Swedish media discourses about child sexual abuse in preschools: the best interest of the child and continued trust in male teachers

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ABSTRACT
The framing of news promotes certain interpretations. The representation of a problem in public media thereby affects the idea of what to do about that problem. This article analyses discourses about child sexual abuse (CSA) in preschools, occurring in Swedish printed media 2014–2015, and interprets the effects that the discourses may have on the social practices. ‘The discourse of the best interest of the child and preschool as a good place’ and ‘the discourse of equality as an ideal’ dominate the material, although narratives describe CSA. Solutions to limiting CSA are discussed only rarely.

Introduction and aim
According to the Convention of the Rights of the Child, state parties are obliged to undertake actions to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse (UN, 1989). Child sexual abuse (hereinafter CSA) can be defined as something way beyond acceptable. This article focuses on Swedish media discourses about CSA in preschools; the way CSA is described, explained, and discussed. With inspiration from Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis (1992, 1995, 2003), the aim is to describe and analyse discourses about CSA in preschools, occurring in Swedish printed national media during 2014–2015, and to interpret the effects that the discourse practices may have on the social practices.

Discourses and social practices are connected to each other. News articles constitute, and are constituted of, social practice (Fairclough, 1995). For example, articles about CSA are produced when suspicions arise, or court proceedings take place. The framing of a news article promotes certain interpretations, while others are hindered. The representation of a problem in public media thereby affects the idea of what to do about that problem. Printed newspapers constitute knowledge among readers. Discourses produced in media might, therefore, influence politics and policies regarding CSA.

The empirical material in this paper consists of printed news articles from all major Swedish newspapers collected through Mediearkivet [media archive]. The analysis focuses on dominating discourses, interdiscursive connections between discourses, the hierarchal structure among discourses, and potential effects on social practices.

Previous research: media and CSA
Mejia, Cheyne, and Dorfman (2012) state that American media have focused on juridical aspects of CSA. Causes or prevention techniques have seldom been addressed. In their article, ‘episodic’ and
'thematic' are used as a way to categorize media articles. The first category, 'episodic articles', relates to articles focusing on individual causes to a problem. The second category, 'thematic articles', relates to articles focusing on societal structures. They state that media coverage about CSA tends to be episodic, leading to a view that there are individual causes; the abuse occurs in a vacuum, where society has no responsibility and no solutions. Episodic articles tend to lead to experiences where parents are held responsible to guard their children's security. Thematic articles, on the other hand, have the potential to help parents, policy makers, and the public to view CSA as a shared responsibility (Mejia et al., 2012, p. 481). It has been discussed whether media coverage of CSA is an expression of a moral panic or if there are more CSA cases than those reported (Weatherred, 2015). Cheit, Shavit, and Reiss-Davis (2010) state that American media coverage of CSA is cyclical. It varies from massive coverage to none. Furthermore, it is stated that uncommon and spectacular CSA cases receive disproportional coverage, for example, abuse committed by strangers or teachers. Abuse within families receives less attention. Other studies also demonstrate that media tend to give coverage to sensational cases. Media focus on the offender and juridical justice. The abuser is blamed. Little attention is given to the prevention of abuse or the consequences of CSA. The abuse is not put in a larger social context (Weatherred, 2015, 2017). Simplified descriptions might cause barriers to understand the complexity of CSA. Attention is needed, but misconceptions and prejudices are not (Cheit et al., 2010; Landor & Eisenchlas, 2012). One misconception is that CSA committed by women causes less damage and that women cannot be pedophiles. Landor and Eisenchlas (2012) have studied words used to describe abusers in Australian media. The study demonstrates that 'pedophile' is a word solely used to describe male abusers. The most frequently used words about women are 'the accused' or 'the jailed', indicating consequences for the abuse, but not telling us anything about the abuser's own character (Landor & Eisenchlas, 2012, p. 493). Mejia et al. (2012) discuss how media can report about CSA, without causing more suffering for the involved children. They claim that journalists should use precise terms to create understanding among readers about what has happened, who is suffering, and why preventive work is important (p. 483). Cheit et al. (2010) stress that professionals could improve the quality of news by giving interviews when there are reports about CSA. Weatherred (2015) has done a systematic review of research about media and CSA, with a focus on Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Britain. According to the study, CSA was detected from 1960 to 1979. No attention was paid earlier. From 1980 to 1989, abuse in American childcare was reported. Because of the media attention, adults started to talk about lost memories. This caused a discussion about false memories (see Young-Bruehl, 2012). In the 1990s, the focus lay on a combination of kidnapped children and lobbying about stricter laws. From 2000 to 2009, news stories were dominated by scandals within the Catholic Church. Currently, media is focusing on scandals among athletic and scouting adult authority figures in the United States. In a later study, Weatherred analysed newspaper and television coverage between 2002 and 2012 in the US (2017). The study demonstrates that media has focused on societal causes while offering individual solutions for CSA. During the 1980s and 1990s, Swedish media gave much attention to CSA. Some viewed CSA as an aggregated social problem, while others questioned the extension of cases. The experts did not agree on how abuse should be investigated and if there were specific symptoms. Issues regarding false allegations repressed memories and if children could lie were debated. The attention led to everyone having opinions about CSA (see Bergenheim, 2005, p. 365; Hallberg & Rigné, 1994). During the 1990s, two pedophile scandals in preschools took place in Sweden. These scandals led to a shift in policies about background checks of personnel seeking employment within childcare and schools. Previously, the opinion was that persons who had been sentenced for a crime were to be treated equally to all other persons after having received and served his or her sentence. Now, the opinion changed. The scandals gave a picture of a coming threat against children. The children were described as vulnerable, dependent on adults, and in need of protection. It became more important to protect children than to protect the integrity of those previously punished for crimes.
Similar discussions were held in Great Britain and Norway where similar scandals had gained national attention. However, the likelihood that potential abusers would be registered in the criminal records was questioned. There were also concerns that the criminal record check would discourage men from working within childcare (Backman, 2012). Furthermore, other studies confirmed that men studying to become preschool teachers or working in preschools generally risk being viewed as pedophiles (Bergström, Eidevald, & Westberg-Broström, 2016; Brody, 2015; Nentwich, Poppen, Schälin, & Vogt, 2013). A Danish study demonstrates that the fear of abuse has implications for the professional care of children (Munk, Larsen, Leander, & Soerensen, 2013).

The present study contributes to media discourses about CSA in a specific setting in a specific country. A country where there are strict laws regulating child abuse and CSA. A country where preschools are financed through taxes and where a majority of children spend most of their awake time in preschools during weekdays.

Previous research demonstrates the importance of studying media’s coverage of CSA. News have focused on different questions and changed over time. The present study contributes with a description of how CSA in preschools is reported and discussed within Swedish printed media today. Secondly, it contributes to an analysis of the interpretations of CSA that are promoted, that is, the way abuse is understood or discussed in Sweden. Previous studies state that most people do not have their own experiences of CSA. The public and policy maker’s views are shaped by mass media reports (Landor & Eisenchlas, 2012: Mejia et al., 2012; Weatherred, 2015, 2017). Through studying printed articles from major Swedish newspapers, we can receive a certain type of media view on abuse, children, and preschool: the voices that are raised, if there is a consensus or different opinions. Furthermore, the public view gives us important knowledge for the work of hindering and handling CSA; the obstacles ahead, but also the potential for creating new solutions against CSA.

Methodological framework and ethics

The aim is to describe and analyse discourses about CSA in preschools, occurring in Swedish national printed media during 2014–2015. Printed newspapers constitute a special kind of knowledge among readers. Discourses produced in media might furthermore influence policies regarding handling or hindering CSA. The present study focuses on how discourses are articulated, connected to each other, and structured hierarchically (Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 2003). We, ourselves, produce discourses when writing this text. Ethically, we have chosen to remove all names of the towns and involved people. We do not want to contribute to more publicity about places or individuals, while giving attention to the CSA cases as such.

The methodological approach is inspired by critical discourse analysis (CDA), which is informed by linguistics and social theory. It combines an analysis of the text, discourse practices (processes of text production, distribution, and consumption), and the social practices (of which the discourse is a part). The discourse practices refer to the mediating level between the text and its social context. When analysing data, the three dimensions; the text, discourse practices, and social practices overlap (Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 2003). The following theoretical concepts guide our analysis (Table 1):

The empirical material consists of printed newspaper articles from all major Swedish newspapers published from 2014 to 2015. The following search thread was used when searching in the Media archive:

(övergrepp OR våldtäkt OR pedofil) AND (förskola OR dagis) AND (vikarie OR förskollärare OR barnskötare OR praktikant)

[(abuse OR rape OR pedophile) AND (preschool OR childcare) AND (fill-in OR “preschool teacher” OR “childcare assistant” OR trainee)]]
We received 346 matches. Duplicates were removed, resulting in 236 matches. This set of articles constitutes our empirical material. Those specifically cited in the present paper are listed in the reference list. With inspiration from previous research (Mejia et al., 2012), we did a first selection of articles that could be categorised as episodic or thematic. Thereafter, the articles were thoroughly read through. We took note of the way offenders, victims, and abuse is described and the questions raised within the thematic articles. Discourses, connections between discourses, and hierarchical structures were identified. In our interpretation, a discourse is dominating when something is argued for and when this argumentation is frequent within the material. The final step of our research has been to analyse ‘the effects of the discourse practice upon the social practice’ (Fairclough, 1992, p. 237). We aim to discuss the effects that media discourses may have for the work of hindering or handling CSA in preschools in Sweden.

### Results

The 236 articles report on about less than ten cases in preschools in Sweden during the investigated period of time. The cases, however, have generated large publicity and resulting debate. This is comparable to the American tendencies, described by Cheit et al. (2010). There is a common thread in the articles: this is something that should not happen to children. The articles describe that it happens and tries to explain why it happened. CSA in preschools leads to questions about substitutes, trainees, and male childcare personnel.

The thematic articles in our material contain explanations. Some of the thematic articles also discuss and raise specific issues, for example, experiences of being a man and working in a preschool. Accordingly, we have identified a need to widen ‘thematic’ as a category; there are thematic articles that are not only focusing on societal structures, but also discussing different questions. Only half of the articles in our material are episodic. These have the character of describing what has happened in a specific case. Thereby, the material differs from the American press, where most of the articles are episodic (Mejia et al., 2012). In our set of articles, most of the articles are thematic.

The articles in our material indicate a discursive hierarchy, where (I) the best interest of the child and the preschool as a good place and (II) gender equality as an ideal, stand out as dominating discourses. The articles express these discourses in different ways. There are articles about suspicions, investigations, and cases that have led to convictions. There are also articles describing that the suspect has been released because of lack of evidence. Furthermore, there are articles discussing CSA in preschools as such or articles about male childcare personnel. In our interpretation, the articles do not

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<td>A way of describing CSA in preschools in newspaper articles in Sweden.</td>
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<td>Discourse practices</td>
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give an impression of a moral panic (cf. Weatherred, 2015). In the following, we demonstrate how the discourses are articulated, related to each other, challenged, and ordered hierarchically.

The pedophile as a threat against the best interest of the child

‘The best interest of the child and the preschool as a good place’ is the most dominating discourse in the material. The discourse contains a view of children as special and in need of care. The child’s vulnerability makes it important for institutions for children, such as preschools, to be safe. In this section, we present the view of children that emerges in the articles and how pedophiles are described as a threat against children’s safety.

Our interpretation is that the number of articles and the way CSA is described is an expression of the positioning of the child. CSA in preschools is described as unscrupulous actions. The children, as victims, are described as different compared to adult victims. The children need special care. The children are described as ‘unable to defend themselves and easy to abuse,’ and ‘having difficulties with describing their experiences’ (Samuelsson & Martikainen, 2015, p. 8). Furthermore, child victims must be approached in special ways, according to the articles. The child’s position thus raises special ethical questions to be addressed.

The abuse is described in two different ways. One is juridical. Even if the juridical terminology is not known to the public, the readers get an idea of what has happened, by whom the abuse is committed, who is suffering and what is to be done. This is in line with the recommendation by Mejia et al. (2012) that media should report about CSA without worsening the victims suffering.

Another way of describing the abuse is to write about its implications and consequences. In the news articles, CSA is described as ‘unscrupulous harness.’ Often, these words are used in descriptions of how the crime is judged on the penalty scale. The adult’s relation to the child is mentioned:

The prosecutor has described the abuse as unscrupulous harness of the position of trust that the childcare assistant has had at the preschool. (Sörensson, 2015, p. 20)

The unscrupulousness is enhanced in several articles by giving details of the events:

The first act of abuse took place already on the first day in preschool. (Carlsson, 2014, p. 4)

A 21-year-old trainee at a preschool in (…) has been prosecuted for severe child sexual abuse on thirteen children, the youngest not even two years old. The abuse took place in the preschool and was committed during two months without anyone noticing. (Franke, 2014, p. 2)

The emphasis on these details: the first day in preschool, the youngest not even two years old, contributes to portraying CSA as the worst crime, extremely severe, and way beyond what is understandable. The abuse is difficult to explain.

Children are depicted as victims in the articles. The ways of wording indicate an attempt to distance the reader from individual and specific children and rather treat the children as a category within a specific age:

A man prosecuted for CSA against preschool children in (…) was employed as an uneducated childcare assistant but had the ambition to undertake preschool teacher education and saw a future within childcare. (Granberg, 2014, p. 6)

This could be interpreted as an attempt to protect the child’s identity and integrity; the readers receive more details about the prosecuted man, but less information about the children.

The articles also highlight the parents, fellow workers, the preschool, the town, the municipality, and the nation as victims, for example:

The case in (…) where a 21-year-old trainee was convicted for a large number of sexual abuse incidents has evoked a lot of feelings around the country. (Stenström, 2014, p. 6)
This could be interpreted as an expression of the child’s specific position. The best interest of the child is thus a central reference point in the articles, and the pedophile is depicted as a threat against the child and the whole society. The abuse is neither understandable nor defendable. The articles try to describe the events and protect the involved children simultaneously. It is noteworthy that the children’s reliability is not questioned or discussed. This is a theme absent within the texts (Fairclough, 1995). Thus, the starting point in contemporary Swedish media coverage of CSA is clearly different compared to the 1980s, when false memories were discussed (see Bergenheim, 2005; Hallberg & Rigné, 1994; Weatherred, 2015; Young-Bruehl, 2012).

Exceptions as explanations and reassurances of preschools’ safety and trustworthiness

The place of the abuse has implications. CSA cases in preschools receive much media attention. A father is interviewed in one newspaper:

Of course, it is frightening. It should not happen. My daughter starts preschool within one and a half months. You lose your trust a little. You leave the children there for several hours. You want to feel safe. (Samuelsson & Martikainen, 2015, p. 8)

In this example, it becomes obvious that the trust is threatened when abuse occurs. In several articles, we see attempts to repair or reassure that preschools can be trusted. The crimes are described as exceptions. Most of the people working in preschools can be trusted, according to an interviewed politician:

I want to take the opportunity to express my full trust in the 3,000 persons working with children and education within the municipality. (Larsson & Sjögren, 2015, p. 9)

Explanations for the abuse are sought after. Attempts to identify solutions so that it does not happen again are described. The explanations are foremost individual in the material, while the suggested solutions indicate a societal and shared responsibility to deal with the problem (as argued for in Mejia et al., 2012).

The articles account for the events as turning points. The readers receive information about what was known about the suspect and the preschool safety before the abuse, and afterwards. CSA is not possible to foresee, according to the articles. Furthermore, the abuse was not possible to detect. Abusers are hard to detect, and it is common that they do not have any previous track record.

Politicians and officials are interviewed in several articles. They express that existing routine had been followed regarding trainees or substitutes. The abuse has taken place because the preschool has been fooled. Now, the preschools must act, for example, by giving correct information to the involved parties and taking actions so that it can never happen again. Politicians and officials explain that new routines shall be created. Thus, the problem is put in a larger societal context, and the articles give attention to how abuse could be prevented in the future (as argued for in Weatherred, 2015, 2017).

It is emphasized that the abuser cannot be categorized as a professional co-worker in the preschool. The abuser is a person who has fooled other people. The abuser is sick. The abuser has passed every limit for what is acceptable:

According to the prosecution, the abuse took place during more than two months. It happened in a preschool where the 21-year-old person was employed as a trainee. That is, he is a person that the children learn to trust and have confidence in. (Dagens nyheter, 2014, p. 4)

Through depicting the offender as ‘the other,’ as someone who has fooled everyone else, it becomes possible to claim that preschools and the Swedish equality project can continue to be trusted. The exception is the explanation. The exceptions make possible that safety in Swedish preschools can be reassured.
The articles reporting abuse in preschools, or suspicions of abuse, most often contain information about the age of the suspect and type of employment. In the cases reported in our set of articles, it is emphasized that the suspect is a trainee or a substitute. This is given a special meaning:

I am astonished that a 21-year-old trainee, without experience, was left alone with children without anyone observing him. (Haglund, 2014, p. 14)

The interviewed officials promise that the routines will be improved:

The municipality has received reactions that parents do not feel safe when they leave or pick up their children from unknown substitutes. Therefore, the suggestion is that from now on substitutes should not be alone during opening or closing, and they should work at fewer workplaces and more ordinary personnel should be employed to decrease the need to use substitutes. (Hagman, 2015, p. 8)

This indicates an idea that educated and permanently employed personnel would make the preschool a safer place and that routines can prevent and stop abuse. In comparison to earlier research, we see that background checks are not presented as a solution per se, rather as something that is already done (see Backman, 2012). Explanations are presented, and societal solutions discussed (see Mejia et al., 2012).

Equality as a contested ideal

When articles report about CSA in preschools, male preschool teachers and equality are also discussed:

We need male role models in this world too. There should be no equal sign between men and sexual abuse. That would be a dangerous development. (Samuelsson & Martikainen, 2015, p. 8)

In our material, there are articles about men in preschools. In these articles, sections about CSA are included. One thing is not discussed without mentioning the other:

Suspicions of being a potential sexual abuser are something that male preschool teachers must handle. (Oldberg, 2014, p. 10)

This is also confirmed in previous studies (Bergström et al., 2016; Brody, 2015; Nentwich et al., 2013). Backman (2012) states that one fear of introducing background checks for new preschool staff was that they would be interpreted as unfair suspicions against all men who have chosen to work within childcare ant that it would discourage men from working in childcare. The present study also links CSA in preschool to questions about equality, men, and childcare:

Still, only a few percent of the workforce are male, and every new case of childcare pedophiles is a backlash. (Oldberg, 2014, p. 10)

When CSA is reported, it is argued that men are needed in preschools and that their work situation must be eased. The ideal of equality is argued for in several ways. One argument is that children need both women and men:

Male role models are important for children growing up solely with mothers. These families are not benefited if society starts to signal that all men are dangerous. (Vestmanlands Läns Tidning, 2014, p. 2)

The voices raised are that more men are needed in preschools. A central position expressed in the articles is that prejudices need to be combatted. Hence, the presumed general questioning of men is questioned. The everyday situation for men in preschools is described as a fight:

It is awful. It is a pity for all those affected. Also, for men who might be unable to help children who must go to the bathroom. (Larsson & Sjögren, 2015, p. 9)

Some articles describe men who are innocent. The wordings used are that men are fighting, needed, or questioned. As victims, they are possible to identify with, but the ongoing uncertainty of who commits CSA makes them also difficult to identify with. This uncertainty requires readers to have
an opinion about abuse and male childcare personnel as potential abusers. The fight against CSA demands the public to be observant and one step ahead. In this regard, the public tends to focus their attention on men rather than women. This could be compared to the 1980s and 1990s where the public was requested to have an opinion about CSA and children’s trustworthiness (Bergenheim, 2005; Hallberg & Rigné, 1994). Nowadays, the public is requested to have an opinion about CSA and male childcare workers.

Conclusions

The conclusion of the present study is that CSA in preschools receives much attention in Swedish media. Abuse is covered and discussed when it occurs. The question is what level of media attention should be kept when nothing specific happens? Previous studies indicate that media coverage of CSA varies from massive coverage to none (Cheit et al., 2010). We claim that media coverage is important to maintain awareness and fulfill the requirements of the Convention of the Rights of the Child to protect children from CSA (UN, 1989).

The results must be viewed in the light of our selection of material. The results are also affected by the CSA cases taking place in Sweden during the investigated time. We claim that more research is needed within the area, for example, within discussions in other types of media. However, by studying printed newspaper articles from major newspapers, we can receive a certain type of media view on abuse, children, and preschool. This knowledge is important since media have a potential effect on policymaking and the work of hindering and handling CSA.

In the investigated media coverage, one expressed explanation for the CSA cases is that everyone has been fooled. Incidents of CSA are not directly foreseeable. One solution presented is to create more continuity and routines around those adults that children and parents meet in preschools. In this aspect, the explanation of the cause is individual, but the solution societal, comparable to the findings by Weatherred (2017).

The abuse is put in a larger context (Weatherred, 2015) and is interdiscursively related to discussions about male childcare personnel. Men’s working situation is described as difficult. The articles question the presumed general questioning of men and take a stand for the preschool as a system. In this aspect, the articles express overall discourses where the preschool is viewed as good and where the presence of male preschool workers is viewed as positive. This indicates an order of discourse where the belief in preschool, equality, and male teachers is challenged, but prevails. The discourse of the best interest of the child and preschool as a good place and the discourse of equality as an ideal dominates the material, although narratives describe the CSA occurring in preschools. There are hardly any narratives questioning the preschool as a system or teaching as a job for men.

Our starting point is that media might influence the public view of CSA in preschools. Furthermore, it might influence the development of policies. In the material, we identify a hypothesis that society must invest in preschools to give them the right conditions to continue to be a safe place for children. The society must take responsibility for its children. We also identify a dejection; how can CSA be hindered when it is not foreseeable? The articles are characterized by complex descriptions, but lack simple solutions (Cheit et al., 2010; Landor & Eisenchlas, 2012; Mejia et al., 2012). Who is to be trusted? It becomes obvious that more strategies and tools are needed to prevent child sexual abuse in the future.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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