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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 4

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the findings of this study will be presented as follows: firstly, it will be the findings of the families and secondly the findings of the four groups of community members. The families and community member's demographic information will be presented in the forms of table.

4.2 Presentation of Family Findings

4.2.1 Information of the Primary Caregiver

As mentioned earlier in the previous chapter the primary caregiver of the children was interviewed in all the fifty families. The primary giver was the person that was in charge of the day to day care of the children. In other words the person that made sure that the children were fed, bathed, clothed and taken to school or day care centres.

Table 5: Gender of Caregivers

	Gender	
	Female	Male
	50	0
Total	**50**	**0**

In the all the fifty families that were interviewed the primary care givers were all females.

Table 6: Relationship of the Caregiver to the Child

Relationship of the Caregiver to the Child	**No. of Caregivers**
Biological Mothers	15
Grand-mothers	13
Aunts	11
Parent's Relatives	7
Sisters	4
Total	**50**

The relationship of the children to the caregivers ranged from mothers, grandmothers, aunts, parent's relatives and adult sisters who took care of their own siblings.

In the fifty families that were interviewed, only fifteen of the primary caregivers were biological mothers to the children. Thirteen were grandmothers and eleven were aunts to the children. Seven were cousins to the parents/relatives to the parents of the children and four of these primary care givers were sisters who to care of their siblings. All the primary caregivers lived in the same household with the children and were somehow related to the children. There were 35 families in which the caregiver was not the biological mother of the child.

Table 7: Whereabouts of Biological Mothers

Whereabouts of the Biological Mother	**No.**
Deceased	18
Living in the household or somewhere with a partner	10
Working and living away from home	7

Information on the whereabouts of the biological parents was as follows. In 18 families, the mother was deceased, in 10 other families the mother was either living in the same household or somewhere with a partner who was not the biological father of the child. In the other seven families the mother was working and living away from home.

Among the above-mentioned, there were cases where the mother of the child was a teenager and was still attending school the grand mother would look after the child. Not much information was obtained about some of the biological fathers of the children. In some cases they had separated with the mother of the child, in other cases the grandmother would not know about the whereabouts of the biological father

Table 8: Age Group of the Caregivers

Caregivers Age Group Category	**No. of Caregivers**
22 – 30 years	4
31 – 40 years	14
41 – 50 years	7
51 – 60 years	8
61 – 70 + years	17
Total	**50**

The ages of the primary caregivers ranged from twenty-two years to seventy-four years. There four caregivers who were in the 22 –30 age group, fourteen were in the 31- 40 age group, seven were in the 41 – 50 age group, eight were in the 51 – 60 age group and 17 were in the 61 – 70 plus age group category.

Table 9: Educational Level of the Caregiver

Educational Level of the Caregiver	**No. of Caregivers**
No Education	13
Primary School Education	16
High School Education	14
Tertiary Education	7
Total	**50**

In the fifty caregivers that were interviewed 13 of them had no formal education at all, in other words they have never been to school. The other 16 had primary school education, 14 had high school education and 7 had some form of post-matric education.

4.2.2 Information of the Children

In the fifty families interviewed that were interviewed the number of children ranged from three to eight children per household. The children were between the 8 months to 23 years of age.

Table 10: Number of Children per household

Ages of the Children	**No. of Households**
0 – 5years	9
6 – 10years	16
11 – 15years	11
16 – 20years	9
21+	5
Total	**50**

In most of the families individuals over the age of eighteen were still considered children, due to the fact that they were still dependent on the family. If the child over the age of 18 was still living in the house, out of school and not working, they were still counted in among the children. All the children at the school going age in these families attended school within a walking distance. Most caregivers avoided schools that are far from the family, since transport is very expensive. Children who were not yet at the school going age were looked after by care givers in their homes and some were at the nearby day-care centres in the community.

4.2.3 Information of the Households

In all the households there were more than five people living in the same household. The people living in each household ranged from five to twelve people. They were all differently related, ranging from cousins, uncles/aunts, nephews/nieces and grand-children/grandparents. In most of these families cousins were referred to as brothers and sisters and not as cousins. There were only eight nuclear families in the fifty families that were interviewed. The rest of the families were extended families living in the same household. Significantly, overcrowding seemed to be a problem in these families, especially taking into account the type of dwelling that most families lived in. Most of them did not live in houses with many rooms. In some families that lived in one-room houses, a curtain or furniture to separate the sleeping area and place, which they use as a kitchen, often divided the room. This mean there was no privacy for all the family members. One wonder what happens when adults or teenage children of different sexes need to bath, sleep or dress.

Table 11: Number of years each household lived in Ivory Park

No. of years lived in Ivory Park	**No. of households**
1 – 5years	9
6 – 10years	27
11 – 15years	14
Total	**50**

Most households had lived in Ivory Park for a period between 6 to 10 years, and some had lived in Ivory Park for a period between 11 to 15 and only nine families lived there for a period between 1- 5 years.

Table 12: Place where the family lived before

Where did the family live before	**No. of families**
Rural areas	19
Thembisa	12
Oakmore	13
Plot/ Farms	6
Total	**50**

There were a high number of families that lived in rural areas before settling in Ivory Park in the early 1990s. This confirms what was pointed out in the literature review chapter, that there is a drive of many people from the rural areas to urban in search of better living opportunities. Some were backyard dwellers from nearby places like Thembisa and some were moved from Oakmore and nearby farms and plots around Gauteng.

Table 13: Type of dwelling per household

Type of dwelling	**No. households**
Brick House	12
Corrugated Iron Shacks	33
Wooden Material Shacks	5
Total	**50**

The types of dwellings which families lived in were mainly shacks built with corrugated iron or wooden material. Only 12 families lived in proper houses that they have build themselves, in other words these were not houses provided by the government or bought through the banks. The other 38 families live in shacks that they have build themselves. In some yards there were more than 8 shacks build very close, the owner of the yard rented out these shack to individual who paid rent at the end of every month.

In other parts of Ivory Park there were services available to the families, for instance electricity, running water and sanitation. Very few roads were tarred roads; the streets are mainly gravelled streets. In the other part of Ivory Park called Mzabalazo, which is mainly where the researcher conducted the family interviews, there were not enough services. One tap of water was shared by a number of families and there were no proper toilets. In some families, they had to dig deep holes on the grounds in their yards to build the toilets. Electricity connections were mainly illegal in this area, there were “experts electricians” in the community who did the illegal connection and charged a certain amount of money. Thus when the researcher and her companion entered some of these yards, the other community members wanted to know the reason why we were there. Most of them did not trust us and thought we were from Eskom and we were to get them into trouble.

The other services that are available for the community members are clinics, schools, one stadium, one police station, supermarkets, municipal offices, one big community centre with a library; this centre is also used as the social grant pay-point. Tarvens and shebeens are visible in most parts of Ivory Park, few are licensed and many are operating without licenses. Most of these tarvens play very loud music throughout the night over the weekends. These are the favourite hangout places for many young people and a place where men get entertainment. Many care givers that were interviewed complained about the fact that the owners of these places do not adhere to the under age alcohol restrictions. Also that these can be dangerous places where criminals hang out and there is often a lot of fighting happening once people had too much to drink. Caregivers also pointed out that some parents send their children to tarverns to buy them beers and the safety of children is often at risk.

4.2.4 Household Income and Expenses

Most caregivers were hesitant to answer questions on household income and expenses. The researcher was asked what she was going to do with that information, and some chose not answer the question in this section. For some caregivers it was not the issue of not wanting to talk about the household income and expenses, but they did not know what the family income was and how much was spent on what. This was especially true in some families where the husband/partner was the breadwinner and the wife/woman was unemployed or a stay home mother. In other households the husband/partner was the sole breadwinner but it was the woman was responsible for handling the household income and expenses. What also made it difficult to clearly know how the household income was spent was the fact that in some families the income was not guaranteed at the end of every month. Especially with people who were doing “piece jobs”, their income depended on how much work they manage to find in that particular month/week. So, they were basically living from hand to mouth, as there was no stable guaranteed income coming at the end of the week/month.

Table 14: Source of income per household

Source of Income	**No. families**
Old age pension	13
Salary/wages	6
Child support grant	13
Foster care grant	9
No income	4
Other	2
Total	**50**

In some families the old age pension was the only source of income for the whole family, and the money was spent mainly on food, rent, prepaid electric card etc. In other families the source of income was the child support grants. There were a number of families where there was no income at all and the families depended on local and church organisations for help and food parcels. The children in these families were also on the school's feeding scheme programmes. Most children in these families qualified for different social support grants, but there was a problem with required documents. Some children were not in possession of a birth certificate and sometimes their parents were not in possession of a South African identity documents. Without these documents they are unable to access social grants.

In some families, especially where parents were deceased and children were orphans; the process for applying for foster care grants is very long. So families wait for a very long time before the social workers can intervene and take the matter to court. There are only three social workers in Ivory Park, two of them are from the Department of Social Services and the other one is from an N.G.O called Christelike Maatskaaplike Raad (C.M.R). The two social workers from the department are only available on Mondays and Wednesdays, that is two days a

week. The other days they are in main office or in courts attending to other matters. This is significantly overwhelming to these social workers as the number of people in need of their services is great and they do not only do statutory work but also attend to other general cases as well.

4.2.5 The General Functioning of the Households

- In all the fifty families that were interviewed in the study, the caregivers who were responsible for the day to day care of the children were all females.

- The care-givers ranged from mothers of the children, some were grand-mothers of the children, others were aunts or someone related to the parents and in other cases it was grown up person who took care of their siblings.

- There were different people that supported the children financially and this differed according to families. The people who supported the family financially were mainly parents, either the mother/father or both. In some families it was the grandmothers and grandfathers who supported the family with their old age pension money. In some families the families depended on social services grants or help from local organisations and churches.

Table 15: Source of emotional support

Source of emotional support	**No. of families**
Families/Relative	24
Spiritual leader	14
Traditional Healer	4
Neighbour/family friends	8
Total	**50**

Caregivers reported that in times of crisis they seek emotional support from different sources. Some said they go to their family members and other relatives

for emotional support. Some caregiver said they go to their spiritual leader being the Minister or the Pastors in the churches. Some said they consult the traditional healer or an Inyanga for some support and also to see if there is something wrong happening or their ancestors are trying to tell them something. Others turn to their neighbours/ friends in their community

Most caregivers said they were the ones responsible to discipline children in the families, in other families it was the male figure that was responsible for disciplining children. Grandmothers reported that, disciplining children was very difficult for them. They find today's children very challenging and very different from the children they raised in their era. Many of them attributed this problem to the fact that children today have rights and parents are not allowed to punish them physically. According to these grandmothers children are not obedient and not respectful to their elders simply because they know that they have rights. Generally, there was a sense of helplessness on the side of the elders in the area of disciplining children especially when they get to teenage stage when they become rebellious.

Table 16: Reasons for punishment

Things that make caregivers/parents punish their children	**Frequency**
Children not listening to their parents	Often
Not following instructions	Very often
Hanging out with wrong friends	Very often
Demanding material things	Often
Intimate relationship at an early stage *(ho jola)*	Very often
Drinking alcohol and smoking cigarette/dagga	Often
Teenage stage rebellious behaviour	Very often

Caregivers were asked to mention the things that different children do in the families that lead them to be in trouble and end up being punished. Some parents said their children were not listening to them and not following the instructions they give them. Some parents said children are hanging out with wrong friends who are had a bad reputation in the community. Others said that their children demand material things that they cannot afford and when they say no to them they do not want to understand. This is where most of the conflict in the family starts. So parents said their problem is that their children start to engage in intimate relationships at an early age. Some of the children have started drinking alcohol and smoking marijuana. For the majority of the parents most of these problems seem to arise when children got to their teenage stage.

Some parents pointed out that alcohol, marijuana and other substances are easily available in the community of Ivory Park. Also that it is in fact adults who sell these substances to children and use children to sell them to their peers. One parent who is a member of the School Governing Body at one of the high school in the area said that this is a serious. Schools are finding that more children are abusing substances and sometimes even bring these substances into the schoolyard.

Table 17: Difficulties facing families

Difficulties facing the family	**Frequency**
Lack of proper housing	Very often
Overcrowding	Very often
Unsafe environment	Often
Unemployment	Very often
Loss of a loved one	Often
Caring for a sick person	Often

Caregivers were also asked about the difficulties/strains that the families are facing. Lack of proper housing and land were cited as one of the main problems that the families are facing. Many caregivers said that they have been on the waiting list for housing for many years. Most of them were promised houses by the local councillors, but nothing has happened so far. Due to the lack of proper housing and land there is overcrowding. The landowners often have many backyard dwellers, as they also want to make more money from the rent that is paid on monthly basis. Crime and lack of safety were also cited as one of the major problems in this community. There is a lot of house breaking and violence in this community. Lack of employment was also a problem, there are many people young and old who are without employment and this came out in the interviews. It is also evident that many people are unemployed in this area, there are so many people in the streets and a weekday looks like a weekend.

There were families dealing with the loss/ death of their loved ones, this difficulty faced by the majority of the families interviewed. Some families were caring for family members who were sick and unable to care for themselves. Some of the sick family members were sole breadwinners in the families. Most of them have lost their jobs and they are unable to provide for their families. This has put a huge strain on the general functioning of the families. Most caregivers became very emotional when talking about this situation, and it was amazing how their grief and pain just surfaced. It will seem like most of them are still mourning the loss of their loved ones and some of them said they avoid talking about. Some caregivers were open about the fact that their family members have died of AIDS related illnesses. In many instances they did not call the disease AIDS, they referred it as “this disease that is killing many young people”*(lefu lena le bolayang batho ba batjha).* When asked, most of them said they have not sought out any form of help to help them deal with their grief. Some said they were receiving emotional support from local organisation like churches and support groups from the clinics.

Table 18: The way in which conflict was resolved in the families

How is conflict resolved	No. of families
Talk about the issue with the individual concerned	11
Involve other relatives to help in resolving the conflict	8
Resolve conflict through fighting instead of talking about it	6
Resolve conflict among family members	17
Get help from the minister or spiritual leader	13

Eleven of them said they talk about it with the individual concerned and try to resolve it. Eight of them said they involve other relatives to intervene in helping to solve the problem. That is if the problem still persist and the person causing the problem does not want to stop, they will seek advice to an elderly person who is related and respected in the family. Six caregivers said certain individuals in their families resolve conflict through fighting instead of sitting down and talking about it. That happens especially, when an individual has had some few drinks and they are intoxicated. Caregivers reported this behaviour as a common one among their partners/husbands. That most of them do not want to talk about issues at all or resolve conflict when they are sober. Seventeen said they resolve conflict among themselves as a family and not let it go outside. Thirteen said they involve a minister from their church or a spiritual leader.

Table 19: The role father/ male-partner in the family

Role of the father/male/partner	No. of families
Not clear	19
Provide for the family	14
Discipline/punish/ make decisions	6
Protect the family	11

In nineteen families it was actually not clear what the role of the father/male was. This is because there were no specific things that the caregivers clearly could point out and say this is the role of the man/father in the house. In fourteen families the role of the father was clearly to provide for the family and to make sure that he brings money in the home. In six families the role of the father was that of disciplining/punishing the children and making major decisions in the family. In eleven families the role of the father/male was to protect the family and make sure that family members are safe. In families where there was not father/male, the women assumed all these responsibilities and in families where the grandfather or uncle was present he will assume and played the role of the father in the family.

4.2.6 Difference in the Functioning and Coping between Families

As mentioned in the first chapter, one of the aims of the study was to identify the differences in the functioning and coping between families where child abuse occurs and where it does not. In the 50 families that were interviewed, the first 25 were selected on the basis that they were receiving services from social services organisations due to child abuse. The other 25 families was used as a form of “control group” i.e. child abuse was not used as a criterion for inclusion.

Table 20: Factors in abusing and non-abusing families

Factors in abusing families	Factors in non abusing families
Isolation and lack of support	Had other support systems
Parenting at an early age	Adult figure helped in parenting
Neglect and uncaring attitude	Seemed to have a caring attitude
Alcohol and violence	Seemed to be less
Inability to meet basic needs	Seemed to coped better
Punitive	Less punitive
Frustrated parent	There were frustrations but seemed to cope

4.2.6.1 Abusing Families

There were a number of factors that seemed to be common in the families where abuse was happening. Isolation and lack of support for the parents were evident in some of the abusing families. These families did not have support structures in their neighbourhood or in the community. Their relatives lived far away from them, mostly in rural areas and they were also not part of other community structures like churches or other social groups in the area. These were some of the families that did not reach out for help and make use of other structures in their community. Parenting at an early age was one of the problems in the general functioning of the abusing families. This led to an inability of these individuals to parent, especially where there was no mature adult person to give support and assist in the role of parenting.

There was also some degree of neglect and uncaring attitude in some of the abusing families. In some families where interviews were conducted, children were left with no adult supervision. In some cases children were left in the supervision of other children for a long time. This put many children at risk of

being abused or get hurt while they play in unsafe environments. Inability for the family to provide basic needs especially to the children was indeed a huge challenge in some abusing families. Lack of proper documents like the identity documents and birth certificates made it difficult for some of these families to access social support grants that they were entitled to.

Abuse of alcohol and violence in the family were common in some of the families. This was especially where there was a husband/male partner who was spending the little money that was suppose to provide for the family on alcohol. This led to fights between the parents and children were affected in the process. Punitive parents and patriarchal family structures, in some of these families parents believed strongly in physical punishment as a best way to deal with children's misbehaviour. Most of the parents were brought up that way and they see this as an effective way of producing disciplined children. In families where the male was the final authority figure, the woman and the children were treated as minors. Some women in these families did not have any say in decision making of the family even though they played a vital role in the caring and the functioning of the family.

Frustration on the side of the parents was one of the underlying issues present in some families. Parents in these families were dealing with their own personal problems and the problems of facing harsh reality of survival and unemployment. The inability of individuals to meet their basic needs and the needs of their families on daily basis is a huge struggle. This can place serious stress on the parents and affect their coping and functioning.

4.2.6.2 Non Abusing Families

Contrary to the abusing families, non-abusing families seemed to be functioning and coping better. This was despite the same difficult living conditions they faced in the same environment. Non-abusing families seemed to have some support structures and were not as isolated as some of the abusing families. For instance

they were part certain organisation in their communities e.g. churches, support groups and ward committees. Some of the family members were volunteers in different community based project, e.g. self help projects and gardening projects. These families made use of other existing resources within their community and seemed to be actively involved in what is happening in the communities.

In most of the non-abusing families there was a mature adult present in the family. In some of these families there was a grandmother or an aunt who seemed to play a vital role in the functioning of the family. Most of these elders played an important role especially in the area of parenting. They demonstrated and role modelled parenting to the children who in some cases had their own children. Some grandmothers looked after the children while their young mothers went back to school or at work. Most of them cared dearly about the children, one could observe in the way they talked about their grand children. The children were also so closely attached to their grand mothers.

There was also a lot of open communication happening in the non-abusing families. Families sat down to talk about problems happening in the family and this does not mean that these families did not have challenges facing them. They some how seem to function and cope in the face of all those challenges. There was family losses in some of these families and most of them found solace in their religious believes and accepting that the loss of their loved ones was the will of God. There were family members abusing alcohol in these families but it did not seem to be as disrupting in the family functioning.

4.3 Presentation of Community Findings

4.3.1 Women from Early Childhood Development

Table: 21 Gender and Number of Women

Gender of Participants	F	M
Number of Participants	20	0

F= Female M= Male

Participants in this group were all women.

Table 22: Age Group of Women

Age group category	**No. of participants**
31 – 40 years	4
41 – 50 years	3
51 – 60 years	5
61 – 66+years	8
Total	**20**

Four of them were between the ages of 31–40years, three of them were between the ages of 41–50 years. Five of them were between the ages of 51–60years and eight of them were between the ages of 61 – 66years+.

Table 23: Educational Background of Women

Level of Education	**No. of Women**
No formal education	7
Primary school education	10
High school education	3
Total	**20**

The Seven women had no formal education, 10 had primary school education and 3 had high school education. The above-mentioned results indicate significantly that there are high levels of illiteracy among women. A bigger number of women in this group had primary school education and none of them had tertiary level education. This can be attributed to the fact that in the past in some African families parents would rather send a boy child to get formal and further education and not the girl child. Girl children were encouraged to be more involved in domestic, social and reproduction role in the family.

Table 24: Number of years lived in Ivory Park

No. of Years	**No. of Women**
1 – 5 years	3
6 – 10 years	5
11 years +	12
Total	**20**

Three of them lived in Ivory Park for 1-5 years, 5 of the lived in Ivory Park for 6-10 years and 12 of them had lived in Ivory Park for 11 years plus.

Table 25: Women's Employment Status

Employment Status	**No. of Women**
Unemployed	9
Employed	11
Total	**20**

Nine women said they were unemployed and eleven of the said they were employed.

Table 26:Type of Employment

Type of employment	**No. of Women**
Cleaner	2
Child minder	4
Domestic worker	2
Piece Job	3
Total	**11**

The type of work they did were child minder, cleaning, domestic work and piece jobs. There were four respondents who said they have never worked before in formal employment. All the respondents in this group had children and the numbers of children per household were between 2 and 7.

4.3.1.1 The Women's Understanding of Child Abuse

The women's understanding of child abuse varied.

- Two women said it is shouting, screaming and swearing at children.
- One participant said it is treating children in a harsh way.
- Two of them said it is not taking proper care of the children and neglecting children very badly to a point where they run away from home.

- Three said it is punishing children hard when they have made mistakes, and when adults hit children to a point where you hurt and damage them.
- Two of them said it is giving children too much house work/chores and not letting them play.
- One said it is when you make children work for other people and then to bring the money they have earned to the parents.
- Six respondents understood child abuse as when children are abuse sexually and when parents do adult things (sex) in front of the children.
- One said leaving children to play in unsafe places.
- Two participants said child abuse is not giving children food and leaving them with strangers.
- One said going to shebeens with children.

4.3.1.2 Knowledge and Awareness of any Forms of Abuse

Participants were asked if they knew any form of child abuse and all of them said yes to this question. However, when they were asked to give an example of any form of child abuse, nine of them could not come up with form of child abuse they knew. Even though they had said yes to the previous question. Five of them said the form of child abuse they knew was sexual abuse. One of them said a form of child abuse is when send their children to beg at the street corners in towns. One of them also said when a child is hit with a sjambok. Four said when children are not given food.

4.3.1.3 Awareness about Children's Rights

All participants (100%) said they have heard about children's rights but six of them could not list any children's rights they know even though they all said yes to the previous question. They gave the following examples, six of them said children have a right to go to school and two said a right to be taken to the clinic when they are sick. Three right not to corporal punishment at school and one

said they have a right to be protected. Two of them said that children have a right to play and to be fed.

On the questions as to whether children should or should not have rights, there were mixed views about this question. Five participants said yes, children should have rights because they are also human beings. Two of them said so that all children can be protected by the law. Also, so that adults cannot take advantage of the children. Thirteen participants said no, children should not have rights because they turn to abuse their rights. Once children are aware that they have rights they become unruly and want to control their parents. One of them said there were many problems that arises once children know that they have rights. Four said when a parent tries to discipline and hit a child, that child can run to a police station and lay a charge against their parents. Three said the reason why most children especially teenagers are so difficult it is because of the rights. Children question their parents and even talk back, its like now children are the ones in charge. One participant said it is unfair that the government has given children all the rights and what about the parent's rights. Participants said the whole thing of rights create confusion.

4.3.1.4 Can Children say no to their Parents or Adults?

In response to this question, Two participants said yes children could say no to adults only when they want to involve them in wrong things. Five said only when adults want to abuse them sexually or want to use them to sell drugs at school. One said children can say no to adult strangers who want to touch them in a wrong way and want to give them sweets. One also said children can say no when their parents want to send them to shops or shebeens at night. The other eleven participants said it is wrong for children say no to their parents. This is against the African culture to say no to your parents. Children must show respect to their elders. Children cannot say no to adults, they must obey the great commandment of honouring your mother and father so that they can live for many days in this world.

4.3.1.5 Who is responsible for the Protection of the Children?

Twelve participants said mothers are the ones responsible for the protection and the safety of the children. Six participants said it is the responsibility both parents and two people said it is the responsibility of the community members to make sure that children are safe. One participant said it is the responsibility of teachers. All participants said it is the responsibility of mothers to make sure that children are fed, clean and clothed. Participants were also asked as to what they will do if they saw a child playing in a dump, busy street or left with no adult supervision. Thirteen of the participants said they that will either remove or reprimand a child playing in an unsafe environment. Three of the said that they will talk to children about the dangers of playing there. Four said that they would call or report this behaviour to the parents of the children.

Participants were asked as to what they will do if the see a child left alone without any adult supervision. Twelve said that they would take children and keep them in their care until the parents came back. Four said they would inform the social workers or the police about the behaviour of parents of leaving children alone. One person said they would look for the mother of the child in neighbourhood or in the nearest shebeen. Three said they would talk to the mother and tell her never to do that again.

4.3.2 Church members

There were 47 church members that participated in the filling in of questionnaire and only 20 were randomly selected for data analysis.

Table 27: Gender and Number of Church Members

Gender of Participants	F	M
Number of Participants	14	6
Total No. of Participants	20	

There were 6 males and 14 females in the group of questionnaires that were selected.

Table 28: Age Categories of Church Members

Ages Category of Church Members	No. of Church Members
26 – 35 years	4
36 – 45 years	7
46 – 55 years	4
56 – 65 years	5

There were four participants between the ages of 26 - 35 years, seven of the participants were between the ages of 36 – 45 years, four were between the ages of 46 – 55 years and five were between the ages of 56 – 65years.

Table 29: Educational Background of Church Members

Educational Level	No. of Participants
No formal education	5
Primary school education	4
High school education	6
Tertiary education	5
Total	20

There were five participants who had no form of formal education, four of them had primary school education, six of them had high school education and five had tertiary education.

Table 30: Number of years lived in Ivory Park

No. of years	**No. of Participants**
1 – 5 years	3
6 – 10 years	6
11 – 15 years	9
16years +	2
Total	20

Three of the participants lived in Ivory Park for 1-5 years, six of them lived in Ivory Park for 6-10, and nine of them lived in the area for 11-15 and two of them for 16+ years.

Table 31:Church Member's Employment Status

Employment Status	No. of Participants
Employed	7
Unemployed	13
Total	20

Seven participants in this group were employed and thirteen of them were unemployed.

Table 32: Type of Church Members Employment

Type of Work	**No. of Participants**
Office assistant	1
Domestic worker	1
Teacher	1
Child minder	1
Receptionist	1
Admin Clerk	1
Municipal work	1
Total	**7**

The type of work that the employed participants were doing were, office assistant, domestic work, teacher, child minding, receptionist, admin clerk and a municipal worker. All respondents in this group had children. The numbers of children per household ranged from two to seven and their ages ranged from 3 to 19 years.

4.3.2.1 Church Members Understanding of Child Abuse

Two participants understood child abuse as hitting children to the point of injury and beating children with a sjambok. Five of them said sexual abuse and one said sexual abuse of babies and young children. One participant said he/she did not know what child abuse exactly means. Four participants said child abuse is neglecting children and not taking proper care of the children. One said giving children too much house work. Two said when a child is not cared for in a proper way. Three said swearing, shouting at children and calling them bad names. One said sending children at night to go and buy alcohol and the other one said not giving them food. One said it is treating a child like a slave and not giving the children's all their basic needs.

4.3.2.2 Knowledge and Awareness of Forms of Child Abuse

Participants said they are aware and do know about child abuse. Only one participant said he/she did not know exactly what child abuse was. When asked to give examples of any form of child abuse, not all participants could list any form of child abuse even though nineteen of them said they know about forms of child abuse. Two of them said leaving children with no one to look after and making under age children to do difficult household work. One said giving children food and making them work hard before they eat. Two said it is when adults are having sex in front of the children and respecting their children. One said it is using children to sell drugs and promise them a lot of money. Three of the said when adult men take advantage of young girls and become 'sugar daddies' and gives them material things in exchange for sex.

4.3.2.3 About Children's Rights

All participants said they are aware and know about children's rights. Nine participants could not list any children's rights they know about, even though they said yes to the previous question about children's rights. One said children have a right to have a home and not live in the streets. Four said children have a right to education. Two said children have a right to play and be protected. One said children have a right to open a case against their parents if they punish and hurt them physically. Two said children have a right to say no if anyone wants to touch their bodies in a wrong way or abuse them sexually. One said children have a rights to get child support grants.

In this group there was also strong views about the fact that should children have rights or not. Fourteen participants in this group said children should not have rights, because they turn to abuse their rights. There will be no order and respect in the house if children think that they are equal to their parents. Rights make children think that they can report their parents to the police if they hit. Because of the children's rights there is no corporal punishment in school and that is why

there is no order and children do not respect their teachers. Children do not want to study, they go to school the day they want to and they say its is their rights. One participant blamed the government of former President Nelson Mandela as the one that came with this whole issue of rights. He felt that rights were imposed on parents and that it is a Western thing. Some participants felt that the African traditional way of not sparing the rod and spoiling the child. One participant pointed out that children in his house are not allowed rights as long as they live under his roof. On the other three participants felt that children should have rights like everybody and be treated with dignity and respect just like adults. Also, children should have rights so that they can express themselves and not be oppressed by anybody.

4.3.2.4 Can Children say No to their Parents or Adults?

More than half of participants in this group said under no circumstance may children say no to their parents because it is very disrespectful. Children must obey their parents no matter what because their parents know better than them. About three participants said children might say know to anyone who wants to abuse them sexually and promise them nice things. Children can say no to adults who want to use them so sell drugs in the community. Children can say no if their teachers at school want to have sexual relationships with them and promise to give them good marks and make them pass.

4.3.2.5 Who is Responsible for the Care and the Safety of the Children

Eleven participants said it is the responsibility of mothers to make sure that children are safe and protected. Two said it is the responsibility of the parents and the community members. Six said it is the responsibility of the police to make sure that children are safe and protected. Eighteen participants said it is the responsibility of mothers to make sure that children are fed, clean and clothed. Only two said it is the responsibility of their families and those in charge of their care.

Participants were also asked as to what they will do if they found children playing in an unsafe environment. Eight of them said they would remove the child from that place. Six of them said they would tell the children not to play there because they can be easily harmed. One participant said he would take out a belt and give the children a good hiding and warn them never to return to that place ever again. Four said they would explain to the children the dangers of playing in a busy street that they will be hit by cars. One participant said she would like to know where are the mothers of those children and why do they leave children to play in a dumping place. Two participants said there is nothing they can do about that because it is not their problem and no matter what they do, the children will return to that unsafe place again because some parents neglect their children.

Participants were also asked at to what they will do if a child was left without the adult supervision. More than half of them said they would help the child and give them necessary care. Three said they would find out from the children the whereabouts of the parents. Two participants said they would wait for the parent of the child to return and talk to this parent about the dangers of leaving children alone. One of them said she would call Childline or 10111 because parents are not allowed to leave children in the house without an adult supervision. One participant also said that she would not like to involve herself in other people's matter. One participant said they would not do anything because what if one tries to help and latter the parent of them child blames them for interfering.

4.3.3 Youth

There were 49 participants that participated filling the questionnaire in the youth group. Only twenty questionnaires were randomly selected for data analysis.

Table 33: Gender and Number of the Youth Group

Gender of Participants	F	M
Number of Participants	12	8
Total	20	

There were 8 males and twelve females in the group.

Table 34: Age Group Category of the Youth

Age group category	**No. of participants**
18 – 25 years	11
26 – 30 years	6
31 – 35 years	3
Total	20

Eleven of them were between the ages of 18-25, six of them were between the ages of 26-30 and 3 of them were between 31-35.

Table 35: Educational Background of the Youth

Level of Education	**No. of Participants**
High school education	13
Tertiary education	7
Total	20

Thirteen participants in the youth group had high school education and seven has tertiary education. When comparing the youth group with the other three groups of community members, there is a clear indication of high level of education.

Table 36: Number of Years lived in Ivory Park

No. of years lived in Ivory Park	No. of Participants
1 – 5 years	7
6 – 10 years	9
11 – 15 years	4
Total	20

Seven of the had lived in Ivory Park for a period between 1-5 years, nine of them for 6-10 years and four of them 11-15 years.

All the participants in this group were unemployed and twelve of them were volunteers in different community based project in Ivory Park. Fourteen of them had children and only six of them did not have any children.

4.3.3.1 Understanding of Child Abuse

Three participants understood child abuse as anything thing that you do to hurt a child. One said not taking proper care of the child and four of them said not sending children to school at their school going age. One said it is the abnormal treatment of the children and two participants said it is hitting children and swearing at them. Four said it is the sexual abuse of young children and corporal punishment at schools. When parents fight in front of the children. It is also when parents give children a lot of work after school and won't let the children play or do their homework. One when children are sick and parents do not take them to the clinic. One said it is child labour, where parents force children to work in the neighbourhood so as to bring the money home. The other one said it is leaving children with stranger and the last one said it is not using the child's support grants for the needs of the children.

4.3.3.2 Knowledge and Awareness about Forms of Child Abuse

All participants said they know about some forms of child abuse. Eight of them mentioned sexual abuse as a form of child abuse they knew. Three of them said physical abuse, when parents hit children. Two of them said not giving children food and proper clothing. The other one said when young children are given hard work that is not good for their ages. Two of them said leaving children to roam around the streets all day and not giving children proper care. One participant said mothers who are leaving their babies with younger children to look after them. Two said parents sending their children to buy alcohol for them in the shebeens.

4.3.3.4 About Children's Rights

All participants said they know about children's rights and all of them gave examples of children's rights they know of. The examples of children's rights were as follows, children have a right to education and a right to freedom, they have a right to be fed. They have a right to get all their needs from their parents. They also have the right to be loved and protected by their parents. They have a right to get maintenance from their fathers who left them. They have a right not to be forced to anything that they do not want. They also have a right not to be abused sexually and can lay a charge at the police station. They have a right to be protected from violence.

On the question of should or should not the children have rights. Seventeen of them said yes, children should have rights. They should have rights so that they can be protected and be free to express themselves. They should have rights because they are human beings too just like adults. Only three of the said children should not have rights, because they tend to abuse their rights.

4.3.3.5 Can children say No to their Parents or Adults?

All participants said that children can say no their parents or adults. Twelve of them said children can say no to adults who might want to abuse them sexually. Others said children can say no when strangers call them and promise them things. Other said children can say no if parents want to send them to buy alcohol in the taverns because it is not safe for them. One participant said children could say not to their parents, but not in a disrespectful way. They can disagree with their parents and still show them respect, for instance if the parents force the child to go for circumcision the child has a right to say no.

4.3.3.6 Who is Responsible for the Care of the Children

Nine participants said that parents are responsible to make sure that children are safe and protected. Six of them said it is the responsibility of the mother to make sure that children are safe. Three said it is the responsibility of every adult in the community. Two other participants said it was the responsibility of police and teachers. Fifteen participants said it is the responsibility of mothers to make sure that children are clean, fed and clothed. Three of them said it is the responsibility of parents and the other care givers in the family to make sure that children are fed, clean and clothed.

Participants were asked as to what they will do if they found children playing in an unsafe environment like a dumping place or a busy street where there are speeding cars. Twelve participants said they would try to remove the child and stop the child from playing there. Five said they would talk to the parents of the children and tell them not to allow children to play there. Three participants said they could do something and educate the community members in the surrounding areas about the dangers of letting children play in such unsafe environment.

4.3.4 Men

There were 23 men who participated in the filling in of questionnaires in this group.

Table 37: Gender and Number of Men

Gender of Participants	M	F
Number of Participants	20	0

Only twenty questionnaires were selected for data analysis.

Table 38: Age Group Category of Men

Age group category	**No. of participants**
26 –30 years	3
31 – 35 years	7
36 – 40 years	5
41-46	5
Total	20

Three men were between the ages of 26-30; seven were between the ages of 31-35, five between the ages of 36-40 and five between the ages of 41-46.

Table 39: Educational Background of Men

Level of Education	**No. of Men**
Primary school education	6
High school education	11
Tertiary education	3
Total	20

Six of them had primary school education, eleven had high school education and three had tertiary education.

Table 40: Number of years lived in Ivory Park

No. of Years	**No. of Participants**
1 – 5 years	4
6 – 10 years	13
11 – 15 years	3
Total	20

Four of them live in Ivory Park for 1-5 years, thirteen of them lived in the area for 6-10 and three of them lived in Ivory Park for 11-15 years.

All participants in this group were self-employed, in that they were all involved in self help small businesses. Only three participants in this group did not have children, the other seventeen had children.

4.3.4.1 Understanding of Child Abuse

Three participants understood child abuse as giving children too much work at home. Two of them said shouting and swearing at children. One of them said when women do not buy food for children and use the money for child support grant for their own needs. Four of them abusing younger children sexually and three said not giving children proper care. Two of them said not sending children to school and leaving them dirty and not feeding them. Three of them said forcing children to look after younger children and not letting them play. One of them said it is using the child's maintenance to play cards and Faa-fee. Two of the said leaving children with strangers and the other one said women going tarverns with babies on their back.

4.3.4.2 Knowledge About any Forms of Child Abuse

All participants said they knew about some form of child abuse, but not all of them could list forms of child abuse. Fourteen of them listed sexual abuse as a form they know. Two of them said not sending children to school. The other one said when parents fight in front of the children. Giving children difficult housework and one said making children to beg at street corners. One said hitting children with a sjambok. The last one said that when women do not looking after children and leaving them to run around barefoot in the streets where they can be knocked off by cars.

4.3.4.3 About Children's Rights

All participants said they knew about children's right. Not all participants could list any children's rights they know of, even though they answered yes to previous question. Only four participants listed these rights, a right to go to school a right to medical care. Also, a right to child support grant and a right to get food.

Participants were asked whether children should or should not have rights? Six participants said children must have rights, because there are so many adults abusing children. So that children can be also be protected by the law. Children need to have rights because they are also human beings. Children need to have rights to stop all people from taking advantage of them. Children cannot protect themselves and sometimes are abused by someone who must protect them. So they need rights to be protected. Fourteen participants said children should not have rights because they have a tendency of abusing their rights. When children have rights they do not show respect at all to their parents. They know that they can do anything they want, like coming home late at nights and their parents cannot do anything about it. It is because of the rights that many things are going wrong with teenagers today because they have rights. Girls can get pregnant and they are allowed to have abortions and they can even go to school while they are pregnant.

One participant said rights are like poison to children because they give them too much freedom that is not good for their ages and they end up in trouble. Parents cannot have strict parental rules and teach children what is wrong and what is right because of the rights. Children's rights simply give children power over their parents, they are the ones in control and not their parents. Parents today cannot even discipline their children when they do something wrong, because a child has a right to open a case against a parent who feeds them. If the government is giving children so many rights, what about the parent's rights? It will be fair if they give parents the rights in the same way they have given the children. Parents cannot bring up their children in the proper African traditional way because of the rights.

4.3.4.4 Under what Circumstance Can Children say No to their Parents?

Thirteen participants said children are not allowed to say no to their parents. This is because it shows lack of respect. One participant said it is wrong according to the African culture to say no to your parents. It is viewed as a very rude thing to say no to your parents or any adult, it will be like parents did not teach the child manners. Two of them said it is like disregarding the authority of one's parents. Other participants said children can say no to their parents or adults if they want to abuse them in a sexually way. Two of them said children can say no of adults want to abuse them sexually and if male adults touches them in a wrong way. Children can say no to people who want to use them to do illegal things like selling drugs and stealing cars. They can say no to a sugar daddy (adult male) who offer them material things for sexual favours.

4.3.4.5 Who is Responsible for the Care and the Safety of the Children

More that half of the participants said it is the mothers who are responsible for the care and the safety of the children. Three of them said it is the parents, two said it is community members and two of them said the police are the ones responsible for the safety of the children. All participants also said it is the

responsibility of mothers to make sure that children are fed, clean and clothed. Participants were asked as to what they will do if the found children playing in an unsafe environment. Four participants said they will stop the children from playing there, three said they will physically remove the children. Three of them said there is nothing they can do about it. Two of them it is the responsibility of the mothers of those children to look after them and to know where they are all the time. Six participants said they would not like to involve themselves, because one might try to help and be blamed later.

4.4 Summary

In summary, this chapter has clearly indicated that women still play a very active role in the family. This is because in all the 50 families that were interviewed, the care-givers were all women. They were the ones who were responsible for the day to day care of the children. The findings in this chapter also indicated that there is a high level of illiteracy among women. The response of the youth differed from that of the other three groups. The majority participants see women, as the one’s responsible for the care of the children.