

Running head: Child Sexual Abuse in South Africa

Longitudinal predictors of child sexual abuse in a large community based sample of South African youth

Franziska Meinck^a, Lucie Dale Cluver^{ab}, Mark Edward Boyes^{ac}

^a Centre for Evidence-Based Intervention, Department of Social Policy & Intervention, University of Oxford
Barnett House, 32 Wellington Square, Oxford, OX1 2ER, UK

^b Department of Psychiatry and Mental Health, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa

^c Health Psychology and Behavioural Medicine Research Group, School of Psychology and Speech Pathology,
Curtin University, Perth, Australia

Corresponding author (and requests for reprints):

Franziska Meinck

Centre for Evidence-Based Intervention

Department of Social Policy & Intervention

Oxford University

Oxford

OX1 2ER

Phone: 01865 270 325

Fax: 01865 270324

Email: Franziska.Meinck@spi.ox.ac.uk

Funding: This study was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (UK) and the National Research Foundation (RES-062-23-2068), the National Department of Social Development, the Claude Leon Foundation, the Nuffield Foundation (OPD/31598), the Health Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (R14304/AA002), and the John Fell Fund (103/757), the Leverhulme Trust (UK, www.leverhulme.ac.uk) [grant number PLP-2014-095], the University of Oxford's ESRC Impact Acceleration Account, and the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework

Programme (FP7/2007-2013, ERC grant agreement (313421). FM was funded by an ESRC studentship (OSSID 454387).

Acknowledgements: The authors wish to thank the children who participated in the study, their families, all the field staff working tirelessly to interview as many children as possible, the Rural AIDS Development Action Research programme (RADAR) at the University of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town Child Welfare. The authors would also like to thank Dr Thees Spreckelsen, Dr GJ Melendez-Torres, Prof Lorraine Radford, Dr Jenny Doubt, Jennifer Rabedeau and Prof Lucy Bowes. The authors have no conflicts of interest to disclose.

Abstract

Sexual abuse has severe negative impacts on children's lives, but little is known about risk factors for sexual abuse victimization in sub-Saharan Africa. This study examined prospective predictors of contact sexual abuse in a random community-based sample of children aged 10-17 (n=3515, 56.6% female) in rural and urban areas in South Africa. Anonymous self-report questionnaires using validated scales were completed at baseline and at one-year follow-up (96.8% retention rate). Cross-sectional and longitudinal associations between hypothesized factors and sexual abuse were examined. Multivariate logistic regressions controlling for socio-demographics showed that for girls, previous sexual abuse (OR 3.44, 95% CI 2.03-5.60), baseline school dropout (OR 2.76, 95% CI 1.00-6.19) and physical assault in the community (OR 2.17, 95% CI 1.29-3.48) predicted sexual abuse at follow-up. Peer social support (OR .84, 95% CI .74-.98) acted as a protective factor. Previous contact sexual abuse was the strongest predictor of subsequent sexual abuse victimization. Additionally, peer support moderated the relationship between baseline assault and subsequent sexual abuse. For boys, no longitudinal predictors for sexual abuse victimization were identified in this sample. These results indicate that the most vulnerable girls - those not in school and with a history of victimization - are at higher risk for sexual abuse victimization. High levels of peer support reduced the risk of sexual abuse victimization and acted as a moderator for those who had experienced physical assault within the community. Interventions to reduce school dropout rates and re-victimization may help prevent contact sexual abuse of girls in South Africa.

Keywords: child abuse, adolescent abuse, sexual abuse, re-victimization, predictors, risk factors

Background

Child sexual abuse is a global problem. It is estimated that up to 9% of girls and 3% of boys worldwide experience sexual abuse before the age of 18 (Barth, Bermetz, Heim, Trelle, & Tonia, 2013). Extensive evidence shows that sexual child abuse victimization is associated with a variety of negative outcomes. These include an increased risk for re-victimization (R Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga, & Bradshaw, 2002), bullying victimization (Bowes et al., 2009), mental health distress in child- and adulthood (D. Brown et al., 2009; Collings, 1995; Fincham, Altes, Stein, & Seedat, 2009), substance abuse (Morojele & Brook, 2006), unintended pregnancy (Reza et al., 2009) and increased risk of sexual abuse perpetration (Jewkes et al., 2006). In addition, child sexual abuse victimization carries an increased risk for HIV infection, particularly in areas with high HIV-prevalence (R Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, Jama, & Puren, 2010). It is therefore a major public health concern for policy makers and programmers.

Children in low-income areas of South Africa have high rates of exposure to adverse events such as community violence (Leoschut & Burton, 2006), severe poverty (Rose & Charlton, 2002) and illnesses such as HIV/AIDS (Pillay-van Wyk et al., 2013). They are also at high risk of sexual abuse victimization (World Health Organization, 2010). In fact, a recent systematic review of sexual child abuse victimization across the world found the highest rates of victimization in South African studies (Stoltenborgh, van IJzendoorn, Euser, & Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2011). Measured prevalence rates for contact sexual abuse (unwanted kissing, intimate touching) and rape have been as high as 44% in males (Anderson & Ho-Foster, 2008) and 53% in females (Madu & Peltzer, 2000). Prevalence rates are comparable to those measured in the Violence Against Children Studies in Malawi (The Ministry of Gender Children Disability and Social Welfare, Center for Social Research at the University of Malawi, UNICEF, & CDC, 2015), Zimbabwe (Rumble et al., 2015) or Swaziland (Reza et al., 2009) and slightly higher than those measured in a 10 -country school-based survey which only investigated coerced and forced sex (Andersson et al., 2012). These prevalence rates are higher than those measured for females in high-income countries such as the United States with a prevalence of 26.6% (Finkelhor, Shattuck, Turner, & Hamby, 2014), the United Kingdom with 18.6% (Radford, Corral, Bradley, & Fisher, 2013) or Australia with 20% (JM Fleming, 1997).

Emerging research suggests that a general culture of violence nurtured in the historical context of apartheid as well as substantial gender and power inequalities are two of the underlying causes for these high prevalence rates in South Africa (Rachel Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Although there has been extensive discussion of child sexual abuse by the media and in public debate, research on predictors of child sexual abuse in South Africa and surrounding countries has been limited. To date, studies have included cross-sectional samples of high school and university students (Anderson & Ho-Foster, 2008; Collings, 1991, 1997; King et al., 2004; Levett, 1989; Madu, Idemudia, & Jegede, 2002; Madu & Peltzer, 2000; Madu, 2003), cross-sectional, nationally-representative samples of females (Breiding et al., 2011; R Jewkes, Levin, et al., 2002) or case reports of children already in contact with social or health care services (Berard & Boermeester, 1999; Carey, Walker, Roussow, Seedat, & Stein, 2008; Collings, 1993, 2005). Cross-sectional studies, however, do not allow for information regarding the direction of the correlation as both, risk factors and victimization are measured at the same point in time. It is therefore impossible to examine whether a factor precedes or succeeds another (Murray, Farrington, & Eisner, 2009). Studies of high school and university students may also be subject to selection bias considering that the most vulnerable youth may not attend school or qualify for university. Studies recruiting only one gender are limited in distinguishing potential gender differences in risk factors. However, all of these studies have made important contributions to creating an evidence-base to aid understanding of child sexual abuse in South Africa.

A recent systematic review (Meinck, Cluver, Boyes, & Mhlongo, 2015) investigated risk factors for child abuse victimization in Africa. Household-level factors associated with sexual abuse victimization were emotional abuse and physical victimization, living in a large household, living in a non-nuclear family and receiving a disability grant (i.e., having someone in the household with a disability). Caregiver-level factors associated with sexual abuse victimization were domestic violence, living with a step-parent, living with a single parent, parents not living together, parental rejection, substance abuse, mental health problems, punitiveness, older parents and low maternal education. Child-level correlates were school non-enrollment, child disability, child illness, externalizing and internalizing behaviors, knowledge of peers who had been abused and knowledge of someone having sex with a teacher. In studies that compare genders, girls were at much higher risk for sexual abuse victimization. One study investigated and found differences in correlates between the genders. For boys, living

with both a biological parent and a step-parent was associated with contact sexual abuse whilst for girls, living arrangements were not associated with risk for sexual abuse victimization (King et al., 2004). Conflicting evidence was found regarding orphanhood status and ethnicity (Meinck et al., 2015).

However, all of these studies have been limited by their cross-sectional designs which preclude any conclusions regarding the directionality of associations (Cook & Ware, 1983). Whilst the systematic review (Meinck et al., 2015) did not identify poverty as a risk factor for sexual abuse victimization in children, South African research with adult populations has identified a clear link between poverty and sexual violence (R Jewkes, Sen, & Garcia-Moreno, 2002). In addition, there was no conclusive evidence regarding potential protective or buffering factors for children at highest risk (Meinck et al., 2015), although having a number of older siblings, type of parental employment and living with at least one biological parent showed protective effects in one study respectively. There is also emerging evidence from high income countries that social support may be protective of re-victimization and may act as a moderating factor (Bender, Cook, & Kaslow, 2003; Collins, 1998; Mason, Ullman, Long, Long, & Starzynski, 2009). There is therefore an urgent need to understand longitudinal risk factors for sexual child abuse victimization of boys and girls. In addition, it is important to investigate protective factors that may buffer those risks.

The current study had four aims. First, we investigated associations between possible risk factors and sexual abuse in the cross-sectional follow-up data. Follow-up data were used for cross-sectional analysis because the sexual abuse measures allowed determination of past year abuse. Key risk factors were identified on the basis of a systematic review (Meinck et al., 2015). Second, we investigated associations between baseline risk factors and sexual abuse a year later in a longitudinal sample of South African adolescents. Third, we aimed to establish, whether these identified risk factors would also predict contact sexual abuse at follow-up if we controlled for the potential confounders age, province, and urban/rural location. Unlike many studies of physical and emotional abuse that control for baseline abuse, we aimed to investigate whether baseline contact sexual abuse was a predictor for contact sexual abuse at follow-up. Fourth, we examined whether protective factors found in this study would buffer the relationships between the predictors and contact sexual abuse. Based on previous findings that social support may protect against re-victimization (Bender et al., 2003), we

hypothesized that social support would moderate the relationship between baseline risk factors and contact sexual abuse at follow-up.

Methods

Participants and Procedures

Participants. 3515 children aged 10-17 (mean age 13.5 years, 56.7% female, 50.6% urban location) were originally recruited using door-to-door sampling between January 2010 and June 2011 in rural and urban areas with HIV prevalence higher than 30% in Mpumalanga and the Western Cape provinces as part of a national survey on child health. Stratified random sampling of census enumeration areas was used within four health districts. Households were included in the study if a child aged between 10 and 17 years was resident. One child in each household was interviewed. When there were multiple children, one child was chosen at random. Between January 2011 and June 2012, 3401 participants (96.8% retention rate) were traced and re-interviewed.

Procedure. With the help of interviewers, children completed an anonymous, guided 60-minute self-report questionnaire which was translated into Xhosa, Swati, Tsonga, Sepedi and Zulu and then checked by back-translation. Participants were interviewed in a place of their choosing, i.e., empty classrooms in schools or under a secluded tree to ensure privacy and confidentiality. All participants received a certificate and refreshments. Interviewers received intensive training on working with vulnerable children and administering standardized questionnaires. Confidentiality was maintained throughout the study unless participants were considered to be at risk of significant harm or requested help. Where this was the case, the project manager and interviewer discussed referral options with the child. Immediate referrals to local child protection or health services were made for children experiencing ongoing severe physical, sexual or emotional abuse. Where children had experienced abuse in the past, referrals to counselling centers and HIV-testing services were made when appropriate. In total, 664 referrals were made (Cluver et al., 2015). Participation was voluntary, and informed consent was sought from participants and caregivers in their native language. Due to low literacy levels in the sampled population group, information and consent sheets were read out loud to children and caregivers, and clarification questions were answered until participants were satisfied. All survey items were

pre-piloted with vulnerable youth to investigate age-appropriateness and cultural sensitivity. Ethical approval was granted by University of Oxford, University of Cape Town, Provincial Departments of Health and Education, and the National Department of Social Development.

Outcome Measures

Child contact sexual abuse victimization at baseline was measured using two items created by social workers in South Africa and one item from the National Survey of HIV and Risk Behavior amongst Young South Africans (Reproductive Health Research, 2005). Local items were developed because there were no measures which had been validated in South Africa and piloting with social workers found existing measures to be culturally inadequate. The response possibilities for all items were *binary (0: no; 1: yes)*. *Contact sexual abuse victimization at follow-up* was measured using three items based on the Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire (Finkelhor, Hamby, Ormrod, & Turner, 2005) which added to the baseline questions. All items were modified to fit the cultural context with help from experienced social workers and child protection NGOs as well as vulnerable children in South Africa (Table 1).

The items showed acceptable reliability of $\alpha=.61$. However, α may be underestimated when there are only few items (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). Item-rest correlations were therefore carried out. All item-rest correlations were substantially above the $r=.30$ threshold recommended (Field, 2009) and ranged between $r=.39$ and $r=.49$. ‘Contact sexual abuse’ was defined as any unwanted touching or kissing, touching of private parts and/or forced intercourse experienced by the child. ‘Lifetime contact sexual abuse’ included any sexual abuse over the course of the child’s lifetime and was measured at both baseline and follow-up. ‘Last year contact sexual abuse’ included only incidents that happened in the past year and was available only at follow-up. A dichotomous variable was created for both (*0: no sexual abuse; 1: sexual abuse*).

Insert Table 1 here

Hypothesized predictors of sexual abuse

Child physical and emotional abuse victimization were measured using five items from the UNICEF National-level Monitoring of Orphans and Vulnerable Children Measures (Snider & Dawes, 2006) based on the Parent

Child Conflict Tactics Scales (CTSPC) (Straus, Hamby, Finkelhor, Moore, & Runyan, 1998). It measures hitting, spanking, invoking ghosts, insulting the child and threatening abandonment. This measure has not been validated in South Africa generally but was successfully used in another study in the Western Cape with good reliability ($\alpha=.70$) (Meinck, Cluver, Boyes, & Ndhlovu, 2013). The CTSPC has been used in multiple other countries (Leung, Wong, Chen, & Tang, 2008; UNICEF, 2010). It showed acceptable reliability in this current study ($\alpha=.69$). The frequency of abuse was measured on a four-point scale (0: *never*; 1: *has happened but not in the past year*; 2: *at least once this year*; 3: *monthly*; 4: *weekly*). Physical and emotional abuse items were summed respectively to create two total scale scores.

Physical assault in the community was measured using an item from the Child Exposure to Community Violence Checklist (Richters & Martinez, 1993). This asked children whether they had ever been attacked or hit while they were in the community (0: *no assault*; 1: *assault*).

School dropout and school non-attendance were measured using items devised with South African NGOs. This determined school dropout and failure to attend school for at least a week at a time. Dichotomous variables were created for school dropout (0: *child is enrolled in school*; 1: *child is not enrolled in school*) and school non-attendance (0: *child is attending school regularly*; 1: *child has missed a week or more of schooling this year*).

Domestic arguments and domestic violence were measured using two items from the UNICEF Measures for National-Level Monitoring of Orphans and Vulnerable Children (Snider & Dawes, 2006). The questions used measured incidents of domestic violence or arguments within the past week, such as ‘how many days in the past week were there adults hitting each other in your home’?

Positive parenting, consistent discipline and parental monitoring were measured using relevant sub-scales from the Alabama Parenting Questionnaire – Short form (Elgar, Waschbusch, Dadds, & Sigvaldason, 2007). Items measured parent-child interactions such as ‘your carer says you have done something well’. Frequency was measured using a five point scale (0: *never*; 1: *almost never*; 2: *sometimes*; 3: *often*; 4: *always*). Consistent

discipline and parental monitoring showed poor ($\alpha=.48-.49$) internal reliability. Positive parenting showed good reliability ($\alpha=.82$). Items within each sub-scale were summed to create a total sub-scale score.

Social support was measured using the standardized Social Support Scale which measured the existence of social support in each micro-system of family, church, school and peers (0:No; 1: Yes) (Seidman et al., 1995). The quality of this relationship - using items such as 'this person is helpful when I have a personal problem' - was measured on a three point scale (0: not at all; 1: sort of; 2: very). The scale was adapted to replace 'father' and 'mother' with 'caregiver' and to include support from religious leaders. It showed good reliability in this study ($\alpha = .76$). Items within each sub-scale were summed to create individual sub-scale scores for each micro-system.

Child Chronic Illness was measured using items from the Health Systems Trust South African Health Review to identify common chronic childhood diseases including epilepsy, asthma and tuberculosis (Ijumba, Padarath, & Trust, 2006). Tuberculosis was measured using an eight item symptom checklist derived from the World Health Organization's Practical Approach to Lung Health (Ottomani, 2005) and the South African Department of Health (Department of Health, 2007). Children with severe pulmonary tuberculosis had to have four or more of the following symptoms: fever, fatigue, weight loss, discolored sputum and night sweats, in addition to at least two of the following symptoms: chest pains, cough and coughing blood (Cluver, Orkin, Moshabela, Kuo, & Boyes, 2013). A dichotomous variable was coded with a child being classified as chronically ill if they responded yes to any of the health questions or had severe pulmonary tuberculosis (0: not sick; 1: sick).

Parental mortality and orphan status were measured using a Verbal Autopsy Questionnaire (Lopman et al., 2006) as death certificates in South Africa are unreliable sources with regards to HIV/AIDS. This has been validated in South Africa against hospital records (Hosegood, Vanneste, & Timaeus, 2004). Determination of AIDS-related death required identification of three or more AIDS-defining illnesses (e.g., HIV-wasting syndrome, Kaposi's sarcoma or oral candidiasis). Orphanhood was defined using the UN definition as loss of one or both parents (UNAIDS, 2004). Dichotomous variables were created for AIDS-orphanhood (0: no AIDS-orphanhood; 1: yes AIDS-orphanhood) and general orphanhood (0: not orphaned; 1: orphaned).

Caregiver relationship to child between the primary caregiver and child was measured using items from the National Survey of HIV and Risk Behavior amongst Young South Africans (Reproductive Health Research Unit, 2005). The primary caregiver was defined as the person who ‘stays and takes care of you at home’. Relationships between caregiver and child were categorized (0: *biological father; biological mother; 1: biological grandmother, biological grandfather; 2: distant relatives i.e. aunts or cousins and non-biological carers*). In addition, a dichotomous variable was created for children living with least one biological caregiver (0: *not living with biological parent; 1: living with at least one biological parent*).

Household employment and household size were measured through a household map. Children drew their house, the people staying in each room and identified any person that was in regular, part-time, or seasonal employment. Household size was measured as the total number of people living in a household. A dichotomous variable was created for employment (0: *no household employment; 1: any household employment*).

Poverty was measured using an index of access to the eight highest socially-perceived necessities for children in South Africa (H. Barnes & Wright, 2012), such as soap to wash every day, which showed good reliability of $\alpha = .80$ in this sample. Items were reverse-scored (0: *has access to item; 1: does not have access to item*) and summed to give a total poverty score (i.e., total number of necessities lacking). An additional item from the South African National Food Consumption Survey that identified days per week without sufficient food in the household (Labadarios et al., 2003) was used as a proxy for severe poverty.

Demographic co-variates like age, gender, province, rural/urban location and receipt of a disability *grant* were measured using items modelled on the South African Census (Statistics South Africa, 2001).

Analyses

Analyses were conducted in four stages, using Stata 13. First, differences in children lost to follow-up were investigated (Table 2). Given evidence demonstrating higher and different risks for contact sexual abuse in girls (Edinburgh, Saewyc, & Levitt, 2006), all further analyses were conducted separately for boys and girls. Second, descriptive statistics were used to investigate socio-demographic characteristics of the sample and any gender differences in these characteristics (Table 3). Third, partial correlations investigating potential predictors of

contact sexual abuse were conducted, adjusting for age, urban/rural location and province. These aimed to establish whether factors associated with sexual abuse in previous research were cross-sectionally (Table 4) and prospectively (Table 5) associated with sexual abuse in this sample. Fourth, factors which were shown to be correlated with contact sexual abuse at follow-up were then entered into multivariate regressions (Table 6).

The hypothesized predictors at baseline were entered in the first step in order to obtain unadjusted estimates for relationships between factors measured at baseline and contact sexual abuse measured at follow-up (Unadjusted Model, Table 6). Model 1 then adjusted for potential confounders of age, province, and rural/urban location, and Model 2 further adjusted for contact sexual abuse at baseline. These models were run only for girls because of the lack of significant correlates for contact sexual abuse victimization for boys. Finally, mean-centered interaction terms were created and entered into Model 3 in order to test whether the significant protective factors moderated relationships between the baseline risk factors and contact sexual abuse at follow-up (Table 6).

Results

Children lost at follow-up ($n=114$) (Table 2) did not differ from children retained at follow-up with regards to gender ($\chi^2=0.071$; $p=.789$), experience of assault in the community ($\chi^2=.022$, $p=.881$), peer social support ($z=-.917$, $p=.359$) and contact sexual abuse ($\chi^2=0.861$; $p=.353$). Children lost at follow-up were more likely to experience regular emotional abuse ($z=2.672$; $p=.008$), be older ($t=2.539$, $p=.011$), report more household unemployment ($\chi^2=4.216$, $p=.040$) and were able to afford fewer basic necessities ($t=4.339$, $p<.001$). However, they were also less likely to experience physical abuse ($z=-7.264$, $p<.001$), lived in smaller households ($t=-2.567$, $p=.010$) and received more teacher support ($z=2.659$, $p=.008$). It is therefore impossible to state whether more vulnerable children were lost to follow-up, and findings should be interpreted with this in mind.

Insert Table 2 here

Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample

3401 children were interviewed at both baseline and follow-up (56.6% female) and analyses are limited to this group. Mean age of children was 13.4 years at baseline and 14.7 years at follow-up. 49.4% of these children came from rural areas (Table 3). Baseline lifetime sexual abuse prevalence was 4.4% (n=151). At follow-up, lifetime prevalence rate of contact sexual abuse was 9% (n= 306), and 5.9 % of children (n=201) reported past-year victimization. 67% of sexual abuse victims were female.

Insert Table 3 here

Cross-sectional associations

In accordance with the literature, cross-sectional partial correlations of the follow-up data, adjusting for socio-demographics, were conducted although they are not the focus of this paper (Table 4). For boys, factors positively correlated with sexual abuse were assault in the community, physical abuse, emotional abuse, food insecurity and household size. Possible protective correlates were positive parenting, consistent discipline, parental monitoring, peer support, teacher support, family support and religious leader support. For girls, factors positively associated with sexual abuse were AIDS-orphanhood, assault in the community, physical abuse, emotional abuse, domestic arguments, food insecurity and household size. Possible protective correlates were parental monitoring, family support and peer support.

Insert Table 4 here

Prospective associations

Using partial correlations adjusted for socio-demographics, none of the hypothesized factors at baseline were significantly correlated with contact sexual abuse at follow-up for boys (Table 5), and therefore boys were excluded from further analysis. For girls, baseline AIDS-orphanhood, caregiver age, prior physical assault, prior contact sexual abuse victimization in the community, school dropout and food insecurity were positively associated with contact sexual abuse victimization at follow-up. Positive parenting and peer support were protective factors (Table 5).

Insert Table 5 here

Logistic regression models were then used to test predictors before adjusting for socio-demographic variables amongst girls. In the unadjusted model (Table 6, Unadjusted Model), predictors of sexual abuse victimization at follow-up were baseline AIDS-orphanhood (OR 1.68, $p=.020$), caregiver age (OR 1.02, $p=.003$), previous assault in the community (OR 1.93, $p=.008$), school dropout (OR 2.82, $p=.019$) and food insecurity (OR 1.11, $p=.048$). Peer support (OR .85, $p=.017$) acted as a protective factor and positive parenting was no longer significant (OR .97, $p=.346$). After adjusting for baseline age, province and urban/rural location (Table 6, Model 1), predictors of sexual abuse victimization at follow-up were baseline physical assault in the community (OR 2.12, $p=.003$) and school dropout (OR 2.49, $p=.049$). Peer support (OR .85, $p=.026$) continued to be a protective factor. A significant improvement in model fit was observed from the unadjusted model to Model 1 [$R^2=.08$, $\chi^2(3) = 33.81(10)$, $p<.001$].

Insert Table 6 here

Baseline contact sexual abuse was a strong risk factor for sexual abuse at follow-up (OR 3.37, $p<.001$). When this was added to the model, physical assault in the community (OR 1.79, $p=.026$) remained significantly associated with contact sexual abuse at follow-up (Table 6, Model 2). School dropout, however, was no longer a significant predictor of sexual abuse. Peer support (OR .86, $p=.039$) also remained a protective factor. A significant improvement in model fit was observed from Model 1 to Model 2 [$R^2=.09$, $\chi^2(1) = 19.30(11)$, $p<.001$].

Are the relationships between prior assault, prior contact sexual abuse, school dropout and contact sexual abuse at follow-up moderated by peer support?

In order to determine whether peer social support moderated the relationship between baseline contact sexual abuse, physical assault in the community, and school dropout and follow-up contact sexual abuse in girls, three interaction terms were created (baseline sexual abuse*peer support, baseline school dropout*peers support, baseline physical assault*peer support). These interaction terms were tested in unadjusted logistic regression models including only outcome, interaction and the two main effects of the interaction (not displayed in any of the tables). The only significant effect in the unadjusted model was the baseline physical assault*peer support

interaction. This interaction was therefore added to the multivariate linear model (Table 6, Model 3). The baseline physical assault*peer support interaction term remained a significant predictor of follow-up contact sexual abuse victimization. After including the interaction term in the model, the main effects of the risk factor physical assault in the community (OR 1.70, $p=.046$) continued to be significant, as did the interaction term (OR .46, $p=.009$) (Table 6). The protective factor peer support (OR. 87, $p=.056$) was no longer significant. This interaction is illustrated in Figure 1 and shows that physical assault in the community is only predictive of contact sexual abuse when peer support is low. The risk for contact sexual abuse victimization in girls with low peer support is 2.5/1000, whereas the risk for children with high peer support is 1/1000 (Figure 1). A significant improvement in model fit was observed from Model 2 to Model 3 [$R^2=.10$, $\chi^2(1) =6.32(12)$, $p=.01$].

Insert Figure 1 here

Discussion

This is the first known prospective study investigating risk and protective factors for sexual abuse in South Africa. In addition, it is the first to provide prevalence rates for contact sexual abuse in a large community-based sample of South African children. Other available studies used samples of either high school and university students or children seeking social or health services. The only two community-based studies in the region exclusively recruited females from a much older age group (R Jewkes, Levin, et al., 2002; Reza et al., 2009).

Cross-sectional associations

A number of hypothesized factors found to be associated with contact sexual abuse in other cross-sectional studies in Africa were also found to be cross-sectionally associated in this study (Meinck et al., 2015). For boys, these factors focused on prior or concurrent victimization such as assault in the community, poverty, and physical and emotional child abuse victimization. There were also potential protective factors for boys including parenting style, smaller household size and social support networks such as peers, religious leaders, teachers and family.

For girls, cross-sectional associations included general vulnerabilities such as AIDS-orphanhood, poverty and chronic child illness. Prior or concurrent victimization, such as assault in the community, domestic arguments, and physical and emotional abuse, was also associated. Potential protective factors were parental monitoring and family and peer support. These findings correspond to evidence from a recent systematic review (Meinck et al., 2015) and add evidence on how gender impacts risk factors for sexual abuse victimization. Other factors established by the systematic review such as caregiver age, child illness, orphanhood, receipt of a disability grant (disability within the home), school non-attendance, domestic violence, household employment and caregiver relationship to child were not cross-sectionally associated in this study.

Longitudinal associations

Unexpectedly, none of the associated factors previously identified in cross-sectional studies were confirmed in this longitudinal sample with regards to boys. This may be due to the fact that research has consistently found a higher risk for sexual victimization for girls (Pereda, Guilera, Forns, & Gómez-Benito, 2009; Stoltenborgh et al., 2011), and previous results in studies of mixed gender were carried by the results in the female group. However, it is also possible that the number of boys reporting contact sexual abuse (n=64) was too small to yield statistical power despite the large sample size. Further longitudinal research on contact sexual abuse amongst boys is needed before any conclusions can be drawn.

With regards to girls, AIDS orphanhood, caregiver age, previous assault in the community, school dropout and food insecurity were prospectively associated with contact sexual abuse at follow-up in the unadjusted model. Peer support acted as a protective factor. After adjusting for socio-demographic characteristics, school dropout and physical assault in the community measured at baseline were predictive of contact sexual abuse one year later. Peer support acted as a general protective factor, lowering the risk for contact sexual victimization, and also moderated the relationship between assault and sexual abuse. The strongest predictor of contact sexual abuse at follow-up was contact sexual abuse at baseline. Even then, however, assault in the community remained a risk factor and peer support remained a protective factor.

These findings extend previous cross-sectional findings from southern Africa (Birdthistle et al., 2011; Breiding et al., 2011; Dunkle et al., 2004) and high income countries such as the United Kingdom, Germany, Israel (Mansbach-Kleinfeld, Ifrah, Apter, & Farbstein, 2015), the United States (Boney-McCoy & Finkelhor, 1995; Coid et al., 2001; Jillian Fleming, Mullen, & Bammer, 1997; Krahe, Scheinberger-Olwig, Waizenhofer, & Kolpin, 1999), Taiwan (Yen et al., 2008) and other low and middle-income countries such as China (Chen, Dunne, & Han, 2004). They also extend findings from longitudinal studies in the United States and the UK (J. E. Barnes, Noll, Putnam, & Trickett, 2009; J. Brown, Cohen, Johnson, & Salzinger, 1998; Classen, Palesh, & Aggarwal, 2005). The findings demonstrate that sexual abuse victimization affects the most vulnerable South African girls: those who have already been victimized, either sexually or physically, and those who are not attending school. This study contributes to accumulating evidence that demonstrates important differences in perpetrators and predictors of different types of abuse. Whilst risk factors for physical and emotional abuse are mainly situated within the family and household, the majority of contact sexual abuse in adolescents is perpetrated by intimate partners, peers and more distant relatives as well as strangers (Reza et al., 2009). The risks of sexual abuse victimization also appear to be closely associated with school-level and community-level disadvantage.

There are a number of possible reasons for why baseline community assault, school dropout, previous sexual abuse victimization and peer social support seem to be the only robust predictors over time. As in many other studies, one potential explanation is low reporting, resulting in small numbers of children disclosing contact sexual abuse. In addition, factors which may co-occur simultaneously might not necessarily retain their correlation across different points in time. This study measured past-year prevalence of sexual abuse at follow-up, and children might have not experienced certain risk factors at baseline which they then had experienced at follow-up and vice versa. This phenomenon could be investigated further using time series analyses for which this study did not have enough data points. Furthermore, age effects may be a reason for why certain factors do not predict sexual abuse over time as different age groups have dissimilar risks for child abuse victimization (Cook & Ware, 1983), with older children at higher risk than younger children.

Consistent with previous research, peer support was protective against re-victimization. Moreover, peer support was a significant moderator of the prospective relationship between assault and contact sexual abuse victimization in girls. Specifically, girls who had experienced baseline physical assault in the community and low peer support were at higher risk for contact sexual abuse victimization at follow-up than those who had experienced physical assault victimization and high peer support. In fact, girls who had been physically assaulted and experienced high levels of peer support at baseline had no increased risk for contact sexual abuse victimization at follow-up. This finding suggests that good peer relationships may reduce some of the underlying unknown factors which increase the risk for sexual victimization in female assault victims and may be an area for future research. However, peer support did not buffer the effect of previous sexual abuse victimization and school dropout on the risk for contact sexual abuse at follow-up. It should be noted that research on peer support as a moderator of re-victimization in adolescents has thus far focused mostly on peer victimization through bullying and not on contact sexual abuse (Boulton, Trueman, Chau, Whitehand, & Amatya, 1999; Hodges, Boivin, Vitaro, & Bukowski, 1999). Emerging evidence with adult women shows mixed results regarding the buffering effects of social support on risk factors for sexual abuse or domestic violence re-victimization (Bender et al., 2003; Bybee & Sullivan, 2005; Mason et al., 2009). Further research is needed to identify and confirm the moderating effects of social support on the relationship between victimization and contact sexual abuse in girls. This is likely relevant for targeting interventions and identifying children most at risk.

While evidence from sub-Saharan Africa suggests high levels of sexual abuse by teachers and fellow learners (Burton & Leoschut, 2013; Leach, 2002; Watch, 2001), the results of this study suggest that school enrollment may protect children from sexual abuse victimization. The underlying mechanism might be that school allows children to build networks with peers and offers a structured and protected environment independent of the community. In addition, children with strong social support networks show higher levels of self-esteem and self-efficacy and therefore may be less vulnerable targets for perpetrators of sexual abuse than those who experience little social support (Colarossi & Eccles, 2003; Egan & Perry, 1998).

These results suggest that targeting school dropout and re-victimization could be important steps towards reducing the risk of contact sexual abuse victimization in girls in South Africa. Research shows that there are a number of effective interventions for keeping girls in school, including cash transfer programs such as the South African child support grant or the old age pension (Baird, Ferreira, Ozler, & Woolcock, 2013; Budlender & Woolard, 2006; Heinrich, Hoddinott, & Samoson, 2012), school feeding schemes (Bundy et al., 2009), support for school fees and materials (Hallfors et al., 2011), support for students with lower attainment, support for adolescent mothers (Panday, Makiwane, Ranchod, & Letsoalo, 2009) and reductions in secondary school fees (Borkum, 2009). Additionally, providing support services to victims and their families as well as improving child protection services can prevent further re-victimization (Lalor & McElvaney, 2010). There is emerging evidence to show that interventions that provide information about sexual abuse prevention and help survivors to spot and deal with risky situations can be successful at preventing re-victimization in adolescents (DePrince, Chu, Labus, Shirk, & Potter, 2013). Future research examining the potential protective role of peer support to inform interventions could help to reduce rates of sexual abuse of girls, especially for girls with histories of victimization. Interventions that promote social support in schools (J. A. Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor, & Schellinger, 2011) could be considered. In addition, after-school activities may widen children's social networks (J. Durlak, Weissberg, & Pachan, 2010), and helping isolated children to develop social skills can increase their chances of making friends (Oden & Asher, 1977) whilst keeping them in a safe and structured environment.

Limitations

This study had a number of limitations. Due to low levels of literacy, the study used child self-report in interviewer-guided interviews, and as a result, some under-reporting may have occurred. However, this approach also allowed for development of good interviewer-child relationships which facilitated follow-up, as demonstrated in the exceptionally high retention rate. These relationships facilitated discussions about referrals following disclosure of abuse victimization. Second, the study was carried out in randomly selected areas with HIV prevalence above 30%. Results, therefore, cannot be generalized across the population of South African children. Although we cannot generalize about South Africa's child population as a whole, our findings provide

a good indication of the risk factors for children in areas with high HIV prevalence and high levels of poverty. Third, questionnaires measuring abuse victimization have not been validated in South Africa. However, all items had been used in a previous study (Meinck et al., 2013) and showed good reliability in this sample. Fourth, measures of sexual abuse at baseline and follow-up were adapted slightly to allow for more sensitivity, but item content remained unchanged. Despite this prevalence rates for victimization previous to the past year corresponded to the prevalence rates of sexual abuse victimization at baseline. Fifth, there is a strong likelihood of unmeasured confounding variables in this study. Even though models adjusted for potential confounding variables reported by children, we could not account for caregiver-related confounders such as mental health, adverse childhood-experiences and substance use or household contextual factors applicable to other child residents within the household. Due to the design of using only one single-child respondent per household, we cannot rule out unmeasured confounding variables. However, the child respondent was selected randomly to eliminate systematic bias in the selection of participants. Future research could investigate risk factors in matched case-control designs of caregivers and multiple children in one household. Sixth, all risk factors were reported by children and reliability of child report on some of the factors (i.e. caregiver morbidity, household grant receipt) may be questionable. However, a recent study investigated the reliability of children's report on adult HIV-associated symptoms using caregiver-child dyads and found 72% concordance between adult-child reporting on caregiver HIV status (Becker, Kuo, Operario, Moshabela, & Cluver, 2015). Finally, hypothesized risk factors were limited to those which could be reported by a child. Future work is needed to examine potential risk factors at the parent/primary caregiver level, such as caregiver substance abuse (Madu, Idemunda, & Jegede, 2003; Vogeltanz et al., 1999), mental health (Jillian Fleming et al., 1997; Madu et al., 2002) and childhood abuse victimization of caregivers (McCloskey & Bailey, 2000) to allow for a more holistic picture of risks for sexual abuse victimization in South Africa.

Conclusions

The findings of this study demonstrate the magnitude of the problem of sexual abuse victimization and elucidate prospective risk and protective factors associated with sexual abuse. In particular they highlight a group of particularly vulnerable girls to policy makers and practitioners. Intervention efforts should focus on

school enrollment, building of social support networks and the prevention of school-dropout and sexual re-victimization.

Bibliography

- Anderson, N., & Ho-Foster, A. (2008). 13,915 reasons for equity in sexual offences legislation: A national school-based survey in South Africa. *Int J Equity Health*, 7, 20.
- Andersson, N., Paredes-Solís, S., Milne, D., Omer, K., Marokoane, N., Laetsang, D., & Cockcroft, A. (2012). Prevalence and risk factors for forced or coerced sex among school-going youth: national cross-sectional studies in 10 southern African countries in 2003 and 2007. *BMJ Open*, 2(2), e000754.
doi:10.1136/bmjopen-2011-000754
- Baird, S., Ferreira, F., Ozler, B., & Woolcock, M. (2013). Relative Effectiveness of Conditional and Unconditional Cash Transfers for Schooling Outcomes in Developing Countries: A Systematic Review. *The Campbell Collaboration Library*, 9(8).
- Barnes, H., & Wright, G. (2012). Defining child poverty in South Africa using the socially perceived necessities approach'. In A. Minujin & S. Nandy (Eds.), *Global Child Poverty and Well-Being: Measurement, Concepts, Policy and Action* (pp. 135–154). Bristol: Policy Press.
- Barnes, J. E., Noll, J. G., Putnam, F. W., & Trickett, P. K. (2009). Sexual and physical revictimization among victims of severe childhood sexual abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 33(7), 412–20.
doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2008.09.013
- Barth, J., Bermetz, L., Heim, E., Trelle, S., & Tonia, T. (2013). The current prevalence of child sexual abuse worldwide: a systematic review and meta-analysis. *International Journal of Public Health*, 58, 469–483.
doi:10.1007/s00038-012-0426-1
- Becker, E., Kuo, C., Operario, D., Moshabela, M., & Cluver, L. (2015). Measuring child awareness for adult symptomatic HIV using a verbal assessment tool: concordance between adult-child dyads on adult HIV-associated symptoms and illnesses. *Sex Transm Infect*, epub ahead. doi:10.1136/sextrans-2014-051728

- Bender, M., Cook, S., & Kaslow, N. (2003). Social support as a mediator of revictimization of low-income African American women. *Violence and Victims, 18*, 419–431.
- Berard, R. M. F., & Boermeester, F. (1999). Sexual abuse in adolescents - data from a psychiatric treatment centre for adolescents. *S Afr Med J, 89*, 972–976.
- Birdthistle, I., Floyd, S., Mwanasa, S., Nyagadza, A., Gwiza, E., & Glynn, J. (2011). Child sexual abuse and links to HIV and orphanhood in urban Zimbabwe. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health, 65*, 1075–1082. doi:10.1136/jech.2009.094359
- Boney-McCoy, S., & Finkelhor, D. (1995). Prior victimization: A risk factor for child sexual abuse and for PTSD-related symptomatology among sexually abused youth. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 19*, 1401–1421. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0145-2134(95)00104-9
- Borkum, E. (2009). *Can eliminating school fees in poor districts boost enrolment? Evidence from South Africa. Department of Economics Discussion Paper Series*. New York: Columbia University.
- Boulton, M. J., Trueman, M., Chau, C., Whitehand, C., & Amatya, K. (1999). Concurrent and longitudinal links between friendship and peer victimization: implications for befriending interventions. *Journal of Adolescence, 22*, 461–466.
- Bowes, L., Arseneault, L., Maughan, B., Taylor, A., Caspi, A., & Moffitt, T. E. (2009). School, neighborhood, and family factors are associated with children's bullying involvement: A nationally representative longitudinal study. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 48*, 545–553. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1097/CHI.0b013e31819cb017
- Breiding, M. J., Reza, A., Gulaid, J., Blanton, C., Mercy, J. A., Dahlberg, L. L., ... Bamrah, S. (2011). Risk factors associated with sexual violence towards girls in Swaziland. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization, 89*, 203–210. doi:10.2471/BLT.10.079608

- Brown, D., Riley, L., Butchart, A., Meddings, D., Kann, L., & Harvey, A. (2009). Exposure to physical and sexual violence and adverse health behaviours in African children: Results from the Global School-based Student Health Study. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, *87*, 447–455.
- Brown, J., Cohen, P., Johnson, J., & Salzinger, S. (1998). A longitudinal analysis of risk factors for child maltreatment: findings of a 17-year prospective study of officially recorded and self-reported child abuse and neglect. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *22*, 1065–1078. doi:10.1016/s0145-2134(98)00087-8
- Budlender, D., & Woolard, I. (2006). *The impact of the South African Child Support and Old Age Grants on children's schooling and work*. Geneva: International Labour Organization.
- Bundy, D., Burbano, C., Grosh, M., Gelli, A., Jukes, M., & Drake, L. (2009). *Rethinking school feeding: social safety nets, child development, and the education sector*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Burton, P., & Leoschut, L. (2013). *School violence in South Africa: Results of the 2012 National School Violence Study. Monograph Series, No 12*. Cape Town: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.
- Bybee, D., & Sullivan, C. M. (2005). Predicting re-victimization of battered women 3 years after exiting a shelter program. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *36*, 85–96. doi:10.1007/s10464-005-6234-5
- Carey, P., Walker, J., Roussow, W., Seedat, S., & Stein, D. (2008). Risk indicators and psychopathology in traumatised children and adolescents with a history of sexual abuse. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, *17*, 93–98. doi:10.1007/s00787-007-0641-0
- Chen, J., Dunne, M. P., & Han, P. (2004). Child sexual abuse in China: a study of adolescents in four provinces. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *28*(11), 1171–86. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2004.07.003
- Classen, C. C., Palesh, O. G., & Aggarwal, R. (2005). Sexual revictimization: A review of the empirical literature. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, *6*, 103–129. doi:10.1177/1524838005275087

- Cluver, L., Boyes, M., Bustamam, A., Casale, M., Henderson, K., Kuo, K., ... Sello, L. (2015). The cost of action: Large scale, longitudinal quantitative research with AIDS-affected children in South Africa. In D. Posel & F. Ross (Eds.), *Ethical quandaries in social research* (pp. 41–56). Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Cluver, L., Orkin, M., Moshabela, M., Kuo, C., & Boyes, M. (2013). The hidden harm of home-based care: Pulmonary tuberculosis symptoms among children providing home medical care to HIV/AIDS-affected adults in South Africa. *AIDS Care: Psychological and Socio-Medical Aspects of HIV/AIDS*, 25, 748–755.
- Coid, J., Petruckevitch, A., Feder, G., Chung, W.-S., Richardson, J., & Moorey, S. (2001). Relation between childhood sexual and physical abuse and risk of revictimisation in women: a cross-sectional survey. *The Lancet*, 358(9280), 450–454. doi:10.1016/S0140-6736(01)05622-7
- Colarossi, L. G., & Eccles, J. S. (2003). Differential effects of support providers on adolescents' mental health. *Social Work Research*, 27, 19–30. doi:10.1093/swr/27.1.19
- Collings, S. (1991). Childhood sexual abuse in a sample of South African university males: Prevalence and risk factors. *S Afr J Psychol*, 21, 153–158.
- Collings, S. (1993). Physically and sexually abused children: A comparative analysis of 200 reported cases. *Social Work*, 29, 301–306.
- Collings, S. (1995). The long-term effects of contact and noncontact forms of child sexual abuse in a sample of university men. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 19, 1–6.
- Collings, S. (1997). Child sexual abuse in a sample of South African women students: prevalence, characteristics, and long-term effects. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 27, 37–42.
- Collings, S. (2005). Sexual abuse of boys in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa: a hospital-based study. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Mental Health*, 17, 23–25.
- Collins, M. E. (1998). Factors influencing sexual victimization and revictimization in a sample of adolescent mothers. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 13, 3–24. doi:10.1177/088626098013001001

Cook, N. R., & Ware, J. H. (1983). Design and analysis methods for longitudinal research. *Ann. Rev. Public Health, 4*, 1–23.

Department of Health. (2007). *The National Infection Prevention and Control Policy for TB, MDRTB and XDRTB*. Pretoria: Department of Health.

DePrince, A. P., Chu, A. T., Labus, J., Shirk, S. R., & Potter, C. (2013). *Preventing Revictimization in Teen Dating Relationships*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.

Dunkle, K. L., Jewkes, R. K., Brown, H. C., Yoshihama, M., Gray, G. E., McIntyre, J. A., & Harlow, S. D. (2004). Prevalence and patterns of gender-based violence and revictimization among women attending antenatal clinics in Soweto, South Africa. *American Journal of Epidemiology, 160*, 230–239. doi:10.1093/aje/kwh194

Durlak, J. A., Weissberg, R. P., Dymnicki, A. B., Taylor, R. D., & Schellinger, K. B. (2011). The impact of enhancing students' social and emotional learning: a meta-analysis of school-based universal interventions. *Child Dev, 82*, 405–432.

Durlak, J., Weissberg, R., & Pachan, M. (2010). A meta-analysis of after-school programs that seek to promote personal and social skills in children and adolescents. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 45*, 294–309. doi:10.1007/s10464-010-9300-6

Edinburgh, L., Saewyc, E., & Levitt, C. (2006). Gender differences in extrafamilial sexual abuse experiences among young teens. *The Journal of School Nursing, 22*, 278–284.

Egan, S. K., & Perry, D. G. (1998). Does low self-regard invite victimization? *Developmental Psychology, 34*, 299–309.

Elgar, F. J., Waschbusch, D. A., Dadds, M. R., & Sigvaldason, N. (2007). Development and validation of a short form of the Alabama Parenting Questionnaire. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 16*, 243–259.

Field, A. (2009). *Discovering statistics using SPSS* (3rd ed.). London: SAGE Publications.

Fincham, D., Altes, L., Stein, D., & Seedat, S. (2009). Posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms in adolescents: risk factors versus resilience moderation. *Compr Psychiatry, 50*, 193–199.

Finkelhor, D., Hamby, S. L., Ormrod, R., & Turner, H. (2005). The Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire: Reliability, validity, and national norms. *Child Abuse Negl, 29*, 383–412.

Finkelhor, D., Shattuck, A., Turner, H., & Hamby, S. (2014). The lifetime prevalence of child sexual abuse and sexual assault assessed in late adolescence. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 55*(3), 329–333.

Fleming, J. (1997). Prevalence of childhood sexual abuse in a community sample of Australian women. *The Medical Journal of Australia, 166*(7), 65–68.

Fleming, J., Mullen, P., & Bammer, G. (1997). A study of potential risk factors for sexual abuse in childhood. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 21*, 49–58. doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134\(96\)00126-3](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134(96)00126-3)

Hallfors, D., Cho, H., Rusakaniko, S., Iritani, B., Mapfumo, J., & Halpern, C. (2011). Supporting adolescent orphan girls to stay in school as HIV-risk prevention: Evidence from a randomized controlled trial in Zimbabwe. *American Journal of Public Health, 101*, 1082–1091.

Heinrich, C., Hoddinott, J., & Samoson, M. (2012). *The South African Child Support Grant Impact Assessment: Evidence from a survey of children, adolescents and their households*. Pretoria: DSD, SASSA & UNICEF.

Hodges, E., Boivin, M., Vitaro, F., & Bukowski, W. (1999). The power of friendship: Protection against an escalating cycle of peer victimization. *Developmental Psychology, 35*, 94–101.

Hosegood, V., Vanneste, A., & Timaeus, I. (2004). Levels and causes of adult mortality in rural South Africa: the impact of AIDS. *AIDS, 5*, 663–671.

Ijumba, P., Padarath, A., & Trust, H. S. (2006). *South African Health Review 2006* (Vol. Durban). Durban: Health Systems Trust.

- Jewkes, R., & Abrahams, N. (2002). The epidemiology of rape and sexual coercion in South Africa: an overview. *Social Science & Medicine*, 55(7), 1231–1244. doi:10.1016/S0277-9536(01)00242-8
- Jewkes, R., Dunkle, K., Nduna, M., Jama, P. N., & Puren, A. (2010). Associations between childhood adversity and depression, substance abuse and HIV and HSV2 incident infections in rural South African youth. *Child Abuse Negl*, 34, 833–841.
- Jewkes, R., Levin, J., Mbananga, N., & Bradshaw, D. (2002). Rape of girls in South Africa. *The Lancet*, 359, 319–320.
- Jewkes, R., Sen, P., & Garcia-Moreno, C. (2002). Chapter 6: Sexual Violence. (E. Krug, L. L. Dahlberg, J. A. Mercy, A. B. Zwi, & R. Lozano, Eds.) *World Report on Violence and Health*. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- King, G., Flisher, A., Noubardy, F., Reece, R., Marais, A., & Lombard, C. (2004). Substance abuse and behavioral correlates of sexual assault among South African adolescents. *Child Abuse Negl*, 28, 683–696.
- Krahe, B., Scheinberger-Olwig, R., Waizenhöfer, E., & Kolpin, S. (1999). Childhood sexual abuse and revictimization in adolescence. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 23(4), 383–394. doi:10.1016/S0145-2134(99)00002-2
- Labadarios, D., Maunder, E., Steyn, N., MacIntyre, U., Swart, R., Gericke, G., ... Dannhauser, A. (2003). National food consumption survey in children aged 1-9 years: South Africa 1999. *Forum Nutr*, 56, 106–109.
- Lalor, K., & McElvaney, R. (2010). Child sexual abuse, links to later sexual exploitation/high-risk sexual behavior, and prevention/treatment programs. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 11, 159–177. doi:10.1177/1524838010378299
- Leach, F. (2002). School-based gender violence in Africa: a risk to adolescent sexual health: HIV/AIDS and education. *Perspectives in Education: HIV/AIDS and Education*, 20, 99–112.

- Leoschut, L., & Burton, P. (2006). *How rich the rewards? Results of the 2005 National Youth Victimization Survey* (Vol. 1). Cape Town: The Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention.
- Leung, P., Wong, W., Chen, W. Q., & Tang, C. (2008). Prevalence and determinants of child maltreatment among high school students in Southern China: A large scale school based survey. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Mental Health*, 2, 27.
- Levett, A. (1989). A study of childhood sexual abuse among South African university women students. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 19, 122–129. doi:10.1177/008124638901900302
- Lopman, B., Barnabas, R., Boerma, T., Chawira, J., Gaitskell, K., Harrop, T., ... Chawira, G. (2006). Creating and validating an algorithm to measure AIDS mortality in the adult population using verbal autopsy. *Public Library of Science Medicine*, 3, e312.
- Madu, S. (2003). The relationship between parental physical availability and child sexual, physical and emotional abuse: A study among a sample of university students in South Africa. *Scand J Psychol*, 44, 311–318.
- Madu, S., Idemudia, S., & Jegede, A. (2002). Perceived parental disorders as risk factors for child sexual, physical and emotional abuse among high school students in the Mpumalanga Province, South Africa. *J of Soc Sci*, 6, 103–112.
- Madu, S., Idemunda, S., & Jegede, A. (2003). Some perceived parental undesirable behaviours predicting child abuse: A study among a sample of university students in South Africa. *Journal of Social Science*, 7, 111–119.
- Madu, S., & Peltzer, K. (2000). Risk factors and child sexual abuse among secondary school students in the Northern Province (South Africa). *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 24, 259–268.

Mansbach-Kleinfeld, I., Ifrah, A., Apter, A., & Farbstein, I. (2015). Child sexual abuse as reported by Israeli adolescents: Social and health related correlates. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 40*, 68–80.

doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2014.11.014

Mason, G. E., Ullman, S., Long, S. E., Long, L., & Starzynski, L. (2009). Social support and risk of sexual assault revictimization. *Journal of Community Psychology, 37*, 58–72.

McCloskey, L., & Bailey, J. (2000). The intergenerational transmission of risk for child sexual abuse. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 15*, 1019–1035. doi:10.1177/088626000015010001

Meinck, F., Cluver, L. D., Boyes, M. E., & Mhlongo, E. L. (2015). Risk and protective factors for physical and sexual abuse of children and adolescents in Africa: A review and implications for practice. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 16*(1), 81–107. doi:10.1177/1524838014523336

Meinck, F., Cluver, L. D., Boyes, M. E., & Ndhlovu, L. D. (2013). Risk and protective factors for physical and emotional abuse victimisation amongst vulnerable children in South Africa. *Child Abuse Review, published*. doi:10.1002/car.2283

Morojele, N. K., & Brook, J. S. (2006). Substance use and multiple victimisation among adolescents in South Africa. *Addictive Behaviours, 31*, 1163–1176.

Murray, J., Farrington, D. P., & Eisner, M. P. (2009). Drawing conclusions about causes from systematic reviews of risk factors: The Cambridge Quality Checklists. *J Exp Criminol, 5*, 1–23. doi:10.1007/s11292-008-9066-0

Oden, S., & Asher, S. R. (1977). Coaching children in social skills for friendship making. *Child Development, 48*, 495–506.

Ottomani, S. (2005). *Practical approach to lung health: A primary health care strategy for the integrated management of respiratory conditions in people five years of age or over*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

- Panday, S., Makiwane, M., Ranchod, C., & Letsoalo, T. (2009). *Teenage pregnancy in South Africa - with a specific focus on school-going learners*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council & Department of Basic Education.
- Pereda, N., Guilera, G., Forns, M., & Gómez-Benito, J. (2009). The prevalence of child sexual abuse in community and student samples: A meta-analysis. *Clin Psychol Rev*, 29, 328–338.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2009.02.007>
- Pillay-van Wyk, V., Msemburi, W., Laubscher, R., Dorrington, R. E., Groenewald, P., Matzopoulos, R., ... Bradshaw, D. (2013). Second National Burden of Disease Study South Africa: national and subnational mortality trends, 1997-2009. *The Lancet*, 381, S113.
- Radford, L., Corral, S., Bradley, C., & Fisher, H. L. (2013). The prevalence and impact of child maltreatment and other types of victimization in the UK: Findings from a population survey of caregivers, children and young people and young adults. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 37, 801–813.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2013.02.004>
- Reproductive Health Research Unit. (2005). *HIV and sexual behaviour among young South Africans: A national survey of 15-24 year olds*. Parklands: loveLife.
- Reza, A., Breiding, M. J., Gulaid, J., Mercy, J. A., Blanton, C., Mthethwa, Z., ... Anderson, A. (2009). Sexual violence and its health consequences for female children in Swaziland: a cluster survey study. *Lancet*, 373, 1966–1972.
- Richters, J., & Martinez, P. (1993). The NIMH community violence project: II. Children's distress symptoms associated with violence exposure. *Psychiatry*, 56, 7–21.
- Rose, D., & Charlton, K. E. (2002). Prevalence of household food poverty in South Africa: results from a large, nationally representative survey. *Public Health Nutrition*, 5, 383–389. doi:[doi:10.1079/PHN2001320](https://doi.org/10.1079/PHN2001320)

- Rumble, L., Mungate, T., Chigiji, H., Salama, P., Nolan, A., Sammon, E., & Muwoni, L. (2015). Childhood sexual violence in Zimbabwe: Evidence for the epidemic against girls. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2015.04.015
- Seidman, E., Allen, L., Aber, J. L., Mitchell, C., Feinman, J., Yoshikawa, H., ... Ortiz-Torres, B. (1995). Development and validation of adolescent-perceived microsystem scales: Social support, daily hassles, and involvement. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 23, 355–388.
- Snider, L., & Dawes, A. (2006). *Psychosocial Vulnerability and Resilience Measures For National-Level Monitoring of Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children: Recommendations for Revision of the UNICEF Psychological Indicator*. Cape Town: UNICEF.
- Statistics South Africa. (2001). *Census 2001: Household Questionnaire*. Pretoria: Statistics SA.
- Stoltenborgh, M., van IJzendoorn, M. H., Euser, E. M., & Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J. (2011). A global perspective on child sexual abuse: Meta-analysis of prevalence around the world. *Child Maltreatment*, 16, 79–101. doi:10.1177/1077559511403920
- Straus, M. A., Hamby, S. L., Finkelhor, D., Moore, D. W., & Runyan, D. (1998). Identification of child maltreatment with the Parent-Child Conflict Tactics Scales: Development and psychometric data for a national sample of American parents. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 22, 249–270.
- Tavakol, M., & Dennick, R. (2011). Making sense of Cronbach's alpha. *International Journal of Medical Education*, 1, 53–55.
- The Ministry of Gender Children Disability and Social Welfare, Center for Social Research at the University of Malawi, UNICEF, & CDC. (2015). *Violence Against Children and Young Women in Malawi: Findings from a National Survey, 2013*. Lilongwe.
- UNAIDS. (2004). *Children on the Brink 2004: A joint report of new orphan estimates and a framework for action*. New York: UN.

UNICEF. (2010). *Child Disciplinary Practices at Home. Evidence from a Range of Low and Middle-Income Countries*. New York: UNICEF.

Vogeltanz, N. D., Wilsnack, S. C., Harris, T. R., Wilsnack, R. W., Wonderlich, S. A., & Kristjanson, A. F. (1999). Prevalence and risk factors for childhood sexual abuse in women: national survey findings. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 23, 579–592. doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134\(99\)00026-5](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134(99)00026-5)

Watch, H. R. (2001). *Scared at school: sexual violence against girls in South African schools*. Washington: Human Rights Watch.

World Health Organization. (2010). *Violence & Health in the WHO African Region*. Brazzaville: WHO.

Yen, C.-F., Yang, M.-S., Yang, M.-J., Su, Y.-C., Wang, M.-H., & Lan, C.-M. (2008). Childhood physical and sexual abuse: prevalence and correlates among adolescents living in rural Taiwan. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 32(3), 429–38. doi:[10.1016/j.chiabu.2007.06.003](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2007.06.003)