

Changing the Scene

The pervasive depth and breadth of normalising violence & violence supportive attitudes: what violence prevention education can do about it!

What are the outcomes for children of public policy approaches and educational campaigns targeting family and domestic violence?

I would like to add another question into this mix: How can children be at greater risk of being sexually abused through the mental abuse done toward them in indirect ways by professional educators and practitioners?

By Lynda Diagne

Program Coordinator

Womens Council For Domestic and Family Violence Services (WA)

To qualify the need for this question to be included into this round table discussion, I will lead in with an email I wrote to the Executive Officer of the Women's Council for Domestic and Family Violence Services (WA) in March 18th 2015.

Hi Angela,

*As mentioned, I am concerned about the statement made by Author and Professor James Fallon in his book *The Psychopath Inside: A Neuroscientist's Journey Into the Dark Side of The Brain*. He states "... some clinicians and many parents can see it it being in his words, the "hard to codify exactly which behaviours in early childhood that indicate psychopathy") ... Some of them (children), especially girls, can be hypersexual, even as young as five years old, which is often another form of attempted manipulation" (2014, p.102).*

The reasons I am concerned are that:

- Professor James Fullam has been described as an "award-winning neuroscientist at University of California ...(and) has taught neuroscience to medical students, grad students and clinicians in psychiatry and neurology for thirty five years..." (Cover, 2013). Consequently, the message he is sending out about girls as young as five being hypersexual and manipulative will negatively influence the way students think about young girls, which will negatively influence how they will eventually work with girl children in their clinical practices. Perhaps these students will also discuss this message in their homes with family members, or with friends, or others and the message will have reached thousands, perhaps even millions.*
- James Fullam's statement therefore, in my opinion, appears to be a psychological abuse toward young girls; and, creates a risk of further harm to girls*
- It appears this is how cultures of abuse toward children, especially girls, can be started in professional spheres of work, by professional people of high standing (status) in communities*
- The abuse of girls continues to be supported in this case by the publishing company that agreed to publish messages such as this*
- If we sit back and say and do nothing about these sorts of messages being taught to others, we too contribute to the abuse of girls, so in line with the National Plan of Australia and to speak out against violence (includes psychological violence), I am writing to you about it.*
- Also, the way Professor James Fullam has written this paragraph appears to be reporting observations made by parents, initially, but then he appears to have added his own opinion about the hypersexual behaviour of girls being a form of attempted manipulation, when they are as young as five, which is very concerning*

as it is a twist in the sentence, creating an unscientific slant on the message, which is also highly prejudicial toward girls.

· Creates risk of harm to the female child.

I will bring in the book for you tomorrow. It would be good to hear what you think about it!

Kind regards

Lynda

How powerful can one 'little sentence' in amongst a whole heap of other sentences be in terms of increasing or reducing harm done to children?

The inclusion of this one sentence in a book of over three hundred pages long, published in 2014, and therefore relatively current, is a very powerful sentence: it has serious ramifications for children who are being sexually abused or who are at risk of being sexually abused. For example, if professionals act on the information provided in this book they will most likely not report the sexual violence done to the child because they will blame the child, seeing the child as sexually 'manipulative' even at 5 years old, when in kindergarten or pre-school! The serious consequence is there is every chance this sort of child-blaming attitude will contribute to the continuation of violence and sexual abuse against children; and, as a direct result, won't be counted in the stats (which are already greatly underreported) and won't be counted in child suicide statistics either for years to come!

Such forms of psychological abuse toward the child is massive in that the professionals who are supposed to help and support children experiencing violence and sexual abuse won't recognise it and therefore won't report it; the children won't receive appropriate support; the parents and professional will contribute to the abuse of children; the children will continue to blame themselves for the sexual abuse done to them; and the perpetuation of violence in this indirect form continues to create more direct forms of abuse toward the children.

The problem also remains: who knows how many times this message has been repeated and verbalised around the world and to whom?

Because of one 'little message' written by a reputable academic, children are both indirectly and directly placed at further risk of violence and abuse.

Education is the key to changing the messages of violence toward children

These sorts of violence supportive attitudes will continue from the highest levels of professional spheres of practice until professionals, with such messages when educating

others, are brought to account for these sorts of statements and are educated themselves, appropriately, about violence prevention from a response-based perspective.

Has the professor who wrote this been made accountable for delivering this message?

We all do know that the breadth and depth of harm that could have already been done to children as an indirect result of this sort of message in a lecture or in a university course is potentially huge! But it is also yet another unknown statistic in the vast area of under-identifying and under-reporting of child sexual abuse by adults; or ignoring, or justifying the neglect of this topic in educational spheres. The fact such an opinion is stated in a book by a reputable academic and available to the public in a private bookstore in a local community is scary. In my professional opinion, this sort of statement amounts to mental violence done to children (who are obviously unaware of the statement, let alone the ramifications [toward them]), and as mentioned, if practitioners or parents are acting on this sort of information, it would be putting children at risk, or at further risk, of experiencing violence and sexual abuse in their own families and communities (communities being on-line, and/or in local and in social or professional practice or networking groups). Currently, it's a hidden in the educational realm, and now needs to be uncovered and included into this discussion.

The consequences of a lack of education about violence and sexual abuse toward children are devastating for children experiencing the violence and sexual abuse hurting their mental health, physical health, employment and financial situations and relationships over long periods of time in their lives. They are more vulnerable to homelessness, PTSD, substance abuse, suicidal ideation and attempts, and many more complex issues. So, if we don't start holding perpetrators of both indirect and direct mental and sexual violence to the child to account, the professionals too will think it's normal to think like this and will create unsafe environments for the child, even in professional spheres of practice, which will impact as further harm to the child, make them far more vulnerable to abuse and will increase child victim-blaming (even when they are in kindergarten, or preschool).

This sort of unaccountable, irresponsible, child-harming cross-over message is dangerous for children, families and communities. For all intents and purposes, the book publishers need violence prevention education as well! Time to do something about holding *indirect perpetration* of violence and sexual abuse to the children to account too, it's equally, if not more dangerous, to the safety and well-being of the children!

The pervasive depth and breadth of normalising violence

We cannot, as communities of violence prevention caring people, stand back, including on these sorts of cross-over messages. Over the last decade we have been warned about the devastating consequences of normalising violence; and we need to remember these

warnings because of the continuing pervasiveness of it into communities. For example, an Indigenous worker's comments speak for themselves, "I have seen whole generations of families go through experiencing sexual abuse. We have to break the cycle. If we don't break the cycle kids will think it's normal. This normalcy of the experience is a particular issue. Young children thinking this is just the way things are. If we don't talk about what is happening to our children, it will just continue on" (quoted in Thorpe, Solomon and Dimopolous for Elizabeth House, 2004).

Not enough violence prevention education has been undertaken in Australia, or the rest of the world. I repeat, the pervasiveness and breadth of normalising of sexual abuse toward children continues on into 2015, and as we are discovering it can be done in subtle, and indirect ways to harm the child, as well as in physical ways. These areas of learning cannot be overlooked, especially as the psychological abuse of children can be far greater to the impact of the well-being and mental health of the child, and also because it is these cross-over messages that circulate through all spheres of life where the impacts can last for generations.

The pervasiveness of violence is ingrained according to Sociology and Social Policy Lecturer Dr Lombard who provided her comments about a European survey in 2014, in which 42,000 women were interviewed. She states: (there is) "evidence of the pervasive extent of women's experiences of violence that is so ingrained in our societies. It may even aggravate the problem. Arguably the continued recognition of the magnitude of violence against women results in further normalisation rather than leading to resistance" (2014).

According to some statistics, the sexual abuse of girls starts at very young ages in school settings. In a Girl's Attitude Survey in 2014, reported on by Paul Cardwell, (2014), "Girls as young as seven also reported being subjected to jokes of a sexual nature from boys and the charity is warning too often this sort of behaviour, if left unchallenged, intensifies into sexual harassment during teenage years" (Third Force News). In addition, in the words of young female person who spoke out in the Girls Attitude Survey about the constant sexual harassment girls are experiencing at school on an every day basis, "...it's not being treated as a serious issue" (Callaghan, A. 2014).

Part of the problem is directed toward boys as young as nine accessing child pornography. Flood (2009) quotes Moultrie (2006), who reports that increasing numbers of young people are convicted for possession of child pornography. The findings also reveal 15-19 years olds are the biggest group of Internet traders of child pornography.

The area of great concern is that whether pornography appears to involve mutual consenting images of adults or not *appears not to matter, it is the exposure to pornography itself that results in an increase in violence supportive attitudes for young people*. "Perhaps the most

troubling impact of pornography on children and young people is its influence on sexual violence” (Malamuth *et al* 2000, in Flood, 2009, p.392).

The every-day basis is the key way in which the cross-over messages appear to work to infiltrate the minds of children and adults. In Australia, we have the knowledge of physical sexual abuse, be it the tip of the iceberg, that almost one million women and 337,400 men reported they had been sexually abused before the age of 15, and of this number over two thirds before the age of 11 (Tarczon and Quadara, 2015). One in 4 girls and one in 7 boys will be abused in Australia each year. We *absolutely know* that child sexual abuse is a very deep, serious and very real issue pervading in families and communities, and it needs to change.

But, are we educating the children to know when and how they are being sexually abused?

Are we also including the language of violence, and how it is used by judges, lawyers, teachers, journalists, perpetrators and other members of the public to conceal the violence, mitigate the perpetrator’s responsibility, conceal the victims’ resistance and blame or pathologise the victims? Executive Officer of the Women’s Council Angela Hartwig raised these issues in the recent Train the Trainer Pilot Program 2015 when she was delivering her presentation on Response-Based practice. She adapted this session in the light of learnings from Allan Wade, Linda Coates and Cathy Richardson when they spoke about it at the Reframing Practice Conference in Perth, November 2010. One recent example, although not in Australia, but was in an on-line petition was when Judge Kelly said April 3rd 2015: “The rapist didn't commit an act of violence. The child rapist didn't callously disregard the three year old (girl) he anally raped” (Recall Judge Kelly Petition).

Violence prevention education needs to start very young and be integrated into professional, undergraduate and/or post-graduate educative settings. Without violence prevention education programs from a response-based practice, children will be continually at risk of harm by the direct and indirect emotional, mental and physical violence and sexual abuse done to them.

The Need for Sustainable Violence Prevention Education Policy and Programs K - University

Deeply concerning and deeply pervasive in Australia is the attitude that gender-based violence is still being perceived by nearly one fifth of the adult Australian community as a *private matter* (National Community Attitudes Towards Violence Against Women Survey [NCAS] 2013, p.191). These sorts of attitudes perpetuate the deafening silence surrounding perpetrator behaviour; and they also cause collusion with the perpetrator. The silence and collusion must be broken to help reduce and eliminate the violence done to children and

women in families. Arita Rao had raised this issue in 2001 when she stated, “Women-specific abuses may never be completely redressed unless and until the private realm is recognised as a legitimate area of human rights concern at the highest level” (2001, p.507). According to Dr Kristin Deimer (2014), this issue is getting worse, which sirens the need to do far more than what we are doing right now because as she points out, “men’s awareness and understanding of the more subtle and nuanced forms of men’s violence against women have, on many measures gone backwards. Increasingly men deny and trivialise men’s use of violence against women ...which leads to reduced accountability and responsibility for eliminating violence against women. It is recognising and challenging these subtle yet deeply held violence supportive attitudes in our community where the difficult work now needs to happen.” (p.10).

Yes the difficult work needs to begin and be continued and never stopped! Change is needed to change not only the landscape but below it to be able to support the change. We must include violence prevention programs into the education system at all levels to seriously address the normalising of violence and violence supportive attitudes in Australia.

As female teenagers aged 15-19 in Australia are experiencing sexual assault at the highest victimisation rate of any age group (Ronken and Johnston, 2012, p.9), this cannot be ignored: violence prevention education for middle school years is a necessity, and it needs to work! It cannot be taught by educators who are not skilled in violence prevention education!

The whole picture above is telling the story about Australian attitudes and behaviours that support and normalise violence toward children, young people and women. Therefore, in my professional opinion, primary violence prevention education must be compulsory education from K to University because all students of all levels are needing it, as are staff in all professional areas of practice. This education needs to be undertaken by skilled and experienced response-based violence prevention educators to help prevent further risk of violence, injury, harm, and sexual abuse toward children, and women; and, empower victims and bystanders to act.

Sustainable Violence Prevention Education Programs in School Settings

The government has a Vision and insight into this educative area of need: under the *National Plan* the Australian Government has stated Education is the key, and is critical to prevent future domestic violence and sexual assault against children, and women (p.18).

Sustainable Violence Prevention Education becomes part of the social network through the schools and curriculum and the whole school community, including stakeholders. Learning Modules that shape and change the normalised violent and sexually abusive attitudes and behaviours toward women and children will be the ongoing learning catalyst that is needed to help prevent current and future violence and sexual assault of women and children. According to the *National Plan*, Education plays “a key role in equipping young people with the knowledge and skills to develop and maintain non-violent, respectful and equitable relationships.” (COAG, 2014 p.18).

Current Violence Prevention Education programs by The Women’s Council Domestic and Family Violence Services (WA)

The Women’s Council for Domestic and Family Violence Services Western Australia (WCDFVS) has had this *Vision since 2004*: it is *To ensure all women and children live free of domestic and family violence*. This *Vision* sits well within the *National Plan Vision*, which is ‘*Australian women and their children live free from violence in safe communities*’, therefore can take on the job of committed interest in the change process to build safer communities. To date, the WCDFVS has already had a 20 year history of commitment in progressing the awareness of gender-based violence and promoting equal and respectful relationships amongst children and young people in schools. The Kent Street High School Pilot Program was one example of how a violence education program can be delivered into the school curriculum successfully. In the student survey post classroom modules Kent Street Senior High School, there was evidence of changes in violence supportive attitudes and behaviours amongst students:

Statement	Prior to first session	Post the last session
Boys sometimes deserve to be hit by the girls they date	66.6% Disagree	94.29% Disagree
Sometimes boys have to hit their girlfriends to get them back under control.	85.2% Disagree	91.45% Disagree
A girl should always change her ways to please her boyfriend	66.67% Disagree	82.85% Disagree
A girl should always do what he boyfriend tells her to do	72.72% Disagree	91.45% Disagree
There is never a reason for a guy to yell and scream at his girlfriend.	42.45% Agree	62.86% Agree

Statement	Agree	Disagree
I found the program useful/helpful	88.6%	
I enjoyed the program	91.2%	
I think the program has made me more aware of what abusive relationship behaviours are	94.1%	
I think the program has increased my relationship skills	68.6%	2.9%
I think the program has increased my awareness of how I want to be treated in a relationship	88.5%	
I think the program has increased my awareness of how I should treat others in a relationship	94.2%	
I think I have more confidence in my ability to help myself/find support if I experience violence or abuse.	88.3%	

(Taken from Australian Government Department of Social Services Respectful Relationships Round Three Final Report Promoting Respect Women's Council for Domestic and Family Violence Services (WA). p.34).

Due to the success of this pilot, the Women's Council for Domestic and Family Violence Services (WA) has undertaken a new initiative which is a Train the Trainer Pilot Program, recognising a collaborative approach is needed to build confidence and sustain violence prevention education in all local communities in Australia. To develop this program, the WCDFVS (WA) took on the learnings from the Kent St Pilot, and has further developed the program in 2014 and 15 to include Safe Behaviours, the Early Warning Signs of Violent Behaviours and Abusive Behaviours in the Learning Modules. If children cannot identify the Early Warning Signs of Violent Behaviours, they are at a disadvantage (as are adults). These Learning Modules educate children and young people to develop skills, attitudes and behaviours that will help them be able to draw the line to recognise these Early Warning Signs of Violent Behaviours and Abusive Behaviours and become empowered to bring perpetrators to account for their actions rather than blame themselves or the adult victim experiencing violence and sexual abuse. They will also be empowered to make safer choices for themselves in relationships.

This pilot has been undertaken as a result of funding support by Lotterywest: the view toward sustainability for violence prevention education in local communities.

Promoting Safe and Respectful Relationships Program: The Train the Trainer and Learning Modules for violence prevention education in local Schools throughout Western Australia

The *Promoting Safe and Respectful Relationships Program* has been developed by the Women's Council for Domestic and Family Violence Services Western Australia (WCDFVS [WA]). It aligns with the Commonwealth *Respectful Relationships Project* and is a primary prevention educational strategy that supports the Vision of the *National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and Their Children 2010-2022*, which is seeking to reduce domestic and family violence and sexual abuse of children and young people through education.

This program has two parts to it: *The Promoting Safety and Respect Train the Trainer Pilot Program* is the first part, and the second is the provision of the Learning Modules titled *Promoting Safe and Respectful Relationships* for Student Learning, which is given to the participants at the completion of the training program. All participants receive this package, which they can then adapt for use in schools.

The WCDFVS has developed three learning modules for student learning. Embedded into the learning modules are a range of activities where students can openly explore, critically analyse and challenge their own attitudes and behaviours about how they can develop and support safer and more equal relationships; and, while engaging in these activities, *be facilitated to identify Safe Behaviours, the Early Warning Signs of Violent Behaviours and Abusive Behaviours, and what they can do about any violent or abusive behaviours they identify*. They will be empowered to be able to develop Safe Behaviours for themselves, and be able to support or encourage others to do the same. In this program it is recognised that students need to be part of the process for change and take ownership and responsibility of their own behaviours to be able to become empowered, which will equip them to be able to assist, encourage and support each other in the violence prevention change process. The facilitators role is to encourage and support developmental and collaborative Whole of School Approaches to violence prevention education.

Currently, integration of the *Promoting Safe and Respectful Relationships Program into schools* is by implementation into the school curriculum through the Health and Physical Education Learning Area for students in Middle School Year Groups from Years 7 to 10. However the program does not need to be limited to this learning area, or these year groups,

it can be adapted in any way that is relevant to learning outcomes across any of the learning areas for the schools participating from Years 7 to 12.

All facilitators delivering this program completed an intensive training program coordinated and developed by the WCDFVS(WA). In Phase 1 of this new initiative participants were refuge staff throughout the state of Western Australia who had expressed an interest in being involved in the program and funding was granted for this. They were trained in July 2015. Interest from schools has been happening also and the Women's Council will be following up with these Expressions of Interest for the Train the Trainer Program in Phase 2 in 2016. It is anticipated many more schools will show an interest. All refuge workers who have completed the Train the Trainer have now had Response Based training and are currently working from a Strengths-Based perspective with women and children experiencing intimate partner violence in their work roles. This Pilot Program will be evaluated by Curtin University.

Delivery of the violence prevention learning program into the schools is by a combination of Response-Base Practice and Strengths-Based developmental approaches to learning. Response based practice promotes and encourages students to recognise what children (and women) do to resist any violence and abuse done to them; and will also provide them with opportunities to learn and develop appropriate transferable skills and knowledge to empower them for years to come to be able to take action to reduce gender-based violence within their own lives with themselves, their friends or peers, within their social networks and/or within their own families and/or communities.

How is success going to be measured?

Outcomes for children will be evaluated by:

- An increase in the number of schools participating
- An increase in access to violence prevention educational programs for children and young people
- An increase in children and young people learning and becoming skilled and practiced about violence prevention
- An increase in children and young people learning and becoming skilled and practiced about identifying what are Safe Behaviours; the Early Warning Signs of Violent Behaviours, and Abusive Behaviours and can become empowered to take action when they or their friends or peers are experiencing violence or abuse
- An increase in peer support learning and development in local school communities about violence prevention
- An increase in school and community participation in violence prevention activities
- An increase in skilling professional staff to be able to facilitate gender-based violence prevention education from a Response-Based practice in school settings, which will empower children and young people
- An increase in children being supported to learn by being provided strengths based developmental learning about gender-based violence and sexual abuse
- An increase in children's knowledge about violence prevention
- A decrease in child mental health problems such as depression and anxiety

- A decrease in substance/drug-taking behaviours
- An increase in children and young people having conversations about violence and sexual abuse done to them or others and what the Early Warning Signs of Violent Behaviours look like
- A decrease in death by suicides amongst children and young people
- A decrease in death by murders of children experiencing domestic and family violence
- An increase in health and well-being of children and women in communities
- An increase in the capacity of school's learning programs by integration into the School Curriculum through the Health and Physical Education Learning Area
- An increase in local knowledge about how to develop safer relationships in local communities
- A reduction in criminal and violence behaviours against women and children
- An increased focus in local communities about violence prevention education and the benefits to the children and young people long term
- A reduction in violence supportive attitudes in schools, families and communities
- An increase in the number of active responses to domestic and family violence done to the child/young person
- An increase in safety for women and children in communities
- An increase in collaborative support for women and children experiencing violence and sexual abuse in families and/or communities
- An increase in perpetrator accountability
- An increase in disclosures of sexual abuse of children
- An increase the collaborative work undertaken between or amongst agencies and communities
- Promotes leaders skills in the area of violence prevention education
- Promotes cultures for change
- Promotes accountability for perpetrators
- Promotes human rights for children
- Promotes collaborations in violence prevention amongst communities and organisations
- Promotes community sustainability

Summary

In summary, it is anticipated the collaborative nature of this program and the integration of this learning content from both a response-based practice and strengths-based approach into the school curriculum will have long term social, educational, health, well-being and economic sustainability developments. It aligns with the *National Plan Vision* and the *WCDFVS (WA) Vision* and the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, Articles 19, 29 and 34* and the *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women 1993, Articles 1 and 2*. It supports the long term outcomes above and the *National Plan Outcomes* which include, but are not limited to:

National Outcome 1 – Communities are safe and free from violence

- *Strategy 1.2: Focus on primary prevention*
- *Strategy 1.2 Promote community involvement*
- *Strategy 1.3 Advance Gender Equality*

National Outcome 2- Relationships are Respectful

- *Strategy 2.1 “Build on young people’s capacity to develop respectful relationships” (p.18)*

References

Arita Rao, 2001, p.507) Right in the Home: Feminist Theoretical perspectives on International Human Rights published in National Law School Journal 1(1993), p62-81 Reprinted in The Philosophy of Human Rights: Paragon Issues in Philosophy. Paragon House USA 2001, p505 - 525

Australian Government Department of Social Services Respectful Relationships Round Three Final Report Promoting Respect Women's Council for Domestic and Family Violence Services (WA) (2013), p.34

Cardwell, P. (2014). *Survey finds shocking number of girls are sexually harassed at school*. Third Force News. Read more at <http://thirdforcenews.org.uk/tfn-news/survey-finds-shocking-number-of-girls-are-sexually-harassed-at-school#6387DfwqICY8r0Pg.99> Taken from ChildWise.<http://thirdforcenews.org.uk/tfn-news/blogs/survey-finds-shocking-number-of-girls-are-sexually-harassed-at-school#G6uHZ20eAH7XwlOj.99> Accessed 21st March 2015

COAG (2014). Taken from https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/08_2014/national_plan1.pdf , Accessed 4th March 2015

Deimer, Dr. K. (2014). *Women's Safety is a Men's Issue: Men's attitudes to violence against women and what that means for men*. White Ribbon Research Series December 2014, White Ribbon Australia.

Indigenous worker, quoted in Thorpe, Solomon and Dimopolous for Elizabeth House, (2004). *From Shame to Pride. Access to Sexual Assault Services for Indigenous People: A Partnership Project between Elizabeth Hoffman House and CASA House, Consultations and Outcomes, Reports and Recommendations*. (p.24), Elizabeth House

Fallon, Prof. J. (2014). *The Psychopath Inside: A Neuroscientist's Journey Into the Dark Side of The Brain*. Penguin, New York.

Flood, M. (2009). *The Harms of Pornography Exposure Among Children and Young People* *Child Abuse Review* Vol. 18: 384–400 (2009) Published Online 2nd November 2009 in Wiley InterScience www.interscience.wiley.com DOI: 10.1002/car.1092, <http://>

www.wondercatdesign.com/mecasa/images/pdfs/harms%20of%20porn%20exposure-%202009.pdf. Accessed 8th June, 2015

Lombard, N. (2014). Girls are taught young that violence toward them is normal. *The Conversation: Politics and Society*, March 17th, 2014. <http://theconversation.com/girls-are-taught-young-that-violence-towards-them-is-normal-24443> Accessed 13th January, 2015

National Plan to reduce violence against women and their children. Including three year Action Plan https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/08_2014/national_plan1.pdf

Recall Judge Kelly Petition <https://www.change.org/p/judge-says-child-rapist-didn-t-mean-to-hurt-the-3-year-old-toddler-he-sodomized> change.org

Ronken, C. and Johnston, H. (2012). Child Sexual Assault Facts and Figures. Bravehearts. https://www.bravehearts.org.au/files/Facts%20and%20Stats_updated141212.pdf. Accessed 11th March, 2015)

Tarczon, C. and Quadara, A. (2015). *The nature and extent of sexual assault and abuse in Australia*. Australian Government Institute of Family Studies. Taken from <https://www3.aifs.gov.au/acssa/pubs/sheets/rs5/#footnote-22222-11>. Accessed 10th June 2015.