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Social Factors that Contribute to Child Abuse in Informal Settlements: A case study of Ivory Park

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Firstly, this chapter will look at the historical account of child abuse and how throughout history children world-wide have been subjected to different forms of child abuse. It will look at how the understanding of children as having rights has shifted over time and the central force behind this shift. Secondly, the chapter will look at the definition of child abuse and the different forms of child abuse, the causes and the prevalence of child abuse. Thirdly, the chapter will look at theoretical perspective and legislation of child abuse. These theories attempt to help us in explaining and understanding the complexity of the problem of child abuse. Fourthly, the chapter will look at the social factors that might contribute to child abuse. Finally, this chapter will focus on the history and establishment of informal settlement in South Africa and the community profile of Ivory Park.

2.2 History of Child Abuse

History documents that the problem of child abuse has existed since the beginning of civilisation. Throughout history children world-.wide, have been subjected to domination, murder, abandonment, mutilation, beatings and forced labour (Zigler, 1980:35). It is important to understand and acknowledge the historical context of this problem, and recognise that things that seem to be brutal and senseless today were previously considered normal and acceptable practices in parts of the world. The Bible alludes frequently to infanticides, which today is seen as a form of child abuse. Examples of infanticide include the widespread killings of children ordained by Pharaoh at the time of the birth of Moses and by Herod when the birth of Jesus Christ was foretold to him by the

wise men from the East (Zigler, 1980: 47). The ritual sacrifice of children is also recorded in the Bible, in the valley of slaughter where children were sacrificed to the god Moloch. This was a burning valley where King Solomon and Manasseh burnt and sacrificed their children to their gods (Cicchetti, 1989: 48). During the Middle Ages, child beating was a normal practice, and this was commemorated annually on Innocent's Day through the whipping of children (Zigler, 1980: 48).

Infanticide was routinely practised and condoned in Ancient Greece, Rome, Arabia and China. Seneca, Aristotle and Plato actually encouraged the destruction of 'defective' new-borns. "Defective children", females, children of the poor or those born into large families were put to death. In Rome, the Patria Protestas gave fathers complete power over their children to do with them as they wished. Children were the possessions of their parents. Parents could sell their children into slavery or mutilate them to make them effective beggars and this is still going on in some parts of the world. There was actually a Roman law that forbade the rearing of children with 'deformity'. Such children had to be put to death at birth or at an early age (Zigler, 1980: 58). Spartan children were examined and appraised not by their parents, but by the local elders in the community who had the powers to identify 'unacceptable' children and held the powers of life and death over new-borns (Zigler, 1980: 59). So, many brutal and senseless forms of violence against children were at one point normal practices in the history of human being. It is important to note that these practices were never viewed as forms of child abuse at the time, but as a societal convention or necessity. Significantly, when putting child abuse into societal context of the time, many of these practices were seen as part of cultural and religious practices.

In the early 1960s social reformers in the West, many of them with a strong religious orientation indicated their concern about the development of children growing up in impoverished families of the urban slums. These reformers responded to this issue of child abuse by establishing institutions to care for such children. These were mainly orphanages and juvenile reformatories (Abbott

1998:74). Therefore, the earliest initiative that society took in dealing with child abuse was to remove abused children from their abusive families. In the early 1960s the public unawareness of the problem of child abuse changed as the field of medicine focused and gave child abuse more and more attention. Dr. C.H.Kempe of the University of Colorado Medical School led this new awareness, in the United States. Later, after this a movement was launched to bring public awareness and consciousness on the plight of "the battered child syndrome" (Kempe, 1972: 18). The initial concern was the 'battered child', a diagnosis that had been possible through radiological technique that could detect fractured bones in children admitted with injuries in hospitals. Kempe and his colleagues helped in redefining the social problem of child abuse as a medical diagnosis.

The understanding of child abuse has shifted over time. Children now are seen as having rights to the fulfilment of their developmental needs (Garbarino and Gillian, 1989: 12). A central force behind this shift has been the establishment of various organisations, which have opposed violence against children and have advocated for their rights. These organisations mainly originate in America and in parts of Europe. Thus many people see the definition of 'child abuse' and 'children's rights' as Western notions. International institutions such as the United Nations, World Health Organisation and the United Nations Children's Fund have played major roles in the development of a greater understanding of the issue of violence against children world-wide. This has been so since the end of World War II, following which children's rights became increasingly universally recognised as needing specific protection.

2.3 Child Abuse as a Global Problem

Child abuse is not a problem unique to South Africa; it is a problem in many countries worldwide. Children all over the world are abused in different ways, for example child prostitution; child labour; and in some cultures and religions the

practice of arranged childhood marriages. Today the latter may be seen as a form of child abuse, since a child is not given a choice, and is forced to be involved in arrangements to which they cannot consent to due to their age. Such arrangements exclude and deny, particularly the girl child opportunities like going to school and getting an education. Here it is important to acknowledge that different societies past and present have different child rearing practices and standards. The definition of what is good or bad child rearing practices could imply moral judgement (Jones, 1989:9). Some societies place a great emphasis on physical punishment as a way of controlling children's behaviour while some do not. So, ideas about what constitutes good and bad treatment of the child vary. This creates a problem especially when two or more societies/cultures coexist (Jones, 1989:11).

Child labour is one of the major challenges facing many countries globally. Unlike in South Africa, where child-labour has been outlawed because of the constitution. Many countries still practice child labour. Children in these countries are subjected to hard labour. Very young children especially those from the lower class families are forced to work for long hours in the worst conditions (Cohn 1993: 47). These children work in very hot or cold conditions with dangerous machinery, and many of them are exposed to the hazards of occupational injuries and diseases. The industrial revolution brought relief from hard labour for many, but ushered in a new age of darkness for many children. Children were expected to work very hard, very often they were beaten, shackled, starved, or dipped in cold water barrels either to make them work harder or as a punishment for not working hard enough. A common occupation for boys in this period was that of chimney sweep. Many children succumbed to a chimney sweep disease at an early age, that is the cancer of the testicles. Bone deformities were another common result of spending many hours in the tight chimneys (Cohn, 1993: 87)

The involvement of children in prostitution and in the production of pornographic material is another big problem facing the world, especially in countries like

China and Thailand. In some countries on the African continent where there is continuous armed conflict, children are involved in wars as child soldiers (The State of the World's Children Report, 2002). Children in such countries may be taken out of school and given military training at a very young age and then sent to war with guns. The sale of children and other forms of abuse and violence against children are still evident in many countries worldwide (UNICEF Report, 2002: 30). The universal problem of child abuse and the violation of human rights that had been in existence for many decades, led to the establishment of organisations like United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and legislation such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. The aim is to ensure that there is an obligation on the part of the states, to undertake all the necessary measures to ensure that the implementation of the rights in the Convention on the Rights of the Child are achieved and respected.

2.4 Definition of Child Abuse

A major dilemma facing the medical, social services and the legal professionals is the lack of a widely accepted definition or set of definitions to describe child abuse (Parke and Lewis, 1997: 184). Many definitions that have been proposed can be arranged into a continuum from very narrow definition to rather broad. The narrowest definition include only intentional and severe physical abuse, such definition may exclude sexual abuse unless the child is physically injured as a result. A broader definition would include not only overt action intended to injure the child but also cases of neglect (Parke et al, 1997: 12). The broader definitions of child abuse are those that include anything that interfere with the child's optimal development.

Gil (1970), defines child abuse as the intentional, non-accidental use of force or act of omission on the part of the parent or other care takers interacting with the child and aimed at hurting, injuring or destroying that child (Gil, 1970: 6). The World Health Organisation, defines child abuse as physical or mental injury,

sexual abuse and negligent treatment or maltreatment of a child under the age of 18 years, by a person who is responsible for the child's welfare, under circumstances which indicate that the child's health and welfare is threatened thereby (Struve: 1990: 17).

In South Africa, child abuse is defined as any interaction or lack of interaction between a child and his/her parent or caregivers, which result in the non-accidental harm to a child's physical and developmental state" (South African Law Commission, 1999: 17). This is a relatively new definition and has come to include not only physical and non-accidental injuries of children, but also emotional abuse, sexual abuse and neglect. Thus, child abuse can range from habitually humiliating a child to not giving a child necessary care, and from excessively shaking a child to child rape. Previous definitions separated child abuse and child neglect, and did not take into account emotional abuse, i.e. there had to be physical evidence that the child had been abuse. Many cases of child abuse were dismissed in court due to lack of physical evidence. In contrast, the more recent definition, quoted above includes emotional abuse, which is regarded now as a form of child abuse.

2.5 Different forms of Child Abuse

According to the South African Law Commission there are four different forms of child abuse. These are physical abuse, emotional abuse, neglect and sexual abuse (South. African Law Commission, 1999: 19).

2.5.1 Physical Abuse

Physical abuse is any non-accidental injury to a child as a result of omission or commission by a parent or caretaker and it occurs when a child is beaten, burned, strangled, tied up, locked up or even murdered. This type of abuse is visible and can easily be noticed through bruises and marks on the body of the

child. Physical abuse of children is extensive in South Africa, as physical punishment features prominently as a child rearing practice and socialisation act, which is most often exercised by parents to children. According to Holdstock 1987 cited in McKendrick and Hoffmann 1990, acts of discipline, which comprise of physical punishment invade and violate the personal space of the child. Such invasion of privacy may convey to the child the message that the adult has a special authority over their bodies including the right to inflict pain.

2.5.2 Emotional Abuse

Emotional abuse refers to the undermining of the child verbally and psychologically. It occurs when parents or caregivers withhold warmth and affection from the child. It includes verbally abusing a child, when parents and caregivers have an uncaring attitude towards the child, and adults humiliate, threatens and manipulates the child, setting unrealistic expectation and failure to provide the necessary nurturing to promote the child's physical growth and emotional development (Labuschagne, 1998:8).

2.5.3 Neglect

Neglect is the continual failure to provide basic necessities. It occurs when there is a lack of proper supervision and the meeting of basic needs of the child, i.e. not feeding, cleaning, and clothing a child, not providing protection and a safe environment. It includes a child being left with no supervision or under the supervision of another child, and neglecting the medical and educational needs of the child (Labuschagne, 1998:8). Neglect is a serious problem is South Africa, and this form of abuse is suffered by a large percentage of children in this country. This is especially so in informal settlements and impoverished communities, many children are left to fend for themselves at an early age. This has resulted in the problem of many children living in the streets of the big cities throughout the country. Many children are not sent to school, even though there

is a provision in the Admission Policy of the South African School Act of 1996 which requires that every child over the age of seven years be in school. Under no circumstances can a child be denied access to education (South African School Act No 84 of 1996). To deal with the problem of neglecting the medical needs of children the Department of Health has introduced the Integrated Management of Childhood Illness Policy in the South African National Health Care Act, that makes provision for children to be immunised and access primary health care at no cost. Long term neglect can result in the limited growth and development of the child intellectually, physically and emotionally.

2.5.4 Sexual Abuse

Sexual abuse consists of any interaction contact or non-contact between a child and any adult, in which a child is used for the sexual stimulation of the adult or another person (South African Law Commission, 1999: 24). The definition has been broadened. The term has come to include an adult showing a child his/her private parts or viewing the child's private parts; an adult touching a child's private parts either with a hand, mouth, or the adult's private parts; showing a child pornographic materials such as pictures and videos and involving a child in the production of such material (South African Law Commission, 1999: 24). There is a high incidence of sexual offence against children in South Africa. This is probably closely related to the fact that children are vulnerable and defenceless. However, it may also be because in the past the South African Common and Statutory law failed to deal effectively, and in a non-discriminatory manner with sexual offences (South African Law Commission, 1999: 65).

The failure to provide adequate protection against the sexual abuse of children may have contributed to the present high prevalence and the continued increase of child sexual abuse. The Department of Welfare, the South African Police Family Violence and Sexual Offences Unit and the court system are all under-resourced. This is because of the high case-load that social workers and

investigating officers have. It has been the researcher's personal experiences in instances where, a social worker is unable to do a home visit and investigate the home-circumstance of a child because a vehicle might only be available on a particular day of the week. Also, a charge might be laid against someone who has sexually abused a child, and then later only to find that the docket has been lost or there was no arrest or investigation made. As a result of limited resources the child who has the courage to disclose sexual abuse is at a high risk of secondary abuse.

The justice system is still very adversarial to the children. The child is cross-examined by the defence team with the perpetrator in most cases present in court. There are still many courts in this country which, do not provide a separate room for the child when they testify in court. In October 2005, a child at an organisation that the researcher work for, went to court in Sasolburg and gave testimony with the perpetrator present in the court-room. The child used the same entrance and the waiting area with the perpetrator. When this matter was taken up with the Public Prosecutor, as to why the child did not give evidence on camera in a separate room? The explanation was that there was no such a facility in that court.

The child is often scared by the presence of the perpetrator and has to repeat his/her story to many people during the trial and inconsistency creeps in, this inconsistency is used to discredit the child's statement about the sexual abuse. The State's case often rests on the evidence of the victim who is generally a traumatised young child. The child is often accused of fabricating evidence; this is because children are considered incompetent witnesses. Consequently, this results in low conviction rates, or the case being dismissed due to lack of evidence. This is especially due to the fact there is often only a single witness to the crime, that is the child giving evidence.

2.6 Prevalence of Child Abuse

It is estimated that one in every three girls and one in every five boys are sexually abused before the age of eighteen in South Africa (Childline Report, 2001: 12). The age-old saying that holds " children must be seen and not heard" clearly indicated the position accorded to children in the past few decades. Children have been seen as objects not worthy of any meaningful opinion and their views have not been taken into account or even sought. In post 1994 there has been a change in attitude to the concept 'child' and in the way people generally view 'children'. There has been a change from viewing children as possessions of adults to children as having distinct 'right'. These rights are enshrined in Section 28 of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996. Children are accorded an opportunity to be part of and to be heard in matters affecting their well being. For instance, in child welfare when major decisions are taken about the future of children, children over the age of ten have a right to participate.

Much child abuse occurs within the context of the family, and an individual closely related to the child, for instance parents, caregivers, stepparents or family friends, often perpetrates it. It is estimated that in 80%-90% of reported cases of child abuse, the child is being abused by someone who is close or has contact and access to him/her (Media Report by Shaheeda Omar: Sunday World, 13/04/03). The fact that child abuse takes place in the family makes it more complicated to address, because the family is where the child is supposed to get protection, stability, care and have basic needs met. With ubarnisation, comes the change in structure, role and function of the family. This may have contributed to the high incidences of child abuse. An example of this is the rise of the number of female-headed household where women are compelled in an economic changing society to assume different roles and functions in the family. Often this places stress on the woman, especially in terms of coping and providing economically for the entire family. It is reported that in South Africa

women are more likely to be poor that men. The poverty rate among female headed households is 60% compared with 31% for male headed households (Inter-Ministerial Committee for Poverty and Inequality Report, 2002). The isolation of many families, especially those that leave the rural areas and move to the cities where they may have no support is increasing. For many children in the world in general and in South Africa in particular their families and homes are the most violent and unsafe place to be. This is the context in which much abuse occurs and in which children's rights are often violated. The ideal picture of a family as a harmonious functional unit with both parents and children is becoming a myth and is challenged by the harsh reality that faces many families in the world to day. There is violence in the family, divorce and most families are dysfunctional and do not meet the basic needs of its members. For instance, over 75% of reported cases of violence against women and children in South Africa take place in the home and family environment (Statistics South Africa Report, 2001).

In the past, in South Africa, aggressive physical punishment in the form of corporal punishment was used in many schools (McKendrick, 1990:202). Corporal punishment was an accepted practice and it was administered excessively in schools and other institutions. In McKendrick (1990: 203) it is noted that this could be seen as a form of physical abuse against children. This is because children were punished for their behaviour or disobedience, long before they were able to reason or understand the connection between their actions and the physical punishment to which they were subjected. This was however not viewed as a form of abuse against children at the time and many people believed in the biblical injunction that "you spare the rod and you spoil the child". In other words physical punishment was seen as a way of disciplining a child and making him/her pay for their misconduct. According to Weiten (1998: 379) this form of discipline is not constructive, never yields the expected results, and could make a child violent and believe that the only way of resolving conflict is through violent means. The socio-cultural model of abuse holds that the levels of violence

accepted within a culture or society is reflected in the level of violence expressed towards children. Societies are unable to eliminate child abuse so long as violence remains an accepted and condoned pattern of behavioural interaction between adults and children (Prusent-Marumo, 1995: 29).

2.7 Causes of Child Abuse

It is evident that no single factor or reason can fully explain why children are abused. There is a need to look at various factors that exist within a society so as to have a clearer understanding of the complexity of child abuse. There are many theories that attempt to explain as to what are the causes of child abuse and why this problem is rampant in our society. Some of these theories view the causes of child abuse in the psychopathology of the perpetrator and the dysfunctional families. However, it is insufficient to look at the causes of child abuse within the individual to understand this phenomenon. It is essential that we understand the structure of our society and how power dynamics add to the continuation of child abuse (Struve, 1990: 29).

Abuse of children is essentially an issue of power and control. Children being one of the most marginalised groups in our society fall prey to many forms of child abuse and are not in a position to defend themselves. Therefore the socio-political context is a crucial factor to understand child abuse. The dominant forces of poverty, patriarchy, racism and a culture of violence along with the dis-empowerment of children all create a fertile ground for all types of abuse to flourish. An understanding is needed on how these socially constructed elements intersect to create a society in which abuse of children is rife (Struve, 1990:32).

2.7.1 Patriarchy

Patriarchy and the dominant role of men in society can be seen as one of the causes of child abuse. Patriarchy is the manifestation and institutionalisation of

male power and the extension of male dominance over women and children in the family and in society in general (Dunkle 1996: 128). Men control most of the major institution in society: the church, military, economic and political institutions. This differentiation of power that arises through the process of socialisation creates subservience in women and children and the potential for them to be abused. Through the process of socialisation boys are taught to be in control, strong, powerful, unemotional, independent, aggressive and competitive. While on the other hand girls are taught to be weak, dependent, passive, emotional and ultimately subservient to men (Struve, 1990: 17). This socialisation perpetuates the system of patriarchy and the continued dis-empowerment of children, because the myth of male superiority lends itself to a culture of violence where women and children are viewed as possessions of male head of the household to be abused at will. The reality is that most women who are subservient to men and are powerless. They often find it very difficult to protect their children and challenge men in cases where the man is the perpetrator of child abuse.

Significantly, it can be said that child abuse reinforces the concept of male power, and this is because men reinforces their sense of power and control when they engage in act of violence against children (Lewis 1999: 37). It is however critical to point out that child abuse is not limited to men in our society, women also abuse children and they are capable of abusing their power in relation to those more vulnerable than themselves. In most cases it is the children who are vulnerable and ultimately child abuse is perpetuated from both directions.

2.7.2 The Culture of Violence

The culture violence in South Africa can also be seen as a cause of child abuse. Lewis (1999) notes that there is a correlation between the history of state-sanctioned and perpetrated violence of the apartheid era and the current high levels of crimes including child abuse. South Africa is historically and currently a

violent society; it was racked with political violence for a long time. The system of apartheid prescribed behaviour and sanctions, which violated the dignity and the integrity of groups within South Africa. It committed violence through the legal machinery and institution of its social system by creating inequalities of opportunities and treatment. The state used legitimate force and control, which was sanctioned by law to violate the rights of black people in this country (McKendrick and Hoffmann: 1990). Institutional violence of this nature elicited counter violence; thus violence was adopted as a legitimate response to state brutality. This method of dealing with problems continues as people have adopted violent means as a way of resolving differences. Violence as a method of dealing with conflict is generalised to dealing with children who do not have power to retaliate. The unfortunate part is that the majority of the children, whose rights are currently being violated, will grow up to deal with issues in the same aggressive manner, and the cycle of abuse will continue into the next generation.

2.7.3 Sociological Factors

Poverty is one of the sociological factors that have also been implicated as one of the causes of child abuse. Economic deprivation due to the high levels of unemployment in South Africa renders children vulnerable to all forms of child abuse. This impacts negatively on all areas of the children's lives because their education, health care and nutrition are all compromised as a result of financial deprivation (Statistics South Africa: Poverty Report: 2002). The 2001 census indicated that there are 16 333 349 children under the age of 18 in South Africa. The majority of these children live below the bread line as indicated by the following statistics: six out of ten children live in poverty, 42% of children live in female headed households, which are generally poorer that those with a double income. 20% of these children are not living with their parents largely as a result of poverty, 25% of children under 5 years of age show signs of stunted growth due to long term malnutrition. The adversity that is produced by poverty means

that the majority of South African children are grossly disadvantaged and at risk for less than optimal psychological and physical development (Dawes 1994: 23).

2.7.4 Parental and Environmental Causes of Child Abuse

According to the Childline Report (2001), there are three causes of child abuse, namely societal or environmental causes, parental causes and problems inherent in the child. Environmental causes exist in society or in the surroundings in which people live. Children do not have direct control over these causes but are directly affected by them. Examples of environmental causes includes, violence in the family and in the community, problems in marriages, isolated families and abuse of substances like drugs and alcohol (Childline Report, 2001: 12).

Parental causes lie mainly with the parents themselves and involves the parent's childhood experiences, upbringing and the way parents themselves were socialised. Included here, are the unrealistic expectation of parents of their children and emotions that the parents suffered as children. Parental causes can also occur when parents cannot tell the difference between discipline and punishment of the child, or the cycle of abuse whereby parents who were themselves abused as children abuse their own children. The 'problems inherent /inborn in the child', these includes problems such as children who are mentally and physically challenged, or children with attention deficit disorder. These problems in children make children vulnerable to child abuse, this is due to the fact that they might not be developing and functioning like other children and may be more demanding. In this case it does not mean that the child is the cause of abuse or should be blamed for the abuse (Childline, 2001: 14). It is the lack of understanding of the 'child's problem' on the part of the parents might be the cause of child abuse.

2.8 Theories of Child Abuse

Theoretical perspectives on child abuse vary in terms of explaining why child abuse exists. These theories contribute to an understanding of why children are abused. Some of these perspectives hold that causes of abuse lie with the parents or caregivers that are often the perpetrators. Some perspectives view the causes of child abuse as a combination of a number of factors in the social environment of the child, i.e. the family and the society. Some approaches view child abuse as a problem carried over from one generation to another. In other words the way in which people are brought up will influence and even determine how they will bring up their own children. These theories of child abuse aim to explain why children are abused. Central among these are the intergenerational transmission theory, the social approach, the psychiatric approach and the developmental approach (Cicchetti, 1989: 37).

2.8.1 Intergenerational Transmission Abuse

The intergenerational transmission of child abuse theory holds that abuse may run from one generation to another (Kempe and Kempe cited in Cicchetti, 1989). The proponents of this theory were Rigler and Spinneta (Cicchetti, 1989:78) who conducted their work in the early seventies. Childhood experiences of abusive parents were viewed as resulting in the person abusing his/her own children. Parents who might have grown up experiencing harsh physical punishment for their behaviour were found to apply the same methods of punishment to their children. A study conducted by Kempe et al (1989) in America in the late 1970s supported this stance. The study noted that many parents of abused children had been abused themselves during their childhood. However, this does not mean that everyone who was abused as a child will automatically become an abuser. The intergenerational transmission of abuse theory has gained the status of being a ‘fact’; this is because of mounting evidence of the cycle of abuse in many cases of child abuse. This ‘fact’ however, cannot be generalised as people are

different and even the causes of child abuse differ from one person to the other. Individuals are unique and have different strengths, levels of resilience and coping patterns, which they use in various life situations.

2.8.2 Social Approach to Child Abuse

The social approach to child abuse holds that social stresses, in interaction with factors such as the cultural milieu of family and the family dynamics builds up until they result in an outbreak of aggression which takes a form of child abuse (Kempe et al, 1978). Proponents of this approach included Gil and Garbaring in the early 1970s. Social stresses include living conditions, poverty, violence and personal stresses, which the individual might be dealing with at the time. In brief, the model places emphasis on the interaction of the parents and the family within broader society and the pressures that the family might be experiencing. Pressures include factors in the environment over which the individual has little control, but which have a direct impact on the parents and the family. In a personal interview, Lynn Caewood from Childline South Africa alluded to the role of stress rising from the environment and life circumstances as contributing factors in many cases of child abuse reported to her organisation. This is especially so, when stressed individuals and families are socially isolated and have no social support networks to help them cope. Stressed parents who are unable to cope or deal with their stresses can become abusive to children. Economic factors such as retrenchments, cuts in pay and dissatisfaction with employment are also associated with child abuse (Zigler, 1980: 45).

In summary, a range of factors that exist in the social environment can contribute to child abuse. In South Africa there are broader social factors that are implicated in playing a causal role in child abuse. These are societal attitude towards children; a patriarchal society; community deprivation; unemployment; persistent poverty; violence in the family and in the broader community, and the dis-empowerment of men in society. However, it is important to note that many

parents under the same circumstances and living conditions do not abuse their children.

2.8.3 Psychiatric Approach to Abuse

One of the theories of child abuse stemmed from the psychiatric orientation, and the proponents of this theory were Parke and Collmer. This theory focuses on the parent or the caregiver that is the perpetrator of child abuse. The underlying assumption in this theory suggests that there is some form of psychiatric problem from which the perpetrator is suffering (Cicchetti, 1980). This seemed plausible at the time in the early 1970s because people found it difficult to believe that normal, sane, and fully functioning parents or individuals could abuse children (Zigler, 1980). Therefore it was believed that individuals must have some form of psychiatric problem which led to their abuse of children. There has been an enormous amount of work done in an attempt to substantiate this position empirically, however the findings remain mixed (Kempe et al, cited in Zigler, 1980: 48). In the many studies of child abuse that have been conducted over the years, mental illness is rarely present.

In South Africa the issue of mental illness in child abuse is supported by the fact that 80-90% of people who abuse children cannot be classified as having some form of mental illness (Childline Report, 2001: 7). In a personal interview with Jackie Laffell of Johannesburg Child Welfare Society, in most cases that are reported to the welfare, the perpetrators of all forms of child abuse are well-functioning members of our society. While there have been cases where perpetrators of child abuse are mentally challenged, these make up a very small fraction of the total number of perpetrators. Thus the psychiatric approach to child abuse should not be a major focus of trying to understand the extent of child abuse within the present South African context. However, the issue of psychiatric problem on the side of the perpetrator cannot be completely rule out.

2.8.4 Developmental Approach to Child Abuse

The developmental approach to child abuse is based on the cognitive-development theory. This theory was founded on the work of Kohlberg, Gillian and Selaman in the 1980s, and holds that parenting attitudes and behaviour follow a pattern of stages similar to those described by Piaget's cognitive development theory (Cicchetti, 1989: 51). The theory focuses on the issues revolving around the parent's perceptions and expectations of the child as a person; child rearing practices; interpersonal responsibility and their understanding of their parental role. The basic assumption in this theory is that the level of maturity achieved varies from one individual to another. For example, individuals might be the same age chronologically but that does not mean that they will reach maturity at the same time. Some parents may not understand the challenge of deferring their own gratification in order to meet the more immediate needs of their children.

There are individual differences in maturity, which are characterised by higher or lower developmental functioning. When a lower functioning individual encounters a stressful situation, his/her methods of coping are likely to be those of an immature individual. There has been considerable evidence, which indicates that child abuse is a response more common in individuals whose lives are characterised by immaturity (Polansky and Williams 1986 cited in Zigler 1989). What must be emphasised is that the individuals are not in any way mentally challenged, it is their reaction to their children in the face of stress which is not normal and which matters most. Seen differently, their reaction may be considered as that of well functioning individuals, who are dealing with their environments with mechanisms dictated by their immature levels of development which result in immature or lower functioning.

The relevance of the developmental approach to child abuse is its emphasis on the action-thought dimension of human behaviour (Zigler, 1989: 43). This

suggests that primitive behaviour early in human beings is marked by immediate, direct and impulsive responses to external stimuli, for instance behaviour in children. In contrast, higher levels of functioning are characterised by well thought-out responsible symbolic or verbal behaviour patterns. The individual functioning at a higher maturity level will have interactions with children and others that are expressed in words and thoughts. This is contrary to individuals at a lower developmental level. Such individuals tend to impulsively act before thinking. Thus their interactions with children are likely to be characterised by impulsive and direct actions including abusive acts when they are angry, frustrated or highly stressed.

2.9 Legislation on Child Abuse

Pre 1994, not much attention was paid to the problem of child abuse, especially in the area of policy and legislation to protect children. This was evident in the ways in which cases of child abuse were dealt with, even in the way the professional handled the cases. The attention was racially skewed, more attention being given to white children. For instance more removals of children from their families due to abuse took place in white communities. Many African families saw the problem of child abuse as a family and private matter and as something that the family must resolve. Child abuse was seen as a problem that needed to be tackled within. Consequently cases of child abuse were rarely reported.

Post 1994, the legal status of children changed considerably, children are now seen as having distinct rights to the fulfilment of their developmental needs regardless of their race, religion, sex, origin etc (South African Human Rights Commission, 2002:4). What led to this shift was that South Africa ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1996. This suggests that there was a political will to end all forms of violation of children's rights. The problem of child abuse is now considered an important issue worthy of scientific

and policy analysis. Children's rights are universally recognised as needing specific protection. This is evident in human rights documents aimed at protecting and guaranteeing the rights of children. In this regard three pieces of legislation are especially important. At the global level there is the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. At the continental level is the African Charter on the Rights and the Welfare of the Child, and as a country there is the South African Child Care Act No 96 of 1996. Children are accorded various rights in these documents. These rights range from the right to life, to protection from all forms of child abuse, and any other form of violence and harm, and to freedom of expression and participation.

The question that can be asked is "why are the statistics on child abuse are on the rise when there are so many pieces of legislation protecting and promoting the rights children in this country"? A number of issues are pertinent here. Firstly, the implementation of different legislations, i.e. putting into practice what is written and making it materialise. There are very few mechanisms in place to ensure that legislation is enacted upon. Secondly, the lack of resources and access to information, resulting in people not being aware of children's rights. Thirdly, the way in which officials and the justice system respond to child abuse, for example the granting of bail to perpetrators of serious violence against children, the very low conviction rate among perpetrators of child abuse, and the fact that some perpetrators get suspension sentences for such crimes. The legal process is lengthy; each investigation is subject to delays of up to two years and longer for a single case to reach finalisation. The alleged perpetrators are released on bail and return to harass the victim and his/her family, this might place the child's life in jeopardy. This is traumatic for the 'victim', and could be considered secondary victimisation.

2.9.1 International Legislation and Convention on Child Abuse

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1986) is generally regarded as a human rights document that safeguards the three “Ps”, that is the protection, provision and participation of children (SAHRC, 2002: 7). A commitment to protecting children’s rights was demonstrated through many countries ratifying the UNCRC as a commitment to adopt ‘ the first call for children’. This means that national governments need to do all that is in their power to make sure that children are protected from all forms of harm. The UNCRC focuses on four general principles; non-discrimination; the best interest of the child; the right to life and survival and the development of respect for the views of the children. It can be argued that children are now afforded an opportunity to have their rights protected from all forms of violation.

There are other international legislation and conventions with the aims of safeguarding the interest of the children world-wide. Among others is The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (1997), which aims to eliminate the discrimination of children on the grounds of their race. The United Nations Convention Against Torture and Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment (1997). This convention rules out all forms of cruel, degrading and inhumane treatment on children in the world. The Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects on the International Child Abduction Act (1997), this Act restricts the wrongful removal of children across international boundaries and establishes a procedure to restore children to their rightful custody as soon as possible (UNICEF 2002: 56).

2.9.2 National Legislation on Child Abuse

The South African government ratified the UNCRC in June 16 1995, and thereby has assumed the obligation to ensure appropriate legislative, administrative, and other measures for the implementation of the rights enshrined in the UNCRC

(White Paper for Social Welfare, 1997: 58). In so doing South Africa has committed itself as a country to adopt " the first call for children", whereby the need and the protection of all children are considered to be paramount in all government programmes, services and developmental strategies. In other words it undertook to protect children from all forms of violence and sexual exploitation (SALC, 1999). In addition the Section 28 of the South African Bill of Rights contains the Children's Bill of Rights, a detailed listing of the rights of the child. In this way the South African Constitution has created a legislative framework within which children's rights are recognised

In addition to enshrining children's rights within the South African Constitution, the South African Government has reviewed and continues to review their legislation and policies, which affect children. This is in order to align them with its child rights commitments in terms of the Constitution and various international conventions. The South African Child Care Act No 96 of 1996, aims to protect and uphold the rights of all children in South African. The main thrust and the philosophy underlying this Act is the care and the protection of children and the promotion of their wellbeing (Department of Welfare, 1998: 74). The primary aim of the Act is to provide adequate legal protection for children and to facilitate the practical application of the Act.

There are other Acts that aims to protect children in South Africa. The Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998, which allows for a child to apply for a protection order without the assistance of a parent or a guardian, and for the removal of a perpetrator of abuse from a child's home (Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998). The Film and Publications Act 1996, which is currently under review, contains measures to protect children from exploitation through child pornography and exposure to inappropriate sexual material. The Abolition of Corporal Punishment Act 1997, which repeals all statutory provision allowing courts and schools to impose corporal punishment. The Basic Conditions of Employment Act (1997) ensures that no one may employ a person under the age of fifteen years. While it

is clear that the South African Government is committed to establishing a culture of child rights and that all these legislation serves as a frame of reference from which the country can operate. The application of the legislation in real life situation is a serious challenge. This is illustrated by the many incidents of child abuse that are still reported despite having legislation in place. These policies need to filter down to all children in our society. The reality is, many children are still subjected to various forms of abuse and their rights are not protected in real life situation and on day to day basis. A process of education, prevention and empowerment is crucial to ensure that we live in a country where children are protected from all forms of abuse and that the environment they live is conducive growth, so that they are able to achieve their maximum potential.

2.10 Social Factors that Contribute to Child Abuse

There are broader social factors that are implicated as playing a causal role in child abuse. For instance, societal attitudes and beliefs towards children; child rearing practices; patriarchal societies; violence in the family and in broader society. The high level of community deprivation; persistent poverty; unemployment; overcrowding and substance abuse; breakdown of parental roles; dislocation and lack of extended family support may all be regarded as contributing factors (U.C.T Children Institute Report, 2003:3). The economic changes that came with industrialisation and the move of many people from the rural areas to urban areas in search of economic advancement can also be seen as a contributing to child abuse. Most of the above-mentioned factors cause that disruption of the family life and functioning, most of them are evident in this country in informal settlements, where there is a high incidence of child abuse.

As pointed out earlier in this study, child abuse seem to be more evident in impoverished communities. In South Africa child abuse is a challenge in informal settlements due to overcrowding living conditions and community deprivation. The majority of people in informal settlement live in overcrowded conditions; a

small shack might be shared by a big family (Ramphela, 1989: 120). In a personal interview, Inspector Ngubane of the South African Police Services in Ivory Park stated that the conditions of overcrowding in informal settlements are linked significantly and directly to many cases of child abuse and especially in cases of child sexual abuse. In most cases, twenty different people living in shacks built very close to one another might share one small yard. Obviously such overcrowding becomes a serious problem for investigating officers who are attempting to track down the perpetrators of child abuse.

2.11 Poverty in South Africa

Poverty is characterised by the inability of individuals, households and communities to command sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard of living (Statistics South Africa Poverty and Inequality Report 2003: 28). Poverty includes the alienation from community, food insecurity, crowded homes and the usage of unsafe and inefficient forms of energy, lack of jobs that adequately paying and secure. Poverty, unemployment and inequality seem to be on the rise in South Africa. It is estimated that 45% of the population lives in absolute poverty (UCT Children Institute Report, 2003: 7).

Poverty is profoundly a serious issue; it is not confined to South Africa but remains at the top of the world agenda. Poverty may be defined as the denial of opportunities and choices most basic to human development which are needed to the lead a long, healthy and creative life and to enjoy decent standards of living, freedom, dignity and respect for others (Unicef Report, 2002: 22).

In this country poverty is deep and widespread. This is because of the great inequality that exists and the gap between the rich and the poor within South Africa (Wilson and Ramphela, 1989: 16). Poverty is a serious challenge in any country in the world especially, in view on the damage it inflicts on the individual who endures it. It is inefficiency in simple economic terms, i.e. if many people within a country are poor, there will simply not be enough revenue from which the

country can survive and develop. The consequence of any society where there is poverty is manifested in the levels of inequality (Wilson et al, 1989: 22). Poverty is usually defined with reference to the poverty line, i.e. if a household earns an income lower than a certain set amount, that household is deemed to be living in poverty (White Paper for Social Welfare, 1997: 23). While poverty is not confined to any racial-caste, in South Africa poverty is concentrated mostly among blacks and particularly Africans (Ramphele, 1989: 72). There are two forms of poverty, absolute poverty and relative poverty.

2.11.1 Absolute Poverty

Absolute poverty refers to not having enough to sustain life and to meet one's basic needs. It is based on the notion of subsistence, subsistence being the minimum needed to sustain life (Alcock, 1997: 127). Thus living below the subsistence level means experiencing poverty. Absolute poverty is a reality for most people living in the informal settlements in South Africa. In this situation households do not have any form of income and members live below the poverty line. The daily reality is that the family does not have the means to provide for the basic needs, survival and a healthy life. At present the absolute poverty measure is an income of R490 per household of four individuals per month in order to meet the basic needs and survival. Given this figure, it means that 75% of 0-17 year olds in South Africa live in poverty, i.e. it is estimated that 14.3 million children in this country live in absolute poverty (U.C.T Children Institute Report, 2003: 12).

2.11.2 Relative Poverty

On the other hand relative poverty is based on comparison between standards of living of the other members of society who are not poor. In this case the basic needs are met, but many other social expectations are not met (Alcock, 1997: 122). So, individuals might not be poor because they can meet their basic needs, but they are poor in relation to others in their specific environment.

Poverty places a huge stress on the individual family and its members and consequently on the entire community and the society at large. It has serious implications in that it affects adults and children. It prevents both from functioning optimally and fully participating in society. According to Statistics South Africa the household poverty line that is based on the consumption expenditure of R800 or less per month is considered to be poor.

When looking at poverty in terms of provinces, Gauteng and Western Cape are reported to have poverty level of 20% or less. Mpumalanga, Kwa Zulu Natal, Northern Cape, North-West and Northern Province have a poverty level of between 20% to 40%. Free State and Eastern Cape are the provinces with higher poverty levels of 40% to 60% (Stats S.A and World Bank Report 2002). Of the total South African population, 77% are Africans, while 11% are whites and 8% of coloureds and 4% of Indians and Asians. It is estimated that 52% of the South African population constitute of women and 48% of men.

Countrywide it is estimated that female headed household especially among Africans tend to be poor and poverty figures are higher in rural areas that in urban areas. This is because of the previous policies in this country that discriminated against women on the grounds of their gender. Also important here are religion and culture, especially the nature of a patriarchal society, in which women were oppressed and denied opportunities to actively participate in society. Poverty is concentrated among Africans. It is estimated that 61% of Africans and 38% of coloured are poor, compared with 5% of Indians and 1% of whites (Inter-Ministerial Committee for Poverty and Inequality Report, 2002: 7).

Maslow's hierarchy of needs becomes relevant in any discussion of the effects of meeting the basic needs of people. His hierarchy of needs helps to explain what happen when these needs are not met (Weiten, 1998: 272). The hierarchy places human needs in a systematic arrangement according to the order of their priority. This schema assumes that basic needs, that are physiological needs, are at the bottom of the hierarchy and need to be met before the individual will be

motivated to aspire to the needs located higher up in the hierarchy. It holds that human nature dictates the order of various levels of needs. Physiological needs are the most basic and fundamental for survival. These include the need for food, shelter and water.

Therefore, the assumption is that for individuals to progress and aspire to meet the needs located at the top of the hierarchy they must first have their basic needs met. This implies that people will not be concerned about the higher order needs, for instance self-actualisation, if they are hungry and live in conditions where their basic needs are not met. This is the reality for people who live in deprived communities such as informal settlements.

2.12 History and the Establishment of Informal Settlement in South Africa

South Africa has a high rate of population growth that is impacting on the cities in the form of informal settlements. The country's total population was estimated at approximately 41 million in 1999, including approximately 1,06 million household comprised of 7,7 million people who live in informal settlement (South African Institute for Race Relations, 2000:19). Informal settlements are dwellings that are situated mostly in urban areas near cities and industrial areas where people can find jobs. Dwellings are usually made of sheets of zinc (corrugated iron), are very cramped and often provide inadequate protection against wet and cold weather conditions. Water supply, sanitary facilities and refuse disposal are inadequate in the areas, to the extent that there are serious health hazards. The source of energy is paraffin that is used for cooking and candles is used for lighting. This raises the risk of fire and burning of shacks (Saff, 1996: 17).

The problem of the informal settlement in South Africa can be traced back to the apartheid. In the 1948 when the National Party came to power, their apartheid manifesto consisted of racial segregation, classification of the population into racial categories, strict racial segregation in towns and restricted African urbanisation (Platzky and Walker 1985: 95). They introduced mechanisms and

legislation that confined Africans to the homelands or the Bantustans (Saff, 1996: 17). The Group Areas Act of the 1950s was the earliest segregation measure of the Nationalist government. However, this was not a new principle because as far back as 1923 separate residential areas had already been established for Africans in urban areas (Platzky et al, 1985: 96). The Group Areas Act made it compulsory for people to live only in specific areas that had been proclaimed for people of their racial classification. Under this Act, people from certain racial groups were not allowed to hold title to property in certain areas. According to the government the goal of this Act was to lessen the friction between population groups. Thus racial segregation became the basis of town planning in this country.

Authorities in the past responded to the problem of informal settlements by putting in place legislation that prohibited people from illegal squatting. The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No 92 of 1952 was passed. This Act drastically increased the penalties for “squatting”. There was a provision in this Act that enabled the local authorities to demolish unauthorised structures without the court order. This led to the demolition of many homes and left many people homeless (Saff, 1996: 35). People in informal settlements determinedly stayed on in these areas despite the repeatedly demolition of their homes. Their resistance was a proof of the strength of the forces that had driven them to urban areas in the first place.

Influx control emerged as the government’s response to developing informal settlements. It aimed to encourage people to go back to their places of origin in the homelands (Saff, 1996: 21). Influx control measures were systematically applied in the response to the problem of shantytowns and the squatter camps, which grew unimpeded on the edges of major cities throughout the country. Permanent settlement of Africans in the city has deemed to hold the potential of raised political unrest and security problems (Platzky et al 1985: 96). It is evident that historical features and different legislation shape the formation in formal settlement in South Africa.

The drive from rural areas to the cities is a world-wide phenomenon and the questions are often asked, as to where do people who live in informal settlements come from and why do they choose to live under such conditions. The answer might be that most of them do not have a choice and the pressure that drives them to live in urban areas is related to survival. The majority of the people who live in informal settlements cannot afford to build or buy their own houses; this is because of the low wages they get if they are employed. The problem of informal settlements cannot be seen in isolation from the housing problem in this country, the conditions that people are escaping from the rural areas, and the availability of land and recourses to assist people to build proper houses. There have been many attempts to bring about development of rural areas, however not enough has been done so far in terms of economic opportunities and job creation (Mashabela, 1990: 17). For as along as there is no development in rural areas the move from rural areas to the cities will continue.

The improvement of the living conditions in informal settlements is one of the most complex and pressing challenges facing the present government. The provision of basic services such as proper houses with water for sanitation, roads, schools and clinics, etc is urgent (South African Institute for Race Relations, 2000: 16). Due to overcrowding and lack of proper infrastructure, these areas become capitals for criminal activities and child abuse is no exceptions. Police find it difficult to enforce law and order in such communities, due to overcrowding, lack of physical addresses and proper roads. These factors make many children in informal settlements vulnerable to different forms of child abuse.

2.13 Community Profile of Ivory Park

2.13.1 History and Location of Ivory Park

Ivory Park was established in the 1990s by the former Transvaal Provincial Administration (T.P.A). Ivory Park is located in Midrand, between to large

economic centre in Gauteng province namely Johannesburg and Pretoria. Ivory Park is one of the many townships located in the Midrand area. Its location is +-10 km outside Midrand North-Western part of Region 2. It is located to the East of Halfway House, South of Olifantsfontein, West of Tembisa and North of Kempton Park. The T.P.A expropriated 700-hectors of farmland in Kaalfontein, in order to establish a township to accommodate informal settlers and backyard dwellers living in the nearby townships. The need for establishing such a township emerged when residents from Alexandra and Tembisa settled on a vacant land where Ivory Park is currently located (Ivory Park Community Profile, 2003: 5).

The T.P.A initially administrated Ivory Park but by the end of 1993 the Midrand Town Council began to administer Ivory Park on behalf of T.P.A. In 1996 Midrand and Ivory Park were amalgamated with the establishment of the Kayalami Metropolitan Council. It proved to be difficult to administer and unable to meet the developmental needs of such a big informal settlement. So after the demarcation of Johannesburg was completed, Ivory Park officially became part of Region 2. The thinking behind this dermacation was that the smaller regions would be easier to manage, as there would be increased public interaction and the delivery of services would reflect local needs and conditions (Ivory Park Community Profile, 2003:5).

2.13.2 Population Size of Ivory Park

Ivory Park has a population of approximately 89656, which makes it the highest populated area in Region 2. The population spread evenly across the settlement.

The following table delineates the population density of Ivory Park per square kilometer in relation to other suburb located in Region 2.

Table 1: Population Density per km2

Suburb	Size km2	People per km2
Ebony Park	3	445
Ivory Park	**3**	**27973**
Halfway House	1.5	377
Paulshof	3	1537
Rabie Ridge	2.4	3992
Sunning Hill	2.4	1442
Kaalfontein	9	1760
Rabie Ridge 3 & 4	1	253

Source: Ivory Park Community Profile

2.14. Community Facilities

2.14.1 Educational Facilities

Pre-Schools

There is a problem with young children roaming the streets of Ivory Park without any form of adult supervision. Most of these children are not yet at school-going age. The problem of unsupervised children in the street may lead to crime, child labour, child abuse, other health and social problems and even road accidents. The problem necessitates the establishment of safe environment for children. In response to this problem, many Day Care Centres have been established in the area. There are about 117 Day care centres in Ivory Park represented by six different associations. The associations are Sedi-Lathuto, Landulwazi, Ukukhanya, Leratong, Masakhane and Vukuzenzele Association. These day care centres normally operate from people's homes in backyards where children are looked after while their parents are at work. It is women from Ivory Park who

own these day care centres through the help of nurses from the local clinics. The Department of Health monitors environmental health in these day care centres and assist on the issues of nutrition. The Department of Social Service also visits the day care centres to evaluate their suitability as places where children are kept safely.

Primary Schools

There are seven primary schools located in the Ivory Park area. These are Bonwelong, Ebomini, Ebony Park, Imphophoma, Ivory Park, Mikateka and Rebonwe Primary Schools. Overcrowding in schools is a serious problem in Ivory Park. This impacts on the standard of education in the schools, as teachers are unable to give individual attention to pupils. There are approximately 10 000 children in primary schools in Ivory Park. The population statistics suggests that there are about 30 000 children under the age of 15 years in Ivory Park. As a rough estimation, it can be assumed that about half of these children (15 000) are between the ages of 7 and 13 years old, i.e. of school going age. Thus there might be several thousand children of school going who are not attending school in Ivory Park (Ivory Park Community Profile, 2003: 36).

Table 2:The Teacher Pupil Ratio for Primary Schools

Name of School	Pupil Teacher Ratio
Bonwelong	39:1
Ebomini	43:1
Ebony Park	55:1
Imphophoma	41:1
Ivory Park	38:1
Mikateka	41:1
Rebonwe	40:1

Source: Ivory Park Community Profile

Secondary Schools

There are three secondary schools in Ivory Park. These are Eqinisweni, Ivory Park, and Umqhele High Schools. There is overcrowding in high schools in this area, which is clearly indicated by the pupil teacher ration (see table 1.3). Overcrowding in school suggests lack of equipment and books, which in turn impacts on the standard of education.

Table 3: The Teacher Pupil Ration for Secondary Schools

Name of School	Pupil Teacher Ratio
Eqinisweni	42:1
Ivory Park	54:1
Umqhele	47:1

Source: Ivory Park Community Profile, 2003

There are no adult education centre or night school in Ivory Park. There is one library with a membership of +-5000; most of them are children.

2.14.2 Health Facilities

There are four municipal clinics located in Ivory Park. The are Bophelong Clinic, Thuthukani Clinic, Hikhensile Clinic and Mpumelelo Clinic. The services that are rendered from these clinics are reproductive health, pre and post-natal care; communicable diseases, curative treatment and community based rehabilitation. Operating hours for all these clinics are from 6:54 am to 4:15 p.m. from Monday to Thursday. Clinics open hour late on Friday but still closes at 4:15 p.m. The number of patients who are seen per day per clinic ranges from 155 to 300. The constrains in these clinics are a heavy workload for the staff, cramped working conditions, one vehicle per clinic which all the staff within the clinic share or no vehicle at all. Thus the level of service is not adequate to meet the needs of the entire community; for instance the TB patients who need home visits. There are two medical practitioners and one dentist practice in Ivory Park. There are no

private or state hospital facilities located in Ivory Park. The closest hospital to Ivory Park is Thembisa Hospital.

Table 4: Municipal Clinics in Ivory Park

Clinic's Name	Service Rendered	No. of Staff	No.of Patients	Constrains
Bophelong	Reproductive Health, Pre & Postnatal Care, Communicable Diseases, Mental Health and Community Rehabilitation	Six Nursing Sisters	+- 280 patients per day	Workload too heavy for the staff, no vehicle and not enough consulting rooms
Thuthukani	Reproductive and Child Health, Communicable/ Curative Diseases and Community Rehabilitation	Three Nursing Sisters	+-200 Patients per day	Same as Above
Hikhensile	As above	Six Nursing Sisters	+- 300 Patients per day	Same as above
Mpumelelo	As above	Three Nursing Sisters	+- 155 Patients per day	Same as above

2.15 Summary

In summary, the historical account of child abuse that has been outlined in this chapter has clearly indicated that child abuse is not a new problem facing the world today. Also, to point out that child abuse is not a problem unique to South Africa, as many countries in the world are battling with the issue of child abuse. What put South Africa in a better position is the fact it has recognised child abuse as a problem that needs urgent attention. Thus, there has been measures in forms of Acts and legislation put in place to try and deal with this problem. Unlike in other parts of the world where practices like child labour are still accepted. A detailed account of social factors that seem to contribute to child abuse was also outlined in this chapter. Finally, a community profile of Ivory Park was outline, so as to put the study into a context of an informal settlement and most importantly to understand social factors in this community, which might be implicated in the abuse of children in this community.