level, heightened empathy may contribute to a willingness to improve policies that minimise the likelihood of perpetration of child sexual abuse and to appropriate responses instead of institutional cover-ups and protection of perpetrators. Mathews and Collin-Vezina (2016) further assert that at the societal level, heightened empathy may contribute to governments designing effective laws and policy interventions, community leaders advocating for children's safety and to the development of social norms that protect children's rights, promote gender equality and neutralise harmful attitudes such as a sense of entitlement to indulge sexual impulses against children.

Curbing child sexual abuse requires a collective effort to further understand the causes of child sexual abuse and various approaches to tackle it. The strategies suggested aim to promote social norms that guard against sexual violence, enhance skills to prevent sexual violence against children, provide opportunities to empower and support children while creating protective environments and protect

sexual abuse victims or survivors from further harm. The strategies border around inculcating good moral values, strengthening economic support to families to reduce poverty, raising awareness about sexual abuse early in life and increase disclosure, enhancing parenting skills to promote healthy child development and intervening to minimise immediate and long-term effects on child sexual abuse victims.

To complement other strategies, different religious groupings such as Christian church organisations should play an essential role in the fight against the child sexual abuse. While Onah (2010) proposes that Christianity helped proclaim the dignity of the human being, the Church has a moral obligation to preach the gospel of the dignity of the person and equality of all human beings. The Child Rights International Network (2014) argues that the Catholic Church is one of the religious groupings that have always been participating in raising educational awareness campaigns that sexual intimacy is reserved for marriage, maintaining that issues such as fornication, masturbation, rape, unnatural sexual intercourse are contrary to a deep sense of sexuality.

The church should develop and implement an ongoing education plan for the entire congregation and its leaders on the reality of child sexual abuse, risk factors leading to child abuse and strategies for prevention. They do this by preaching against child abuse, sensitizing the public on the dangers of child sexual abuse and frequent call on the governments to step up efforts in addressing the problem (Ide and Kalu, 2018). Such religious organisations like churches that command highest numbers of congregants should regularly advise children and young persons of an agencies or persons outside and within the local church whom they can contact for advice and help if they have suffered sexual abuse to reduce under-reporting and promote disclosure of child abuse cases.

Participation of Non-Governmental Organisations go a long way in capacitating local communities with resources toward raising awareness about child sexual abuse through community workshops. Khera (2017) advocates that Non-Governmental Organisations have a key role in the prevention of child sexual abuse as far as providing a safe environment for children is concerned. The scholar argues that these organisations agitate for adequate measures to ensure all stakeholders are aware of their Child Protection Policy and measures are taken to prevent sexual abuse. Hence, the participation of Non-Governmental Organisations in the fight against child sexual abuse can also create a considerable impact on the lives of the children.

The main aim of educational programmes as a possible child sexual abuse prevention strategy is to impart knowledge and skills to assist children identify dangerous situations and prevent unwanted forms of touching, ways in which sexual offenders groom survivors and empowering them on how to turn down enticements (Collings, 2007; Finkelhor, 2009). Various educational programmes on child sexual abuse should be targeted on children from preschools, primary and secondary schools. Although most of educational programmes are school based, they have been directed at families, teachers and others who may be in a position to intervene (Goldman, 2007; Kenny, 2010; Wurtele *et al.*, 2008). In the United States of America, child sexual abuse prevention strategies have been infused into larger safety and health education curricula since around 1980 (Finkelhor, 2009). In Zimbabwe, child sexual abuse educational programmes have been included in the school curriculum to be taught from primary up to secondary level covering various aspects of sexual abuse such as forms of touch and molestation (Gwirayi, 2013).

The Zimbabwe Republic Police, through its sections like Victim Friendly Unit and Community Relations Liaison Office, participated in

crime awareness campaigns aimed at educating children that sexual abuse can be perpetrated on them not only by strangers by people known to them such as parents, extended family members, domestic workers, neighbours and teachers at schools. It is within the context of these crime awareness campaigns that children must be taught defensive strategies such as avoiding walking alone, refusing to allow an adult to touch their genitals and restricted from accessing online pornographic content. There is possibility of that this study also will reveal if the child sexual abuse can be reduced by educating the public through crime awareness campaigns.

Franklin (2011) is of the view that one of the best safeguards against child sexual abuse is the communicative relationship between parents or caregivers and the children. Parents and caregivers must develop open conversation with children about their safety. The open communication should involve teaching children about their sexuality through naming and respecting their private body parts from an early age. Open communication with children about child sexual abuse promotes disclosure and increases reporting of sexual abuse cases. In support, Doyle and Cicchetti (2017) argues that sexually abused children often keep the abuse secret but disclosure can be promoted by talking openly about sexuality issues such as the security and privacy of their bodies.

Regular candid conversation between parents and children about sexual abuse in an appropriate manner can prove to be an important strategy for safeguarding children against child sexual abuse. Yadav and Shrivastava (2021) argue that parents are the most trustworthy and close people for the child. Parents ensure the safety of their children by creating awareness about the appropriate and inappropriate touch and also about sensitive or private body parts and make them understand the risks and vulnerabilities involve in child

sexual abuse (Foster, 2017). Hence, talking openly about child sexual abuse is one of the ways to reduce child sexual abuse.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A mixed method research approach was used with the pragmatic research philosophy. The research approach provided a robust set of results with the triangulation achieved between the combination of quantitative and qualitative research approach. Target population was churches in Hatcliffe Community and police officers of ranks from Chief Inspector and at ZRP Borrowdale that policies Hatcliffe Community. Data were gathered using structured questionnaires and interview guide. Stratified random sampling was adopted for the research. Researchers used a cross-sectional survey research design to which a sample size of 103 Police Officers was used. For interviews, 10 interviews were held using the saturation principle. Quantitative Data analysis was done using SPSS version 23. Data obtained was presented in the form of tables and charts whilst qualitative data were analysed using NVivo to which main themes emerged

FINDINGS

The data were assessed for sample adequacy using the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) and Bartlett's Test for Sphericity in SPSS Version 22. The Bartlett's Test for Sphericity is used to determine if any of the variables are significantly related (Spekle and Verbeeten, 2014) Therefore, many tests were done to determine if factor analysis could be carried out. The sample size was found to be enough and sufficient data were identified to carry out factor analysis (KMO statistic = .876; approximate Chi-Square = 1515.958; degrees of freedom (df) = 91; significance level (Sig.) = 0.000. As observed by Field (2009), values between 0.8 and 0.9 are considered to be excellent. The sample adequacy for this study is 876 and falls within the range.

Table 1 KMO and Bartlett Test (Survey, 2023)

KMO and Bartlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy		.876
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1515.958
	Df	91
	Sig.	.000

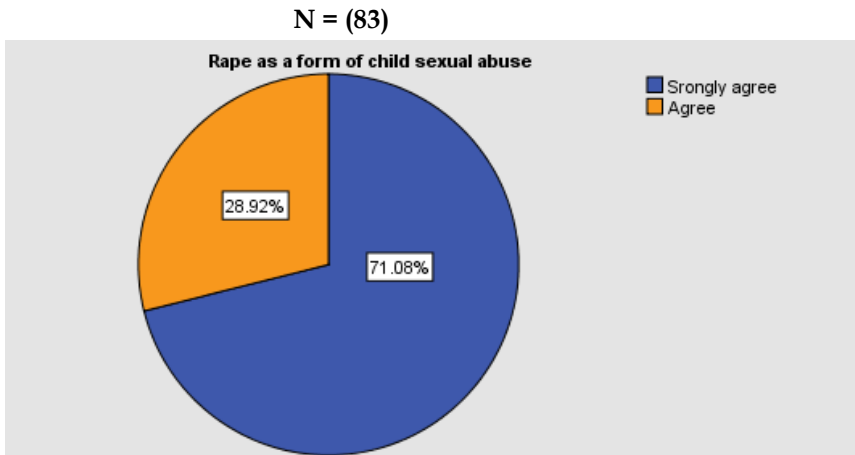


Figure 2: Rape as a form of child sexual abuse (Survey, 2023).

As observed by Figure 2, 71.08% of the respondents strongly agreed that rape is a form of child sexual abuse. In the same vein, 28.92% of respondents also concurred that rape is a form of child sexual abuse in the Hatcliffe Community. The two categories of respondents were in concurrence that rape constitutes one of various forms of child sexual abuse in the Hatcliffe Community. The results are in line with findings by Meurising *et al.* (1995) who discovered forced penetrative sexual intercourse as a prevalent form of child sexual abuse.

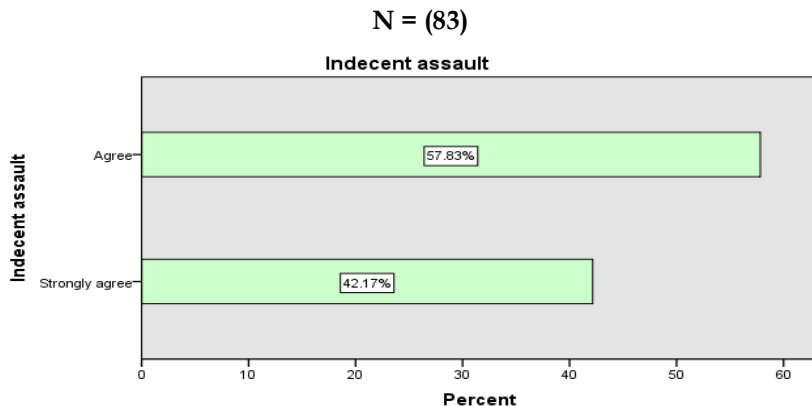


Figure 3 Indecent assault as a form of child sexual abuse (Survey, 2023).

The results presented in figure 3 observe how 42.17% of the respondents strongly believe that indecent assault is another form of child sexual abuse while other 57.83% of the respondents concurred by agreed that indecent assault is a form of child sexual abuse in the Hatcliffe Community. The results are supported by Muridzo and Malianga (2015)’s study findings that established that indecent assault is one of the common forms of sexual abuse perpetrated on

Table 2: Incest as a form of child sexual abuse (Survey (2023)).

Incest **N = (83)**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly agree	35	42.2	42.2	42.2
Agree	48	57.8	57.8	100.0
Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Table 2 shows how 42.2% of the participants strongly agreed while 57.8% agreed that incest is another form of child sexual abuse affecting

the Hatcliffe Community. The findings are corroborated by Izibili (2012) who discovered that incest is categorised as a form of child sexual abuse when it occurs between adults and those who are under the majority age of 18 years, all in

CHILD MARRIAGE

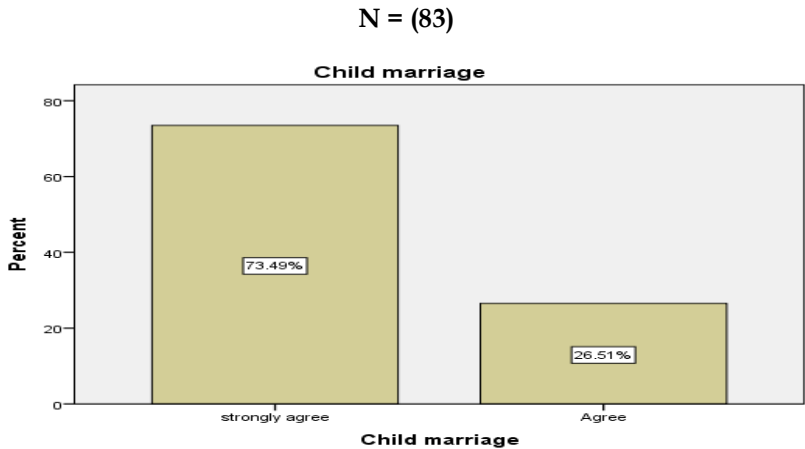


Figure 4: Child marriage as a form of child sexual abuse (Survey, 2023).

Figure 4 shows that, 73.49% of respondents strongly admit that child marriage was predominantly a form of child sexual abuse in Hatcliffe Community that falls under ZRP Borrowdale policing area. A few respondents constituting 26.51% agreed that indeed child marriage is a form of sexual abuse being perpetrated on children in the same community. Child marriage, as a form of child sexual abuse, is prevalent and has contributed to rising cases of child sexual abuse at ZRP Borrowdale. The findings are supported by Simuforosa (2015) who argues that early marriages represent the most prevalent form of child sexual abuse where the family deliberately exposes children to sexual abuse.

Some participants interviewed revealed that they were raped while others indicated that they were sexually molested by their perpetrators who on different occasions touched their genitals and also forced to touch the genitals of the perpetrators. One female participants responded that:

In 2021, my step father got into my bedroom where I was sleeping during the night and raped me once while my mother was not around. My step father came to cohabit with my mother following a separation of my parents. When he got into my bedroom, he threatened to chase me away from home if ever I cried to alert or tell anyone about the incident. He was saying this while pressing me down on the floor while I was sleeping. I did not tell this to anyone for some time because of fear.

The other participant responded that:

I was lured by my uncle into his bedroom in the afternoon when he returned for lunch. He closed the door behind me and started fondling my breasts and my private parts. When he was about to rape me, I threatened to shout to alert our neighbours. He released me and took a ten dollar note from his breast pocket and coaxed me not to tell anyone. All my parents are dead.

The result from the two respondents pointed to the fact that rape and indecent assault are the most common forms of sexual abuse perpetrated in children in the Hatcliffe Community. The perpetrators use fear or incentives in the form of money to silence their victims. The results are in agreement with Finkelhor's Precondition model (1984) that argues the potential child abuser finds and creates an opportunity to get the child alone or at least away from a protective adult. It further explains that child sexual abusers usually target children they have easy access to, especially in instances where parents are absent or unaware, baby-sitting, during bedtime or bathing (Williams, 2020).

FACTORS LEADING TO CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

This section presents results in line of one of the research objectives that sought to establish factors leading to child sexual abuse in Hatcliffe Community.

N = (83)

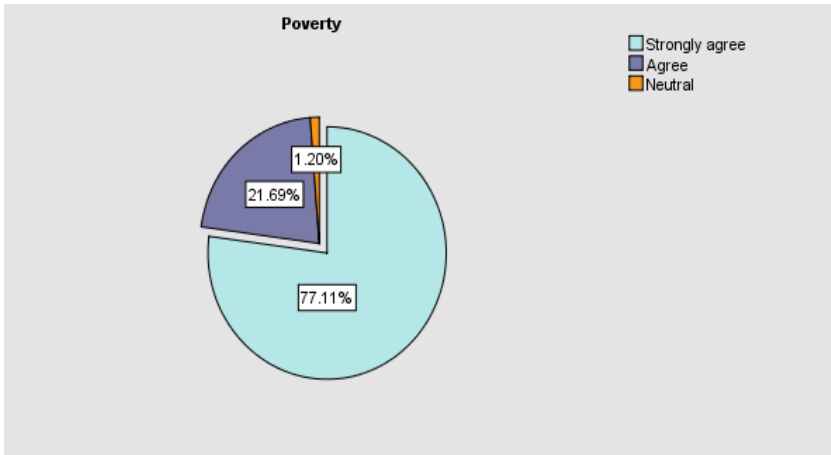


Figure 5: Poverty as a cause of child sexual abuse (Survey,2 023).

The results presented in Figure 4 reflects that 77.11% of the study participants strongly agreed that poverty is one of the factors that lead to child sexual abuse in the community of Hatcliffe. In addition, the other 21.69% of participants agreed that poverty contributes to sexual abuse among children in the same community. Only 1.20% of the respondents remained neutral, neither agreeing nor disagreeing. The overall response from the participants showed that poverty is also a leading cause of child sexual abuse in Hatcliffe. In concurrence with the results, Muridzo and Chikadzi (2020) also discovered that while there are a myriad of factors contributing the prevalence of child sexual abuse in Zimbabwe, poverty is one of the major underlying factors and root causes of sexual abuse on children.

SEXUAL DALLIANCE

N = (83)

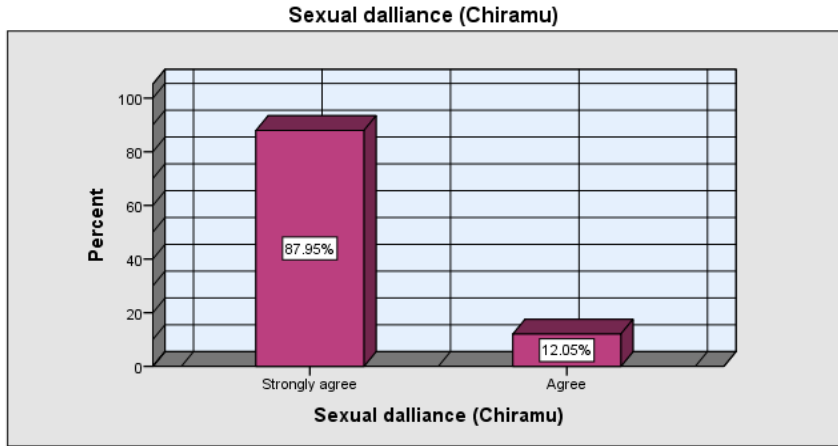


Figure 6: Sexual dalliance as factor leading to child sexual abuse (Survey, 2023).

Figure 6 indicate that 87.95% of the study participants strongly agreed that sexual dalliance (*chiramu*) is a factor that significantly leads to sexual abuse on children. Another 12.05% of the respondents also agreed that sexual dalliance is a factor leading to child sexual abuse in the community of Hatcliffe. The results attest to the fact that the cultural practice where elder sisters' or aunts' husbands flirt with their wives' younger sisters or brothers' daughter was being practised and contributing to the problem of child sexual abuse in the Hatcliffe Community where ZRP Borrowdale polices. The findings are supported by Muridzo and Mhlanga (2015) who also established similar results that sexual dalliance is a cultural practice that promotes child sexual abuse as it involves customs where elder sisters' or aunts' husbands flirt or sexually indulge with their wives' younger sisters or brothers' daughters.

SINGLE AND STEP PARENT FAMILIES

Table 3: Single and step parent families (Survey, 2023).

		Single and step parent families			N=(83)
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	83	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3 show that 100% of the respondents strongly agreed that single and step parent families is one of the factors leading to sexual abuse among children in the Hatcliffe Community. The findings are corroborated by Sedlak *et al.* (2010) whose study brought to the fore the fact that children living without either parent are more likely to be sexually abuse than children who live with both biological parents. More than half of the participants interviewed responded that victims of child sexual abuse were lured into an isolated place until they were sexually abused and they were promised some rewards in the form money or food. Furthermore, other respondents interviewed also revealed that due to the poverty some parents marry off their daughters before they attain the majority age of eighteen years to male adults either within the same community of Hatcliffe or out of the community for material gain such as money and food. The result of this interview question showed that poverty contributes to the sexual abuse of children in Hatcliffe. The results are corroborated by those of Antonowicz (2010) who argues that child sexual abuse is rooted in poverty.

One participant also responded that

"If you stay in the same household with a step parent you risk your human rights being violated as the step parents may abuse you sexually."

The participant argues that a step-parent is likely to sexually abuse victims on the basis that there is no blood relation. The results are supported by Ritcher *et al.* (2007: 457) study findings that reiterated

that children from broken or incomplete families are generally more vulnerable to sexual abuse than those of complete families.

New issues also emerged from other participants that some perpetrators initially watch pornographic films along with their potential victims until they were sexually aroused and subsequently abused in the process. The participants highlighted that media exposure contributes to sexual abuse of children in some families in the community because there is a growing problem of pornographic materials watched on television or sent on different social media for download and viewing. Similar findings were gathered by Grapes (2012) who discovered that children exposed to pornographic materials are almost twice as likely to be sexually manipulated by potential attackers because they are still in process of developing of their own senses of well-being and not can make a distinction between fantasy and reality.

This section presents results that are line with of one of the study objectives that sought to establish challenges faced in trying to curb child sexual abuse.

N = (83)

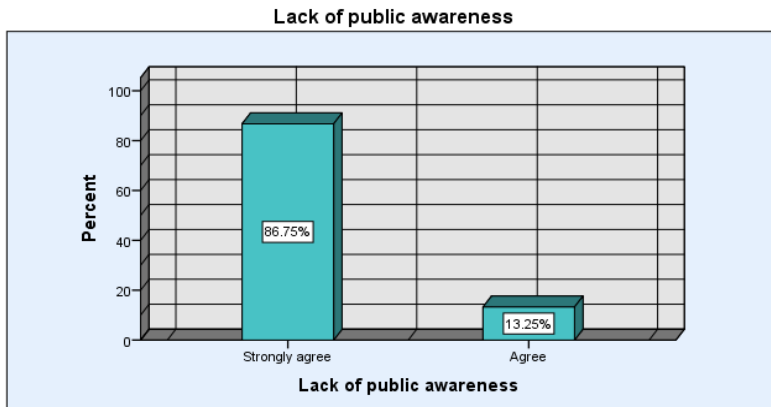


Figure 7: Lack of public awareness as a challenge to curbing child sexual abuse (Survey, 2022)

Figure 7 illustrates that most respondents constituting 86.75% strongly agreed that lack of public awareness about child sexual abuse among the people within Hatcliffe Community posed as a challenge in curbing the problem of child sexual abuse. In the same vein, 13.25% of the respondents also agreed that lack of public awareness is a challenge to curb child sexual abuse. The results reveal that individual and societal sensitization to child sexual abuse is incomplete as information about child sexual abuse is limited amongst the people within Hatcliffe Community. In tandem with the results, similar study by Fontes and Plummer (2010) also established that awareness of the nature of child sexual abuse and its various dimensions is an essential condition for prevention, recognition and action and is required at individual, institutional and societal levels.

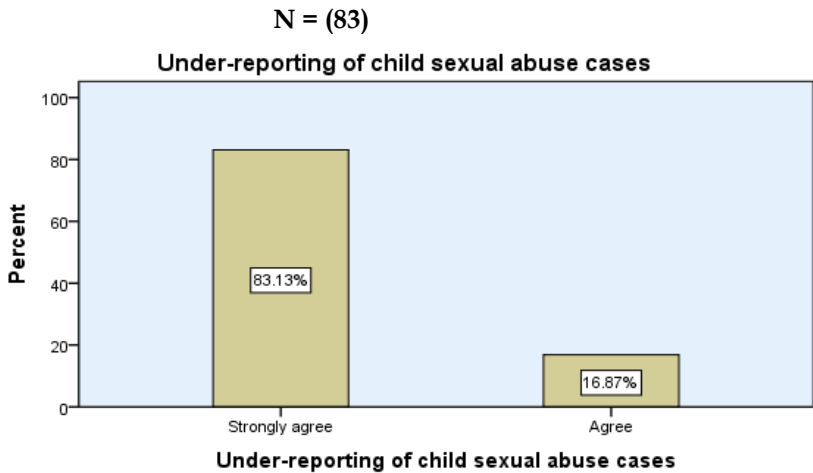


Figure 8: Under-reporting of child sexual abuse cases (Survey, 2022)

Results depicted in Figure 4.8 reflects that 83.13% strongly agreed that under-reporting of child sexual abuse cases was a challenge in stopping the problem of child sexual abuse. Another 16.87% of the respondents concur that under-reporting of child sexual abuse cases was a challenge in addressing the problem of child sexual abuse in

Hatcliffe Community. The results revealed that although child sexual abuse is a prevalent phenomenon in the community of Hatcliffe, many cases go unreported and resultantly many children continue to experience the problem of child sexual abuse. Similar research carried out by Seshadri and Ramaswamy (2017) also brought to the fore the fact that underreporting of child sexual abuse cases in societies posed as a challenge in solving the problem of child sexual abuse.

Table 4: Lack of empathy by perpetrators (Survey, 2023)

		Lack of empathy by perpetrators			N = (83)
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	44	53.0	53.0	53.0
	Agree	39	47.0	47.0	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Table 4 shows that 53.0% of the respondents strongly agreed that lack of empathy by perpetrators of child sexual abuse was also a challenge faced in attempt to curb the problem of child sexual abuse in Hatcliffe Community. Another 47.0% of the respondents agreed with the same view. This is similar to study findings by Jewkes *et al.* (2013) who came to the realisation that lack of empathy by perpetrators is a challenge in fighting child sexual abuse because its presence is critically necessary to reduce sexual violence.

As one of the objectives of this study, the researchers sought to foster strategies to be employed to address the problem of child sexual abuse. As such in this section, the researcher provides results of some of the strategies.

Table 5 Education through crime awareness campaigns (Survey, 2023)

		Crime awareness campaigns		N = (83)	
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	67	80.7	80.7	80.7
	Agree	16	19.3	19.3	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

As reflected in Table 5, most respondents, constituting 80.7%, strongly concur while 19.3% agreed that education through crime awareness campaigns is a strategy that can be employed to curb the problem of child sexual abuse in Hatcliffe Community. In support of the results, Chasan-Taber and Tabachnick (1999) conducted a similar study and ascertained that educating the public through crime awareness campaigns is an effective strategy to stop the problem of child sexual abuse. This is also in concurrence with the study findings by Goldman (2007) and Wurtele et al. (2008) who carried out similar researches and established that various educational programmes on child sexual abuse should be targeted on children from preschools, primary and secondary schools. They further established from majority of their study respondents that although most of educational programmes are school based, they have to be directed at families, teachers and others who may be in a position to intervene.

OPEN FAMILY CONVERSATION ABOUT CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

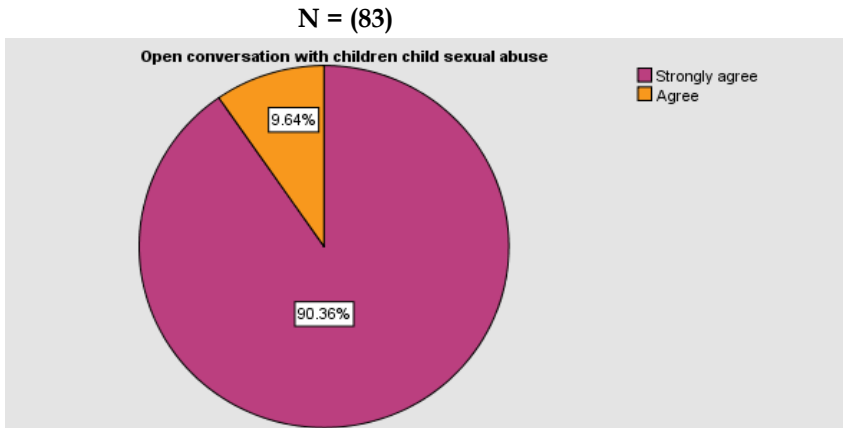


Figure 9: Open conversation about child sexual abuse (Survey, 2023)

Figure 8 shows that 90.36% of the study participants strongly agreed that promoting open conversation about child sexual abuse is also a strategy that can be employed to curb the problem of child sexual abuse in Hatcliffe. The remaining 9.64% also agreed that open conversation about child sexual abuse is a strategy that can be implemented to end child sexual abuse. The findings support the claim by Yadav and Shrivastava (2021) that candid conversation between parents and children about sexual abuse in an appropriate manner can prove to be an important strategy for safeguarding children against child sexual abuse. The results are comparable to those of Franklin (2011) who also found out that the best safeguard against child sexual abuse is to develop open communicative relationship between parents, caregivers and the children.

N = (83)

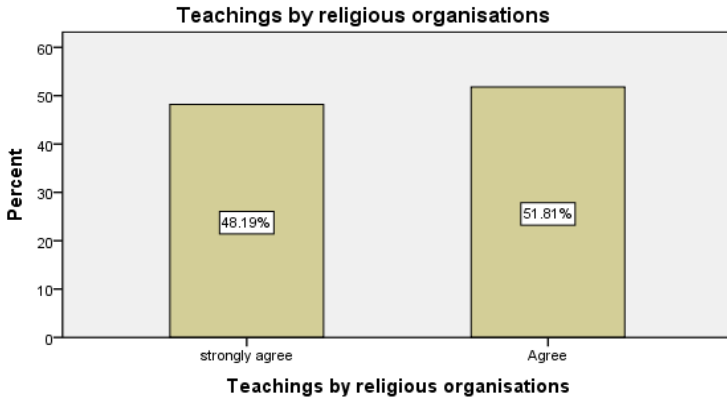


Figure 10: Teachings by religious groups (Survey, 2023)

Figure 10 reveals that teachings by religious groups are a strategy that assists in curbing the problem of child sexual abuse. Among the respondents, 48.19% strongly agreed and 51.81% agreed that religious groups must teach their congregants about child sexual abuse as a strategy to stop the problem of sexual abuse on children in the Hatcliffe Community. The results are corroborated by Ide and Kalu’s (2018) research findings that the church should develop and implement an ongoing education plan for the entire congregation and its leaders on the reality of child sexual abuse, risk factors leading to child abuse and strategies for prevention.

Table 6: Participation of Non-Governmental Organisation (Survey, 2023)

Participation of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)		N = (83)		
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly agree	37	44.6	44.6	44.6
Agree	46	55.4	55.4	100.0
Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Table 6 shows that 44.6% of the study respondents strongly agreed there must be participation of Non-Governmental Organisations in the fight against the problem of child sexual abuse. Other respondents constituting 55.4% also agreed that Non-Governmental Organisations must participate to curb the problem of child sexual abuse in the Hatcliffe area. The results are in tandem with those of Jill and Taylor (2019) whose study established that religious institutions play a positive role in the fight against child sexual abuse.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the research findings, it is concluded that crime awareness campaigns have a positive significant impact in curbing child sexual abuse. However, it was observed how ZRP Borrowdale was facing some challenges in bringing to an end the problem of child sexual abuse despite numerous campaigns it had been conducting in the community. Several strategies were proffered to counter the challenges. Chief among them is that the police should carry out crime awareness campaigns targeting schools and public gatherings focusing on educating the high density community about early reporting of sexual abuse and encouraging parents and guardians to initiate open conversation on child sexual abuse issues. This strategy is critical to curtail the problem since the study results indicated that there was lack of public awareness as information about child sexual abuse is limited amongst the people in Hatcliffe Community. It can be further deduced from the study findings that police crime awareness campaigns should include programmes that condone culture, traditional and religious practices that force girls to early marriages. In addition, the results from data gathered also revealed that although child sexual abuse is a prevalent phenomenon, there were also cases that go unreported while many children in the community continue to suffer the abuse. It can then be safely concluded that crime awareness campaigns by police should also focus on educating the community on the importance of reporting all cases of sexual abuse irrespective of status of perpetrators

in the family or the community at large. Another strategy suggested is the teachings by religious organisations. The main reason for incorporating the religious institutions in the educational campaigns against child sexual abuse is their extensive network through various denominations. As faith-based organisations that command large following, their teachings can be very powerful and convenient for sharing messages that advocate for moral and socio-cultural change about sexual abuse on children. Recommendations are based on the findings of this study include that:

- The ZRP should formulate intensified educational campaign programmes that seek to promote public awareness about various forms of child sexual abuse and encouraging communities to report all cases of sexual abuse on children.
- The ZRP should capacitate its sections like Victim Friendly Unit and Community Relations Liaison Office through regular training on better community engagement to stimulate voluntary disclosure of sexual abuse cases to the police by victims or the community at large.
- The ZRP should formulate a comprehensive partnership with other stakeholders like religious organisations, children's rights protection advocacy groups, schools and the mass media to raise an equally comprehensive public awareness campaign programmes against child sexual abuse.
- NGOs operating in communities must initiate food relief programmes and community projects to mitigate vulnerability amongst disadvantaged families
- Future studies be conducted on the impact of extended family structures on under-reporting of intra-familial child sexual abuse cases.

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