Boys and CSA Prevention: Issues Surrounding Gender and Approaches for Prevention

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Abstract: Freda Briggs (2007) a leader in the field of child protection in Australia continues to raise concerns about the vulnerability and victimisation of boys, which she believes is substantially under-recognised. She argues that boys have not been well supported by child sexual abuse (CSA) prevention programs with child protection curriculum not yet having been developed to meet the special needs of boys. She advocates for school-based child protection programs that address issues relevant to boys (Briggs, 2007). This paper responds to these concerns and explores some of the complexities inherent in issues associated with boys and CSA, including boys' perceptions of abuse, their tendency to under-report the incidence of CSA and their perception that prevention programs are not relevant. The paper also considers some of the barriers to engaging boys in prevention programs effectively and proposes games-based CSA prevention as a contemporary means of delivering key messages that address the needs of both boys and girls.

Background

Child sexual abuse (CSA) is recognised as a widespread social issue that affects children, families, communities and the wider society significantly (International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect [ISPCAN], 2010; Kenny, 2009; United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund [UNICEF], 2012; Wurtele, 2009). In response to an increase in public awareness, professional documentation of its incidence, and concerns about the consequences of maltreatment, international agendas have encouraged a range of child abuse and neglect prevention programs (Briggs, 2005; Finkelhor, 2009; Renk, Liljequist, Steinberg, Bosco & Phares, 2002; ISPCAN, 2010; Sanderson, 2004; UNICEF, 2012, Wurtele, 2009). In Australia, The National Child Protection Council is a national body concerned with developing primary and secondary prevention strategies to reduce the incidence of child abuse and neglect. Every jurisdiction however has its own legislation for sexual offences. Concerns that systems have failed to protect children has resulted in a Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse. This national undertaking will review appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational strategies to protect children from abuse. To date, attempts to enhance the protection of children have resulted in a diversity of initiatives that focus on school based CSA prevention programs (Finkelhor, 2009; Sanderson, 2004; Tomison & Poole, 2000; Wurtele, 2009). However, whilst school based prevention programs are prevalent research indicates there are conceptual weaknesses in many such program (Sanderson, 2004, Briggs, 2007) and there are concerns that issues for

boys have not been considered adequately (Briggs, 2005, 2007, Finkelhor, 1984).

CSA prevention is a complex concept for children to understand, and few prevention programs are sufficiently comprehensive to have a meaningful impact (Reppucci & Haugaard, 1989). Acknowledging the complexity of the topic brings into question some of the taken for granted approaches to CSA and highlights difficulties associated with identifying what constitutes best practice in CSA prevention programs (Finkelhor, 2009; Lamont, 2009; Sanderson, 2004, Wurtele, 2009) and in programs appropriate for boys (Briggs, 2005, 2007; Finkelhor, 1984; Nasjleti, 1980; Reinhart, 1987). Through an exploration of contemporary issues for boys this paper foregrounds CSA prevention by addressing complexities associated with providing appropriate CSA protection for male primary school (5-12 years) students. We argue that gender, as it relates to CSA prevention, has to be a seminal consideration in the development of key messages and pedagogical modes of delivery of school based prevention programs.

In this paper we contribute to discussions concerning best practice in CSA programs and (1), review CSA prevention issues for boys; (2), consider the influence of cultural stereotypes; (3), propose appropriate key messages, and; (4), argue for a games-based approach to the delivery of CSA prevention programs for both boys and girls. Furthermore, we believe that a games-based approach has the potential to overcome many of the barriers associated with boys' and CSA prevention programs for boys and has the advantage of achieving learning objectives through play and engagement while also integrating serious learning and interactive entertainment (Department of Education and Early Childhood Development [DEECD], 2011; Gee, 2008; Jenkins et al., 2006; Klopfer, Osterweil & Salen, 2009; Prensky, 2007; Johnson, Smith, Willis, Levine, & Haywood, 2011).

CSA Prevention Programs and Boys

Freda Briggs (2007), a prominent humanitarian and child protection advocate, highlights an important issue when she expresses concern for male victims of CSA, asserting that boys' issues have received inadequate attention. Significantly, her apprehension reiterates concerns voiced more than twenty years ago by a number of researchers (see, for example Finkelhor, 1984; Nasjleti, 1980; Reinhart, 1987). Briggs (2007) also argues that boys have been disadvantaged by CSA prevention programs as the issue of CSA has been predominantly regarded as a feminist issue with child protection curriculum not yet having been developed to meet the specific needs of boys. Indeed, the first CSA prevention programs were originally designed primarily to meet the protection needs of girls (Bagley, Thurston & Tutty, 1996; Briggs, 2005, 2007; Dziuba-Leatherman & Finkelhor, 1994). This initial focus on girls was understandable as the earliest sex abuse prevention program was written in 1976 by an American woman attached to *Women Against Rape* (WAR) and working from a Columbus (Ohio) Rape Crisis Centre (Briggs, 2007). This attention on girls has continued with the development of school-based prevention programs primarily written mostly by female teachers who often lack knowledge about issues for boys, the grooming process as it pertains to boys, and what boys need to know in order to stay safe (Briggs, 2007). There is a need in prevention programs for the explicit consideration of child protection issues for boys, with an understanding that many boys tend to believe they are less likely to be sexually abused and to perceive programs less enthusiastically than girls (Briggs, 2007; Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1995). Boys also have a tendency to rate programs less highly than girls, believing they are less helpful, less interesting, and less likely to contain any new information (Finkelhor, 1995).

A further concern linked to boys and CSA is a consensus that girls are more likely to report incidences of sexual abuse than boys (Boney-McCoy & Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1995; Briggs, 2007; Dziuba-Leatherman & Finkelhor, 1994; Feiring, Taska & Lewis, 1999; Knopp, 1986; Salter, 1992; Stoltenborgh, van IJzendoorn, Euser & Bakermans-

Kranenburg, 2011). However, while statistics suggest that one in three girls and one in seven boys experience sexual abuse by the age of 16 years, it has been argued that boys are actually at much higher risk than girls and simply do not report the abuse (Briggs, 2005, 2007; Dube & Hebert, 1988; Hunter, 1990). In the Australian context, the Queensland Crime Commission and Queensland Police Service (2000) report on CSA found low levels of disclosure, especially by boys, resulting in a recommendation that a survey of male victims and survivors of CSA be facilitated to examine the barriers to disclosure. This gender disparity in reporting has been reiterated by others in the field (Briggs, 2005, 2007; DeVoe & Faller, 1999; Dziuba-Leatherman & Finkelhor, 1994). The central concern is that while barriers to boys' reporting abuse have been acknowledged these difficulties require further clarification, discussion and consideration within prevention programs, particularly in relation to cultural stereotypes encompassing the issue.

The Influence of Stereotypes and CSA Prevention for Boys

While boys experience different issues to girls in terms of engagement in CSA prevention programs and the reporting of abuse, these issues have been exacerbated by stereotypes that position boys within very limited boundaries constraining how they perceive themselves within the perpetrator/victim dichotomy (Romano & De Luca, 2001; Stoltenborgh et al., 2011). Often, traditional stereotypes perpetuate male masculinity and position men as in-control, or as aggressors rather than victims, creating barriers to boys' successful engagement in CSA prevention programs (Briggs, 2005, 2007; Dziuba-Leatherman & Finkelhor, 1994; Romano & De Luca, 2001). Inappropriately designed programs may inadvertently add to a risk of victimisation of boys. This is particularly problematic when prevention education programs emphasise child control of CSA scenarios (Dziuba-Leatherman & Finkelhor, 1994). When program content focuses on strategies for children to avoid, respond to and manage a potential sexual abuse situation, boys have been found to perceive CSA as being within their control (Dziuba-Leatherman & Finkelhor, 1994). Believing that CSA is controllable may put boys at higher risk of victimisation if they are unaware of their vulnerability and the notion that CSA can happen to anyone (Dziuba-Leatherman & Finkelhor, 1994). While many prevention education programs convey information related to risk, programs that emphasise empowerment can simultaneously enhance boys' sense of control (Dziuba-Leatherman & Finkelhor, 1994). Although a focus on student empowerment in programs was in response to previous notions of 'scare' tactics, which were found to be unproductive (Dziuba-Leatherman & Finkelhor, 1994; Finkelhor & Strapko, 1992), the emphasis also makes disclosing abuse more confronting for males, who view victimisation as a loss of control and thus evidence of weakness and failure (Romano & De Luca, 2001; Stoltenborgh et al., 2011).

Much of the reticence to acknowledge that boys are at risk for CSA stems from traditional stereotypes that perpetuate particular images of male sexuality (Stoltenborgh et al., 2011). Increasingly, it is apparent that an ongoing male ethic of self-reliance makes victimisation shameful, and the stigma of homosexuality discourages boys from reporting much sexual abuse that occurs at the hands of older males (Finkelhor, 1984; Stoltenborgh et al., 2011). Unwanted sexual contact creates tensions with the popular image of a 'real man' (Bolton, Morris, & MacEachron, 1989; Stoltenborght et al., 2011). Male sex role condition, including homophobia, lack of societal encouragement to report and seek treatment, and fear of stigmatisation, have all been identified as adding to males sense of shame (Briggs, 2007; Finkelhor, 1984). Furthermore, male victims may be unable to talk about their abuse and tend to accept responsibly for what happened even though a third of offences occur before the

age of six (Finkelhor, 1984; Briggs, 2005, 2007). Moreover, rates of non-disclosure for boys tend to increase with age as boys are socialised into notions of masculinity that over-emphasize self-reliance and controllability, being brave and strong and homophobia (Cermak & Molidor, 1996; Dorais, 2002; Finkelhor, 1984; Paine & Hansen, 2002).

Boys also deal with issues associated with gender stereotypes that perpetuate males as the instigator of CSA rather than the victim and beliefs that sexual experiences with older women are not abusive (Coxell, King, Mezey, & Gordon, 1999; Stoltenborgh et al., 2011). These beliefs influence non disclosure due to fear of peer homophobia, confusion about sexuality and the fact that victimisation is the antithesis of boys' personal identity as a male (Briggs, 2005; Dziuba-Leatherman & Finkelhor, 1994; Romano & De Luca, 2001). Additional concerns expressed by boys include feelings of embarrassment, guilt, fear that their peers will find out and torment them, and concerns about retribution from the perpetrator (Briggs, 2005). The development of effective CSA prevention for boys therefore needs to address barriers to males reporting abuse, engage males in relevant content, and actively develop child protection knowledge, skills and key messages.

Key Messages for CSA Prevention Programs

Additional barrier to boys learning CSA prevention strategies includes the key messages that are often presented in programs. Key messages that focus on perpetrator resistance techniques are problematic as they emphasise controllability of a potential situation. They also reinforce boys' preference for more 'superhero' responses, or more confrontational, less planned strategies that focus on physical aggression (Asidigian & Finkelhor, 1995; Grober & Bogat, 1994; Sanderson, 2004; Sang, 1994). Prevention programs therefore need to guide boys to consider more appropriate strategies with an emphasis on the recognition and reporting of suspected instances (Sanderson, 2004). Boys have also been identified as demonstrating poorer problem solving skills than girls, when it comes to sexual dilemmas, and a belief that they have the power to stop such unwanted advances (Bagley et al. 1996; Sang 1994; Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman 1995). Scenarios that help boys to identify abuse situations and appropriate responses would provide problem solving opportunities (Briggs, 2005, 2007). Adding to boys confusion about what constitutes CSA, young males appear to live in a more sexualised environment than girls, and regard invitations to explore sexuality with older boys as normal (Briggs, 2005). This exploration is often considered a private matter that is not reportable. Briggs (2005) contends that boys rarely identify sexual abuse correctly and offenders typically offer attractive inducements otherwise banned by parents such as alcohol, pornography, sex-talk, cigarettes and drugs, therefore enticing boys to feel privileged to be allowed access to the secret world of male adult sex. This increases confusion and difficulties for boys in distinguishing what constitutes sexual abuse (Fondacaro, Holt & Powell, 1999; Briggs, Hawkins & Williams, 1994).

Establishing what constitutes CSA while identifying and challenging myths are important considerations for encouraging boys to assimilate new understandings and knowledge. A school-based approach to CSA can facilitate evidence based understandings. Teachers are well positioned to enhance learning experiences by implementing socially just practices that disrupt problematic gender stereotypes and foster CSA knowledge and skills as an integral part of students' health and well-being. Broadening boys' understandings of CSA requires teachers to challenge social beliefs and norms of gender with an awareness eof how stereotypes are developed during gender construction. Expanding the repertoire of CSA understandings for boys involves engaging them in ways that do not conflict with desirable

constructions of masculinity but instead provide relevance, meaning and avenues for them to expand the boundaries of their constructions of being a male.

Best practice in CSA prevention also includes implementing appropriate key messages and content. While acknowledging there is no single approach to victimisation prevention (Asdigian and Finkelhor, 1995), the development of core key messages provides baseline content that can be tailored to suit diverse cohorts of children including factors such as gender. Drawing on the work of Wurtele (2002), Figure 1 provides an overview of key messages to inform CSA prevention with specific considerations for boys highlighted.

Domain	Key Messages
Clarifies and Describes	Clarify and explain sexual abuse in a clear and direct manner. Assist in clarifying between 'right' and 'wrong', 'normal' and 'abnormal' behaviours. Distinguish appropriate and inappropriate touching, including positive and negative feelings about touching. • Children can identify touching and non-touching forms of abuse. Includes identification of private parts and correct anatomical terms, including body ownership. • Children can describe private and public parts of the body. Describe possible offenders (examples including authority figures, family members, known adults, strangers, and older children). • Children know that sexual abuse offenders can be anyone. Describe potential victims (examples of both males and females, all races, ages, sizes, and includes children with disability). • Children know that sexual abuse can happen to anyone. Identified problem for boys: Many boys do not report CSA because they do not identify sexual misbehaviour as reportable (Briggs, 2005). Identified Problem: Some CSA prevention programs do not acknowledge that sexual abuse may not involve touch at all (e.g. exposure to pornography, exhibitionism) (Sanderson, 2004). Indentified Problem: Some CSA prevention programs do not teach that sexual abuse may involve a familiar adult (family) and older children (Kaufman & Zigler,, 1992; Sanderson, 2004).
Grooming	Distinguish between early grooming behaviours, including ways of establishing emotional ties and developing relationship, and later perpetrator behaviours including tricks and bribes (gifts, rides), and threats and blackmail. • Children are aware of some techniques offenders may use. Identified Problem: Sexual abuse more frequently involves a grooming process, taking place over a prolonged period (Smallbone & Wortley & 2001). Programs typically do not teach children the skills to recognise and resist grooming (Sanderson, 2004). Identified problem for boys: Programs typically do not teach children about grooming and take no account of the attraction of the grooming process or sexual curiosity of many boys (Briggs, 2005). Many boys have reported initially enjoying the excitement and pleasurable sensation of genital fondling, oral sex and viewing pornography (Briggs, 2005). Identified Problem: Seeing abuse as a sudden attack by a perpetrator. Some CSA prevention programs present abusive situations as involving a sudden attack by a perpetrator (Bagley, Thurston & Tutty, 1996; Conte, Wolfe & Smith, 1989; Sanderson, 2004). They either fail to deal with the issue of abuse by a familiar adult, or overemphasize the risk posed by strangers (Kaufman & Zigler, 1992). Molestation by strangers is relatively infrequent, with strangers

believed to be responsible for only 10–20 per cent of reported child sexual assaults (McCurdy, & Daro, 1994).

Secrets	Consider good and bad secrets

- Children know that bad secrets need not be kept.

Identified problem for boys: Boys in particular have been found to attribute abuse as their fault and are reluctant to report (Briggs, 2005). Additionally, boys have a tendency to keep abuse secret whether asked to do so or not and these issues are not traditionally addressed in CSA programs (Briggs & McVeity, 2000).

Feelings	Not to rely on good or bad feelings

- Children know what sexual abuse is and don't rely on feelings to determine whether something is right or wrong.

Identified problem for boys: Failure to acknowledge the possibility of pleasurable responses may increase victims' guilt and shame about their experiences (Finkelhor, 1984, Sanderson, 2004). When boys want to escape the abuse they often feel it was their fault and are reluctant to report (Briggs, 2005).

Identified Problem: Often CSA programs teach children to trust their feelings as indication that something is not right. These feelings can include butterflies in the stomach and sweaty palms. However many CSA prevention programs do not acknowledge 'bad' touch may actually feel good (Whetsell-Mitchell, 1995).

Strategies And skills	Develop supportive strategies

- Children develop a support network of trusted adults
- Children ask trusted adults to be part of their support network.
- Children and adults have opportunities to build their rapport through communicating
- Children have a healthy self-concept
- Children understand safe body rules
- Confident could report unsafe behaviour
- Aware can reject inappropriate and unwanted touching
- Children know what to do if they experience sexual abuse
- Children appreciate individuality and differences, and respect of self and others.

Identified problem for boys: Boys need extensive practice problem solving sexual dilemmas and the development of alternative skills that move beyond 'superhero' responses (Asidigin & Finkelhor, 1995; Grober & Bogat, 1994; Sanderson, 2004; Sang, 1994).

Identified Problem: An understanding of inappropriate use of adult authority. Some CSA prevention programs do not explain the appropriate use of adult authority. Perpetrators often use their authority to sexually exploit children (Bogat & McGrath, 1993) because children find it difficult to resist the authority of an adult (Pelcovitz, Adler, Kaplan, Packman & Kreiger, 1992).

Disclosure	Support, promote and practice disclosure.

- Children know how to select their support network of trusted adults.
- Children know to keep telling their support network of trusted adults until something is done.
- Children practice skills training to enhance confidence and knowledge of ways to disclose.
- Children have confidence in trusted adults to help
- Children recognise that teachers can help children to stay safe.

Identified problem for boys: Internationally, boys are significantly less likely than girls to disclose abuse at the time it occurred and take significantly longer to discuss their childhood experiences later in life (Stoltenborgh et al., 2011).

Identified Problem: An important step in any CSA program is facilitating safe disclosure. Children need to be able to identify responsible/safe adults in order for safe and effective disclosure to occur (MacIntyre & Carr, 1999). Disclosures are often fraught with difficulties especially for disabled children and many programs do not specifically address the disclosure process (Briggs & McVeity, 2000).

Not child's Fault

Emphasize that abuse is not acceptable and never the fault of the child.
- Children know that sexual abuse is illegal and never their fault.
- Children understand value and act according to their self-worth.

Identified problem for boys: As grooming is often a prolonged and carefully planned process, even when the abuse becomes violent, boys have been found to continue to believe that their abusers loved them and it was their own fault that they suffered pain (Briggs, 1994, 2007).

Identified Problem: Long-term psychological harm of CSA includes post-traumatic stress disorder, guilt and self-blame (Gaskill & Perry, 2011). Boys especially are often made to feel that abuse was their fault (Briggs, 2005). To address guilt and self-blame prevention programs should include additional material designed to improve children's self-esteem as children will low self-esteem are more likely to suffer sexual victimisation and believe it is their fault (Daro & Salmon-Cox, 1994; Krivacska 1990; Sanderson, 2004).

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Figure 1: CSA Prevention Key Messages

Key messages presented in CSA prevention programs need also to be tailored to suit the diverse population of children. Subgroups include children with problem sexual behaviour (O'Brien, 2009), Indigenous children (O'Brien, 2009), children with disability (Briggs & McVeity, 2000), children from low socioeconomic communities (Briggs & Hawkins, 1994), and children of different ages (Tutty, 2000). Additionally, CSA prevention should take into consideration issues associated with gender (Asdigian & Finkelhor, 1995; Briggs, 2007; Paine & Hanson, 2002). As demonstrated, boys require specific consideration as they tend to believe that they have less risk of being sexually abused (Dziuba-Leatherman & Finkelhor, 1994; Briggs, 2007) and can be less enthusiastic about CSA programs (Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1995). While a framework of key messages (for example Figure 1) offers a starting point for CSA curriculum, the mode of delivery for these messages is also significant in supporting student learning and address barriers to boys' engagement in prevention programs. Computer games are one such mode of delivery for facilitating the presentation of key messages and the prevention of CSA with boys.

A Games-Based Approach to CSA Prevention

A compelling case has been made for educationalists to learn from digital games-based approaches to learning (DEECD, 2011; Gee, 2003, 2005, 2008; Ito et al., 2009; Jenkins et al., 2006; Klopfer, Osterwil & Salen, 2009; Johnson et al., 2011). Serious games have the potential to provide learning environments for problem solving spaces and use continual learning pathways to mastery through entertainment and pleasure (DEECD, 2011; Gee, 2005; Klopfer, Osterweil & Salen, 2009). They employ computer-based entertainment technology to teach, train, or change behaviour (Baranowski, Buday, Thompson & Baranowski, 2008). Serious games can be designed to solve a problem or enhance wellbeing, and their use is emerging in education, health care, scientific exploration, emergency management and other disciplines (Aldrich, 2009; Lazurus, 2012). Games that unite significant content with play can layer social issues, helping players gain new perspectives through active engagement (Johnson et al., 2011). As many have argued there is

an increasingly important role for games in education and learning (see for example: DEECD, 2011; Gee, 2008; Ito et al., 2009; Jenkins et al., 2006; Johnson et al., 2011; Prensky, 2005, 2007). Moreover, while traditionally believed to be dominated by boys and young men, the video games market is changing with girls and women participating (Brand et al., 2003; Brand, 2012). In fact, new media forms have altered how children socialise and learn, and raise a new set of issues that educators, parents, and policymakers need to consider when conceptualising learning and in particular, game-based learning (DEECD, 2011; Ito & Bittanti. 2009; Jenkins et al., 2006; Learning and Teaching Scotland, 2010; Johnson et al, 2011).

Games are an important medium in contemporary culture and young people's experiences, and are used as resources to support the educational aims, objectives and planned outcomes of teachers (DEECD, 2011; Futurelab, 2009). One of the many benefits of digital games is the facilitation of opportunities to 'learn through doing' (Kirriemuir & McFarlane, 2004). Significantly, gaming has been viewed as intensely pro-social in ways that normal classroom routines are often not (Futurelab, 2009; Johnson et al., 2011). The social element provides opportunities to enhance relationships between students, as well as between students and their teachers (Futurelab, 2009). The potential for computer games to support the development of relationships within the school setting has been identified by teachers as perhaps the most valuable outcome of game-based educational activity (Futurelab, 2009). As relationship building is an important factor for CSA prevention, a games-based approach has the potential to strengthen healthy relationships with peers, students support networks and with teachers.

Custom built computer games for CSA prevention also have the potential to develop broader relationships and learning opportunities as game play is extended into the home to involve trusted adults or parents. This is an important consideration as CSA prevention programs need to actively involve children, parents, teachers, officials, key organisations, and the wider community (NCMEC, 1999). Best practice includes facilitating conversations around CSA and encouraging strong support networks between children and trusted adults to remove secrecy improve communication and foster closer school, teacher, parent and child relationships. A games-based approach also facilitates productive learning as players discover by experience and receive immediate feedback with opportunities to try again; there are opportunities for players scaffolding and opportunities to learn from the experiences of other players and learn about "ways of being in the world" (Gee, 2008). A games-based approach that develops CSA key messages by mapping appropriate content within a game framework can also provide richly designed spaces to help the player solve a problem and model environments, behaviours and concepts that allow the player to be lead from the concrete to the abstract (Gee, 2008).

The prevalence of dedicated gaming platforms and Personal Computers in homes also encourages a games-based approach to learning about CSA prevention. In 2011, The Centre for New Media Research at Bond University and the Interactive Entertainment Association of Australia commissioned a national survey to provide data on the importance of games in Australia. A random sample of 3533 woman, men, girls and boys who represented their households responded to more than 80 questions in an online survey. Ninety-nine per cent indicated theat they owned a PC and the 94 per cent of children aged between 6 and 15 play digital games (Brand, 2012). Of note, digital games are no longer a solitary activity as 70 per cent of those surveyed indicated that they played digital games with others either in the same room or over the internet (Brand, 2012). Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that games may offer an effective medium for delivering effective CSA prevention programs.

An example of a games-based approach to child sexual abuse prevention is the recently launched Orbit, an online, free and equal access, games-based educational approach

to CSA prevention for children. The authors have been involved in the development of the space-themed, interactive game (www.orbit.org.au) that was designed for use in classrooms to help children aged 8-10 learn how to be safe from sexual abuse. It features a range of activities that help build confidence, well-being and problem-solving skills. The design and development of Orbit has been previously reported (Scholes, Jones, Stieler-Hunt & Rolfe , 2014). Evaluation of this games-based approach to child sexual abuse prevention is forthcoming.

Gaming and Qualities of Effective CSA Prevention Programs

Our review of effective CSA prevention programs suggests that a well-designed program can be effective in developing sexual abuse prevention and disclosure skills (Kenny, 2009; MacIntyre & Carr 2000; Sanderson, 2004; Wurtele & Owens, 1997; Wurtele, 2002) and that the attributes of serious games can overcome many of the challenges identified in facilitating effective CSA prevention. Best practice would include mapping core key messages within a custom built digital game to provide consistent dissemination within diverse contexts. Furthermore, working within a gaming paradigm provides child safety prevention programs with a method for using the identified qualities of effective prevention programs such as active participation, specific skills training, multiple program components (including parental involvement and support from other trusted adults), individualised instruction, lower teacher to child ratios, and a comprehensive implementation embedded within the school curriculum throughout the year (Davis, & Gidycz,, 2000; Luna & Finkelhor, 1998; NCMEC, 1999; Sanderson, 2004; Wurtele, 2009). A framework to consider how qualities of effective prevention programs can be addressed within a games-based environment provides a starting place for any program development. Table 2 provides a summary of the qualities of effective prevention advocated by Sanderson (2004) and how a games-based approach can respond to those considerations:

Quality of effective prevention programs	How a games-based approach can address this quality
Active participation	Good games intrinsically motivate players and active participation is required to progress. Some common motivations for playing games include immersion, excitement, reward and challenge. These combine to build an emotional connection between the player and the game; the player has a sense of agency, they feels that their decisions matter and make a difference to the game-world. Players may also develop empathy for the game characters. A games-approach can inspire enthusiastic participation by using an adventure genre of game that is popular with both genders in its target population of 8-10 years (Brand, Borchard, & Holmes, 2008). An adventure game is a playable story, where players can create an avatar in their own likeness. An adventure game can provide differentiated pathways for boys and girls.
Explicit training	Although games give the player a sense of agency, games are also a controlled environment. A game can guide the player's experience whilst maintaining their sense of agency and their immersion in the game environment. Therefore games can provide explicit training through game experiences, consequences of in-game actions, game tutorials and just-in-time training. In addition, the influence of the game can bleed into the real world through guided discussions and other related learning activities. Thus, explicit training can be effectively conducted both in the game and out of the game. Furthermore, as the player already knows and cares about the game, games can be effective stimuli for out-of-game learning.

Standardized materials

The controlled environment of computer games allows materials to be standardised. In addition, they offer immediate feedback and can assess how players are mastering key learnings and offer the opportunity for them to try again if necessary. In addition, learning game designers may also providing standardised companion materials such as lesson plans and discussion guides to accompany the game. A game developed with a story and accompanying mini-games provides opportunities to embed key messages relevant for both genders. Although children should be able to customise their interaction with the game, all children will ultimately experience the same game content and at their own pace. Standardised teacher training materials, lesson plans and discussion guides can also be provided.

Integrated into
school curriculum

Learning games are increasingly providing flexible models for integration into school's curriculum for example Gamestar Mechanic (E-Line Media, 2012) and Lure of the Labyrinth (BrainPop, 2012). A game that provides teachers with suggested lesson plans for use with the game as well as optional activities would be ideal. These lesson plans can be mapped to curriculum. Within the Australian context this would mean embedding activities that correspond with elements of the Australian National Curriculum (Australian Curriculum and Assessment Authority [ACARA], 2012). A games-based approach could also provide an online community for teachers to share examples of game integration with their curriculum and to exchange teacher developed resources and activities.

Longer programs

A games-based approach should include associated companion activities are designed to be conducted over a number of weeks. The game can be divided into chapters and for classroom delivery each chapter and associated companion lessons would be conducted over a one or two week period. The game should also be designed to allow repeated play, by challenging children to complete optional levels, unlock rewards and achieve high scores.

Parental involvement

Learning games are increasingly providing information for parents (see for examples Lure of the Labyrinth, [BrainPop, 2012] and Mathletics [3P Learning, 2012] both via their website and information packs. Similarly, a games-based approach could have a comprehensive website and introduction pack for parents but importantly also allows parents and other trusted adults to log into the game, to experience the learning first hand, to track their child's progress so that they can provide meaningful support.

Teacher education

Learning games for schools should also provide training for teachers (see for examples Lure of the Labyrinth [BrainPop, 2012], Gamestar Mechanic [E-Line Media, 2012]). This training should to ensure that teachers and children gain most from use of the game in the classroom and enable teachers to manage issues arising from using the game in the classroom. The website could provide teacher training including more information about child sexual abuse and what to do if a child discloses sexual abuse. In addition, teachers could be encouraged to play the game themselves and be given special online tools and access to play the game with their class, highlight key moments in the game, and manage and monitor their class's progress.

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Figure 2: Qualities of Effective Prevention Programs

Figure 2 highlights considerations of the qualities of effective prevention programs that are critical in the development of CSA prevention. Additionally, the mode of program delivery is also a significant consideration for engaging students in developing desired CSA learnings and skills. Pedagogies that draw on current educational understandings of what constitutes good practice in learning and teaching are significant considerations in the development of a contemporary CSA prevention program. A games-based approach develops key learnings and skills progressively within a fun and engaging environment. This approach additionally addresses current international government priorities to integrate ICT into learning in schools, responds to many issues problem issues in current programs by

standardizing materials and content while providing online equal access to students in diverse school contexts. The possibilities associated with a games-based approach also include addressing social justice issues as the program expands to include marginalised children (through geography or disability), children of both genders, teachers and parents. It is important to also note, that while the mobilizing of gaming for learning and wellbeing is in its infancy, new media have important implications for how young people engage in activities that they see as serious or productive work (DEECD, 2011; Ito & Bitantti, 2009; Johnson et al, 2011). Significantly, today's children learn through play the skills they will apply to more serious tasks later (Jenkins et al., 2006). In terms of CSA prevention and issues surrounding gender and the efficacy of approaches, it seems axiomatic that games-based programs offer an appropriate mechanism for mediating through the range of issues presented throughout this paper. For boys in particular, the evidence and ideas presented here also suggest that carefully designed game environments provide an effective platform for addressing many of the concerns noted by Briggs (2007) and other researchers in this important field of work.

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