

A psychocriminological investigation into risk factors contributing to youth sex offending

Tara Harris

Department of Social Work and Criminology, University of Pretoria

E-mail: tara@whps.co.za

Christiaan Bezuidenhout

Department of Social Work and Criminology, University of Pretoria

E-mail: cb@up.ac.za

The purpose of this article is to focus on the origin and consequences of youth sex offending, as well as the possible risk factors that could contribute to this phenomenon.

INTRODUCTION

In South Africa (SA), youths commit a number of sex offences against women and children annually. This societal problem has only recently been recognised in SA and as such there is a dearth of knowledge regarding this phenomenon. Therefore, a dearth of research exists in SA regarding the nature and extent of youth sex offending. Internationally research has shown that the onset of sex offending behaviour can be linked to various social and individual factors present in the lives of youth that engage in this type of behaviour (Hunter 1999:1).

The extent of youth sex offending in SA is difficult to establish because many of the cases are not reported, or if they are reported they are not recorded due to the age of the offender. Moreover, the South African Police Service (SAPS) does not differentiate between adult and youth offenders in their statistics. However, it is evident that approximately 82 children are processed on a daily basis with a sex offence related charge (Maughan 2006:1).

The result of incorporating theoretical knowledge and responses by youth sex offenders could be the identification of the risk factors and stages of development that could put a child at risk of sex offending. The intervention programmes currently running in SA are based on the curative approach and consequently they treat the symptom of the sex offending behaviour and not necessarily the cause. Researched knowledge could lead to more effective intervention programmes and a possible reduction of this interpersonal crime and the trauma it causes to the victims, offenders, families and

communities as a whole.

It is not possible to address the problem of youth sex offending without recognising the complexity of this social problem. The identification of risk factors could lead to an increased comprehension of this phenomenon and could possibly provide some answers on how to address this problem in a South African context.

DEFINING CONCEPTS

It is important to define the concepts central to this paper in order for the reader to have a clear understanding of their meanings.

In this paper, the term “youth sex offender” will refer to a male adolescent who is below the age of 18 years, who commits a sexual act with a person of any age, against the victim’s will, without true consent or in an aggressive, exploitive or threatening manner (Ryan & Lane 1991:3). A youth sex offender differs from his adult counterpart in that the maturational changes that occur during adolescence affect the overall functioning of the adolescent; the majority of youth sex offenders do not express a clear pattern of deviant fantasies; and family factors play a critical role in the onset of sex offending behaviour (Bourgon, Morton-Bourgon & Madrigano 2005:16). Moreover, youth sex offenders fall predominantly into two categories: those that sexually offend against adults or their peers and those that sexually offend against children.

Risk factors can be defined as anything that increases the probability of an individual engaging in a certain type of behaviour (Rich, 2003:73). A risk factor is not necessarily causative, but can be associated with a specific

behavioural pattern. Furthermore, risk factors are biological, environmental and social factors that contribute to the initiation and maintenance of antisocial behaviour. Risk factors can be divided into three categories namely: static risk factors which are unamendable to change, for example, age or past abuse history; dynamic risk factors which can be modified and are associated with current behaviour, attitudes, and emotions, for example family situations and relationships; and criminogenic risk factors which refer specifically to those factors which are associated to criminal behaviour. Risk factors can also be divided into community-level, social-level and individual-level categories. Community-level risk factors include factors such as school environment and poverty; social-level risk factors include family structure, substance abuse and exposure to violence; and individual risk factors include age, competencies and characteristics (Bartol 2002:46; National Research Council 2001: 67-71).

Youth sex offending does not often stem from a single factor, but rather from a combination of factors that are interlinked. The onset of sex offending behaviour can therefore be linked to numerous static, dynamic and/or criminogenic risk factors (Hunter 1999:1; Rich 2003:47; Ryan 2000:11) and these factors may be on a community, social or individual level.

NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

The media has reported that there is an increase in youth sex offending and that the age of both the offender and the victim is decreasing, however, there is little empirical evidence supporting this claim (Ehlers 2004; Funari 2005:2). Regardless of this, it is still vital to recognise that the youth do form a substantial proportion of the sex offending population and the number of reported cases involving youth as the offenders is increasing (Mbambo 2002:29).

It would appear that there is a decrease in both reported rape and sexual assault cases nationally (The South African Police Service [SAPS] 2008), but it is difficult to ascertain whether that decrease is in fact due to an actual decrease in the crimes or due to under-reporting and under-recording.

Furthermore, statistics cannot be regarded as completely accurate because the number of reported crimes does not necessarily reflect the actual number of crimes that have been

committed. The number of unreported crimes, also referred to as the dark figure, is considered to be high (Brown, Esbensen & Geis 2001:106). The nature of sex offences and the fact that rape and sexual assault victims do not always report these crimes means that the dark figure is especially pertinent when analysing sex offence statistics. Having-so-said, there is still a large number of youths being processed through the Criminal Justice System (CJS) for crimes of a sexual nature. Maughan (2006:1) indicates that between 1999 and March 2006, the SA government processed 130 059 young sex offenders.

The extent of youth sex offending is difficult to quantify because the police often do not open dockets due to the age of the offender, and sexual abuse perpetrated by young individuals is under-reported (Maughan 2006:1). A primary reason for this under-reporting is that sexual aggression among young people is often rationalised as sexual experimentation. The result of this is that there are no national crime statistics relating to youth sex offending and the true extent of this phenomenon is unknown and research is stilted.

This stilted research means that the nature and origin of youth sex offending is also undefined. In addition, youth sex offenders do not form a homogenous group (Bourgon *et al.* 2005:16; Calder 2001:3; Hunter 2000; Rich 2006:195; Serrao 2004:1; Tilley 1998:2). Serrao (2004:1) distinguishes between seven types of youth sex offenders that can be identified in SA, namely:

- I. *Group influenced*: these youth often come from lower socio-economic backgrounds and experience a vast amount of peer pressure, particularly if they are involved in gang activities. They have to prove themselves to gain a feeling of belonging.
- II. *Naive experimenter*: these youth commit offences as a means of exploring their sexual curiosity. They do not use bribery, trickery or coercion, and they are often victims of sexual abuse themselves. External influences such as pornography are key to their offending behaviour.
- III. *Pseudo socialised*: these offenders appear to be confident and boastful and they use coercion or bribery to offend against younger children.
- IV. *Under socialised*: these youth are often under-socialised and lack interpersonal skills. They offend frequently as a means to

gain the power they feel they lack due to inadequate social skills.

- V. *Sexually aggressive*: this type of offender has a disruptive family life and poor impulse control. For those reasons, they display a need for power, control and domination.
- VI. *Sexually compulsive*: these youth also have dysfunctional families and reside in overcrowded homes. The offending behaviour is a way to alleviate fear and anxiety and thus the behaviour is repetitive.
- VII. *Disturbed impulsive*: these offenders display conduct disorders and other aggressive tendencies. They often have personality and psychological disturbances and display learning difficulties.

Although there may be common characteristics among youth sex offenders, there is no typical profile of a youth sex offender. As such, there are no specific characteristics, behaviours, personal features or environmental features that are unique to a youth sex offender (Rich 2003:39). Thus, youth sex offenders clearly form a diverse population and Lakey (1994:2) proposes that youth sex offenders range along a continuum of naïve experimenters on the one end to sadistic rapists on the other. This highlights that the risk factors associated with youth sex offending are multiple for each offender and the make-up of such risk factors is unique to each individual (Van Niekerk 2006:104).

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Research regarding the origin and consequences of youth sex offending is complex and is hindered by a number of factors (Van Niekerk 2006:100). The fact that research is hindered implies that the problems related to possible risk factors and subsequent sexual behaviour is undefined. The reasons for this include the following:

- Often youths who have committed a sex offence have also committed other more serious crimes (Van Niekerk 2006:101). They are prosecuted and incarcerated for that crime and so statistics on youth sex offending are inaccurate, thus making the true extent of youth sex offending difficult to ascertain and so research is stilted.
- Van Niekerk (2006:101) views denial as a common defence mechanism. Sexually deviant behaviour is morally frowned upon

and youth sex offenders often deny their behaviour. Therefore, addressing the negative behaviour is problematic because the true nature and extent of the sex offending behaviour is not known.

- The assumption is that youth sex offending is a single pattern of behaviour (Van Niekerk 2006:101). It is vital to recognise that youth sex offenders form a heterogeneous population and that such offending behaviour may reflect a broad variety of personality types and different factors may have contributed to the offending behaviour. This is necessary in order to offer youth sex offenders the individual treatment that they need.
- It may be difficult for youth sex offenders to answer questions regarding the origins of their behaviour because they often avoid introspection as they recognise their behaviour is wrong and do not want to explore it further (Van Niekerk 2006:102).
- Some youth sex offenders may deny, fabricate or over-emphasise life experiences or family situations in order to achieve leniency in sentencing and also to change attitudes towards them (Van Niekerk 2006:102). This means that the validity of research on this topic may be jeopardised and so the problem of youth sex offending remains largely undetermined.
- Children that are abused and then act out similar behaviour may not realise that they are hurting the victim (Van Niekerk 2006:102), particularly if they use persuasion rather than violence to gain compliance. They may not recognise that their own experiences help shape their psycho-sexual behaviour. Without this recognition, their own comprehension of their behaviour will be lacking and so they cannot explain to researchers or professionals the reasons for their behaviour.

While the seriousness of youth sex offending as a societal problem has been recognised and treatment programmes have been established to address sexual acting out behaviour, less progress has been made in identifying both the risk factors associated with and the needs that are unique to sexually aggressive children (Bourgon *et al.* 2005:15). The current intervention strategies prove to be insufficient, as they are based on “adult driven” approaches and not on the unique needs of sexually

insistent children (Bourgon *et al.* 2005:15; Hien 1998:1). This is problematic because the assumption that youth are “little adults” is detrimental to treatment approaches. Research findings demonstrate that there are significant differences between adult and youth sex offenders and that youth sex offenders are amenable to change (Bourgon *et al.* 2005:16).

The National Research Council (2001:66) points out that it is widely recognised that the more risk factors to which an adolescent is exposed, the higher the risk of that adolescent misbehaving. The problem with current research involving risk factors is the variety of the behaviours being studied and the fact that the South African population is so diverse in terms of race, culture and socio-economic circumstances. It is therefore difficult to identify risk factors because of the vast differences in the lives of the South African youth. Despite these challenges, the need for research is highlighted by the fact that crimes against personal integrity and decency are on the increase, as was mentioned in the introduction. In order to try and reduce the number of victims of sexual abuse, especially those that are children and in turn prevent them from becoming adult sex offenders themselves, research needs to identify risk factors (if any) that relate specifically to youth sex offending rather than risk factors that relate to youth misbehaviour in general.

Identifying the risk factors during childhood is imperative in understanding the motivation for and justification behind the behaviour of youths who engage in sexually coercive behaviour. Moreover international researchers (Becker, Cunningham-Rathner & Kaplan 1986:431; Erooga & Masson 1999:5; Rubenstein, Yeager, Goodstein & Lewis 1993:263; Ryan 2000:12; United Nations Development Programme Child Justice Project 2002:4) have found that approximately 50% to 65% of adult sex offenders started expressing deviant sexual behaviour (e.g. flashing) during childhood. In addition, some adult sex offenders who prefer child victims began their preoccupation with children during adolescence (Boswell & Wedge 2003:259; Serial murderer Dube... 2006:5). This is important because the correct identification and prompt treatment of those at risk may curb adult offending at a later stage.

Although high numbers of adult sex offenders started their abusive behaviour in their teenage years (Boswell & Wedge 2003:259; Hunter

2000; Ryan 2000:12; Serial murderer Dube... 2006:5), it is important to note that a number of youth sex offenders do not re-offend during adulthood. Three significant studies (Carter & Morris 2007:6) indicate that the majority of youth sex offenders do not go on to become adult sex offenders. Further research, comprised of 33 studies on youth recidivism, found that youth sex offenders are half as likely to re-offend compared to violent and non-violent youth offenders (Righthand & Welch 2001:13).

This is important because it implies that there could be a significant number of youth sex offenders that will not continue sex offending in adult years. However, it must be noted that these studies were conducted with children that had undergone treatment and thus the importance of early intervention and treatment is highlighted.

Moreover, Symboluk (1999:10) states that studies have indicated that offences committed by youth sex offenders escalate in frequency and severity over time. Furthermore, while there is no conclusive evidence that a youth who commits one sex offence will continue to develop a pattern of sexually deviant behaviour, it is relatively uncommon for an isolated act of sexual aggression to manifest.

Sex offending is a social phenomenon that is often misunderstood (Bezuidenhout 2007:ii), however it deserves attention regardless of whether it takes place during adolescence or adulthood. Sexual behaviours amongst humans are usually categorised on a continuum that relates to an individual's age-appropriate exploration of sexuality. If this exploration goes too far during an age-appropriate stage or involves violence a person is deemed a violent sexual predator (Sexually reactive children and juvenile sex offenders 2002).

Youth sexual misconduct has been linked to various factors, including a history of physical and/or sexual abuse, exposure to family violence, and substance use in the adolescent years (Borowsky, Hogan & Ireland 1997:8; Gerretsen 2007; Maughan 2006:1; Ngubane & Naidoo 2006). Researchers (Borowsky *et al.* 1997:8) tend to conduct retrospective studies using adult offenders, thus there is little information based on the perspective of youth sex offenders regarding the risk factors that they associate with their coercive sexual behaviour. Furthermore, other possible risk factors, such as exposure to pornography, have not been fully investigated.

Ultimately, risk factors need to be identified in order to prevent sexual misconduct of any nature, as it can have a negative impact on society and on the children involved. Soaring crime rates, especially sex crimes, can have an effect on economic productivity and tourism. If age-inappropriate behaviour is rife and increases without any limitation and proper management, the global role-players can question the level of morality in SA. It is therefore key that the Criminal Justice System, health care systems and other social institutions focus their attention and resources on this problem (Gmel & Rehm 2003:2). The increase in numbers of reported cases, the decrease in age of both the victim and the offenders, the increase in the amount of force used, gang rapes and exposure to the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) are all matters of grave concern in South African society (Van Niekerk 2003:11).

SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

Society is to a large extent sexually orientated and children do not live in isolation from this type of society (Mkhondo 2007; Rich 2003:76). Children in SA (and the world) are flooded with images of sex (Salie 2007). They develop in the context of social interactions and local environments and the messages they receive shape their ideas, motivations, values, attitudes and behaviours (Rich 2003:76). As society has become more tolerant towards sexual activity, the information has become more easily accessible through magazines, television and the media. Sensationalising the act of sex by visual images created by television embeds falsehoods about sexual activity, and in some instances, about appropriate sexual activity (Gerretsen 2007; Maughan 2006:1; Salie 2007). Individuals may not have the same romantic experience as the characters portrayed on the television, which may lead to frustration, resentment and disillusionment with regard to sexual activity.

The current situation of crime and violence in SA is a vital part of understanding the increase of child sexual offending. SA's history of apartheid, the subsequent transitional period and the democratisation process that followed after the 1994 elections has had an impact on the "culture of violence" resulting in many children and adolescents in this country being exposed to violent, traumatic experiences (Bezuidenhout 2007:i; Dhabicharan 2004). The violence and aggression associated with

apartheid has continued to filter into post-apartheid SA and this has had an overall negative impact on family life and thus on the socialisation and development of children. SA's recent socio-political history has had a tremendous impact on the emotional and psychosocial development of children. Bezuidenhout (2007:ii) reasons that our materialistic society influences children to commit crime if they are not in the position to compete on the materialistic front. Furthermore, those that are in the position to compete materialistically become bored and seek new and exciting ways to occupy themselves (Bezuidenhout 2007:ii). Society has developed a belief system of entitlement that dictates the way in which people think. More and more people believe that they can simply take what they desire and this belief has filtered into the demand for sexual behaviour without any consideration of the other party involved. There is an underlying conviction based on the reasoning: 'My sexual gratification is worth far more than your life' (Dhabicharan 2004).

Research shows that children who are exposed to violence are more likely to internalise this behaviour and thus perpetrate these acts at a later stage in their lives (Dhabicharan 2004). Children are socialised to assert themselves, but in a country where opportunities are unequal, they quickly learn that aggression and violence are alternative methods to assertion (Dhabicharan 2004). Sexual offending fits into violent and aggressive behaviour, because it is not only a crime against the body and the dignity of the victim, but there is also often a violent element present that further empowers the offender.

Finkelhor (1990:327) elaborates on both the short-term and long-term effects of sexual abuse on and by young individuals. The short-term effects include anxiety, depression, poor self-esteem, self-destructive behaviour, a tendency to re-victimise, sexual maladjustment and feelings of isolation. The long-term effects include family discord and attention-seeking behaviour by the neglected child. The current research could serve to improve the effectiveness of current intervention programmes and could suggest additional approaches to intervention that address efforts to increase victim empathy by the offender to prevent future sexual misbehaviour. Bezuidenhout (2007:vi) points out that children should have the proper guidance and support in

order to become empathetic, respectful individuals. Consequently, in addressing the above, research of this nature could contribute to fewer victims and less degeneration of the moral fibre of society.

METHODOLOGY

A qualitative research approach was followed in this study. Kvale (1996:70) maintains that qualitative research is sensitive to the human situation. It is evident that qualitative research designs can be utilised when a researcher attempts to understand meanings that participants give to their actions or behaviour (Denzin & Lincoln 1994:2). The researchers aimed to gain a holistic understanding of the risk factors that youth attribute to their sex offending behaviour and thus the qualitative approach was the most applicable approach to utilise.

The sample was compiled by using youths, aged 13 years to 18 years, who have been diverted from the courts to an intervention programme for youth sex offenders. The respondents were all first time sex offenders, and had all committed sexual assault that fell only on a severity level 1 or 2. Therefore, only those youth sex offenders that were first time offenders and that had either committed sexual assault with minor or no physical injury to the victim (level 1), or had committed sexual assault involving the use of a weapon, threats or the infliction of bodily harm on the victim (level 2) were selected.

A semi-structured interview was used for this study because reporting of sexual aggression, on a one-on-one basis, is widely viewed as the best approach for obtaining information on adolescent sex offending (Weinrott 1996). It is slightly more focused than the conversational approach, but still allows freedom and adaptability (Valenzuela & Shrivastava 2008:2). In light of the phenomenological nature of this study and that subjective experiences often cannot be reduced into quantifiable information or statistics, this data collection instrument provided the best possible means for the offenders to express their experience of the offence as they perceived it.

After the interviews were conducted, analysis commenced. The researchers used Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to analyse the data collected from the youth sex offenders. IPA is concerned with attempting to understand the lived experience of each individual and the

meaning they ascribe to that lived experience (Chapman & Smith 2002: 126; What is IPA 2008). In this respect, IPA is useful in understanding the experience of the youth sex offender, how that experience influences their perceptions and then ultimately affects their decision making and actions in terms of the offence behaviour. We made use of Moustakas' (1994:120-121) seven-step method to analyse phenomenological, interpretive data.

Due to the sensitive nature of this investigation, the following ethical considerations were regarded as important for this contribution:

- Informed consent;
- Privacy and confidentiality;
- Avoidance of harm;
- Deception;
- Release or publication of findings; and
- Debriefing.

RISK FACTORS IDENTIFIED IN THIS STUDY

The following recurring main themes emerged from the analysis of the interviews:

- Incomplete family structure;
- Substance abuse;
- The "culture of violence";
- Pornography;
- Influence of pornography;
- Rape myths;
- Previous sexual conduct;
- Previous sexual victimisation; and
- Peer influence.

These themes were consistent with the themes that were reported in the literature. The authors will only discuss three of these themes, namely: substance abuse, pornography and the influence thereof, and peer influence.

Substance abuse

The relationship between substance abuse and subsequent offending is complex. Illegal substances cannot be said to *cause* offending behaviour, however, according to Maderthamer (2005:235) they can minimise internal inhibitors to antisocial behaviour and furthermore, illegal substances can lead to individuals engaging in more frequent risk-taking behaviour. The connection between substance abuse and criminal behaviour is unclear and yet there is evidence to support that substance use does exacerbate antisocial and criminal conduct (Maree 2008:60; Prichard &

Payne 2005:xi). It is also important to note that while many offenders use illegal substances, not all drug users necessarily commit crime. One respondent in this study maintained that he did not commit rape, but admitted to using alcohol and illicit drugs. He believes that alcohol in particular had an impact on his antisocial behaviour.

According to McClelland, Teplin and Abram (2004:1) drug and alcohol use is prevalent in various developmental problems and antisocial behaviours in adolescence, such as poor academic performance, sexual promiscuity, and gang involvement and importantly for the current study, aggression and violence. These authors maintain that antisocial behaviours cluster together and follow distinct patterns:

- Substance abuse in adolescence is associated with:
 - more serious deviant behaviour;
 - longer criminal careers;
 - an increased number of high risk behaviours.
- Generally, more serious substance abuse can be linked to more serious offences.

Matthews, Brasnett and Smith (2006:4) found that although a causal relationship between drinking and offending cannot be established, the frequency of drinking can be strongly associated with offending. With relation to the use of illicit substances, the United States Sentencing Commission (1996:4) report that the ingestion of specific substances directly affects behaviour and a consequence of this is criminal conduct or violent behaviour. Studies specific to sex offending (Hunter, Lexier, Goodwin, Brown & Dennis 1993:320; Ryan, Miyoshi, Metzner, Krugman & Fryer 1996:22) have identified high rates of alcohol use among sex offenders. With regards to other illicit substances, only a few studies (Becker *et al.* 1986:434; Hunter *et al.* 1993:320) cite other substance use as being a risk factor for sex offending, and yet a study by Borowsky *et al.* (1997:10) indicates that illegal substance use is in fact a more powerful risk factor than alcohol use. In this study, seven of the 19 youth interviewed indicated that they had used one or more substances and six of the seven respondents were of the opinion that the alcohol or drug they had consumed impacted on their behaviour. However, it could not be determined through this study whether alcohol or other illegal substances had more of an impact on the

respondents' sex offending behaviour. There was also a difference of opinion as one respondent held the opinion that alcohol consumption should not be classified as a risk factor because the offence would have been committed anyway, but the consumption of alcohol had made it "easier" to commit the offence. This statement follows the idea that the disinhibition effect of alcohol fosters sexual aggression (Borowsky *et al.* 1997:10). In other words, alcohol lowers an individual's internal inhibitors to sexual aggression, but does not necessarily cause the behaviour. Thloaele (2003:60) points out the family environment in which a child is reared can have the most powerful and long-lasting influence on development. The family system has to be viewed as one in which each family member influences each another and the system as a whole. This system is also influenced by the social context in which it exists (Thloaele 2003:31). Substance abuse by one family member therefore influences and affects not only that family member, but all the members of the family (Benshoff & Janikowski 2000:148). This is important because while family substance abuse may not necessarily lead to a youth committing a sex offence, it can lead to family disruptions such as divorce, emotional or physical neglect of a child and domestic violence which in turn can have a negative impact on a youth's behaviour.

Children who can access alcohol easily or who have parents who abuse alcohol are at a greater risk of developing problems related to alcohol consumption (Aufseeser, Jekielek & Brown 2006:7). Furthermore, children who live in homes with parental substance abuse are exposed to more family violence and reduced parental monitoring (Aufseeser *et al.* 2006:7). In the current study, seven of the 19 respondents reported family environments that were characterised by substance abuse.

Denton and Kampfe (1994:1) state that family substance abuse significantly increases the chance that other family members will use alcohol and drugs. They postulate that a high percentage of adolescent substance users reported substance abuse within their immediate families. Furthermore, children brought up in families in which substance abuse is prevalent are exposed to drinking and drug usage patterns and they may internalise these norms and imitate this behaviour themselves. In the current study, five of the respondents who

drank alcohol or used illicit substances revealed that their immediate families abused substances. This is pertinent because it shows how parental behaviour could influence children.

Ultimately, personal substance abuse could impact on a youth sex offender in two ways: firstly, the offender may have used the substances to gain the courage or confidence to commit the offence, in other words, the substance abuse facilitated the offence. Secondly, respondents who used substances before the committal of the sex offence were intoxicated and therefore not thinking in a rational manner. The consequence of this is that the positive or negative outcome of the behaviour was not considered by the offender.

Pornography

Various researchers (Brown & Keller 2000:256; Maughan 2006:1) have found a correlation between sexually explicit material and the development of sexual attitudes and beliefs in adolescence. Furthermore, adolescents are in a transition phase between childhood and adulthood and they process sexual information differently from adults. A consequence of this is that they may view “fantasy” pornography as normal sexual reality. Importantly, sexually explicit material emphasises sexual ideas that are meant for adult consumption, but the youth viewing it now deem that behaviour as age-appropriate for themselves (Maughan 2006:1; Rich 2003:68-69). According to Cline, Cooper, Watson, Lefever and Paul. (n.d.) sexually explicit material offers youth powerful and lasting impressions about sexual behaviour, but these ideas about sex are both false and damaging to an adolescent.

Pornography in itself cannot be seen as a risk factor, but rather literature on this topic (Greenfield 2004:744; Wilson & Nugent 1987:5) has shown that it is the type of pornography being viewed and the influence of pornography that is important. Additionally, it is important to note that not all youth exposed to pornography automatically develop sexually deviant thoughts and behaviour patterns or become sex addicts, but pornography is potentially harmful to young people (Mathews 1995:7; Rice Hughes 2001; Wilson & Nugent 1987:1). A study conducted by Greenfield (2004:741) highlighted a salient finding, namely that pornography can influence sexual violence, sexual attitudes, moral values and

sexual activity in youth. Pornography that suggests the positive effects of sexual aggression, for example, sexual pleasure for the victim, significantly increases an individual’s acceptance of aggression in sexual and non-sexual interactions with women (Greenfield 2004:743). Moreover, Du Toit (1998:10) states that the sexual arousal elicited by pornography results in distorted thinking patterns and reinforces negative sexual beliefs and attitudes. This is especially pertinent because of the developmental stage of adolescence. When a youth is exposed to sexual material that he cannot cognitively or emotionally process, his moral and mental development can be adversely affected (Campher 2006:35).

The sample for this study was relatively small and yet 16 of the 19 (84%) youth interviewed had viewed sexually explicit material – of these 16 respondents, ten of them (53%) had seen pornographic videos; ten of them (53%) had seen sexually explicit images in magazines; seven of the 16 respondents (37%) had used the Internet to download pornographic images and videos; and 5 of them (26%) had seen pornography on television.

Rice Hughes (2001) states that the habitual use of pornography leads to diminished satisfaction with soft core pornography and a desire to move onto more sexually deviant, humiliating, dehumanising and violent forms of pornography. The desensitising effect of pornography also means that youth often have positive perceptions regarding pornography (Rice Hughes 2001). Contrary to this, the respondents in the current study all had negative perceptions regarding pornography. This is possibly because all of the youth interviewed were in treatment at the time the study was conducted. This means that the youth have been informed of the incorrect messages or possible harmful effect within sexually explicit material.

It is clear that there is conflicting research regarding the influence of pornography on sexually deviant behaviour. Diamond (1999:14) is of the opinion that an increased exposure to pornography decreases youth sex offending. He states that youngsters have fewer outlets for their sexual curiosity and that pornography and other sexually explicit material allows adolescents to explore their developing sexuality. Furthermore, he indicates that the fantasy and education (albeit flawed) that pornography offers could satisfy the sexual

drives and needs of developing adolescents. However, there appears to be more evidence supporting the notion that pornography is harmful, particularly to children and adolescents (Allford 2007:2; Berry 2008:2; Greenfield 2004:744; Rice Hughes 2001; Study Proves “Pornography is harmful” 2002). The negative impact of pornography could include the following:

- It may incite children to act out sexually towards other children;
- It may shape attitudes and values regarding sex; women and sexuality; and
- It may interfere with an adolescent’s development and identity (Rice Hughes 2001).

The data gathered in this study is consistent with the divergent findings of previous research in that seven of the 16 respondents (44%) that had viewed pornography did not believe pornography had any effect on their behaviour, whereas nine of the 16 respondents (56%) that had viewed pornography believed pornography had a negative influence on them and played a role in the commission of their offences.

During development, a child’s brain becomes “hardwired” as to what he/she will find arousing and attractive, therefore, if a child is exposed to healthy sexual norms and attitudes during this developmental period then there is an increased likelihood he/she will develop a healthy sexual orientation (Rice Hughes 2001). Furthermore, pornography bypasses and/or distorts normal sexual development and supplies misinformation which can modify a youth’s sense of self, sexuality and perceptions of the body resulting in a confused, changed and often damaged individual.

Goodenough (2003) contends that there is a link between children’s exposure to sexually inappropriate behaviour and their acting out in a sexually aggressive manner. Children exposed to pornography could experiment and imitate the behaviour expressed in pornographic videos and images. Allford (2007:2) further states that the “monkey-see, monkey-do” type of education that pornography offers has serious ramifications for adolescents in that condoms are often not used in pornographic movies, and extreme sexual acts (many of which are dehumanising and humiliating for women) are being performed. One respondent explained that the pornography led to sexual feelings and after viewing it he had to have sex. Furthermore, two

respondents indicated that after viewing pornography, they both wanted to try what they had seen.

Moreover, adolescents are not in a position to conceptualise the difference between pornographic fantasy and sexual reality (Berry 2008:2). It is clear how these consequences can have a negative impact on a growing and developing adolescent. Pornography could play a role in shaping adolescent males’ views of women. It could further influence their perceptions about what classifies as appropriate behaviour and what constitutes a legitimate way of gaining compliance. This is highlighted by a respondent who stated that he did not realise it was rape – he wanted to have sex after viewing pornography and he thought it was “ok” to have sex with his victim.

Thus, it is possible that pornography is harmful to youth that are already predisposed to committing sex offences. However, there is need for more research on this topic, as youth sex offending is more complex than uncomplicated exposure to pornography.

Peer influence

Current literature on the relationship between peer influence and antisocial tendencies is inconsistent (Poulin, Dishion & Haas 1999:42). This is also prevalent in the current study as nine of the 19 respondents (47% of the sample) indicated that their peer network had either a specific or possible influence on their offending behaviour, whereas the other ten respondents (53% of the sample) maintained that their peer group had not impacted on their behaviour at all.

Peacock (2008:64) asserts that identity development is a process in which an individual differentiates himself from others and integrates parts of others into himself so that he can become more aware of the significant others in his world. An adolescent’s “sense of self” and his reaction to peer pressure can influence his sexual behaviour (Condryn 2004:16). In the developmental phase of adolescence, the significant others in an adolescent’s life transfer from the parents to the peer group. According to Rich (2003:55) identity development and social skills have a direct influence on the development of peer relationships. The reason for this is that relationships are forged and maintained through the development of and enactment of social skills. Social skills and social attachment to the peer group, rather than

the attachment to the primary caregiver, are therefore intrinsically linked. Importantly, sexual violence is also learnt through the peer network, where boundaries, values and norms are established (Borowsky *et al.* 1997:7). Being part of the in-group is a major concern in this developmental period and thus abandonment of parental morals and values can take place to ensure peer group and social acceptance (Kipke 1999:32; Maderthaner 2005:193; Symboluk 1999:69). One respondent stated in this regard that he had only raped a girl because his friends said he must and that if he had declined, he would not have been part of the group.

Peer influence is also a major source of information about sex and peers do not necessarily possess accurate information about sexual relations, consensual sex and coercive sex (Kipke 1999:32). Peer pressure further plays a role in youth conforming to attitudes regarding condescending thoughts about women, sexuality, and physical and sexual violence (Schreiner 2004:48). Moreover, it appears that peer pressure is more profound in younger adolescents than older adolescents and is negatively correlated with their confidence in their social skills (Kipke 1999:16). This is particularly pertinent in the current study because 12 of the respondents were 16 years of age or younger. Moreover, six of the respondents that implicated their peer relationships as a risk factor were in the 16 years and younger age category.

According to Marcus (1996:150) the peer network can be held responsible for deviant behaviour in that individuals within the group learn the motives, techniques and drives involved in committing a criminal or antisocial act. Furthermore, aggressive peer networks are more likely to hold beliefs supporting the use of aggression; to view aggression as a legitimate response to provocation; to believe that aggression increases self-esteem; and to believe that aggression has no negative impact on the victims (Marcus 1996:149).

Dyrne and Hogben (1998:16) report that sexually aggressive youth may be attracted to one another's company and this would explain the higher rates of an aggressive peer network among youth sex offenders. Malamuth (1996:281) highlights the importance of the peer network in sexually coercive youth. He maintains that association with an antisocial peer group could foster a non-committal attitude towards sexual relationships.

Furthermore, youth may use sex, even if compliance is obtained coercively, as a method to increase their status within the peer network or because it is part of the group strategy (Malamuth, 1996:282; Ward, Polaschek & Beech 2006:82).

It is generally accepted that peer relationships have an influence on an adolescent's behaviour, but it cannot be categorically stated that the peer network will influence a youth to engage in either prosocial or antisocial behaviour (Marcus 1996:145). An adolescent will most likely, but not necessarily, conform to peer values, and forms of appearance, dress and behaviour because of their developmental stage. It is thus not possible to dictate that an antisocial or sex offending peer group will influence any member of that group to engage in the same behaviour. Various individual factors, such as the need to belong, attachment to parents and parental morals and values and an integrated self and sexual identity need to be taken into consideration when evaluating the influence the peer network has on an individual. In the current study, two of the 19 respondents (11%) indicated that the peer network can have an influence on adolescent behaviour.

Finally, it must be borne in mind that it is impossible to construct a comprehensive model regarding sex offending behaviour if all the possible risk factors associated with youth sex offending are not taken into consideration. Thus, it is imperative that all possible pathways to sex offending behaviour are scrutinised in order to reach a better understanding of the development of youth sex offending and to develop effective treatment programmes for this population.

CONCLUSION

The findings in the current study were consistent with those of other researchers (Bourgon *et al.* 2005:16; Calder 2001:3; Hunter 2000; Rich 2006:195; Serrao 2004:1; Smith Wampler, Jones & Reifman 2005:88; Tilley 1998:2) in that the literature review disclosed that youth sex offenders are not a homogenous population, but rather that they differ in terms of race, social class, victim preferences (both in terms of age and in terms of whether the victim is known to the offender or not), their modus operandi to gain compliance, levels of aggression and physical violence, the types and levels of offences and lastly their motivations for committing the offence. These motivations

are linked to the risk factors to which an individual is exposed, for example, a youth that watches hardcore pornography could act out that which he has seen.

Not all children are exposed to the same risk factors; however, there are certain social, dynamic risk factors which appear to be prevalent in the lives of youth sex offenders such as substance abuse, early exposure to pornography and an influential peer network. It is important to note that as youth approach puberty, they develop their own understanding of sexual behaviour – this understanding is dependent on their past and present experiences of sex (Brown 2005:36). Such experiences

include school sex education, family attitudes towards sex, viewing sex and violence as normalised behaviour, past physical and sexual abuse, exposure to pornography, and how they are introduced to sex by their peer group.

Lastly, examining youth sex offenders according to the inter-relational nature of prevalent risk factors is advantageous because this provides a more thorough understanding of the adolescent, his social context, and the circumstances surrounding the sex offence. This type of consideration is important if effective treatment programmes are to be implemented in the hope of rehabilitating these youth.

REFERENCES

- Allford, J. 2007. How does today's widely available porn affect our youth? The short answer is...we have no idea. *Calgary Herald*, 5 November:2.
- Aufseeser, D, Jekielek, S & Brown, B. 2006. *The Family Environment and Adolescent Well-Being: Exposure to Positive and Negative Family Influences*. Washington, DC: Child Trends.
- Bartol, CR. 2002. *Criminal behaviour: A psychosocial approach*. (6th ed.). New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Becker, JV, Cunningham-Rathner, J & Kaplan, MS. 1986. Adolescent sexual offenders: Demographics, criminal and sexual histories, and recommendations for reducing future offenses. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 1:431-435.
- Benshoff, JJ, & Janikowski, TP. 2000. *The rehabilitation model of substance abuse counseling*. USA: Brooks/Cole Publishing.
- Berry, K. 2008. *Youth and pornography: Our innocence lost*. Available: www.atlantafamilypsychiatry.com/AFPIBerryKristenPornographyAndYouthInnocenceLost.doc (accessed on 2009/01/18).
- Bezuidenhout, C. 2007. Are we fighting a losing battle against crime? *Acta Criminologica*, 20(4):i-vii.
- Borowsky, IW, Hogan, M & Ireland, M. 1997. Adolescent sexual aggression: Risk and protective factors. *Pediatrics* 100(6) 7-17.
- Boswell, G & Wedge, P. 2003. A pilot evaluation of therapeutic community for adolescent male sexual abusers. *Therapeutic Communities* 24(4):259-260.
- Bourgon, G, Morton-Bourgon, KE & Madrigano, G. 2005. Multisite investigation of treatment of sexually abusive juveniles. In Schwartz, BK. (Ed.). *The sex offender: Issues in assessment, treatment and supervision of adult and juvenile populations: Volume V*. Kingston, NJ: Civic Research Institute.
- Brown, A. 2005. Working with young people: Linking policy and practice. In Erooga, M & Masson, H. (Eds.), *Children and young people who sexually abuse others: Challenges and responses*. London: Routledge.
- Brown, S, Esbensen, F & Geis, G. 2001. *Criminology: Explaining Crime and Context (4ed.)*. Cincinnati: Anderson.
- Brown, JD & Keller, SN. 2000. Can the mass media be healthy sex educators? *Family Planning Perspectives* 32:255-256.
- Calder, MC. 2001. *Juveniles and children who sexually abuse: Frameworks for assessment (3rd ed.)*. Dorset, England: Russell House.
- Campher, L. 2006. An investigation into existing measures aimed at restricting the use of the Internet as an avenue to initiate sexual activity with adolescents. Pretoria: University of Pretoria (MA Dissertation).

- Carter, M & Morris, L. 2007. *What about child sex offenders? What proportion of sexual offences are committed by children in South Africa?* [O]
Available: <http://www.childjustice.org.za/downloads/FactSheet/sex%20offenders.pdf> (accessed on 2008/04/12).
- Chapman, E & Smith, JE. 2002. Interpretive phenomenological analysis and the new genetics. *Journal of Health Psychology* 7(2):125-130.
- Cline, V, Cooper, B, Watson, B, Lefever, B & Paul, P. [Nd]. *Impact of viewing sexually explicit material*. Available: http://www.kidsintheknow.ca/PDFS/impact_of_viewing.pdf (accessed on 2008/08/16).
- Condryn, D. 2004. Teens' sense of self to alcohol, drug use and sex. *PR Newswire* 6(15):14-28.
- Denton, RE & Kampfe, CM. 1994. The relationship between family variables and adolescent substance abuse: A literature review. *Adolescence* 29. Available:
<http://www.questia.com/googleScholar.qst;jsessionid=J6rRJ7JhRBWd1PsyBdvNXLtTtHyr7PtdvYglwWCJpcvrhTskBWP!1083457915!1477775285?docId=500022605> (accessed on 2009/06/23).
- Denzin, NK & Lincoln, YS. (Eds.). 1994. *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Dhabicharan, L. 2004. *What makes a child sex offender?* [O]. Available:
<http://www.childrenfirst.org.za/shownewa?mode=content&id=21155&refto=4019> (accessed on 2005/04/08).
- Diamond, M. 1999. The effects of pornography: An international perspective. *The International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 22(1):1-22.
- Du Toit, YA. 1998. *'n Kriminologiese ondersoek na die aard en impak van pornografie gebaseer op 'n gemeenskaptoleransiemodel*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria. (PhD Dissertation).
- Dyrne, D & Hogben, M. 1998. Using social learning theory to explain individual differences in human sexuality. *The Journal of Sex Research* 35(1):58-71.
- Ehlers, L. 2004. *Legal reform for better or worse?* [O] Available:
<http://www.childrenfirst.org.za/shownews?mode=content&id=20157&refto=3669> (accessed on 2005/04/09).
- Erooga, M & Masson, H. 1999. Children and young people who sexually abuse others: Incidence, characteristics and causation. In Erooga, M & Masson, H (Eds.), *Children and young people who sexually abuse others: Challenges and responses*. London: Routledge.
- Finkelhor, D. 1990. Early and long-term effects of child sexual abuse: An update. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice* 21(5):325-330.
- Funari, SK. 2005. An exploration of impediments to attachment in a juvenile offender population: Comparisons between juvenile sex offenders, juvenile violent offenders and juvenile non-sex, non-violent offenders. Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Commonwealth University. (MA Dissertation).
- Gerretsen, B. 2007. Sex offence stats indict children. *Mercury*, 27 April. [O]. Available: http://www.themercury.co.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=3803167 (accessed on 2008/01/30).
- Gmel, G & Rehm, J. 2003. *Harmful alcohol use*. [O]. Available:
www.niaaa.nih.gov/publications/arh27-1/52-62.htm (accessed on 2005/03/05).
- Goodenough, P. 2003. *Online porn driving sexually aggressive children*. Pacific Rim Bureau Chief. [O]. Available: <http://www.cnsnews.com/ForeignBureaus/Archive/200311/FOR20031126a.html> Accessed on 2008/07/24.
- Greenfield, PM. 2004. Inadvertent exposure to pornography on the Internet: Implications of peer-to-peer file-sharing networks for child development and families. *Applied Developmental Psychology* 25:741-750.
- Hien, D. 1998. *Women, violence with inmates, and substance abuse: Relevant theory, empirical findings, and recommendations for future research*. [O]. Available:
http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_mo978/is_n3_v24/ai_21154249 (accessed on 2005/03/15).

- Hunter, JA. 1999. *Understanding juvenile sexual offending behaviour: Emerging research, treatment approaches and management practices*. [O]. Available: <http://www.csom.org/pubs/juvbrf10.html> (accessed on 2006/06/12).
- Hunter, JA. 2000. Understanding youth sex offenders: research findings & guidelines for effective management & treatment. *Youth Justice FactSheet*. Charlottesville,VA: Institute of Law, Psychiatry, & Public Policy, University of Virginia.
- Hunter, JA, Lexier, LJ, Goodwin, DW, Browne, PA & Dennis, C. 1993. Psychosexual, attitudinal, and developmental characteristics of female sexual perpetrators in a residential treatment setting. *Journal of Child and Family Studies* 2:317-326.
- Kipke, MD. 1999. *Risks and opportunities: Synthesis of studies on adolescence*. Washington D.C: National Academies Press.
- Kvale, S. 1996. *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: Sage Publications.
- Lahey, JF. 1994. The profile and treatment of male adolescent sex offenders. *Adolescence* 29(116): 2-9.
- Maderthaner, N. 2005. *Significant factors contributing to youth offending*. Pretoria: University of South Africa (MA Dissertation).
- Malamuth, NM. 1996. The confluence model of sexual aggression: Feminist and evolutionary perspectives. In Buss, DM, & Malamuth, NM (Eds.), *Sex, power, conflict: Evolutionary and feminist perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Marcus, RF. 1996. The friendships of delinquents. *Adolescence* 31(121):145-158.
- Maree, A. 2008. Criminogenic risk factors. In Bezuidenhout, C & Joubert, S (Eds.), *Child and youth misbehaviour in South Africa: A holistic view (2nd ed.)*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Mathews, F. 1995. *Making the decision to care: Guys and sexual assault*. Canada: National Clearinghouse on Family Violence.
- Matthews, S, Brasnett, L & Smith, J. 2006. *Underage drinking: findings from the 2000 Offending, Crime and Justice Survey*. [O] Available: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pubintro1.html>. (accessed on 2008/10/16).
- Maughan, K. 2006. Why children are raping children: Indecent assault statistics horrific – youngsters say watching porn on TV influences them. *Pretoria News*, 23 October:1.
- Mbambo, B. 2002. *Child justice project*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- McClelland, GM, Teplin, LA & Abram, KM. 2004. *Detection and prevalence of substance use among juvenile detainees*. [O] Available: www.ncjrs.gov//203934.pdf Accessed 2009/07/29.
- Mkhondo, R. 2007. Teens need constant guidance: Despite the strides made in sex education, many young people still do not know how their bodies work. *The Star*, 26 April. [O]. Available: http://www.thestar.co.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=3802559 (accessed on 2008/01/30).
- National Research Council. 2001. *Youth crime, youth justice*. Washington DC: National Academy Press.
- Nguabane, T & Naidoo, A. 2006. Child sex offences raise safety issues. *Mercury*, 23 August. [O]. Available: http://www.themercury.co.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=3405131 (accessed on 2008/01/30).
- Peacock, R. 2008. Adolescent identity, the criminal event and criminal justice in South Africa. *Acta Criminologica CRIMSA Conference Special Edition* (1):61-76.
- Poulin, F, Dishion, TJ & Haas, E. 1999. The peer influence paradox: Friendship quality and deviancy training within male adolescent friendships. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* 45:42-59.
- Prichard, J., & Payne, J. 2005. Alcohol, drugs and crime: A study of juveniles in detention. *Research and Public Policy Series* 67:1-114.
- Rice Hughes, D. 2001. *How pornography harms children*. Available: <http://www.protectkids.com/effects/harms.htm> (accessed on 2009/06/23).
- Rich, P. 2003. *Understanding, assessing and rehabilitating youth sexual offenders*. New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons.

- Rich, P. 2006. *Attachment and sexual offending: Understanding and applying attachment theory to the treatment of youth sexual offenders*. New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons.
- Righthand, S & Welch, C. 2001. Juveniles who have sexually offended: A review of the professional literature. Washington DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.
- Rubenstein, M, Yeager, MA, Goodstein, BA & Lewis, DO. 1993. Sexually assaultive male juveniles: A follow-up. *American Journal of Psychiatry* 150:262-265.
- Ryan, G. 2000. Perpetration prevention: The forgotten frontier in sexuality education and research. *Siecus Report*:5-22.
- Ryan, G & Lane, S. 1991. *Youth sexual offenses: Causes, consequences, and correction*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Ryan, G, Miyoshi, TJ, Metzner, JL, Krugman, RD & Fryer, GE. 1996. Trends in a national sample of sexually abusive youths. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry* 35: 17-25.
- Salie, M. 2007. Without values, our children are doomed. *Pretoria News*, 25 January. [O]. Available:http://www.pretorianews.co.za/general/print_article.pho?fArticleId=3951527 (accessed on 2008/01/30).
- Schreiner, JA. 2004. *Rape as a human security issue, with specific reference to South Africa*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria (MA Dissertation).
- Serrao, A. 2004. Sexual abusers getting younger. *The Star*, 17 August:1.
- Serial murderer Dube was an abuser age 7. 2006. *The Star*, 23 October:5.
- Sexually reactive children and juvenile sex offenders*. 2002. [O]. Available: <http://explore.up.ac.za/search/Yjuvenile+sex+offenders&SORT=D&searchscope=1/Yjuvenile+sex+offenders&SORT=1/1%2C3%2C3%2CB/encyc> (accessed on 2006/05/22).
- Smith, S, Wampler, R, Jones, J & Reifman, A. 2005. Differences in self-report measures by adolescent sex offender risk group. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 49(1):82-106
- South African Police Services. 2008. *Crime Statistics: Per category*. [O] Available: http://www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2008/crime_stats_2008.htm (accessed on 2009/06/23).
- Study proves pornography is harmful*. 2002. *The Calgary Herald*, 12 March. [O] Available: <http://www.lifesitenews.com/ldn/2002/mar/02031203.html> (accessed 2009/06/29).
- Symboluk, A. J. M. 1999. *An investigation of family, social, and personal variables in adolescent sexual perpetrators*. Ontario: University of Western Ontario. (MA Dissertation).
- Tilley, L. P. 1998. *Patterns of personality and offense characteristics of teenage sex offenders*. Edmonton: University of Alberta (MA Dissertation).
- Tlhoale, O. O. 2003. *The effect of alcoholism in the family on young offenders*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria (MA Dissertation).
- United Nations Development Programme Child Justice Project. 2002. *Workshop with service providers for child sex offenders*. Held at South African Law Commission. 4 April, Pretoria.
- US Sentencing Commission. 1996. *Cocaine and crime*. [O] Available: <http://www.wethepeople.la/crime.htm> (accessed on 2008/10/16).
- Van Niekerk, J. 2006. The often neglected side of the sexual abuse equation – the child sex offender. In Spies, GM (Ed.). *Sexual abuse: Dynamics, assessment and healing*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Van Niekerk, J. 2003. Failing our future: Responding to the sexual abuse of children. *South Africa Crime Quarterly* 3:11-17.
- Valenzuela, D & Shrivastava, P. 2008. Interview as a method for qualitative research. [O]. Available: <http://www.public.asu.edu/~kroel/www500/Interview%20Fri.pdf> (accessed on 2008/08/04).
- Ward, T, Polaschek, DLL & Beech, RB. 2006. *Theories of sexual offending*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

- Weinrott, MR. 1996. *Juvenile sexual aggression: A critical review*. Boulder, CO: Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, University of Colorado.
- What is IPA*. 2008. [O]. Available: <http://www.psyc.bbk.ac.uk/ipa/whatisipa.htm> (accessed on 2008/07/30).
- Wilson, P & Nugent, S. 1987. Sexually explicit and violent media material: research and policy implications. *Trends and issues in crime and criminal justice* 9:1-7.