



FACTS against MYTHS

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INFORMATION BULLETIN

From Hidden to Manifest Horror: The Myths Behind Child Sexual Abuse

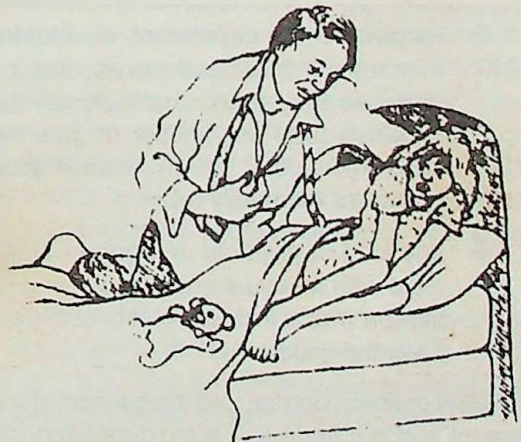
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The sexual abuse of children by adults is not a new but a long-standing culturally sanctioned offence. Right since ancient times child prostitution, pornography and sexual abuse have been known to exist. Today the extent of the problem is that children are bought, sold, rented out and sexually abused by adults everywhere and used as child soldiers in war.

Childhood (and therefore child abuse as a particular experience of childhood) is a socially constructed phenomenon. These social constructions are also a reflection of the relationship between the child and the state/society within which s/he lives. In the Indian tradition childhood is generally the object of enormous amount of nurturance and indulgence by parents and family members. As psychoanalyst and scholar, Sudhir Kakar, points out, the child is not seen "... as a tabula rasa but as entering the world with 'innate' psychic dispositions from its previous life which have already been shaped in a certain direction by the foetal experience".

Childhood in the Indian tradition however conceals two glaring omissions: the girl child and children belonging to the Dalit community who have largely been excluded from this tradition, as indeed women and Dalits generally have been excluded from most of the prescriptions and formulations of the Hindu traditions. In the Western tradition, one school of thought maintains that in medieval Europe there was no conception of childhood. In such a model children share the same fate as adults (wars, famine, plagues, etc.) without discrimination by virtue of their younger status.

Further, most laws in ancient India failed to examine this practice and made no attempt to eliminate it. According to the ancient lawgiver, Kautilya, the purchase and sale of children as chattel was not forbidden among the non-Aryans, the Mlechhas. In other civilisations, the offence included such offences like child homicide. There are several references in the Holy Scriptures, like the Bible, of large-scale extermination of children e.g. by Pharaoh at the time of the birth of Moses, and by Herod at the time of the birth of Jesus. There are also Biblical references to child sacrifice. There is the story of Isaac, who was about to be sacrificed by his father, Abraham, but saved by an angel. In antiquity infanticide was a common practice that extended well into the Middle Ages. Disability and illegitimacy were particularly likely to condemn a child to death in a wide range of cultures and societies. Aristotle in Politics had stated: "With regard to the



*Touching a child sexually is rape**

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choice between abandoning an infant or rearing it, let there be a law that no cripple should be reared".

Gender was another factor that in certain parts of the world condemned the child to a short life. Female infanticide accounted for the massive gender imbalances during the Middle Ages in Europe (156 males to 100 females in 801; 172 males to 100 females in 139²). Child sexual abuse, specifically, was also quite high. "The child in antiquity lived his earliest years in an atmosphere of sexual abuse. Growing up in Greece and Rome often included being used sexually by older men"². Anthropologists maintain that some cultures loan their daughters to guests as an act of hospitality.

Today, the situation of the child and Indian children in particular is no better. In Gujarat, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu female infanticide and feticide is widely prevalent. In some African countries female circumcision continues to be practiced. Economic globalisation further exacerbates the plight of child globally with the electronic and entertainment media impacting childhood as never before. These dynamics consider children as vital elements to the needs of the modern economy both nationally and globally. A further paradox is that the very traditional Indian social order that glorifies childhood sees no problems when it discriminates between children of Brahmins and Dalits; accepts the status quo on child labour; and denies children the basic human right to compulsory education.

There are various explanations as what constitutes csa with any number of definitions. Child Sexual Abuse has been defined as:

- ❖ An activity relating to sex organs engaged in for sexual gratification, which takes advantage of, violates or deceives children or young people. Millions of girls and even boys are being used in prostitution, pornography, trafficking and other forms of sexual exploitation. Further more, their plight has a multiplier effect since research has shown frequently abused and exploited adolescents and adults as abuser and exploiter themselves;
- ❖ Involvement of dependent, developmentally immature children and adolescents in sexual activities they do not normally comprehend to which they are unable to give informed consent, or that which violates the social taboos of the family role;
- ❖ any kind of physical or mental violation of a child with a sexual intent usually by an elder person who is in position of trust or power vis-à-vis the child.

The latter definition introduced the consent of 'informed consent' and 'dependent'. It is the dependent nature of children and young people that makes CSA a particular problem.

All these definitions indicate that CSA covers the sexual violation of both children and adolescents. The perpetrator can be anyone who exploits the child's vulnerability to gain sexual gratification. It could also include activities which do not involve direct touching. Sexual exploitation takes different forms, viz.,

- ❖ Abuse of mentally and physically disabled children;
- ❖ Child pornography, advertising and films;
- ❖ Children are abused within the context of cultural and traditional practices such as child marriage, etc.;
- ❖ Children in institutions like orphanages, remand homes, etc. are vulnerable to sexual abuse from those who are supposed to take care of them;
- ❖ Children in situation of ethnic conflicts, displaced, migrant and refugee children are particularly vulnerable to all forms of sexual exploitation;
- ❖ Children are exploited as attraction in sex tourism and are victims of a globally organised sex trade;
- ❖ Child trafficking. With the advent of HIV/AIDs, there is an increased demand for younger child prostitutes;
- ❖ Child labourer, domestic workers, street children are frequently used for the sexual gratification of the employers and other adults.

The offence of child abuse is deeply rooted in the social, economic, cultural and psychological fabric of society. In some societies as in India traditional practices like the Devadasi, Jogini systems not only prevail in some parts of the country but also exacerbate the plight of the sexually abused child. It is however very difficult to estimate the actual incidences and the actual number of child sexual abuse taking place but it is known that –

- ❖ Female victims are more in number than the male victims;
- ❖ One out of every ten women has experienced some sort of sexual abuse;
- ❖ Abuse during their childhood is mostly by a known person;
- ❖ Social, economic and educational status is no barrier to this form of violence and exploitation;
- ❖ Caste or religion is no bar for sexual abuse.

On the question of redressal and justice to the sexually abused child, there is neither a compressive law nor a

policy to deal with the crime. Whatever legislation exists is full of contradictions or merely on paper with the government silent and almost inactive in spite of legal provisions. Occasionally it acts promptly and makes arrests but without any follow up. An exception to this rule however is the situation of Goa. Goa is the only state in the country to have a comprehensive law that at least attempts to make the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child enforceable. On April 30, 2003 the Goa Assembly passed a law to this effect with the rules for its implementation to be framed within three months. In July 2003 the Assembly received the governor's assent. A salient feature of this act is the definition of sexual abuse which recognises that there are other forms of sexual abuse aside from intercourse that a child may be subject to, such as oral sex, fondling a child, making children have sex with each other and other such acts. It also acknowledges and attempts to deal with tourism related child sexual abuse. However, as with any such Act, much depends on how the Goa Children's Act is enforced.

A number of theories abound on this form of sexual crime. Some earlier theories were predominantly academically-oriented or male-centred with the misplaced tendency of placing the onus of the offence on negligent mothers or on so-called narcissistic young girls. In recent times however, with women survivors beginning to assert themselves, there has been a significant rise in the public expression and articulation of the experience of CSA and victimisation. This has resulted in greater awareness in the prevalence of CSA and its associated phenomena.

The issue of CSA is a difficult area to research, since secrecy, denial, shame and guilt are among its main components. Further, CSA provokes strong emotions, because it raises important issues on how children are treated on sexuality and about power. Finally, the ways in which child sexual abuse is constructed conceptually, and how language is used in its construction, determine what is visible and what is not visible; what is seen and what is not seen; what is known and what is not known (epistemology); how it is understood and explained (theory); its status and value in terms of social power relations; and what is and is not done about it (policy and practice).

The use of unengendered or gender-neutral language contributes to the invisibility of men as primarily the sexual abusers of children, and in particular to obscuring the recognition of ordinary heterosexual 'family' men as the majority of perpetrators of child sexual abuse in any of the various forms. This analysis uncovers, with respect to child sexual abuse, 'that the violent male is elusive, and male violence is invisible'. For these reasons it is imperative to establish what is already known about the actual dimensions of CSA and especially expose not only the misunderstanding but some of the widespread myths on the issue.

MYTH: Children from lower economic strata are more prone to sexual abuse and the strata of major child molesters.

FACT: It is not just the poor but children from all sections of society i.e. children of all classes who are prone to such abuse as will be evident elsewhere in this fact sheet. On the other hand, experiences from various countries indicate that a number of cases have come to light in which the abusers are 'respectable' middle and upper class persons. Street children in these countries have revealed that they have been sexually abused by bus conductors, truck drivers, relatives, neighbours, etc). Reports in the Times of India (26/8/99 & 5/10/99) cite studies that show increasing incidence of incest, CSA within middle-class and upper middle class homes. For instance, the case of the Sales Officer, J Pandey at a Government Dairy Dept. at Karvi in Banda Dist., U.P. who had been found to be sexually abusing his 11 year old daughter. He also had had a history of battering his wife, Ila Pandey. A public 'hearing' was held on the issue, shockingly however, a demonstration was taken out by the ABVP (Akhil Bharatiya Vidarthi Parishad) who booed the human rights activists demanding justice for the child victim. They complained that the activists were 'polluting Chitrakoot' the Holy Land of Ram by raising such issues of CSA. They eventually succeeded in getting the culprit bailed out. In 1993 the National Commission on Women (NCW) headed by Ms Jayanti Patnaik was constituted to investigate the cases of child sexual abuse and, in particular, the case of Rahul Pandey. The NGO supporting the mother and children was threatened and false cases of kidnapping, theft etc., lodged against them.

Another study on urban and Indian women, "Voices from the Silent Zone: Women's Experience of Incest and Childhood Sexual Abuse" by RAHI, (Delhi 1997) the National Alliance of Women (NAW) showed that 76% of women had been sexually abused in their childhood. Of these 36% were abused by a family member and 46% by a known person.

Attempts to uncover the extent of occurrence and break the silence on the issue often face strong opposition from a section of society. Those that come to public notice are merely the tip of the iceberg indicating that sexual abuse is not committed only by the poor, illiterate class. In her book "Bitter Chocolate, Child Sexual Abuse in India" by Pinki Virani showed several cases of CSA occurring in other sections of society. For instance,

- ❖ In Varanasi, a middle class housewife trying to escape from her husband and his family for confronting him for sexually abusing their 13-year-old daughter for over a year;
- ❖ In Mumbai, a young upper class mother moved every single court so that she can keep

her little daughter being abused by the grandfather. Her husband at first believed her until his father reminded him that after all he was part of the family business and the son kept quiet;

- ❖ In Mumbai, on January 26, 2000 a rag picker found a six-year-old sexually assaulted body dumped on a garbage heap.

These cases indicate that these atrocities occur across a wide spectrum of society. At a seminar on "Recognising Violence Against Children In the Private Sphere" Kiran Bedi, IPS officer also revealed that 56% of csa occurs in the home of the victim and of the molester.

MYTH: *Child sexual abuses especially offences like pedophilia, incest are not an Indian problem or as widespread as in the West.*

FACT: Children are the most vulnerable sections of society and are more prone to assaults or to be victimized everywhere. Even in Indian society as will be evident from this factsheet.

Children are easily effected by the structures of society. Apart from their innocence presents, sweets, toys, etc easily lure children. Moreover such children are not at an age when they are able to express their experiences of sex molestation or as to what exactly happened to them even after the commissions of criminal assault especially when they are of the tender age group of 1 to 2 years.

MYTH: *Tourism related child sexual abuse prevails in Goa, but is not common in other parts of India.*

FACT: Goa has become associated with tourism related paedophilia for two reasons. Firstly because the first conviction of a paedophile (Freddy Peats) took place in Goa. Secondly because NGOs in Goa, particularly Children's Rights in Goa have been campaigning on this issue. The fact is that tourism related child sexual abuse takes place in all India's major tourist destinations such as Kerala, Rajasthan, Agra etc.

However, as reports indicate children are victims of sexual abuse at a very high level. In recent times reports of child sexual abuse in Churches by pastors and priests are frequently being reported not just in the West but in India too. There have been confirmed reports by NGOs of such offences in Mumbai as well. Not surprisingly all out attempts are made to squash such cases. Additionally, a report in the Asian Age, (23/8/2000) pedophile cases have risen all over Asia. Offenders are also from Taiwan, Japan, Cambodia, Vietnam, Thailand, Philippines and Sri Lanka. This, inspite of the fact that only few of the reported cases are brought to public notice, as in the cases of Freddy Peats, Helmut Brinkman, E. McBride, the Frenchman Dominic Sature and John Middleton through the efforts of Child Rights in Goa, Jan Ugahi and others.

Moreover, many such cases of pedophile go undetected because the internet is being used extensively by pedophiles to access "easy" places to visit, like Goa, for and only sex with children especially boys. A Delhi based NGO reported of cases of incest among even close-knit families in Delhi. It had stated that though there was no official data available, the surveys conducted by various organisations revealed that incest is rampant in the capital.²² The following data below will provide tangible clues to the extent of such crimes against children. It shows that Crime Head-wise incidence reported against children and the percentage of variation in the registered cases during 1996 over 1995 is presented in the Table below.

As pointed out above the legal provisions provided by the government are inadequate. There are no specific acts dealing exclusively with csa. According to R.D. Tyagi, Police Commissioner of Greater Mumbai says, "9 out of every 10 cases of child sexual abuse never make it to the police records. And those who make it to the police records are faced with the hurdles of ambiguity of the law. Even the fact that male child is abused is not known to people.

MYTH: *Pedophiles are homosexuals who sexually abuse children on a regular basis.*

FACT: The term 'pedophile' has taken on various meanings. The word literally means 'child love'. It has been used to describe men (and some women) who exhibit sexual arousal and attraction towards pre-pubertal children. When there is sexual arousal towards post-pubertal children who are below the age of consent, the term that has been used is 'hebephilia'.

Sometimes, where men abuse boys, the term 'homosexual pedophile' is used as purported in this claim. But this is unhelpful, as it equates 'pedophilia' with homosexuals. In fact, child sexual abusers generally are more likely to be heterosexual than homosexual. However, there are some abusers whose preference is what they call 'man-boy' love who identify themselves as 'pedophiles'.

Further, although it is possible to construct typologies of sex offenders who abuse children it is a highly controversial issue. As noted above, individuals who sexually abuse child come from all walks of life and all social class and ethnic backgrounds. The main characteristic they have in common is that they are predominantly male. Certain types of sex offenders are more dangerous than others. Where some remain static in their target selection and in the level of assault, others reach more serious levels of offending. No individual has all the characteristics of a type. However, according to studies in the West there are a number of characteristics that can be identified with each particular type. The stereotypical image of the man in dirty clothes with funny eyes, or alternatively someone who looks like a monster are all part of the problem that needs to be broken down. The community will

Types of Child Sexual Abusers

Child sexual abusers can be

i. **'Fixated Pedophiles'** ii. **'Predatory Pedophiles'** and iii. **Non-predatory pedophiles**

i. **'Fixated Pedophiles'** tend to have the following characteristics:

- ❖ they may molest a large number of children
- ❖ they may adopt pseudo-parental roles or may deliberately set out to gain the trust of ('seduce') the parents or other care-givers
- ❖ they may be seductive in their approach
- ❖ they may use child erotic material and child or adult pornography to lower the inhibitions of children
- ❖ they may seek to portray their behavior as normal
- ❖ they may have strong cognitive distortions and beliefs
- ❖ their friends and associates are probably pedophiles and share common information and language
- ❖ By intuition and design, they may select vulnerable children, who may be physically and/or emotionally neglected
- ❖ They do not usually marry, but may be in a marriage of convenience
- ❖ They may belong to children's organizations
- ❖ They may have a liking for children of a particular age range and the older the child, the more likely they are to select one gender

ii. **'Predatory pedophiles'** atypically sexually abuse within a context of abduction, or may express immediate anger in a sexual way; for example the rapist within the home, or the stranger rapist of children.

iii. **Non-predatory pedophiles** are individuals who believe a child can give consent to sexual acts. They believe that a child is sexual; that it would enjoy sex with an adult and that a child can give consent. Being sexual and being aware of sex is something different, however, to wanting sex with an adult. At the extreme end of this is the 'pedophile' who believes that even a baby can give consent. The reasoning is based on his belief that for example: "If you throw a baby up in the air and it shouts blue murder you know that it does not like it. If however, they gurgle and laugh you know they do".

Such reasoning clearly reflects the distorted thinking and beliefs with which the 'pedophile' needs to surround himself. The particular danger of 'fixated non-predatory pedophiles' is that their actions are in fact predatory, but they do not want to accept this. They fail to see how their use of influence, power and control, and the way that they form the relationship, gives the child no choice. How does a child deal with a person who can offer what most children want: sweets, gifts, toys, attention, apparent love, and money. Anything that will attract children to a 'pedophile's' home will be used.

In some cases, the offender becomes involved with a child who has already been over excessive exposures by an earlier abuser. In these cases, the offender may not see that he is re-victimizing a child who is already a victim. Instead, his beliefs about children being sexual partners may be reinforced by his perception of the behavior of the child. Any accommodating behavior (the child not disclosing, the child appearing orgasmic) will be interpreted in a way that makes the offender feel better.

As one looks at the 'non-predatory fixated pedophile' and his pattern of behaviour one can see why it is sometimes called a 'victimless' or a 'phantom' offence. This is because victims do not disclose. If victims do not tell then the authorities will not prioritize and investigate. Why children do not tell is easily understood in the context of the 'pedophiles' actions and behaviour.

always be vulnerable if they do not understand that it is not monsters that sexually abuse children, but 'decent' men from 'decent' families. By listing the different types of offenders it is hoped that rather than simply placing the offenders into boxes, the typology will function to expand the knowledge and understanding of the range and behavior of the men who sexually abuse children.

According to Araji and Finkelhor (1986) theories on CSA fall into four groups, which seek to explain:

- ❖ Why a person would find relating sexually to a child to be emotionally gratifying and congruent (i.e., the child fitting the adult's need);
- ❖ Why a person would be capable of being sexually aroused by a child;
- ❖ Why a man would be frustrated or blocked in efforts to get sexual and emotional gratification from more nominatively approved sources;
- ❖ Why a person would not be deterred by the conventional social restraints and inhibitions against having sex with a child.

These four 'explanatory factors' can be summarised as Emotional, Congruence, Sexual Arousal, Blockage and Disinhibition.

The main point behind Emotional Congruence is that the child molesters are 'immature' or low in self-esteem so feel more mature and confident of themselves in relation to young children. Next it is not at all clear why some men get turned on sexually by children: most explanatory assumptions are unverified or unverifiable. Blockage theory is the opposite of the Emotional Congruence theory i.e., they presume that child molesters are 'blocked' in their ability to derive sexual and emotional satisfaction in adult heterosexual relationships. This is likely to be part of wider difficulties in relating to other adults, and perhaps repressive sexual norms, which make adult sexual relationships a matter of guilt and anxiety.

MYTH: *Existing laws IPC (Section 375, 377, 372, 345, 354) including the Indian Evidence Act, 1872 are effective means to deal with the offence of child sexual abuse.*

FACT: These laws are totally inadequate to protect the children who are victims of sexual abuse, and contain contradictions. In India, child abuse is treated as rape. The common forms of sexual abuses of children as mentioned above, do not come under the definition of rape. Section 375 of the IPC defines rape as: A man is said to commit "rape" who, except in the case hereinafter expected, has sexual intercourse with a woman in the circumstance falling under any of the six following descriptions:

- ❖ Against her will;
- ❖ Without her consent;
- ❖ With her consent, but when her consent has been obtained by putting her or person in whom she is interested, the fear of death or harm;
- ❖ With her consent but when her consent is given to a man whom she believes is her lawful husband. The man in such a case is aware that she is not his wife;
- ❖ With her consent, but the consent is given when she is of unsound mind, or intoxicated or administered certain substance so that she is unable to understand the nature and consequence of that consent;
- ❖ With or without her consent, when she is under the age of 16 years. Exception: Sexual intercourse by a man with his own wife, who is not under 15 years of age, is not a rape.

Section 376 of IPC: It provides a great deal of discretion to the courts to reduce the sentence and the proviso in the Section has been mis-applied in most cases. The Section states that it provides for the punishment of rape which shall not be less than 7 years but which may be for a term that may extend to 10 years, unless the woman raped is his own wife and is not under 12 years of age in which case he shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to 2 years or with fine or both.

Under the present system there are several other lapses pertaining to child sexual abuse. No other forms of sexual abuse are addressed by these laws. Moreover, the laws as they exist do not provide for any assistance to victims of abuse, preventing victims from getting justice.

For instance the case of the sexual assault of a deaf and mute girl in the Observation Home, Umerkhadi (OHU) at Byculla, some years back. All available documents in her case were referred to as "Billa No.31". Evidence was suppressed.

- ❖ There was a lapse of twenty days between the date of sexual assault and the FIR;
- ❖ There was no facility to help the victim to cope up with the physical and emotional trauma;
- ❖ The doctor appeared to be unaware of the procedures to be followed while investigating this case of sexual assault;
- ❖ no attempt was made to collect any forensic evidence aside from the clothes she was wearing; and
- ❖ the medical examination for investigation of sexual assault ordered by the Superintendent

on September 22, conducted by the doctor on duty at OHU was inconclusive because it was incomplete.

There are innumerable cases of such lapses that go unreported. Doctors who are the first to come in contact with such victims are not trained to deal with such cases. Very often they are not equipped to examine rape victims. The trauma caused to the child victim find no mention in any report of the medical or psychiatric assessment. Assessment and training needs are not carried with care and sensitivity.

The police on their part view child rape and indecent assault nearly as peripheral crimes. They also have practically no training in dealing with cases of child sexual abuse. Besides, investigations of such cases require a different kind of expertise and approach, which is currently non-existent. There is a wide communication gap between the child's statement and the recordings of the police. There is a stereotype to investigation and followed mechanically devoid of any sensitivity or follow up. Therefore it turns out by and large an inadequate exercise.

Another glaring instance was the Freddy Peats and the Helmut Brinkmann cases in Goa. In the Peats case there were the following lapses of justice to the child; Delay in filing charges;

6 weeks after his arrest he was released on bail despite suspect of such crimes are rarely granted bail;

The police started investigating the case of Freddy Peats in 1991, but he was released on a bail amount of Rs 8,000. Only five years later, after Sheela Barse, a social activist filed a writ in the High Court was the case expedited and Peats convicted.

In the case of Brinkmann the child had made a statement before the police and once again before the magistrate stating Brinkmann had sexually abused him. The session's judge who acquitted Brinkmann chose to ignore this as evidence by casting aspersions on the child's character. The fact there was evidence of sperm in the anus of child and of Brinkmann of dismissed. The judge stated it could well be his or her own sperm! When this case reached the High Court the judges failed to examine the merits of the case. According to them since Brinkmann was not in Goa and had 'probably left the country there was no way of serving the notice on him, hence it was futile pursuing this case. Now the question arises would their attitude have been the same if they were dealing with suspected assassins of an industrialist? After persuasion from individuals, NGOs and Human Rights groups about the seriousness of the crime a Special Leave Petition was filed in the Supreme Court in March 2000.

Trials of child sex offenders are conducted in such irresponsible manner that sexually abused child rather than being treated for his/her own trauma, has to fight

the adversarial systems and end up in further being traumatised. The child has to be cross-examined by a lawyer who may use different strategies to get the responses necessary. Lack of proper understanding of the law among the judges and insensitivity to child rights has resulted in the accused being discharged in several child abuse cases. A case reported in 1987 a 11 year old girl who was raped. The session's court convicted the accused with 5 years imprisonment. In an appeal, to enhance the sentence, the M.P. High Court held that, "increasing cases of personal violence and crime rate cannot justify a severe sentence on young offenders (Vinod Kumar and A.N.R vs. of State of M.P., 1987 CrLI, 1541). There are several such insensitive judgements.

The officials never take the issue of child, into consideration. Besides, the offence of sexual assaults is tried generally under 3 different Sections i.e. rape, attempt to rape and molestation depending upon the proximity of molestation by the criminal justice system. Though the difference between the offences is of degree only, as far as child victims are concerned, this categorisation is also irrelevant. The delay in the system at every stage of the case adds to the trauma of the child victim. There are several cases pending in the courts as the trial plods on for years. In the meanwhile, in several cases the girl victims have become adults by the time the final judgement is pronounced.

MYTH: The existing set of criteria is sufficient in rooting out and proving the crime of rape.

FACT: On the contrary, this "yardstick" — to judge and prove the crime of rape — is diabolic! It includes the following evidences viz.,

- a) Women or victim had consented
- b) s/he did her level best to resist her molester — by kicking, shouting, biting etc.,
- c) Potency of the molester
- d) Whether she was a virgin
- e) the 'character' of the victim
- f) what the victim was wearing

It is horrendous in that, first, virginity or lack of it has no bearing on a rape victim. Such findings, on the contrary, are readily and easily — and often have been — misinterpreted by the courts let alone by the police apparatus. Such misinterpretations result in

- a) Humiliating the women
- b) Further victimising them

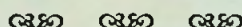
To reiterate, no matter from what socio- economic class the victim hails from, most women are not conditioned to react in an aggressive or in a loud manner, especially when the sexual abuse occurs in the home by men

who are powerful inside the household or community. As noted above, most CSA cases are perpetrated by family members and persons known to minor girls. It is therefore very difficult to prove, at least in the medico-legal record, that she did her utmost to resist the attempt of rape.

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