

**A PSYCHOCRIMINOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION INTO RISK FACTORS  
CONTRIBUTING TO YOUTH SEX OFFENDING**

**Compiled by**

**TARA FARRER HARRIS**

**In compliance with the prerequisites for the degree**

**MAGISTER ARTIUM (CRIMINOLOGY)**

**in the**

**Department of Social Work and Criminology  
Faculty of Humanities  
University of Pretoria**

**Supervisor: Prof Christiaan Bezuidenhout**

**August 2009**

## **DECLARATION**

**Hereby, I**

**TARA FARRER HARRIS**

**declare that the dissertation submitted for the fulfilment of the degree  
Magister Artium in Criminology at the University of Pretoria is my own work  
and has not previously been submitted for a degree at another university.**

**TARA FARRER HARRIS  
August 2009**



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

**DEDICATED TO:**

**PDD AND MY MUM, SUE DAFFON**

## EXPRESSIONS OF GRADITUDE

This dissertation would not have come to fruition without the love, support and dedication of the special people in my life and I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to the following:

- The Greater Power for the positivity, opportunity and strength provided to me to complete this study.
- Prof Christiaan Bezuidenhout, my supervisor, for all the blood, sweat and tears that went into this dissertation. Your guidance and support are truly appreciated.
- The staff and boys at NICRO Nelspruit and Protem – this would have been impossible without you.
- Ms Harriet Klopper for all of your advice, knowledge, guidance, motivation and encouragement.
- Christa Jansen van Vuuren for all your help. I do not know what I would have done without you.
- Helen Olsson, Marina and Arno Welman, Charlene Henning, and Juliet Pascal. You have been true friends and pillars of support – thank you.
- My proofreaders, my mum, Ms Harriet Klopper and Helen Olsson.
- My gran, Joy Daffon, for all the newspaper cuttings and numerous conversations. Your insight and wisdom are invaluable.
- DR for your support, numerous cups of coffee and love.
- PDD, for watching over me and being the inspiration for me to do this degree. I miss you and love you.
- My sister, for letting me vent and then encouraging me to continue. Thank you for your belief in me and for loving me for who I am. I love you.
- Lastly, to the most important person in my life – my mum. Your belief, love and support made this possible. I will be eternally indebted to you for everything that you do for me. I love you.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<b>Page</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1</b>	
<b>DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS, PROBLEM STATEMENT AND GENERAL ORIENTATION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS	2
1.2.1 Sexual abuse and sex offending	2
1.2.2 Child, youth and adolescence	4
1.2.3 Youth misbehaviour	6
1.2.4 Psychocriminology	7
1.2.5 Youth sex offender	7
1.2.5.1 Consent	9
1.2.5.2 Equality	10
1.2.5.3 Coercion	10
1.2.6 Risk factors	10
1.2.6.1 Static risk factors	11
1.2.6.2 Dynamic risk factors	11
1.2.6.3 Criminogenic risk factors	12
1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT	13
1.4 SOCIETAL RELEVANCE	20
1.5 METHODOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION	22
1.6 GOAL AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	22
1.6.1 Goal of the study	23
1.6.2 Aims/objectives of the study	23
1.7 CHAPTER OUTLINES	23
1.8 CONCLUSION	24
<b>CHAPTER 2</b>	
<b>REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE</b>	<b>25</b>
2.1 YOUTH SEX OFFENDERS	25
2.1.1 The extent of youth sex offending	25
2.1.2 Characteristics of youth sex offenders	27
2.1.3 Types and levels of sex offences	31
2.2 POSSIBLE RISK FACTORS	32
2.2.1 Risk factors on an individual level	35



2.2.1.1	Age	35
2.2.1.2	Gender	36
2.2.1.3	Race	36
2.2.2	Risk factors on a social level	37
2.2.2.1	Urbanisation	37
2.2.2.2	Unemployment	38
2.2.2.3	The “culture of violence”	39
2.2.2.4	Family structures and family dysfunction	41
2.2.2.5	Lack of parental supervision and privacy	43
2.2.2.6	Alcohol and drug availability	44
2.2.2.7	School environment	46
2.2.2.8	Prior victimisation	47
2.2.2.9	Media	49
2.2.2.10	Peer relationships	54
2.3	CONCLUSION	57
<b>CHAPTER 3</b>		
<b>THEORETICAL CONTEXTUALISATION</b>		<b>59</b>
3.1	PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES	59
3.1.1	Sigmund Freud’s Psychoanalytic Theory (1856 - 1939)	60
3.1.1.1	Exposition of the theory	60
3.1.1.2	Application of the theory to youth sex offending	62
3.1.1.3	Evaluation of the theory	64
3.1.1.3.1	Contributions of the theory	64
3.1.1.3.2	Limitations of the theory	64
3.1.2	Erik Erikson’s Psychosocial Theory of Personality Development (1902 -1994)	65
3.1.2.1	Exposition of the theory	66
3.1.2.2	Application of the theory to youth sex offending	69
3.1.2.3	Evaluation of the theory	70
3.1.2.3.1	Contributions of the theory	70
3.1.2.3.2	Limitations of the theory	71
3.2	SOCIAL THEORIES	71
3.2.1	Albert Bandura’s Social Cognition Theory (1925 - )	71
3.2.1.1	Exposition of the theory	72
3.2.1.2	Application of the theory to youth sex offending	74
3.2.1.3	Evaluation of the theory	76
3.2.1.3.1	Contributions of the theory	76
3.2.1.3.2	Limitations of the theory	77
3.3	INTEGRATED THEORIES	77
3.3.1	William Marshall (1935 -) and Howard Barbaree’s Integrated Theory (1937 -)	77
3.3.1.1	Exposition of the theory	77
3.3.1.2	Application of the theory to youth sex offending	80
3.3.1.3	Evaluation of the theory	80
3.3.1.3.1	Contributions of the theory	80



3.3.1.3.2	Limitations of the theory	81
3.3.2	Neil Malamuth's Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression (1951 - )	82
3.3.2.1	Exposition of the theory	82
3.3.2.2	Application of the theory to youth sex offending	85
3.3.2.3	Evaluation of the theory	87
3.3.2.3.1	Contributions of the theory	87
3.3.2.3.2	Limitations of the theory	87
3.4	CONCLUSION	87
<b>CHAPTER 4</b>		
<b>RESEARCH DESIGN: METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES</b>		<b>89</b>
4.1	QUALITATIVE RESEARCH	89
4.2	PROCEDURES	91
4.2.1	The pilot study	92
4.2.1.1	Pilot-testing of the data collection instrument	92
4.2.1.2	Feasibility of the study	93
4.2.2	Literature review	93
4.2.3	Research population: sampling and sampling method	94
4.3	MEASUREMENT	96
4.3.1	The interviewing procedure	96
4.3.2	The semi-structured interview as a data collection instrument	97
4.4	THE INTERVIEWING PROCESS	99
4.4.1	Interview setting	99
4.4.2	Interviewing procedures	100
4.4.3	Interview duration	101
4.5	DATA ANALYSIS	101
4.6	ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	104
4.6.1	Informed consent	105
4.6.2	Privacy and confidentiality	106
4.6.3	Avoidance of harm	107
4.6.4	Deception	107
4.6.5	Release or publication of findings	108
4.6.6	Debriefing	108
4.7	CONCLUSION	109
<b>CHAPTER 5</b>		
<b>ANALYSIS OF COLLECTED DATA</b>		<b>110</b>
5.1	DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS	110



5.2	STEP 1: HORIZONTALISATION OF DATA	111
5.3	STEP 2: ELIMINATION OF THEMES	112
5.4	STEP 3: CLUSTERING	113
5.5	STEP 4: VALIDATION	114
5.6	STEP 5 AND 6: TEXTURAL AND STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTIONS	117
5.6.1	Incomplete family structure	117
5.6.1.1	Absent father	117
5.6.1.2	Absence of both parents	118
5.6.2	Substance abuse	119
5.6.2.1	Personal substance abuse	119
5.6.2.2	Family substance abuse	121
5.6.3	The “culture of violence”	123
5.6.3.1	Violence towards respondents at school	123
5.6.3.2	Violence committed by respondents at school	123
5.6.3.3	Violence towards respondents at home	124
5.6.3.4	Violence committed by respondents at home	125
5.6.3.5	Violence towards respondents in the community	125
5.6.3.6	Violence committed by respondents in the community	126
5.6.4	Pornography	126
5.6.4.1	Viewing of any form of pornography	126
5.6.4.2	No viewing of any form of pornography	127
5.6.5	Influence of pornography	128
5.6.5.1	No influence of pornography	128
5.6.5.2	Negative influence of pornography	129
5.6.6	Rape myths	131
5.6.7	Previous sexual conduct	132
5.6.7.1	Sexual actions towards respondents	132
5.6.7.2	Sexual comments towards respondents	133
5.6.7.3	Sexual actions committed by respondents	133
5.6.7.4	Sexual comments by respondents	134
5.6.8	Previous sexual victimisation	134
5.6.8.1	Family	134
5.6.8.2	Peer or community	135
5.6.9	Peer influence	135
5.6.9.1	Specific influence of peers	136
5.6.9.2	Possible influence of peers	138
5.7	CONCLUSION	139
<b>CHAPTER 6</b>		
<b>DATA INTERPRETATION, ACHIEVEMENT OF OBJECTIVES AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b>		<b>140</b>
6.1	DATA INTERPRETATION	140
6.1.1	Incomplete family structure	140
6.1.1.1	Absent father	141



6.1.1.2	Absence of both parents	143
6.1.2	Substance abuse	145
6.1.2.1	Personal substance abuse	145
6.1.2.2	Family substance abuse	147
6.1.3	The “culture of violence”	148
6.1.3.1	Violence towards respondents at school	150
6.1.3.2	Violence committed by respondents at school	151
6.1.3.3	Violence towards respondents at home	151
6.1.3.4	Violence committed by respondents at home	152
6.1.3.5	Violence towards respondents in the community	153
6.1.3.6	Violence committed by respondents in the community	153
6.1.4	Pornography	154
6.1.4.1	Viewing of any form of pornography	155
6.1.4.2	No viewing of any form of pornography	156
6.1.5	Influence of pornography	156
6.1.5.1	No influence of pornography	158
6.1.5.2	Negative influence of pornography	159
6.1.6	Rape myths	160
6.1.7	Previous sexual conduct	162
6.1.7.1	Sexual actions towards respondents	162
6.1.7.2	Sexual comments towards respondents	163
6.1.7.3	Sexual actions committed by respondents	163
6.1.7.4	Sexual comments by respondents	163
6.1.8	Previous sexual victimisation	164
6.1.8.1	Family	165
6.1.8.2	Peer or community	165
6.1.9	Peer influence	165
6.1.9.1	Specific influence of peers	167
6.1.9.2	Possible influence of peers	168
6.2	INTERDEPENDANCE OF THE IDENTIFIED RISK FACTORS	169
6.3	POSSIBLE METHODS OF ADDRESSING RISK FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO YOUTH SEX OFFENDING AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	171
6.3.1	Incomplete family structure	171
6.3.2	Substance abuse	172
6.3.3	The “culture of violence”	173
6.3.4	Pornography and rape myths	175
6.3.5	Previous sexual conduct and sexual victimisation	176
6.3.6	Peer influence	177
6.3.7	Future research recommendations	180
6.4	CONCLUDING THOUGHTS	180
6.5	ACKNOWLEDGED LIMITATIONS	182
6.6	ACHIEVEMENT OF THE AIMS OF THIS STUDY	183
6.6.1	Determination of risk factors contributing to youth sex offending as identified by youth sex offenders	183
6.6.2	Comprehension of these risk factors through a thorough literature	



6.6.3	review	183
6.6.3	Description of these risk factors and possible ways of addressing them	183
6.6.4	Production of a qualitative research report on risk factors that contribute to youth sex offending	184
6.7	VALUE OF THE STUDY	184
6.8	CONCLUSION	185
<b>REFERENCES</b>		<b>186</b>
<b>APPENDIX A</b>		<b>206</b>
<b>APPENDIX B</b>		<b>207</b>
<b>APPENDIX C</b>		<b>208</b>
<b>APPENDIX D</b>		<b>211</b>
<b>APPENDIX E</b>		<b>214</b>
<b>TABLES AND FIGURES</b>		
Table 1:	Two categories of youth sex offenders	29
Table 2:	Structure of the personality	61
Table 3:	Erikson's psychosocial development stages	67
Table 4:	Emergent themes	111
Table 5:	Emergent and sub-ordinate themes after elimination	113
Table 6:	Emergent themes, sub-ordinate themes and motivating statements	114
Figure 1:	Static and dynamic risk factors	12
Figure 2:	Constellation of risk factors	33
Figure 3:	The developmental-learning environment: environment, developmental stage and social learning	74
Figure 4:	Malamuth's model of the characteristics of sexually coercive men	85
Figure 5:	Stages in the research process	91
Figure 6:	The possible pathways that could lead to the committal of a sex offence	170

## SUMMARY

**TITLE:** A psychocriminological investigation into risk factors contributing to youth sex offending

**STUDENT:** Tara Farrer Harris

**SUPERVISOR:** Prof Christiaan Bezuidenhout

**DEPARTMENT:** Social Work and Criminology

**DEGREE:** Magister Artium

---

Youth sex offenders are not a homogenous population. 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 (“hands on” or “hands off”) and levels (level 1, 2, or 3) of offences and lastly their motivations for committing a sex offence. The motivations are linked to the risk factors to which an individual is exposed, for example, a youth that was previously sexually victimised could sexually act out his experiences.

A qualitative approach was used in this study. The researcher aimed to gain a holistic comprehension of the risk factors that youth attribute to their sex offending behaviour and thus this was the most appropriate approach to use. A semi-structured interview schedule was used as the data collection method as this allowed the researcher the freedom to change the sequence and forms of the questions in order to follow up on responses. The function of this interview schedule was to direct the researcher to ensure that she covered all the themes needed to obtain the necessary data. The interview schedule was made up of nine categories, namely: biographic characteristics, academic performance, extramural activities, substance use, family substance use problems, family and community violence, emotional status, caring and attachment to family and peers, sexual abuse and knowledge about sex.

After the interviews were conducted, the data was transcribed, analysed and interpreted. The researcher made use of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) to determine the emergent themes. The researcher eliminated the emergent themes that were impossible to label, or those deemed to be irrelevant to the study. Thereafter, the researcher clustered the emergent themes into sub-ordinate themes and validated these main and sub-ordinate themes. The researcher then provided a textural description to depict the experience and a structural

description to depict the possible explanation of the experience of the respondents. Finally, a composite description provided the structure for the interpretation of the data. The researcher interpreted the main and sub-ordinate themes with relation to the literature review and the theories deemed useful in explaining the risk factors associated with youth sex offending, namely: Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic theory, Erik Erikson's psychosocial theory of personality development, Albert Bandura's social cognition theory, William Marshall and Howard Barbaree's integrated theory, and Neil Malamuth's confluence model of sexual aggression.

The analysis and interpretation of the data revealed certain possible risk factors that could contribute to the phenomenon of youth sex offending in South Africa. The researcher provided possible methods of addressing these risk factors. The dearth of knowledge regarding the phenomenon of youth sex offending highlights the need for further research and the researcher made several recommendations regarding future research prospects in order to address this social problem and to give youth sex offenders the best chance of adopting pro-social behaviour.

Key concepts: Psychocriminology, qualitative research, youth sex offender, risk factors, individual level risk factors, social level risk factors, psychological theories, social theories, integrated theories, interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA).

# 1. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS, PROBLEM STATEMENT AND GENERAL ORIENTATION

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Youth sex offending in South Africa (SA) has been recognised only recently as a significant social problem and consequently a dearth in research exists regarding this phenomenon. A lack of evidence therefore surrounds the extent of and the issues that relate to youth sex offending in SA (Ehlers & Wood, 2001; Mbambo, 2002:29). It is difficult to establish the extent of child-on-child and child-on-adult sex offending in SA because not all of these cases are reported and recorded (Canham, 2006; Stout, 2003:14). However, it is estimated that children commit 42% of the sex offences reported to Childline (Maughan, 2006:1; Molosankwe, 2007:5; Vanzant, 2004). Recent statistics from the Department of Correctional Services show that on 31 January 2007, a total of 288 children were in prison for crimes of a sexual nature. This total comprised of 119 sentenced individuals, while the majority were still awaiting trial (Department of Correctional Services [DCS]; 2007). An investigation by a journalist from the Pretoria News newspaper established that the number of sexually related offences processed by the State has nearly doubled since the end of 2005. In the same article, it is stated that 82 children are charged on a daily basis for indecently assaulting or raping other children in SA (Maughan, 2006:1).

Youth sex offending is under-reported for a number of reasons and thus the extent of the problem is difficult to grasp (Adolescent Sex Offenders, 1997). Reasons for under-reporting and the resultant lack of research include: arrest records can misrepresent the actual extent of the problem as such crimes can be reported but not necessarily recorded. Furthermore, even if the crime is recorded it does not necessarily lead to an arrest. There are no national crime statistics that can highlight the problem and sexual aggression among children is often reduced to or justified as sexual experimentation. Victims do not report their ordeal for fear of being blamed or further attacks by the perpetrator. In the case of adults, they are reluctant to report that they have been sexually assaulted by a child for fear of no-one believing them due to the reversal of socially accepted power roles. Also, youths do not often refer themselves for treatment because they may rationalise their crimes or they may have difficulty seeking treatment because they lack the independence (i.e. they may have trouble getting transport to a clinic or to another professional) (Adolescent Sex Offenders, 1997).

By incorporating theoretical knowledge and the responses of convicted youth sex offenders, the risk factors and the stages of development that may put a child at risk of engaging in coercive sexual behaviour can be identified. Such knowledge would also contribute to more

effective intervention programmes. Currently, intervention programmes are based on a curative approach and often treat the symptoms, not the cause of the behaviour. If the youth, families and communities in SA were provided with information to make educated decisions, this type of interpersonal crime and the trauma it causes could be minimised. This, in turn, could reduce the increasing burden that is placed on South African law enforcement, legal, medical and social welfare resources.

However, to intervene with youth sex offenders, it is vital to understand the complexity of this social problem. The proposed study aims to identify risk factors in youth sex offending in order to gain a better understanding of this phenomenon. These risk factors will be examined within the holistic context of the problem and not in isolation so that the complexity of this socially unacceptable behaviour becomes apparent. This will ensure a better comprehension of the problem and possibly provide some answers on how to address youth sex offending in SA.

Before the problem statement is put forward a few concepts central to this topic will be operationally defined. This will enable the reader to have a clear understanding of the meaning of the central concepts in the current study.

## **1.2 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS**

In a study of this nature, it is important to define key concepts because these determine the way certain acts are contextualised (Mayas, Currie, Macleod, Gillies & Warden, 1992:16). Furthermore, it prevents misconstruing information and addresses the problem of uncertainty regarding the meaning or use of concepts in a study. These concepts then form the foundation for a more informed discussion in the subsequent chapters. The following have been identified as concepts central to this study:

### **1.2.1 Sexual abuse and sex offending**

Sexual abuse and sex offending, like all antisocial behaviour, can be defined according to characteristics of the offender, the victim and the acts themselves. In this particular case, a distinction must be made between sexual abuse and sex offending.

Sexual abuse can be defined as “a sexual act with another person who does not or cannot give informed consent” (Hoghughi, 1997:3). This type of act can be committed by a parent, another child or a stranger and can be classified along a continuum of mild to serious –

depending on the sexual act and the physical injury (if any) that were inflicted on the victim (Hoghughi, 1997:3). Lawrence and Janse van Rensburg (2006:128) define sexual abuse as “any action that violates, humiliates or exploits, or attempts to violate, humiliate or exploit, the bodily integrity or dignity of the complainant which has an element of a sexual nature.”

Any accusation of sexual abuse has profound implications for the alleged perpetrator and if warranted, a legal investigation will take place. According to Hoghughi (1997:3), it is at this point that sexual abuse and sex offending overlap. In essence, the only factor that separates the two is that sex offending falls into a specific legal definition, can be investigated and may be subjected to judicial action (Hoghughi, 1997:3). Thus, sex offending is a sexual violation that has been discovered (Hoghughi, 1997:3).

According to the National Research Council (2001:317) a sex offence includes statutory rape as well as all other offences against chastity, common decency and morals. Attempts to commit crimes of this nature are included in this definition. Rich (2003:16) states that sex offending is “any sexual behaviour that occurs without consent, without equality, or as a result of coercion.” Similarly, Ryan (1997:5) suggests that a sexual offence is “any sexual interaction with person(s) of any age that is perpetrated (1) against the victim’s will, (2) without consent, or (3) in an aggressive, exploitative, manipulative or threatening manner.” Alzajreh (1993:425) introduced the concept of a “sex offence” and indicated that it is also a transgression against the norms and values of society. Breer (1987:5) suggested that the psychodynamics that separate normal sexual behaviour and sex offending behaviour should be included in a definition of a sex offence because “part of the sexual gratification obtained by the perpetrator arises from controlling, dominating and/or humiliating the sexual partner.” Lawrence and Janse van Rensburg (2006:128) define sex offences simply as a sexual act where “the complainant’s consent was not consciously given.”

The problem with defining sex offending among juveniles is that peers often coerce one another to become involved in certain acts. Furthermore, it becomes difficult to delineate between experimentation and sex offending in young people because adolescence is a time when the youth explore their sexuality. It would follow that there may be a certain amount of coercion in sexual relationships between adolescents (Rich, 2003:17). It is vital to distinguish between exploration and exploitation in order to further our understanding of youth sex offending. It is clear that each case needs to be examined individually to decide whether it falls into the “sex offence” category.

For the purpose of this research, determining whether coercion was a factor or not or whether the behaviour is deemed abusive is not important, because the sample of participants are those who have already admitted to committing an offence and thus the behaviour is deemed unacceptable or criminal.

The operational definition of youth sex offending is therefore any sexual act that is committed by a child under the age of 18 years, with any person against their will that does not or cannot give consent, and where any perceived or actual threat or coercion is present.

### **1.2.2 Child, youth and adolescence**

A child is defined by the new Child Justice Act and in the 1996 Constitution of South Africa Section 28(3) as someone under the age of 18 years (Bezuidenhout, 2008:11; Child Justice Bill Synopsis, 2003:3; Gallinetti, 2009:13). A child and an adolescent are deemed minors in Western society. In Western society “minority” implies that a person is dependent on others (e.g. parents), while “majority” means that the person has the ability to manage his or her own affairs. In the past coming of age was 21 years. This meant that society and the legal system deemed you an adult when you turned 21 years. Since 1 July 2007 this has changed as the then President, Thabo Mbeki signed a proclamation that instituted the commencement of certain sections of the Children’s Act (Act No. 38 of 2005). One section regarding the legal age of adulthood or age of majority is now in power. “Adulthood” is reached as soon as a person turns 18 years. This implies that 18 year olds can now get married and sign contracts without the acknowledgement of their parents or guardians (Bezuidenhout, 2008:11; Government Gazette/Staatskoerant, 2007:3).

The age of majority must not be seen as synonymous with maturity as an adult. Adults are considered mature enough to manage their own affairs. In other words, the adult person is someone who has, in a legal sense, obtained the full ability and capacity to act independently. A large percentage of individuals will be in Grade 12 (if they are still in school) when they reach the modified age of majority. Some may have reached a degree of maturity by the age of 18 years, but this is not true for everyone. “Majority status” does not imply that the full ability and capacity to act independently has been reached. The Criminal Justice System (CJS), especially courts, will probably still take “youthfulness” into consideration when a person is sentenced. It is also probable that the Correctional Services will still be attentive to the issue of “youthfulness” when a person is sentenced to jail and will still consider separating 21-year-olds and younger youth from the adult prison population (Bezuidenhout, 2008:12).

It is important to discuss “youthfulness” as a mitigating factor as it is relevant to the phenomenon of youth sex offending. It is widely accepted that the concept of “youthfulness” encompasses being immature, lacking life experience, being reckless and is a mental state in which one is easily influenced (Du Toit, 2006:16; Gallinetti, 2009:18; Yehia, 2007:5). It is therefore not possible to measure children against the same standards as adults. Yehia (2007:2) and Gallinetti (2009:18) indicate that the age of an offender needs to be taken into consideration for a number of reasons:

- The youth are more susceptible to negative influences and outside pressures, especially peer pressure;
- The character of a youth is still in the process of being formed and it thus less fixed and more transitory than that of an adult;
- The vulnerability of the youth to irresponsible and/or immoral behaviour means that this type of behaviour is less blameworthy as that of an adult;
- The relevance of youth as a mitigating factor is clear in that the qualities associated with the youth are transient and as such as an individual matures, certain reckless, irresponsible and/or immoral behaviour may subside.

Du Toit (2006:17) summarises the necessity to make exceptions for young offenders and age as a mitigating factor as follows:

Their degree of responsibility and blameworthiness is less because of their immaturity, their susceptibility to negative influence, and their natural tendency to impulsive ill-considered behaviour. Further, young offenders possess greater potential for rehabilitation because their character is not well formed and there is a greater chance that deficiencies can be corrected.

The sample for this study is youths aged 13 to 18 years. These youths will be categorised as adolescents because of their life stage. Those youths in the sample who are 18 years of age will not be deemed adults in this study, but will still be categorised as adolescents.

In view of this it becomes important to define adolescence. The term adolescence is Latin in origin and comes from the verb *adolescere*, which means “to grow up” (Gouws & Kruger, 1994:3). According to Bartollas (1997:68), adolescence is a period in the life cycle that bridges the gap between childhood and adulthood. An adolescent is therefore an individual that is in the developmental phase that starts with puberty and ends with maturity or adulthood. Age limits of 12 or 13 years to 18 or 19 years are commonly accepted as defining adolescence (Tilley, 1998:2). In this study, the words “child” and “youth” and “adolescent” will

be used interchangeably and, where necessary, specific problems or issues with regard to specific developmental phases will be highlighted and explained.

The operational definition of a youth is therefore any individual, ranging from 12 to 18 years old, who is in the developmental stage between puberty and maturity or between childhood and adulthood.

### **1.2.3 Youth misbehaviour**

Juvenile delinquency is an imprecise label for a variety of law-breaking or norm-violating behaviours (Bartol, 2002:29). According to Bartol (2002:29) juvenile delinquency is “behaviour against the criminal code committed by an individual who has not reached adulthood.” The Merriam-Webster Dictionary of Law (1996) defines juvenile delinquency as “(1) conduct by a juvenile characterised by antisocial behaviour that is beyond parental control and therefore subject to legal action, (2) a violation of the law committed by a juvenile and not punishable by death or life imprisonment.”

Youth misbehaviour encompasses a variety of behaviour that can be classed as antisocial or deviant (Smith, 2007). Bezuidenhout (2007:ii) and Mfusi (2007) state that children are increasingly involved in rebellious behaviour such as playing truant, drug and alcohol use, high risk leisure time activities and sexual promiscuity. However, they are also involved in serious, violent crime such as gang activities, school fights, armed robbery, hijacking, rape and murder (Bezuidenhout, 2007:ii).

The term youth misbehaviour will be used in this study instead of juvenile delinquency. The reason for this is that juvenile delinquency has negative connotations and may have a labelling effect on youths (Bezuidenhout, 2003:7; Brown, 2005:38; Miner, Borduin, Prescott, Bovensmann, Schepker, Du Bois, Schladale, Eher, Schmeck, Langfedt, Smit & Pfäfflin, 2006:3). This can lead to negative responses from those involved with the youth and also results in the youth internalising the label “juvenile delinquent” and thus engaging in deviant behaviour (Bezuidenhout, 2003:7). Furthermore, Brown (2005:38) states that such labelling may block change and make it harder for a youth to accept responsibility and engage fully in an intervention programme. Reasons for this include the belief that they are incapable of altering their offending behaviour, or that they do not need to be held accountable for their behaviour because they are beyond help or because they are “a youth sex offender” and that is the behaviour in which youth sex offenders engage. Peacock (2008:63) furthers this by

stating that negative labelling can encourage negative identity formation as the youth incorporates societal reactions towards misbehaviour into his identity.

For this study, youth misbehaviour will refer to both the illegal actions committed by youth sex offenders and also to any behaviour that is seen to be harmful either to the individual or to society as a whole (Bezuidenhout, 2003:7).

#### **1.2.4 Psychocriminology**

Psychological criminology is defined by Bartol (2002:5) as “the science of the behaviour and mental processes of the criminal.” Hollin (2002:144) states that psychological criminology refers to the meeting of psychology and criminology and that psychological criminology is concerned with the use of psychology to attempt to explain or describe criminal behaviour. The main focus of this field is on the individual criminal behaviour, specifically, how it is acquired, evoked, maintained and modified. Importantly, both social and personality influences on criminal behaviour are considered (Bartol, 2002:5).

Hollin’s (2002:144) definition is most pertinent to this study because the researcher aims to determine risk factors that contribute to youth sex offending. Such risk factors can be static or dynamic and therefore encompass all individual and social aspects relevant to the individual’s sexual misbehaviour or sexual victimising behaviour.

#### **1.2.5 Youth sex offender**

Hunter (2000) defines a youth sex offender as “any adolescent from 13 years to 17 years who commits illegal sexual behaviour as defined by the sex crimes statutes of the jurisdiction in which the offence occurred.” This definition addresses the American context as no jurisdictions exist in SA. This definition therefore cannot be used for this study. However the Sexual Offences Amendment Act (Act No 32 of 2007) stipulates what is deemed to be a sex offence for the South African context. According to Barbaree and Marshall (2006:2) a sex offender is a “person who has been convicted in a criminal court of a sexual crime.” Both of these definitions are useful because they are legal definitions and the study focuses on identifying risk factors from already convicted youth sex offenders. However, the definition provided by Barbaree and Marshall excludes individuals that are suspected of committing sex offences (i.e. they are charged but not convicted of a sex offence). It also excludes those that display, what society deems to be, socially undesirable or deviant sexual behaviours.

Legal definitions also require some form of criminal responsibility. It is important to define and explain criminal responsibility because the sample for this study are youth that have either been convicted, or are awaiting trial and thus they have already come into contact with the law. According to Gallinetti (2009:17) criminal responsibility can be defined as:

the age at which a child has the mental capacity to distinguish between right and wrong and can understand or appreciate the consequences involved (cognitive mental function) and can act in accordance with such understanding or appreciation (conative mental function). It is the age at which children have the capacity to commit crimes and accept responsibility for their actions.

In South Africa, the minimum age of criminal responsibility is ten years of age. This means that a child who (at the time of the alleged commission of the offence) is below the age of ten years cannot be prosecuted and is presumed to be *doli incapax* or lacking all criminal responsibility (Gallinetti, 2009:18). Any child over the age of ten years, but below the age of 14 years is presumed not to have criminal capacity unless it can be proved otherwise. Children who are 14 years of age or older are seen to have full criminal capacity (Gallinetti, 2009:18).

Legal definitions are not the only definitions for youth sex offenders. The author of The Children's Services Practice Notes (2002) states that any youth who engages in sexual behaviour without consent, without equality, and as a result of coercion, manipulation, game-playing or deception could be a youth sex offender. This definition is limited in that it makes it essential for consent and equality to be lacking and for some form of coercion to be present. A girl of 16 years old could refuse consent to a boyfriend of the same age, but because they are the same age, it could be argued that they are functioning on the same level of power and that the boy did not coerce the girl. In other words, in these circumstances, consent is lacking, but not equality. The following questions arise from this: Is this a sex offence?; What is meant by game-playing or deception? A boy could tell his girlfriend that he loves her and she could agree to have sex with him, after which he could call the relationship off. How can one argue whether or not he really loved her, or if he was deceptive purely to get her to have sex? This definition is too broad and imprecise and leaves too many questions unanswered and therefore will not serve as the operational definition for the study.

Symboluk (1999:1) defines a youth sex offender as "a youth between the ages of 12 and 18 years of age who engage in illegal sexual behaviour with younger-aged victims who are unable to give consent." Another definition provided by Barbaree and Marshall (2006:3) is that a youth sex offender is "a person who has been convicted of a sexual offence and is

considered by law to be old enough to be held criminally responsible for the crime (generally by age of 12 years), but not old enough to be subjected to the full range of adult criminal sanctions (as would be the case after his or her 18<sup>th</sup> birthday).”

As illustrated above, definitions relating to sex offences can be somewhat problematic because not all these offences involve genital-genital or object-genital penetration and there is often an absence of aggression or violence. The definition provided by Symboluk (1991:1) is also questionable because it specifies that the victim has to be younger than the offender and also has the inability to give consent. An offender can commit a sex offence on a victim that could give consent but did not do so. Also, not all victims are younger than the offender and thus this definition is not suitable for this research.

It is easy to identify a sex offence when there is a wide age gap between the adolescent offender and the victim, or when force or violence is used to commit the offence. However, as the age gap between the offender and the victim narrows, or if the behaviour involves an absence of force or aggression, this becomes more difficult (Adolescent Sex Offenders, 1997). It is then essential to assess the behaviour in terms of imbalances of power, coercion and “true consent” (Adolescent Sex Offenders, 1997). Consent in this context is a difficult concept to fathom because a girl can be 16 years of age and even if she consented to having sex with a male of 18 years of age he committed statutory rape. It is therefore difficult to categorise true consent. In order to provide an operational definition of a youth sex offender, the concepts of consent, equality and coercion need to be defined.

#### **1.2.5.1 Consent**

Consent is defined by Rich (2003:22) as:

An agreement that includes an understanding of the proposed behaviour or interaction based on age, maturity, developmental level, functioning, and experience; knowledge of social standards for the proposed behaviour or interaction; awareness of possible consequences and alternatives; honouring agreement or disagreement; voluntary decision; and mental competence.

Finkelhor (1979:694) expressed two preconditions to true consent, namely “full knowledge about what is being consented to and absolute freedom to accept or decline.” It is clear from these two definitions that comprehending the proposed behaviour and having the freedom of choice to accept or decline both have to be present for true consent to be given. With regards to sex offending, particularly with adolescent or adult victims, it is the lack of freedom

of choice that is most often prevalent. Children by definition do not have the psychological capacity to give true consent (Barbaree & Marshall, 2006:10) and therefore any sexual activity with a child is considered sexually abusive and if reported and charged, could be seen as sex offending. Sexual activity between adolescents is considered abusive if coercion, a power imbalance or inequality between the two engaging parties is present (Barbaree & Marshall, 2006:10).

#### **1.2.5.2 Equality**

Equality is defined as “two participants operating with the same level of power in a relationship in which neither is controlled or coerced by the other” (Rich, 2003:22).

#### **1.2.5.3 Coercion**

Coercion is “an exploitation of authority and use of bribes, threats of force, or intimidation to gain co-operation or compliance” (Rich, 2003:22).

According to Ryan and Lane (1991:3) a youth sex offender is “an adolescent, male or female 18 years of age or below who commits any sexual act with a person of any age, against the victim’s will, without true consent, or in an aggressive, exploitive or threatening manner.” For this research, the participants are convicted or awaiting trial youth sex offenders and therefore the definition provided by Ryan and Lane (1991:3) is appropriate and will be used as the operational definition in this study.

#### **1.2.6 Risk factors**

Rich (2003:73) describes risk factors as anything that increases the probability that an individual will engage in a certain type of behaviour. These factors are not necessarily causative, but can be associated with the behaviour. Furthermore, they are dynamic and are not restricted to only one environment (Rich, 2003:73). Risk factors are biological, environmental and social factors that contribute to the initiation and maintenance of antisocial behaviour. Booyens (2003:25) defines risk factors as “several individual and social factors that are known to be associated with an increased potential for later criminal behaviour.” Andrews, Bonta and Hoge (1990:59) postulate that risk factors represent certain variables within the individual or within the current environment that are associated with criminal activity. The presence of such a variable leads to a heightened risk of antisocial or deviant behaviour. Risk factors can be regarded as “conditions that increase the likelihood that a

child or a young person will develop one or more behavioural problems in adolescence” (Family Preservation Project, 1998:53). A criminogenic risk factor is one that is specifically pertinent to criminal behaviour.

Youth sex offending does not stem from a single factor, but rather from a combination of factors that are interlinked. The onset of sex offending can be connected to numerous factors related to experiences, exposure to sexual behaviour and biological development (Hunter, 1999:1; Rich, 2003:47; Ryan, 2000:11). It is essential to understand that possible causative factors are multiple for each offender and that the make-up of such risk factors is unique for each individual (Van Niekerk, 2006:104). These risk factors can be divided into three categories:

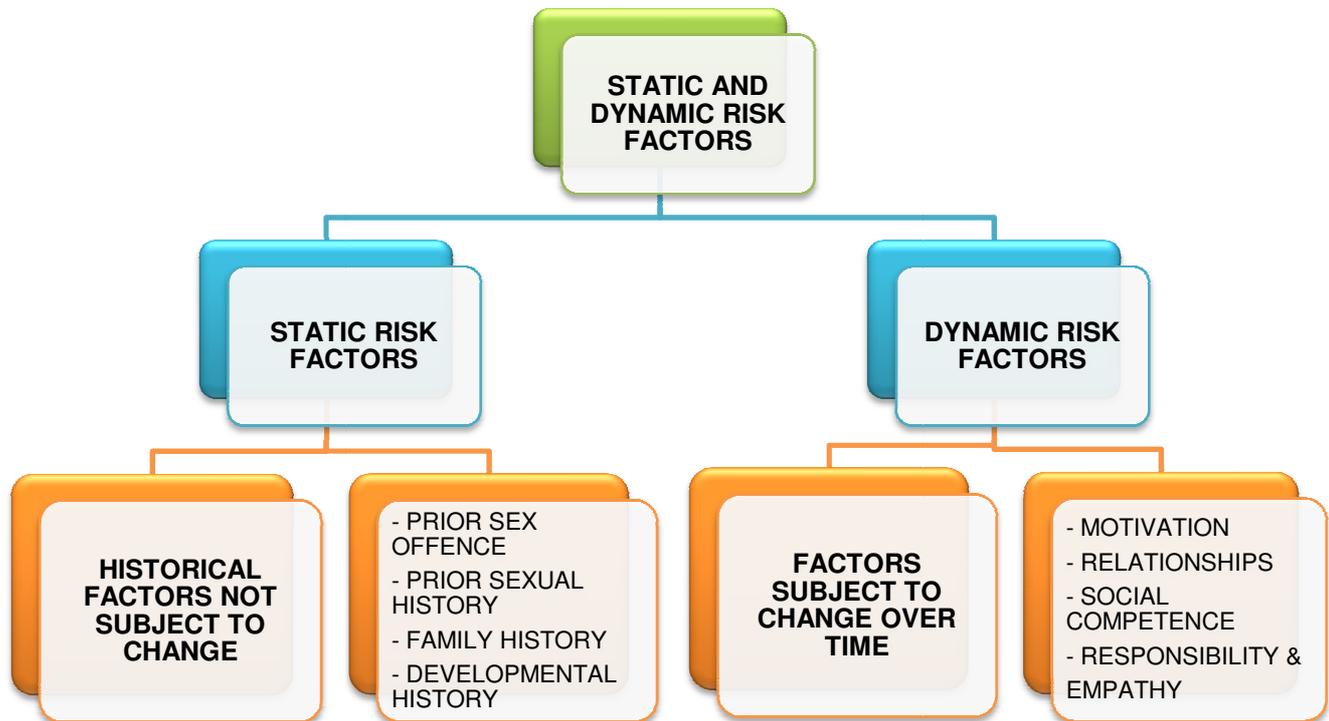
#### **1.2.6.1 Static risk factors**

Rich (2003:133) states that static risk factors are significant behaviours and experiences that do not change because they have already occurred and therefore they will remain unchanged over time. Static risk factors “represent variables that are not amenable to change” (Andrews et al., 1990:50). Such factors include age, previous offence history, family history, developmental history and previous sexual behaviour. Static risk factors can predict recidivism, but are absolute and cannot be altered by outside influences (Andrews et al. 1990:50; Rich, 2003:133).

#### **1.2.6.2 Dynamic risk factors**

Dynamic risk factors are associated with current behaviour, attitudes, thoughts, feelings, interactions and relationships (Rich, 2003:133). Dynamic risk factors are amenable to change, “and they are subject to modification” (Maree, 2003:53). Dynamic risk factors contribute directly to criminal behaviour and therefore treatment is generally directed at the dynamic risk factors, because these are the risk factors that are open to modification. Modification of these factors can lead to reduced recidivism. Dynamic risk factors include situational factors such as family situations and environmental conditions that may change (Rich, 2003:134). In this regard Maree (2003:53) also states that these risk factors can constitute need factors because if these conditions are changed, there is a possibility of the negative outcome related with the risk factor being reduced.

**Figure 1: Static and dynamic risk factors**



(Adapted from Rich, 2003:135).

### 1.2.6.3 Criminogenic need or risk factors

These are factors specifically connected to antisocial behaviour. Andrews et al (1990:49) further this statement by stating that a criminogenic risk factor is one that “may involve risk of the initiation or continuation of a criminal activity or of a more specific outcome such as serious or violent criminal activity.” Maree (2003:53) postulates that if such conditions change, it may result in the reduction of the chances that a youth will engage in antisocial behaviour or continue with criminal activities.

Furthermore, risk factors can be divided into societal or community-level, social-level and individual-level categories (Bartol, 2002:38, National Research Council, 2001:67). Societal or community-level risk factors include for example, school behaviour and punishment policies, an adverse environment, poverty, gang activity and unemployment (National Research Council, 2001:83-100). Social-level risk factors include family structure, social setting, parental disciplinary practices, substance abuse, and exposure to violence and peer influences (Bartol, 2002:46; National Research Council, 2001:75-80). Individual-level risk

factors include age, prenatal and perinatal factors and individual capabilities, competencies and characteristics (National Research Council, 2001:67-71).

Thus the operational definition for risk factors is any external (e.g. poverty) and developmentally (e.g. peer group association) or any internal (e.g. attitudes) and biologically (e.g. age) driven factor or a combination of these factors that has an impact on or an association with future behaviour, in this case sexual aggression.

### **1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Mouton (2001:4) states that three factors need to be considered when formulating a research problem. The first factor, which Mouton refers to as the “what” of the study, is the unit of analysis; the second is the research goal and objective which looks at whether the research will be basic or applied and whether it is exploratory, explanatory or descriptive in nature; and the third is the research approach – either quantitative, qualitative or combined.

Maree (2003:53) mentions that the identification of causes and phenomena associated with crime is one of the most popular goals in criminology. The reason for this is that such knowledge has practical value and strengthens the belief that such knowledge can be utilised in addressing or attempting to correct or control crime. Information regarding the origin and consequences of youth sex offending and the possible risk factors that are related to it is limited. Research of this nature 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. In the case of adolescents that have been placed in a diversion programme, they could deny the extent of their behaviour (Van Niekerk, 2006:101). 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). Researchers must therefore recognise the sensitivity of the subject matter and respond accordingly in order to extract as much information as possible from the youth so that this phenomenon can be better understood.
- 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 undefined.
- 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, Morton-Bourgon & Madrigano, 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). As stated by Van Niekerk (2006:102) research into the development of sex offending behaviour is vital for any kind of understanding about this phenomenon. Without such an understanding, it is clear that developing preventative strategies, assessing rehabilitation potential and designing

rehabilitation programmes is a daunting task (Van Niekerk, 2006:102). The possible risk factors that could be identified from this study can be used to target high-risk youth and plan prevention strategies.

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.

During the literature review for orientation purposes the researcher found little evidence on the current topic. This further underlines the need for the current study. Furthermore, there is a lack of theoretical contextualisation with reference to youth sex offending and so the researcher has identified existing theories that can help to explain the phenomenon and guide the current study. The theories focus on the development and learning processes of a child and how environmental factors could shape behaviour in childhood.

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 the literature review has shown that 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. This is illustrated in the case of Siphon Dube, one of SA's most notorious serial rapists and killers. The Star newspaper published an article in which

Shaheda Omar, the therapeutic manager of the Teddy Bear Clinic, stated that he was an untreated child sex offender who progressed to an adult pathological sexual abuser (Serial murderer Dube..., 2006:5). Dube was only seven years old when he started sexually abusing other children. Omar stresses that “we need to help children before they make that transition from experimenters to abusers” (Serial murderer Dube..., 2006:5). If this research can unravel the risk factors clearly, pro-active interventions can be developed.

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.

As much as youths in SA form the minority group of the overall sex offending population, it is nevertheless a grave social problem that needs to be researched (Hunter, 2000). 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). There are different classification systems for problematic sexual behaviour. In order to guide the research with regard to risk factors, the following three forms of inappropriate sexual behaviour have been identified:

**(i) Non-contact abuse that does not involve any physical contact**

Examples of non-contact abuse include voyeurism, exhibitionism, the watching of pornography, verbal or non-verbal gestures, sexual harassment and taking photographs of a naked person against their will (Basile & Saltzman, 2002; Hoghughi, 1997:15). Many adolescents own cellular telephones and can use these telephones to access pornography, take photographs and send short messages of a sexual nature.

The media is inundated with reports about children who are becoming increasingly exposed to pornography and sexual messages via the Internet and cell phones (Andrew & Mhlongo, 2006; Bezuidenhout, 2007:ii; Gerretsen, 2007; Maughan, 2006:1; Molosankwe, 2007:5; Momberg, 2006; Rondganger, 2006). According to Colin Erasmus, Microsoft's South African security manager, the average age that a child in SA is exposed to pornography is 11 years old (Momberg, 2006). Cell phones are one of the biggest problems because they allow children to download pornography in a more private way than computers do. The website Phonerotica is a "mobile" pornography site, which allows individuals to download pornographic videos, pictures and stories and the only cost involved is that which the cellular network charges to connect to the Internet. The online chatting software MXit is also a problem in that children can send cheap text messages and post photographs of a sexual nature on their cellphones. Children are not only watching pornography, but are also creating and distributing it. They take photographs of each other undressing, or kissing and then distribute it through multimedia messages or over MXit (Momberg, 2006, Bezuidenhout, 2007:ii; Campher, 2006:147).

**(ii) Sexual molestation or abusive sexual contact**

This refers to intentional, non-consensual touching, either directly or through the clothing, of genitalia, groin, breasts, thighs or buttocks of any person (Basile & Saltzman, 2002; Hoghughi, 1997:15). It also includes behaviour such as "bra strap-snapping."

In various recent media reports (Andrew & Mhlongo, 2006; Maughan, 2006:1; Mfusi, 2007; Molosankwe, 2007:5), it has become apparent that children of an increasingly young age are being prosecuted for indecently assaulting other children. Andrew and Mhlongo (2006) report that four primary school girls were indecently assaulted by a faction of boys in the same year group as them. In the same article, it is reported that Grade 3 pupils tried to force their way out of a girl's toilet and the boys blocking the door started touching them on private areas of their bodies. In October 2007, two boys, aged six and seven respectively, appeared in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court for indecently assaulting a three-year-old girl.

### **(iii) Sexual assault as a completed sexual act**

This entails any non-consensual contact between the penis and vulva or anus involving penetration; contact between the mouth and penis, vulva or anus; or the penetration of the anal or genital area using a hand, finger or other object (Basile & Saltzman, 2002; Hoghughi, 1997:15).

Recently, it has been highlighted in the media that children are not only engaging in non-contact victimisation and indecent assault, but also in sex acts usually reserved for adults only (Canham, 2006; Maughan, 2006:1; Molosankwe, 2007:5; Ngubane & Naidoo, 2006; Teen boys held..., 2007; The cycle of violence..., 2007). Media reports also stress the need for research of this nature. The following are recent headings in the printed media with regard to this social ill: Rape of a seven-year-old girl by a 14-year-old boy, a five-year-old boy who tried to have sex with his three-year-old sister, a seven-year-old girl who was forced to perform oral sex on three boys between the ages of nine and 11 years, a boy who was raped on numerous occasions by a 14-year-old male neighbour, a 14-year-old and a 16-year-old who were arrested for gang-raping a woman in her home and a 13-year-old boy that was raped in prison by a 15-year-old boy (Maughan, 2006:1; Molosankwe, 2007:5; Ngubane & Naidoo, 2006; Teen boys held..., 2007; The cycle of violence..., 2007).

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. While female youth fall outside the scope of this study, it is important to note that similarly, there is a dearth of information surrounding the perpetration of sexual violence by female youths, both in terms of risk factors and in the actual incidence of such perpetration (Hunter, Lexier, Goodwin, Browne & Dennis, 1993:322).

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 CJS, 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).

The current study can shed light on the risk factors that should provide insight into the behaviour of and assist in the identification of incorrigible sexually deviant children. It is probably more advantageous to keep these youths out of the CJS and to assist them to learn age-appropriate sexual behaviour. Koch and Wood (2002:3) state that it is vital to take the experiences of children affected by the system in consideration because negative experiences can lead to further criminal behaviour. Keeping the youth out of the CJS is important because the process and experience of the court proceedings is not “child-friendly” (Koch & Wood, 2002:33). Also, if the youth is incarcerated, there is a higher risk of them being exposed to more sexually deviant behaviour, violent behaviour and other criminal activity. In the research conducted by Koch and Wood (2002:36), it was noted that 18 children who had been incarcerated stated that prisons are overcrowded and unhygienic. They also reported that theft of personal belongings is rife and several of these children also mentioned that they were exposed to gang rituals and gang violence.

Bezuidenhout (2007:i) also notes that in SA, diversion is deemed the preferred way to deal with youth offenders. This kind of knowledge indicates that the cost to society of failing its children is huge. The way in which a child develops determines whether they will make a contribution to society or whether they pose a cost to society over the course of their lives (Koch & Wood, 2002:50). It is therefore of vital importance that the researcher identifies the possible contributing risk factors to youth sex offending in order to gain a better understanding of this phenomenon.

Due to a lack of information regarding the risk factors associated with youth committing sex offences and because the study is exploratory in nature, it is necessary for the researcher to formulate a research question. The current study is basic in nature and qualitative data will be used to gain insight into the phenomenon of youth sex offending and so a research question is appropriate. A research question can be defined as being “...concerned with a single variable or with the relationship between two variables” (De Vos, 1998:342). The formulation of a research question is critical because the remainder of the study is based on answering the question in order to achieve the aim or objective of the study (Graziano & Raulin, 2000:40). This will enable the researcher to gather evidence from the perspective of the youth sex offender in a qualitative fashion. This is where the gap in the research lies.

Such information can be used to develop child orientated intervention strategies. The following research question has been formulated:

**What are the risk factors that contribute to youth sex offending as identified among youth sex offenders?**

#### **1.4 SOCIETAL RELEVANCE**

While youth in SA form only a small part of the overall sex offending population, it is still a social problem that needs to be researched (Hunter, 2000), and dealt with because as The Star newspaper (When a child goes off the rails, 2006) states “we cannot just be horrified. That, simply, is not good enough for our children.” There are different types of offenders, namely those that offend against adults, those who victimise peers and those that offend against younger children. Many are purely acting-out to abuse that they, themselves have suffered (Hunter, 2000). It is also paramount that various factors are recognised as playing a part in the onset of sex offending. In SA, particularly the “culture of violence” and poverty, need to be addressed in order to prevent this type of offending as it has extended beyond racial, socio-economic and cultural boundaries (Bezuidenhout, 2007:i-ii; Gerretsen, 2007; Hunter, 2000; The cycle of violence..., 2007).

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.

This research is also relevant in terms of the mental well being of society as a whole. 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 revictimise, 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.

It is therefore evident that the current research can address the dearth in research and provide some insight into what is happening in the lives of SA youth that leads them to

commit sexual behaviour that is not age appropriate. It could also have an impact on addressing the moral and social fibre of SA and thus make some “inroads into the war against crime” (Bezuidenhout, 2007:iv).

## **1.5 METHODOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION**

A qualitative research approach will be followed in this study. The strengths of this approach are threefold; firstly, it allows the researcher to gain an “insider perspective” because it studies people in terms of their own meanings and definitions of the world; secondly, it is possible to look at the subjective experiences of people; and lastly, the context in which individuals interact can be taken into account (Mouton, 2001:194).

This research falls naturally into the symbolic interactionism paradigm because it aims to understand the “abnormal” interaction that occurs in youth sex offending. Babbie (2005:36) describes symbolic interactionism as a process through which individuals reach a common understanding through symbolic systems such as language. This paradigm introduces the idea of a shared sense of belonging and “the looking-glass self” which is formed by internalising others’ reactions to us (Babbie, 2005:36). This shared sense of belonging and the concept of “the looking-glass self”, as well as the interactional process, lend themselves to understanding the phenomenon of youth sex offending and to being able to identify and explore risk factors associated with youth sex offending. The researcher wants to identify and understand the risk factors related to youth sex offenders by sharing their experiences and contextualising them.

According to Babbie (2005:89) as well as Rubin and Babbie (2001:123) phenomenology is suitable for studies that aim to gain insight into a specific phenomenon. The researcher will make use of a phenomenological approach in order to further the understanding of the phenomenon being studied because this study seeks to comprehend and interpret the meaning that youth sex offenders give to their behaviour and what they consider to be risk factors and experiences that contributed to their actions.

## **1.6 GOAL AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The goal of the research will refer to the outcome the researcher wishes to accomplish on finishing the study. The objective or aim of the study will refer to what exactly the researcher will study in order to accomplish the overall goal. The proposed study is exploratory in nature. Bless and Higson-Smith (2000:42) define exploratory research as an approach “...to

gain insight into a situation, phenomenon, community or individual.” This study can be seen as exploratory because the researcher is examining a new field of interest that is relatively unstudied (Rubin & Babbie, 2001:123). Furthermore, the researcher intends to explore the contributing risk factors associated with youth sex offending. The research is also descriptive in nature, as it will describe the risk factors associated with youth sex offending. Descriptive research can be seen as social research that aims to describe rather than explain a specific phenomenon (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000:154).

### **1.6.1 Goal of the study**

The goal of this research is to explore risk factors that can play a role in the committing of youth sex offences.

### **1.6.2 Aims/objectives of the study**

The following aims/objectives have been formulated for the study:

- To determine risk factors contributing to youth sex offending as identified by youth sex offenders.
- To gain an understanding of these risk factors through a thorough literature review
- To describe these risk factors and possible ways of addressing them.
- To produce a qualitative research report on the risk factors that contribute to youth sex offending.

## **1.7 CHAPTER OUTLINES**

The structure for the remainder of the manuscript is as follows: Relevant research and literature on this topic will be discussed in Chapter 2. The literature review will serve to provide information about both youth sex offenders and possible risk factors that could contribute to their sex offending behaviour. In Chapter 3 relevant theories will be provided a motivation for the use of these theories will also be given. The theories will be applied and thus utilised to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon. Chapter 4 will focus on the research design and include a discussion about the measuring instrument (interview schedule), the sampling method, the process of data analysis and interpretation and the ethical guidelines that need to be followed. An analysis of the data collected will be presented in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 will serve as a concluding chapter in which a critical evaluation of the collected data, the limitations of the research, the achievement of the objectives, general recommendations and the identification of future researchable topics will be forthcoming.

## **1.8 CONCLUSION**

In Chapter 1, definitions were outlined and the problem statement was clearly delineated. The definition of concepts clarified the research population and provided the scope of this research. The societal relevance of the research was also outlined, along with a justification to the choice of methodology. The societal relevance provided information that highlighted the necessity of the research and the methodological justification indicated the approach that was deemed most appropriate for this study. The goal and objectives of this research were given and lastly, chapter outlines revealed the structure for the remainder of the manuscript.

## **2. REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE**

The purpose of this chapter is to give an overview of the available and relevant literature with regard to youth sex offenders and the possible risk factors that have been identified as contributing to their offending behaviour.

This chapter has been divided into two sections: firstly, research documented on youth sex offenders and secondly, the possible risk factors (specific to youth) that have been identified in other countries. This study aims to identify risk factors among youth sex offenders and it is, therefore, important to recognise the complexity of this social problem and to gain some knowledge of youth sex offenders and the risk factors associated with their behaviour. International and national research findings are highlighted and certain factors unique to South Africa are also addressed.

### **2.1 YOUTH SEX OFFENDERS**

Sexual abuse and other sex offences are an international problem that affects a significant number of individuals worldwide (Pratt, Patel, Greydarus, Dannison, Walcott & Sloane, 2001). It is a common belief that only adults commit offences of sexual nature, however, this is not the case. An increasing number of adolescent sex offenders are also guilty of committing sex offences and this phenomenon has become a global problem. These youth commit a variety of offences, represent all races and social classes, and have diverse family environments (Tilley, 1998:2). Youth sex offenders do not represent a heterogeneous group and nor are there any specific measures which can identify a youth sex offender from a youth non-sex offender. Also, no measures exist to predict the nature of the offences a youth sex offender will commit (Smith, Wampler, Jones & Reifman, 2005:88).

#### **2.1.1 The extent of youth sex offending**

While the media has reported that there is an increase in youth offending against other youth and that the age of both the victim and the offender is decreasing, there is no empirical evidence to support this (Ehlers, 2004; Funari, 2005:2). It is important to recognise that there has been an increase in the number of reported cases of youth sex offending, and children constitute a substantial number of the total sex offender population (Mbambo, 2002:29), but are not disproportionately responsible for the sex offences that are committed in SA.

Youth sex offenders in SA are committing sex crimes at an increasingly young age and there are more and more children aged 14 and below that are appearing in courts charged with

sex offences (Serrao, 2004:1). Furthermore, the Director of the Teddy Bear Clinic in Johannesburg declared that of the child sexual abuse cases reported to them, 25 percent of the offenders were children (Serrao, 2004:1). A study conducted by CIETAfrica (2000:4) also indicated that by the age of 18 years, one in four males in their sample had engaged in forced sex.

The South African Police Service Crime statistics for 2007 showed that there were 36 910 cases of rape and 6 736 cases of indecent assault reported to the SAPS in that year. From the period 2006 to 2007, nationally reported rape cases decreased by six percent and nationally reported indecent assault cases decreased by 15.5 percent (The South African Police Service [SAPS], 2008). It is difficult to ascertain whether this percentage decrease is due to an actual decrease in the committal of these crimes, or due to under-reporting or under-recording. In Gauteng, 8073 cases of rape and 1501 cases of indecent assault were reported in The SAPS Crime statistics for 2007 (The South African Police Service [SAPS], 2008). It is not possible to identify how many of these offences were committed by youths because the SAPS does not differentiate between adult and youth offenders in these statistics.

Regional studies (Redpath, 2003) do offer some indication of the percentage of youth that are arrested for sex offences. The Child Protection Unit in the East Metropolitan area of Cape Town provided statistics with regard to youth sex offending in this area. From April 2000 to January 2002, 23% of all sex offence arrestees in this area were under the age of 18 years (Redpath, 2003). The statistics for Mitchell's Plain, a township in the Western Cape, show that 40% of the 950 recorded cases of sexual violence in 2000 were committed by youths under the age of 18 years (George & Finberg, 2001). These findings are consistent with research conducted in countries such as the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States of America which estimate that between 20% and 30% of sex offences are committed by youths (The Center for Sex Offender Management, 2000:5).

However, statistics cannot be regarded as completely accurate because the number of reported crimes does not always reflect the true extent of the crimes committed. According to Brown, Esbensen and Geis (2001:106) the number of unreported crimes, known as the dark figure, is considered to be high. This is especially pertinent with regard to sex offences due to the nature of these offences and also because many victims do not report these crimes. The reasons for this include the fear of embarrassment, humiliation and of secondary victimisation at the hands of the CJS. Regardless of the dark figure, there is still a significantly large number of youth being arrested and processed through the SA CJS for

crimes of a sexual nature – between 1999 and March 2006, the State processed 130 059 young sex offenders (Maughan, 2006:1). This number illustrates that the problem of youth sex offending requires urgent attention.

Redpath (2002a:35) stated in an analysis of arrest and custody trends that the number of youths sentenced for sex offences in South Africa is decreasing, but that the number of youths in custody, but not sentenced for this type of crime, is increasing. Youths in custody, at any given time between 1998 and 2001, did not exceed 700, indicating that during that time period they constituted less than four percent of the overall sex offender population in prison. Statistics for 2002 retrieved from the East Metro Child Protection Unit (CPU) in the Western Cape show that 23 percent of the youths that were arrested committed sex crimes against other youths. Redpath (2002a:35) indicated that of all the crimes analysed in the above study, youths were charged for a slightly larger proportion of cases of indecent assault and a slightly smaller proportion of cases of rape. In 2002, it was determined that in South Africa, the total number of youth sex offenders in prison was increasing by approximately two cases more per month (Redpath, 2002b). A more recent statistic on general youth offending shows that young offenders constitute 41% of the overall prison population, but they only form 26% of the general South African population (Roper, 2005:3).

Van Niekerk (in Maughan, 2006:1) explains that it is difficult to quantify the extent of the problem of youth sex offenders because police do not open such dockets and cases of sexual abuse perpetrated by youths are under-reported. The reasons for this under-reporting were outlined in Chapter 1 (see paragraph 2). Under-reporting is not only of concern in statistics, but also in research. Under-reporting in research is a result of both victims and offenders being reluctant to divulge information about sexually aggressive behaviour because of shame, embarrassment, denial, fear of reprisals, cognitive distortions and discomfort with the interviewer (Weinrott, 1996:9).

Whilst it is useful to analyse statistics in order to gain a better understanding of youth sex offending, it only allows one to look at youths that have already come into contact with the law. While youth sex offenders do not form a homogenous group, there are certain common characteristics identified among youth sex offenders.

### **2.1.2 Characteristics of youth sex offenders**

A study by Bourgon et al. (2005:16) demonstrates three considerable differences between adult and youth sex offenders. These differences are as follows:

- I. The occurrence of maturational changes during adolescence affects the overall functioning of an adolescent. Growing up initiates positive changes in both psychosocial and psychosexual development and this implies that the adolescent years are a time in which the youth incorporate societal norms and values into their behaviour.
- II. The majority of adolescents do not express a clear pattern of sexual deviancy or deviant sexual thought patterns. The youth in their study reported significantly more non-deviant sexual fantasies than deviant ones, and the fantasies more often involved age-appropriate partners.
- III. Lastly, it emerged that family factors play a critical role in the development of sexually deviant youth. Important family variables include stressful family environments, poor parental supervision and parental rejection.

Calder (2001:3) recorded certain significant dissimilarities between adult and youth sex offenders, (i) sexual interest and arousal patterns are still developing; (ii) the offence behaviours are less consistent and refined because the sex offending process is still in its infancy; (iii) youth sex offenders are more opportunistic; (iv) youth sex offenders have a less extended knowledge of sexual matters; (v) they have different attitudes, beliefs and expectations; (vi) the role of the family is more critical in a youth's life; (vii) youth sex offenders have a greater experience and expectation of external control over social interactions and behaviours and; (viii) there is less research on youth sex offenders and no integrated knowledge base from which to work.

These differences are relevant because they indicate that treatment programmes and policies must be specific for the unique needs of youth sex offenders. The risk factors specific to the youth sex offending population therefore have to be identified in order to address the problem. In this heterogeneous population, there are diverse typologies of youth that commit a variety of sex offences and present with unique risk factors (Miner et al., 2006:3).

Friedrich (1997:ixv) identifies three types of children who display sexually deviant behaviour. Firstly, he states that some children react to their own victimisation in a compulsive, self-stimulating manner and do not display sexually deviant behaviour with other children. Secondly, there are children who engage in consensual sexual behaviour with other abused children. They may be acting out what they have seen or experienced in order to cope with the abuse situation. Thirdly, there are children who are sexually aggressive – they are intrusive and coercive and form a different group because their sexual behaviour is not consensual and thus they can come into conflict with the law. The first two types behave as

they do in reaction to their own abuse – masturbation, or consensual sexual relationships may be age-inappropriate, but cannot be viewed as an offence. For the purposes of this study, the focus is on the third group that Friedrich identified, because their behaviour is viewed as criminal and this study aims to determine risk factors that can be associated with youth sex offending and not age-inappropriate sexual behaviour.

Hunter (1999:4), Hunter (2000) and Rich (2006:195) state that youth sex offenders fall predominantly into two categories of youth offenders – those who offend against adults or peers and those who target children:

- Youths who sexually offend against adults or peers often assault females, strangers and acquaintances and the offence is often committed in conjunction with other criminal activities. These sex offenders show high levels of aggression, carry weapons and are more likely to cause injury in the commission of their sex crimes. These offences frequently occur in public places.
- In the case of youths that sexually offend against children, the sex of the offender directly relates to the sex of the victim and about 40 percent of the victims are relatives of the offenders. These offenders do not rely on force to gain compliance, but rather on manipulation. Youths who offend against other children often have low self-esteem and depression is prevalent amongst this group. Children who offend against other children are more likely to have histories of past victimisation and they commit their assaults in private residences or private areas (Hunter, 2000).

**Table 1: Two categories of youth sex offenders**

	<b>Offences against adults/peers</b>	<b>Offences against children</b>
<b>Victims</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Mostly female victims</li> <li>– Strangers or acquaintances</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Higher rate of female victims</li> <li>– Up to 40% sibling/relative victim</li> </ul>
<b>Offence patterns</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Often, sex offence committed in conjunction with other offences</li> <li>– Often in public area</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Opportunistic</li> <li>– Use guile, bribery and trickery to gain compliance</li> </ul>
<b>Social history</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Generally antisocial</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Self-esteem and social competency deficits</li> <li>– Difficulty in maintaining interpersonal relationships</li> </ul>
<b>Criminal history</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– History of nonsexual offences</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Generally, no criminal</li> </ul>

		history
<b>Behaviour patterns</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Higher levels of aggression and violence</li> <li>– Higher incidence of weapon usage and injury inflicted</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Often depressed</li> <li>– High levels of personality/psychosexual disturbances can result in high levels of aggression and violence</li> </ul>

(Adapted from Hunter, 1999:119)

There are, however, some common features of both groups. Thirty to 60 percent show some degree of learning difficulties, and importantly up to 80 percent exhibit other behaviour problems, such as substance abuse and conduct disorders and they also have an obvious lack of impulse control and judgment impairment (Hunter, 2000).

According to Serrao (2004:1), seven types of youth sex offenders 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 are common characteristics, it must be noted that there is no typical profile for a youth sex offender. Thus, there is no known set of characteristics, behaviours or personal or environmental features that uniquely identifies a youth sex offender (Rich, 2003:39).

The categories described in this section clearly demonstrate the diversity within the population of youth sex offenders and Lakey (1994:2) posits that youth sex offenders range along a continuum of naïve experimenters on the one end to sadistic rapists on the other end. Typologies must be criticised because they fail to inform about individual circumstances and offence characteristics. They also lack the capacity to cross-categorise. This means characteristics of one youth sex offender might fall into two categories, or the youth might not fit entirely into the created category. Typologies can offer a basic description of youth sex offenders and could direct treatment strategies, however, they are often grossly simplistic and attempt to provide too much information under one label (Rich, 2003:97). The result of such over-simplification is that there is no meaningful identification of youth offenders, and more importantly unique differences are not noted between types of youth sex offenders.

### **2.1.3 Types and levels of sex offences**

Sex offences are divided into two types, namely “hands off” and “hands on” offences:

- “*Hands off*” offences include voyeurism (“peeping toms”), exposing genitals to others (exhibitionism), making obscene phone calls, frottage (rubbing against others in crowded places), and fetishism. These types of behaviour are difficult to adjudicate in adolescence because they are complicated by developmental phases and straightforward naughtiness, experimenting or risk-taking. Rich (2003:17) states that it is not unusual for children to make obscene phone calls and therefore this type of behaviour cannot be seen as a sex offence. This type of behaviour cannot, however, be ignored because it could be seen as a predictor to future more serious sexual misconduct. “Hands off” offences are sometimes subject to specific treatment, particularly in the case of exhibitionism, but generally this type of behaviour goes unreported (Rich, 2003:18).
- “*Hands on*” offences entail frottage (this type of offence can also be regarded as a “hands off” offence), fondling, oral sex, vaginal penetration with a penis, finger or objects, and sodomy (Rich, 2003:18). These types of behaviour clearly involve some form of sexual abuse and are therefore criminally prosecutable. It is important to note that these behaviours range along a continuum from mild forms of sexual assault (e.g. frottage) to extreme forms of sexual assault (e.g. rape). Most “hands on” offences lie along their own individual continuums, depending on the amount of force or violence that accompanies the behaviour (Rich, 2003:18). By definition, all “hands on” offences involve physical contact,

but the continuum ranges from no violence, to threatened violence, to actual violence, to sadistic violence. This continuum is what defines the level on which the offence falls:

- *Level 1* which involves sexual assault with minor or no physical injury to the victim;
- *Level 2* which is sexual assault involving a weapon, threats or causing bodily harm to the victim;
- *Level 3* which is sexual assault where the victim may be maimed, wounded, disfigured or his/her life may be in danger (Sexual Offences, 2003).

It is paramount that both the type of offender and the type and level of the offence are taken into consideration so that treatment can be specific to the needs of the offender and that various factors are recognised as playing a precipitating role in youth sex offending.

## **2.2 POSSIBLE RISK FACTORS**

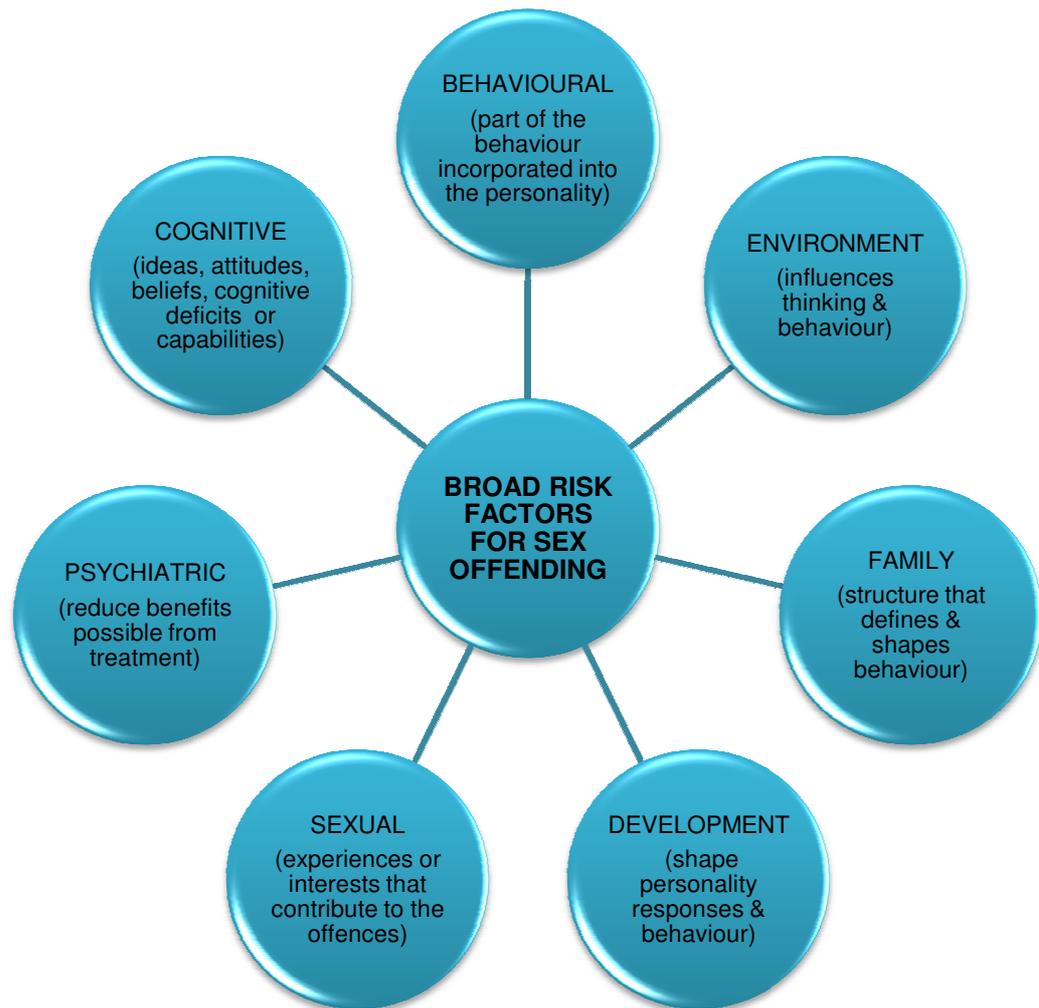
With the increased awareness of youth sex offending, comes a growing body of literature surrounding the aetiology of these offences. According to Miner et al. (2006:4) existing literature about youth sex offenders fails to provide a scientific exposition on the aetiological and maintaining factors of the phenomenon. Furthermore, there is little literature on the factors that lead to desistence of sexually coercive behaviour.

This section focuses on the risk factors that place the youth at risk of becoming offenders. Maree (2008:55) states that there has been a shift in criminological thought from causes of crime to risk factors. Static, dynamic and criminogenic risk factors were defined in Chapter 1 and for the purposes of this study, the focal point will be criminogenic risk factors. The pragmatic value of identifying risk factors cannot be underplayed in criminology and as DiCristina (1995:3-8) states:

No force can be directly observed coming from poverty, economic inequality or deviant friends that drives a person to commit a crime. Conversely, no force can be observed coming from a well-developed superego, a stake in conformity, or a strong belief in rules in society that restrains a person from committing a crime.

Figure 2 illustrates all the possible categories of risk factors. Not all of these have been discussed in this literature review as they are beyond the scope of this study. However, it is relevant to include this figure as it indicates how intertwined risk factors are and that they do not exist in seclusion. Furthermore, this interplay of risk factors emphasises the complexity of the problem of youth sex offending.

**Figure 2: Constellation of risk factors**



(Adapted from Rich, 2003:150).

There is a multiplicity of biological and psychosocial factors that establish a child’s sexual development and this development can be seen as a result of interaction with family, ethnic, social and cultural influences (Pratt et al., 2001; Shaw, 1999). Adolescents can be deemed to be “high risk” either because of the degree of the discovered abuse or because of social, environmental and psychological features (Epps,1997:38). A number of aetiological factors have been identified so that the origin of sexually coercive behaviour can be better comprehended (Hunter, 2000; Pratt et al., 2001).

International research findings (Hunter, 1999:1; Children’s Services Practice Notes, 2002; Hunter, 2000; Lakey, 2004:1; Pratt et al., 2001) indicate that various factors have been identified in an attempt to explain the aetiology of sex offending. These factors include previous abuse experience, exposure to aggressive role models, substance abuse and exposure to sexually explicit materials. Smith et al. (2005:88) mention family violence, the

absence of a father or father figure, family criminality, poor parenting skill, emotional neglect, poor self-esteem, experiencing and/or witnessing physical violence, sexual abuse, prior non-sexual offences, substance abuse, poor impulse control, problems at school and antisocial tendencies as variables that are associated with an increased risk of a youth committing a sex offence. The presence of such a multitude of factors illustrates the intricate nature of youth sex offending and also how broad the scope of the problem actually is.

The practitioners at the The South African Youth Sex Offenders Programme (SAYStOP) conducted research on 20 male sex offenders between the ages of seven to 15 years and found that they share certain characteristics with their international counterparts, such as similar family backgrounds exemplified by drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence and criminal behaviour. However, there are also some key differences between South African offenders and those in other countries, such as the frequent exposure of the South African youth to a general culture of violence and aggression (Stout, 2003:15). This type of research is crucial because it documents certain environmental characteristics or risk factors that are present in many of the children's lives in this country.

Risk factors are dependent on one another, and do not exist in isolation (see figure 2, p. 9). The more risk factors present, the greater the risk of socially unacceptable behaviour (Maree, 2008:77; Ryan, 2000:8). The onset of sex offending in an adolescent can be linked to numerous factors reflected in their experiences, exposure and development (Hunter, 1999:1). It is important to recognise that exposure to risk factors and subsequent criminal conduct does not illustrate a cause and effect relationship. However, exposure to more than one risk factor can increase the chances of a young person committing crime.

Maree (2008:55) states that social life encompasses two dimensions: a personal level which involves life chances and life results, and a collective level which includes how society functions and maintains itself. Available literature further suggests that there are two main categories of risk factors in social life, namely, individual and environmental factors (Boyles, 2007:1). The abovementioned dimensions and the risk factors in life should therefore be interpreted in the same context. For this reason, the risk factors described below have been divided into risk factors on an individual level and risk factors on a social or environmental level. Only the risk factors that are related to youth sex offending and not youth crime in general will be discussed.

## 2.2.1 Risk factors on an individual level

This section is based on static risk factors that form the basis of criminogenic risk factors. They are the factors that cannot be changed and include: age, gender and race. It is important to note that these are generic risk factors that may not be explicitly linked to youth sex offending *per se*.

### 2.2.1.1 Age

Maree (2008:72) and Pelsler (2008:2) indicate that 44% (20 million) of the South African population are under the age of 20 years and 50% (23 million) of the estimated South African population of 46 million is younger than 25 years of age. Furthermore, the high youth crime rate among youths in SA can be attributed to the high percentage of youth in the population. It is widely accepted that criminal careers of the youth start in late adolescence and early adulthood (Maree, 2008:72). Furthermore, the fact that a relationship has been shown between age and crime globally is of imperative importance in SA because of the high proportion of youth in the population (Maderthaner, 2005:6).

Most young sex offenders fall between the ages 14 and 15 years and in general are slightly younger than other youth offenders when they first enter the CJS (Hoghugi, 1997:12). Research conducted by Childline (Booyens, Beukman & Bezuidenhout, 2008:32) showed that 54% of sex offenders that have child victims in SA are under the age of 20 years. The fact that previous research has found that 50% to 65% of adult sex offenders started expressing sexually abusive behaviour during adolescence is important because sex offending frequently escalates in both frequency and severity as the child matures (Becker et al., 1986:431; Erooga & Masson, 1999:5; Rubenstein et al., 1993:263; Ryan, 2000:12; United Nations Development Programme Child Justice Project, 2002:4).

Age in itself cannot be considered a criminogenic risk factor, but can indicate the developmental phase that an individual is entering and also acts as an index for social standing (Maree, 2008:73). Age is also an important factor to consider because it allows one to fulfil a certain social role and misbehaviour in the childhood years can be a predictor for later criminal conduct (Maree, 2008:73).

### **2.2.1.2 Gender**

It is widely accepted that male criminals far outnumber female criminals (Maree, 2008:73). It is postulated (Maree, 2008:73) that when one views gender as a risk factor, it has to be done within the context of characteristics associated with young people.

Males, in general, are exposed to more criminogenic risk factors than females. In the patriarchal society of South Africa, males are granted more freedom, spend more time with peers and engage less in adult role activity (Maree, 2008:73). Young men also engage in more violent behaviour and are encouraged to be strong, both emotionally and physically. The result of these elements of a young male's life is that he may become involved in more serious and more violent crime than a young female. Maree (2008:73) also mentions that young men often commit violent crimes such as assault, rape and malicious damage to property.

It cannot be ignored that females are entering the CJS more frequently than what they were during the 1970s and 1980s. One of the reasons for this is the changing role of women in society. Young girls are pressured into various forms of crime, both by their peer groups and by their male counterparts. The CJS's view on female crime is also changing and this can also account for the increase in young female criminality (Maree, 2008:73).

### **2.2.1.3 Race**

Bartollas, (2000:84) is of the opinion that there are few, if any, significant differences in crime committal or youth misbehaviour between different racial groups. It is well-known that African Americans are overrepresented in arrest, conviction and incarceration rates in relation to their population numbers (Maree, 2008:73). It is argued that the difference in statistics is more a case of a difference in official responses to offenders (Bartollas, 2000:84). The difference in arrest, conviction and incarceration rates could therefore be attributed to official response rather than actual incidences of misbehaviour (Dorfman & Schiraldi, 2001:4). There are no concrete reasons why minority groups, such as African Americans and Hispanics are over-represented in arrest, conviction and incarceration rates in America. However, research (Males & Macallair, n.d.) into this shows that there is racial bias or discrimination in arrest rates and that minority youth are more likely to be convicted and once convicted are more harshly sentenced. Hartman (1997:5) is of the opinion that minority youth may be predisposed to crime because they experience higher levels of poverty. He also agrees with

Males and Macallair (n.d.) that differential law enforcement is another reason why youths of colour are over-represented in the CJS.

Maree (2008:74) indicates that the racial differences in violent crime diminish when the socioeconomic status of the offender is considered. This is important in South Africa because of the number of cultural groups that live in substandard conditions and poverty-stricken areas. The black majority race group in SA is also overrepresented in the South African CJS (Bezuidenhout, 2008, personal communication) but reasons such as poverty, family disruption, the “culture of violence” and political factors should be taken into consideration in this regard.

### **2.2.2 Risk factors on a social level**

Risk factors on a social level form part of the macro-world of a youth sex offender. These risk factors are also known as the dynamic risk factors that can change in different situations. They can also be referred to as environmental factors. It is vital to recognise that these factors do not occur or function independently from one another, but are interlinked and affect one another (Maree, 2008:57). The following example from Maree (2008:57) illustrates this:

...one can argue that weakened communities with struggling households (families) produce schools that have a tenuous place in those communities and a limited capacity to prepare learners for participation in mainstream society, or for establishing healthy extra-family relationships and personality types, thus contributing to an increased risk of youth coming into conflict with the law.

These factors include: urbanisation, unemployment, alcohol and drug availability, the “culture of violence”, family structures, lack of parental supervision and privacy, school environment, prior victimisation, media and peer relationships.

#### **2.2.2.1 Urbanisation**

Urbanisation of the youth and the accompanying social processes are internationally accepted as factors conducive to criminal activity (Maree, 2008:59). Sudden urbanisation leads to an influx of people seeking work. Informal settlements are established to house such an influx, and the result is weakened social control because the police and other law enforcement teams are stretched beyond their means (Maree, 2008:60).

Furthermore, overcrowded living conditions mean that parents have difficulty in reducing the level of exposure to community violence and criminal lifestyles (McClinton, 2004:28). Traditions and family values become increasingly difficult to uphold and the discipline within families deteriorates – thus, parents are no longer aware of their children’s activities, and children become easily drawn into criminal conduct. Children with increased freedom turn to their peer group and so are included in the city’s youth culture, which includes gang rivalry and initiation (De Wet, 2003:92; Maree, 2008:60). The children within this youth culture may also experience a heightened need to belong because of their disadvantaged home and school environments (McClinton, 2004:27).

Urbanisation is a result of poverty and as McClinton (2004:27) states areas with a high concentration of poor people, crowded housing, low community cohesion and organisation as well as disrupted family patterns put youth at risk of developing aggressive behaviours. One of the reasons for this is that these youth are not in an environment in which they can grow and develop positively – they are surrounded by hardship and violence and poverty-stricken areas do not have recreational programmes available in which they can develop pro-social behaviour (De Wet, 2003:93). They also have reduced opportunities and fewer positive role models to offset the negative environmental influences (McClinton, 2004:28). Disadvantaged or negative community environments have an impact on many facets of adolescent development. These include perceptions on masculinity and femininity, the use of aggression or force and the acceptance of behaviours that are not in conjunction with societal norms (Miner et al., 2006:3).

Urbanised areas also demonstrate high levels of unemployment and a lack of community organisation. Community disorganisation results in social isolation and a lack of common norms and values. This in turn leads to a breakdown of social and economic systems and thus an increase in crime and violence (McClinton, 2004:28).

#### **2.2.2.2 Unemployment**

The increased rate of unemployment caused by urbanisation and decreased economic productivity has caused many South Africans to sink into poverty. The result of this decline in economic stability has fuelled social problems in SA (De Wet, 2003:93; Maree, 2008:59). Bronfenbrenner (1991:4) summarises the developmental risks associated with urbanisation and unemployment as such:

The most destructive of these (*environmental contexts*) is poverty. Because many single-parent families are also poor, parents and their children are in double jeopardy. But even when two parents are present, research in both developed and developing countries reveals that in households living under stressful economic and social conditions, processes of parent-child interaction and environmentally oriented child activity are more difficult to initiate and to sustain. To be sure, research also indicates that when the mother, or some other adult committed to the child's well-being, does manage to establish and maintain a pattern of progressive reciprocal interaction, the disruptive impact of poverty on development is significantly reduced. But, among the poor, the proportion of parents who, despite their stressful life circumstances, are able to provide quality care is, under present conditions, not very large. And even for this minority, the parents' buffering power begins to decline sharply by the time children are five or six years old and exposed to impoverished and disruptive settings outside the home.

Adults in communities no longer serve as role models to the younger generation and the youth have no social or professional success with which they can identify (Maree, 2008:59). There is an increased risk of individuals becoming involved in crime purely to survive. Due to unemployment, attitudes of respect and dignity are eroded and thus, the belief that if one wants or needs something, it can simply be taken filters down into all aspects of life including sexual relationships.

### **2.2.2.3 The “culture of violence”**

The term “culture of violence” is used to describe and explain the heightened incidence of violence in SA (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993:41). Acceptance of this term is crucial to understanding any form of violent behaviour in the South African context because resolving conflict through violence is part of the historical culture of SA.

Victims of crime often become perpetrators of retributive violence or violence in the domestic arena due to displaced aggression (Nedcor ISS Criminal Justice Information Centre, 1997). Research (Beckner, 2005:21; Schreiner, 2004:44) in the social sciences has shown that societies, in which rape, sexual assault and other forms of sex offending are ubiquitous, are characterised by male authority, a patriarchal attitude towards power and male dominance. Such societies are also characterised by the belief that violence is a legitimate form of problem solving (Burton, 2008:15).

The Department of Social Development (2003:3) explains that victims experience some form of violent behaviour and the resulting emotions include fear, helplessness and anger at being victimised. If these negative emotions are suppressed, the cycle of violence can go one of three ways. The three pathways described below can be linked to youth sex offending if a

child has been a victim of physical, emotional or sexual abuse. It is vital to recognise that these pathways refer specifically to being a victim of violence and not to only being exposed to violence.

Firstly, those repressed emotions can result in displaced aggression that leads to the victim resorting to violence in an attempt to cope with his/her own victimisation and the accompanying emotions.

Secondly, the suppressed feelings can result in feelings of hatred and the need for revenge. Victims resort to violence and so become offenders themselves in trying to regain some form of control over their lives and in trying to ensure that some form of justice is served.

Thirdly, a victim may become depressed after being victimised – this can result in the victim developing an unrealistic fear of crime. The consequences are that the victim may withdraw from society, which can increase his/her vulnerability to victimisation due to his/her socialisation. Therefore, the final outcome of this cycle is that the victim becomes the victimiser.

Youth sex offenders are partly a product of high levels of abuse and violence. South Africa's history of apartheid has led to a "culture of violence" – children in South Africa observe violence on a daily basis, in their homes, schools and communities (De Wet, 2003:93). They are being brought up in an aggressive society and they learn this type of behaviour through internalisation and imitation (Hunter, 1999:2; Dhabicharan, 2004; Maree, 2008:65; Pelser, 2008:6; Van Niekerk, 2006:104; Vanzant, 2004; White, 1995:52). It has become the norm to solve problems and disputes through aggression and violence and this norm has been passed on from generation to generation.

Research (Hunter, 1999:2) has shown that exposure to severe community violence is also linked to an increase in antisocial and aggressive behaviour. Furthermore, violence is often sexualised and George and Finberg (2001) state in this regard that the sexual violence to which youths are exposed to takes place both in schools and in the communities. Dhabicharan (2004) states that youth in SA have been systematically socialised to perceive violence and sexual control as the only means by which they can assert themselves. Violence and sexual control have to a degree also been normalised, in other words, it is seen as "normal" for violence to be part of a culture (Pelser, 2008:7).

The youth also rationalise their behaviour and internalise it because they are aware that aggression and violence are effective problem solving tactics (Dhabicharan, 2004). Furthermore, exposure to violence has consequences such as psychological distress, poor school performance, low self-esteem and a lower social competence (Maree, 2008:62, Ryan, 2000:11). All of these impact on a child's reasoning ability and contribute to the child's distorted worldview.

Children exposed to violence are likely to perpetuate the abusive cycle and in a country where there is a pervasive belief that sexuality is naturally coercive, the underlying factors associated with youth sex offending become apparent as sex offending is both a sexual and violent crime (Dhabicharan, 2004, Vanzant, 2004). Therefore, in SA, the "culture of violence", community violence, sexual violence and violence in the home need to be addressed in order to prevent, or at least reduce, this type of offending as it has transversed racial, socio-economic and cultural boundaries (Children's Services Practice Notes, 2002; Hunter, 2000).

#### **2.2.2.4 Family structures and family dysfunction**

The role of the family in teaching socially acceptable behaviour cannot be overemphasised (De Wet, 2003:93; Maree, 2008:62). In SA, the incomplete family structure is all too common. An incomplete family refers to one that is characterised by the absence of the father, mother or both (Maree, 2008:62).

Research has shown that youths from single-parent families or those specifically without a father figure are more prone to engaging in antisocial behaviour (Maree, 2008:62; Vanzant, 2004). International research (Funari, 2005:18) indicates that of a sample consisting of 1600 sex offending youth, 78% of sexual assault offenders were from single-parent backgrounds and 57% of the sample had lost a parental figure in some manner. Barbaree and Langton (2006:61) refer to a study in which half of the caregivers of youth that sexually offended were single parents. A study of 25 South African youth offenders showed that many had no father figure at all or were raised by a member of the extended family (Maree, 2008:62). A large number of the youth in SA grow up without their fathers present because they are incarcerated. Furthermore, mothers are often absent from the home because of work responsibilities (Maree, 2008:63). The result is a large number of incomplete families in SA and the opportunity for youth to get involved in criminal activities.

The Human Immunodeficiency Virus and the Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS) is one of the causes of incomplete family structures in SA. The 2004 UNAIDS

report estimated that there were 1.1 million AIDS-affected orphans in SA at the end of 2003 (Louw, 2008:220). There is a generation of children that have to raise themselves and possibly their siblings, that have no access to education or job seeking abilities and that are becoming a "lost generation" (Louw, 2008:220; Pelsler, 2008:1). A possible result of this is that these youth will turn to crime to support themselves. Furthermore, these children are often left to fend for themselves without being adequately socialised and without intact family morals and values. Moreover, Louw (2008:219) states that the experiences of offending youth that have lost a parent or parents to HIV/AIDS need to be seen in context of their developmental phase. While they may have partially matured both physically and cognitively, they need the guidance of parents or caregivers. The consequence of this could be an adolescent who acts out destructively, sexually or both.

The myth that sex with a virgin will cure HIV/AIDS is also a major concern because the victims of sexual abuse are getting younger. This is prevalent to this study because HIV-positive youth that would not normally be sexually attracted to children or initiate sexual contact with them engage in coercive sexual behaviour to cure themselves of HIV/AIDS (George & Finberg, 2001). Van Niekerk (in George & Finberg, 2001) stated in this regard, "we know of township youths who specifically target virgin girls and separate them physically from their peer groups - for instance, when walking home from school - and gang rape them."

Funari (2005:18) states that a significant variable in hostile home environments is violence occurring between parents or other adults in the home. Exposure to such violence can lead to decreased self-regulation capacities and this in turn can result in violence directed at women and further sexually coercive behaviour. Children exposed to family violence, whether they themselves are the victim or not, are more likely to interpret violence as a norm in intimate relationships (Burton, 2008:18; Maree, 2008:66, Miner et al., 2006:3). Children who witness victimisation in their homes accept that victims are to blame for the attacks because of their own behaviour and thus they develop little or no empathy for others and they also develop distorted views of sexual relations (Dhabicharan, 2004). These are crucial findings because youth in relationships may result to violence to achieve a sexual relationship because this is the norm to which they have been exposed.

Ryan, Miyoshi, Metzner, Krugman and Fryer (1996:21) used a sample of 1600 youth in their research and found that 63% of them reported witnessing some form of family violence within the home environment. Dhabicharan (2004) noted that 78% of her South African sample was

exposed to domestic violence. The more personal these acts of domestic violence are, the more potential there is for trauma (Dhabicharan, 2004).

In homes where children often have no control and family situations in which they are powerless, they learn that violence and abusive behaviour are effective as a means of assertion (Hunter, 1999:2; Dhabicharan, 2004; Van Niekerk, 2006:104). Furthermore, Dhabicharan (2004) insists that the youth sex offender's role in his family is often as a vessel for negative family feelings and subsequent offending could be a symptom of a history of acting out behaviours. Her research also indicated that the families of youth sex offenders were often multi-problematic and were marked by emotional and physical abuse as well as dysfunctional communication. A negative impact of such a family environment is an unintegrated sense of identity and sexual maladjustment.

Bischof, Stith and Whitney (1995:7) as well as Weinrott (1996:14) point out that a high degree of family problems could be anticipated in the family of a youth sex offender. These family problems could include marital discord and divorce, criminality and substance abuse, but there is no empirical evidence for this. Barbaree and Langton (2006:60) state that although there is no distinct family structure or family dysfunction pattern unique to youth sex offending, the production of a youth sex offender seems to stem from families characterised by:

- lack of resources and instability;
- insufficient emotional bonds between parent and child;
- exposure to both sexually explicit material and activity;
- a high risk environment for sexual victimisation; and
- a lack of resources to cope with disclosed sexual victimisation.

In terms of structure and dysfunction within a youth sex offender's family, Print and Morrison (2000:296) concluded that youth who sexually abuse others "...often have major care deficits and frequently grow up in families in which they experience and/or witness violence, lack of empathy and a lack of sexual boundaries."

#### **2.2.2.5 Lack of parental supervision and privacy**

Youths should have contact with adult caretakers on a daily basis, such as their parents, teachers or members of the community. These adults provide supervision and exercise a

degree of control over the adolescent's life and thus the locus of personal control often lies outside the domain of the youth (Rich, 2003:104). Such supervision is necessary for children since they are subject to different rules and obligations, because of both their age and the fact that they are in a more experimental developmental phase, with fewer fixed ideas and personality characteristics than adults (De Wet, 2003:93; Rich, 2003:104). The role that parents play in the healthy development of their teenage children cannot be overemphasised.

Van Niekerk (2006:104) emphasises that the physical and/or emotional absence of a male role model or father figure is a significant factor associated with youth sex offending. The lack of parental supervision allows children freedom to do as they wish without any form of deterrence. It also allows youth the time to associate with peers that have similar freedom and that may display problematic behaviour (Maree, 2008:64). It has also been noted that poor parental supervision is positively associated with both antisocial and aggressive youth behaviour (McClinton, 2004:24). Furthermore, the development of moral reasoning, impulse control, controlling instant need gratification, aggression and restlessness are all factors that are important in the growth of an adolescent because they contribute to maturity, pro-social attitudes and socially acceptable behaviour (McClinton, 2004:24).

The occurrence of child sexual offending is not a phenomenon that occurs exclusively within the lower socio-economic group. The majority of the sex offending children the Teddy Bear Clinic in SA treats are from a lower socio-economic group. This does not mean that only this group commits sex offences; but rather that the upper social classes usually have the means to deal with the situation differently (Vanzant, 2004). The socio-economic situation in South Africa implies that those who live in poverty are often exposed to more "live" sexual activity because families are required to live in small houses where there is a distinct lack of privacy for the parents or sexually active adults (Vanzant, 2004). This lack of privacy is also detrimental to the youth because they have no space in which to be alone and are therefore forced to find alternative spaces to have privacy. This in turn can result in more time spent with peers and also more time on the street where criminal behaviour and further immoral socialisation is rife.

#### **2.2.2.6 Alcohol and drug availability**

Various studies (Fagan & Wilkinson, 1998:74; Hamburg, 1998:46; Prichard & Payne, 2005:40) have shown that there is a strong correlation between substance use and criminal behaviour, both in adult and youth situations. While the exact nature of this connection is

unclear, the available evidence points to substance use aggravating criminal conduct (Maree, 2008:60; Prichard & Payne, 2005:xi). A study conducted on British youth indicated that 40 percent of the sample was of the opinion that their offending was related to substance use. Similarly, a study in Australia showed that 70 percent of youths were intoxicated (drunk or high) at the time of their last offence (Prichard & Payne, 2005:17). In the same study, it was reported that up to a third of those regarded as violent offenders attributed their behaviour to being under the influence of a substance. Furthermore, a number of the youths in this study attributed their offending directly to the use of alcohol or drugs (Prichard & Payne, 2005:xi).

A study on drugs and crime in SA reported that 66% of arrestees for non-drug related offences under the age of 20 years had tested positive for drugs (Leggett, Louw & Parry, 2002; 3). This study also mentions that diversion programmes for drug addicted youth are limited and that it is vital to ensure that the South African courts are not jailing children that are simply in need of medical and therapeutic intervention. Additionally, it cannot be stated that most drug users are offenders, but it is safe to posit that many offenders use drugs.

The effect of substance use and subsequent misbehaviour by adolescents has been thoroughly researched (Lakey, 1994:5; Martens, Page, Mowry, Damann, Taylor & Cimini, 2006:295). There is also ample evidence that there is a relationship between substance use and general youth offending (Baker, 1998:10). However, there is little investigation into how substance use can be directly correlated to youth sex offending. Schreiner (2004:62) stated that rape, in particular, was associated with alcohol intake, but more specifically the use of alcohol in a group context. According to Pratt et al. (2001) and Weinrott (1996:15) there is controversy in literature about whether youth sex offenders were frequently intoxicated at the time of the offence. Therefore, it is important to investigate this particular issue in order to address the risk factors associated with youth sex offending and not just respond to the symptoms.

Prichard and Payne (2005:12) indicate that factors which increase the chances of a youth engaging in criminal conduct also have the potential to influence the use of substances. Important to the proposed research is that one of the key factors in alcohol and drug use is peer relations. Prichard and Payne (2005:13) cite delinquent or antisocial peers, peer pressure to use drugs, peer drug use and perceived peer approval of drug use as major contributors to a youth's tendency to use substances. Maree (2008:60) furthers this by stating that substance abuse and excessive alcohol use may contribute to violent crime especially if it is within a group context in which there is significant pressure to conform to the

group's rules. A need to conform to rituals within a group offers the opportunity to commit violent crimes such as rape and also the coincidental use of drugs and alcohol (Maree, 2008:60).

### **2.2.2.7 School environment**

De Wet (2003:89), George and Finberg (2001) and Maree (2008:67) indicate that violence in schools is a major concern in SA. Bullying is a key factor in SA schools and crimes stemming from this bullying are becoming more violent (Burton, 2008:16; Smit, 2003:81). The lack of discipline in schools is also a problem because bullying and subsequent violent behaviour is not being dealt with effectively (De Wet, 2003:92; Maree, 2008:67). The fact that children enrolled in school often commit crime makes it an almost impossible task for teachers to educate children about respect for property, the human body and life (Garcia, 1998:2; Maree, 2008:68). Schools are one medium for socialising the youth, however, they are finding it increasingly difficult to instil pro-social attitudes when the community and home environments contend that violence is the only solution to solving problems (Burton, 2008:15; De Wet, 2003:93).

There is also a major discrepancy between the independent and public schools in SA. Maree (2008:68) asserts that independent or private schools have highly qualified teachers, access to textbooks, better classroom and sporting facilities and parents pay the compulsory school fees. In contrast, public schools may have a shortage of qualified teachers and books and less advanced facilities. Such a discrepancy can lead to a sense of deprivation and worthlessness amongst learners. This in turn can result in antisocial behaviour because of a lack of regard for people's possessions and lives (Maree, 2008:68) and also a sense of being owed something by the social system. De Wet (2003:92) states that learner violence occurs more easily in unkempt, unhygienic school environments than it does in neat, clean schools. The same can be said for overcrowded schools where learners have limited space in classrooms and on the school grounds and this can lead to frustration and learner conflict (Burton, 2008:16; De Wet, 2003:92).

Bezuidenhout (2008, personal communication) also mentions the phenomenon of sexually transmitted marks (STM), particularly in public schools. STM refers to female pupils that exchange sexual favours for marks, or higher grades from male teachers. In addition, George and Finberg (2001) revealed that sexual harassment and abuse of girls in SA schools is a widespread problem. Cases of rape, assault and harassment were documented

and girls from all levels of society and ethnic groups were affected by sexual abuse from both teachers and fellow male pupils.

#### **2.2.2.8 Prior victimisation**

One of the most controversial topics surrounding youth sex offending is prior victimisation history (Funari, 2005:12). Therefore, it is apparent that a complex relationship exists between prior victimisation, whether physical, emotional or sexual, and future offending. Research has indicated that a child who is sexually victimised has an increased probability of displaying sexually inappropriate behaviour (Awad, Saunders & Levene, 1984:107; Burton, 2008:104; Lakey, 1994:1; Mbambo, 2002:29; Rich, 2003:44).

However, it cannot be ignored that estimations of prior victimisation vary from study to study (Burton, 2008:104; Weinrott, 1996:12). Past research (Funari, 2005:11) estimated that between 40% and 90% of youth sex offenders had some form of previous abuse histories, while Widom (1989:162) suggested that only as little as 17% of physically abused youth would engage in sexually deviant behaviour. A particularly noteworthy study focused on sexual, emotional, physical and ritual abuse and found that 72% of the reported sample had experienced one or more of these forms of abuse prior to committing a sex offence (Boswell, 1996:120).

Children learn codes of behaviour by internalising them. If a child is previously sexually victimised, that type of behaviour is internalised and the child may respond by acting out that sexual behaviour. Miner et al. (2006:4) suggest that for youth who are re-enacting their own abuse or acting out the behaviour which they have seen, it may be that the harmful sexual behaviour is not deviant within the context of that unique experience. Hunter (1999:2) also posits that the age of onset, number of abuse incidents, the overall period of time and the family awareness of the abuse are relevant in explaining why some sexually abused youth turn to sex offending and others do not.

Children who are sexually abused display certain psychological reactions such as low self-esteem, depression, helplessness, a lack of identity, and sexual maladjustment (Dhabicharan, 2004). It is clear how these traits could lead to children becoming sexual offenders themselves – either by resorting to offending as a coping mechanism or as a way to take revenge (Adolescent Sex Offenders, 1997). In their study, Borowsky et al. (1997:14) indicated that a history of sexual abuse in childhood is an important high risk factor for subsequent perpetration of coercive sexual behaviour. A study by Awad and Saunders

(1989:200) showed that 26% of their sample of adolescent sex offenders had been victims of, or witness to sexual abuse within their homes. This abuse included incest, prostitution and forced observation of sexual activity between adults.

In a study of sexually abused youths aged 11-15 years, a salient finding was that witnessing or experiencing family violence was more prevalent in those youth that perpetrated a sex offence from those that did not (Skuse, Bentovim, Hodges, Stevenson, Andreou, Lanyado, New, Williams & McMillan, 1998:177). These authors postulate that:

the risk of adolescent boys who have been victims of sexual abuse engaging in sexually abusive behaviour towards other children is increased by life circumstances which may be unrelated directly to the original abusive experience, in particular to a climate of intrafamilial violence (Ibid).

Cooper, Murphy and Haynes (1996:110) found that adolescent sex offenders that were sexually victimised themselves were more likely to have committed a “hands on” offence, to have a higher number of victims, to have both male and female victims, to abuse family or acquaintances and to have begun offending at a younger age. The same study indicated that non-abused youth sex offenders were more likely to have committed a “hands off” offence and to only have non-family victims. There was no difference between the two groups when it came to family dysfunction, or other antisocial behaviours.

It is important to note that not all child sexual offenders have been previously sexually abused, however, a history of all kinds of abuse and neglect has characterised the childhoods of a significant number of both male and female youth sex offenders (Adolescent Sex Offenders, 1997; Burton, 2008:104; Chaffin, Bonner & Pierce, 2002:3; Dhabicharan, 2004; Funari, 2005:12; Hunter, 1999:2; Ryan, 2000:10; Weinrott, 1996:13). Findings from Johnson and Knight’s (2000:174) research indicate that both physical and sexual abuse are significant factors that impact on youth sex offending and can be viewed as a predictor to sexually coercive behaviour. A further international study of sexually aggressive children found that:

- 84% had been sexually abused;
- 48% had been physically abused;
- 33% had been emotionally abused;
- 18% had been neglected; and
- 56% had been victims of multiple forms of abuse (Pithers & Gray, 1998:212).

Dhabicharan's research (2004) in SA indicated that 74% of the youth in the study were exposed to physical abuse by their parents and other caregivers. It is important to note that physical abuse is often accompanied by emotional abuse and so the two forms of abuse cannot be viewed in isolation (Dhabicharan, 2004). Any form of neglect or abuse increases the likelihood of a youth committing a sex offence, however, most youth sex offenders were not sexually abused and most sexual abuse victims do not become perpetrators (Weinrott, 1996:13).

Rich (2003:76) and Burton (2008:108) point out that in order to understand how sexually aggressive children learn the mechanics of sex and obtain their motivation to engage in such behaviour, it is vital to look beyond previous sexual victimisation. Furthermore, this is also important in order to gain further knowledge and understanding in this area.

#### **2.2.2.9 Media**

Rich (2003:76) states that the media is a primary transmitter source of sexual ideas and sexual values. Violence which is glorified and explicit sexual messages are enmeshed into everyday culture and society (De Wet, 2003: 94; Ryan, 2000:6) and children are given very little guidance on sexual behaviour – clear distinctions are not drawn between what is regarded as age-appropriate behaviour and sexually deviant conduct (Mbambo, 2002:29). Society is filled with open sexual messages, and there is a general lack of sexual constraint resulting in a warped idea of sexual reality (Rich, 2003:75; Van Niekerk, 2006:103). Youth are being exposed to sexually explicit information on television and in movies, and they are usually watching these acts with no 'parental' guidance. Their first experiences with sex are often associated with the media, through magazines, television, radio, movies and the Internet (Kleder, 2001:1; Rich, 2003:65). Thus, the media poses as a 'surrogate' informer on sexual information, where previously the informants were parents or caregivers. The media can play a vital role in the sexual education of the youth through:

- The adult nature of the programmes watched.
- The limited access or experience of counter ideas.
- The realism with which sex in general is portrayed.
- The constancy of the messages about sexuality (Rich, 2003:65).

Thus, there appears to be a strong link between exposure to the sexual content of the media and sexual attitudes and beliefs (Brown & Keller, 2000:256; Maughan, 2006:1). There is a clash between what is portrayed as sexual reality in the media and youths' real experiences.

According to Brown and Keller (2000:255) this contributes to unhealthy sexual decisions. Additionally, research has shown that early exposure to sexually explicit material can have a negative impact on children because they process sexual information differently from adults. Research indicates that if a child is incapable of processing the information, it is simply stored and used later for referral (Cline, Cooper, Watson, Lefever & Paul, n.d.).

Vogelman and Lewis (1993:40) point out that SA glorifies domineering and controlling masculinity and docile femininity and that resultant behaviour is learned through the media, family modes of communication and sexist institutions and activities. These researchers assert that “men have been taught to define their power in terms of their capacity to affect their will, without the consent of those involved, especially women. This often manifests itself in the attitudes of young males towards sex and sexuality.”

Societal attitudes towards females and about sex and sexuality have an impact on youth sex offending. Rape myths are stereotypical and illusory beliefs about sex offences in general, not just rape. Not only do these erroneous beliefs have an impact on victims of sex offences, but they also have a negative influence on sustaining sex offences in current society (Franiuk, Seefeldt & Vandello, 2008:790). Various authors (Andersson, Mhatre, Nzwakie and Penderis, 2000:59; Franiuk et al., 2008:791) assert that the endorsement of rape myths can be correlated to a male’s admitted likelihood to commit a sex offence, provided he was given the assurance that they would be no consequences to his actions. Franiuk et al. (2008:791) found that rape myths are common in the general populace and therefore assert that there is reason to believe (and evidence to suggest) that rape myths are also prevalent in the mass media.

Andersson et al (2000:59) point out various rape myths that became apparent in their study on sexual violence in South African schools. These authors interviewed a total of 27 364 youth between 1998 and 2000 in 25 Johannesburg schools. Approximately 50% of male youths interviewed believed that if a girl said “no” to sex, she actually meant “yes”. Moreover, eight in ten male youth thought that females were responsible for sexual violence. Three in ten male youth reported that if a girl had been raped, she must have been asking for it. Two in ten male youth thought that women enjoyed being raped. A third of the total sample of males and females interviewed considered forced sex with someone they knew was not sexual violence. Acceptance of such myths equates to blurred boundaries of sexually acceptable and unacceptable behaviour and thus perpetuates sexual violence.

Furthermore, pornography is readily available in South Africa. There is no concrete definition for pornography. Different legislation regarding pornography hampers a concise, global definition in that what is considered only sexually explicit in one country may be considered obscene in another. Conversely, certain behaviour may not be considered at all pornographic in one country and obscene and unlawful in another (Akdeniz, 1997:223). Broadly, pornography can be defined as any explicit writing, picture or material intended to arouse sexual desire (Waters & Harrell, 1997).

Since the advent of the personal computer and modem, the Internet has become one of the most important exchange mediums for pornography. The Internet is used to distribute home-made and commercial pornography cheaply and quickly across the globe (UNESCO, 1999). South African children from the middle and upper classes usually have access to Internet pornography as well as pornographic material on the television. Adult and child pornography is readily available on the Internet and is accessible in different formats. Pornography ranges from pictures and short, animated movies to sound files and erotic novels (Akdeniz, 1997:224). The Internet allows users to discuss sex, view live sex or still photographs and also to arrange to meet, purely with sexual intentions (Akdeniz, 1997:224). Thus, children have easy access to pornography, and other harmful sexually explicit material, which according to Campher (2006:42) is unacceptable if their developmental phase is taken into consideration.

A study conducted in Australia (Goodenough, 2003) revealed that Internet pornography is a crucial factor in youth displaying sexually aggressive behaviour. Of the 101 research participants in the study, 90% (91 of them) had seen online sexually explicit material and 25% of them had deliberately gone online to search pornographic websites. The study also indicated that 25% (25 of the sample) was shown how to access pornographic images by a sibling or other adolescent. Another international study (Ford & Linney, 1995:67), which focused on general pornography and not specifically Internet pornography, found that youth sex offenders were exposed to pornography at a younger age, and viewed more “hard core” pornography than either status offenders or violent non-sex offending youth.

While the actual relationship between exposure to sexually explicit material and sexually coercive behaviour is unknown, this type of material further emphasises the sexual messages and ideas about adult behaviour that youths now deem acceptable for themselves (Maughan, 2006:1; Rich, 2003:68-69). Pornography also often portrays inaccurate and harmful information or imagery. It can represent violent and dehumanising sexual scenes and Cline et al. (n.d.) argue that this type of information can form powerful, yet false ideas

about appropriate sexual behaviour. Pornographic literature and imagery lacks intimacy and does not illustrate sexual behaviour as an act of a personal relationship, but rather encourages sexual acts without emotional connection and as a form of male control or dominance.

It is important to note that the viewing of adult pornography is not deemed to be an offence in most countries around the world; in fact, it is seen as part of the freedom of expression of an individual. Those above the age of consent have the right to consume legal pornography; however, since by definition, children are below the age of consent (18 years), they must be protected from harmful sexual imagery.

Music is also an important element of the media and is integral in most adolescents' lives. Adolescents glean information about society, social roles, gender roles and accepted behaviour from music (Martino, Collins, Elliott, Strachman, Kanouse & Berry, 2006:431). The music they listen to is also used to facilitate social interactions and thus forms part of their personal identity. Martino et al. (2006:431) states that it is therefore reasonable to expect that the messages conveyed through music media could have implications on adolescent socialisation and behaviour.

A recent study (Lupu, 2006) found that sexually explicit lyrics influence adolescent sexual behaviour. It is the content of the song, rather than the genre of music which seems to be important (Martino et al., 2006:430). Many of these songs depict men as "sex machines" and women as "sex objects" and even "sex slaves". Lupu (2006) re-iterates the message that "sex sells" and asserts that if more artists were concerned about the quality of their lyrics, then sexual aggressiveness would not be as common among adolescents.

The average adolescent listens to between one and a half to two and a half hours of music per day (Martino et al., 2006:430). Many of the popular songs contain sexual themes that range along a continuum from playful to degrading and hostile. Lovinger (1995) argues that music has always contained sexual innuendos, but the messages conveyed are now more sexually blatant and anger-laden and the boundaries between sex and violence are being blurred.

The lyrics presented below clearly show the gender roles demarcated by these artists and also what is deemed to be socially and sexually acceptable behaviour:

Girls L.G.B.N.A.F (*let's get buck naked and fuck*), that's right, if you're a man you want it, if you're a woman you tease him and flaunt it... we move in a group, seduce and capture (Lovinger, 1995).

The gender roles and prescriptive nature of the following lyrics support this statement further:

And I'd like to place my hands upon your fuckin` sexy ass and squeeze, and squeeze. Take off your blouse and your underpants, then take a look, 'cause here me and KG come naked, out of the side hatch. Pretty oils and perfume, and incense. Now you're groovin, put on a cool '70s groove, a funky groove to fuck you, the funky groove that fucks you. You guessed it, me, me and KG. It's all about sex supreme, we likes to cream jeans. Have you ever been worked on, by two guys who are hot for your snatch? That's what I'm offerin` you. You step into our room, and then you smell the perfumes. You lay upon our roundish bed, and then you feel a tickling on your head. It's KG with a feather, the French tickler, look out baby he's got the tools. And then you feel somethin` down by your feet, it's me, it's JB, I'm suckin` on your toes. We don't mind suckin` on toes. Good luck finding a boyfriend who sucks toes. Havin` sex with me and KG, now you're talkin` double-team, supreme (*Tenacious D, 2008*).

These two excerpts are second tier compared to some of the music lyrics available on the Internet and the music videos show what perhaps the lyrics may not have explicated. Youth are therefore socialised into believing that what they see and hear are correct representations of sexually acceptable behaviour.

While South African artists are not as transparent in their lyrics, the South African genre of music "kwaito" cannot be ignored. Two of the distinguishing features of this genre are the objectification of women as sexual objects and the overtly sexual dancing that accompanies it (Swartz, 2003:7). Kwaito is similar to American hip-hop in that the lyrics are filled with messages about sex, money, misogyny and violence. However, kwaito does not glorify violence to quite the same degree as hip-hop does. Swartz (2003:7) states the reason for this is because violence is omnipresent in SA and constant reminders of violence are therefore not needed. Stephens (2000:270) interviewed young women about their views on the sexual lyrics in kwaito music. The responses indicated that the lyrics are degrading and reflect the inherent sexism in South African society.

The possible impact of overexposure to sexually explicit material or exposure to sexually harmful or violent behaviour cannot be overemphasised. Cline et al. (n.d.) cite the following negative consequences to sexually explicit material:

- Such material may start to shape sexual values, attitudes and behaviours;

- It could sexualise children prematurely;
- It could incite them to experiment sexually;
- It may increase acceptance of high risk behaviour;
- It may change relationships, physical appearance and behavioural expectations;
- It could blur personal boundaries;
- It could increase sex offending behaviours; and
- It could interfere with healthy sexual development.

Through technology, children learn about sex and act out what they see and learn. The sexual ideas and information portrayed by all forms of media are not always consistent with reality and so children may resort to coercive methods to copy what they have seen or heard. Youth have immense access to information through all forms of the media – the Internet, television, music and music videos, advertisements and other forms of emerging technology. This information can be of a sexual nature and the impact of such explicit information is of relevance to healthy sexual development in the youth. Much of the sexual information in the current “pop culture” is degrading, sexist and promotes the normalisation of harmful sexual behaviour (Cline et al., n.d.) and thus it is relevant to the topic of youth sex offending.

However, it is important to investigate the role the media, and more specifically the role sexually explicit material and music may play in youth sex offending because the relationship between such material and aberrant sexual behaviour has not been clearly expounded (Pratt et al., 2001). It is also crucial to investigate the role of rape myths and ideas of male dominance, supremacy and aggression in order to understand sexual violence in SA.

#### **2.2.2.10 Peer relationships**

The media cannot be seen as the only culprit for passing on incorrect ideas and information about both sexually and socially unacceptable behaviour. A prevalent finding in studies regarding youth offenders in general is that antisocial behaviour is strongly related to deviant peers. Factors such as peer delinquency and approval thereof, attachment to peers, time spent with peers, and peer pressure have all been closely associated to youthful antisocial behaviour (Erooga & Masson, 1999:74; Lakey, 2004:3; National Research Council, 2001:80). Furthermore, co-offending is common among adolescents, but little is known about this in youth sex offending as a dimension of antisocial behaviour (Lakey, 2004:3; National Research Council, 2001:82). A reason for this is that societal norms and values instilled by

parents are often sacrificed for acceptance and status within the peer group because a sense of belonging is a major concern of the youth.

Current literature on the relationship between peer associations and the development of antisocial behaviour is inconsistent (Poulin, Dishion & Haas, 1999:42). It appears that early childhood misbehaviour can be correlated to peer rejection. Contrary to that, one of the strongest predictors of substance use and youth misbehaviour is association with deviant peers (Poulin et al., 1999:42). In order to understand the processes in peer socialisation that sustain the development of antisocial behaviour, one has to recognise the multidimensional nature of peer relationships (Poulin et al., 1999:42).

Studies (Dishion, Andrews & Crosby, 1995; Dishion, Capaldi, Spracklen & Li, 1995) have provided evidence to support the idea that youth misbehaviour is entrenched in friendship networks. There is a general similarity among peers in behaviours such as aggression, substance use and early sexual relations (McClinton, 2004:26; Poulin et al., 1999:42). Adolescents may seek friends that behave in similar ways, or the behaviour may be a result of socialisation. Regardless of how these peer groups form, it is clear that once the friendship network is established, a context is provided in which peers can influence each other (Poulin et al., 1999:42). The peer network is a common source of support for adolescents, however, friendships also introduce or re-enforce existing antisocial conduct (Dhabicharan, 2004).

Dishion et al conducted a study in 1995 to assess substance use during adolescence and they found that “the strongest proximal correlate to early-onset substance use was the association with deviant peers” (Dishion et al., 1995:818). This is of particular relevance to the current study because if peers have such an influence on substance usage, and the connection between deviant peers and criminal conduct is verified, then the possibility exists that peer associations may play a role in youth sex offending. If such a relationship is observed, it would have a significant impact on the intervention programmes that are currently used to treat youth offenders.

Poulin et al. (1999:55) state that adolescence is a stage in which peer networks that are autonomous to the family are established. The friendship groups serve various functions, one of which being to provide contact with the opposite sex. One aspect that was revealed by their study was that deviant peer association and level of autonomy predicted sexual relations by middle adolescence (Poulin et al., 1999:55). The pressure to be like one’s peers is acute in a society, such as South Africa, in which heterogeneity is prevalent, but not necessarily accepted. A child who is part of a sexually active “in group” may resort to

coercive methods if no other opportunity arises so as to avoid being shunned by the group. Furthermore, an adolescent could be pressured into behaviours such as corrective rape in order to fit in. Corrective rape is normally committed by male youth gangs and entails raping an individual, for example, a perceived lesbian women with the purpose of “correcting” her sexual orientation (Bezuidenhout, 2008, personal communication).

Piaget (1932:397-398) states that social experience with the peer group leads to flexible morality because adolescents, specifically, no longer possess a unilateral respect for adult authority figures. They also recognise that rules are not fixed and can be negotiated. This is relevant to youth sex offending because if a peer group uses coercive methods to gain sexual compliance, an individual will follow these “rules” and thus individual moral values may be adapted to those of the group. The same reasoning can be applied to substance use.

Research (National Research Council, 2001:80; McClinton, 2004:25; Smallbone, 2006:113) focusing on adolescent antisocial behaviour has found a link between negative peer associations and deviant behaviour. However, this correlatory relationship is more prevalent in older youths. In older adolescents, who seek peer affiliation and who conform to peer norms, it has been found that such negative associations is a stronger predictor of antisocial behaviour than it is for their younger counterparts (Smallbone, 2006:113). This finding is pertinent to the proposed study because the majority of youth sex offenders are between the ages of 13 and 17 years (Erooga & Masson, 1999:2). This means that they are at an age where peer groups have a greater significance in their daily lives. While a possible causal link may exist between deviant peers and deviant behaviour, there are no specific findings about youth sex offending that focus on this relationship.

Furthermore, parents concerned with their low standard of living are often preoccupied with the provision of housing and food and therefore they neglect their child’s emotional needs and development. This often leads to children spending more time with their peers and they look to them and older members in the community for guidance (Vanzant, 2004). In higher socio-economic classes, parents often work long hours and children are left to their own devices. They may suffer emotionally and turn to their peers for support. Regardless of class, all youth enter a stage where they seek peer affiliation and conform to peer values in order to establish their identities and self-worth (Marcus, 1996:146, McClinton, 2004:25). Frequently the friends they choose are from similar backgrounds and experiencing similar problems, thus all members of the group re-enforce the negative behaviour and acting out scenarios (Dhabicharan, 2004; Marcus, 1996:153). Regardless of class, the emotional and psychological needs of children are often neglected and as Mfusi (2007) states materialistic

goods cannot take the place of a child's psychological development and such development should not be the responsibility of the peer network.

The practice of "jack-rolling" is a good example of the influence the peer network can have on an adolescent. The term "jack-roll" was coined in the early 1980s, to refer to the abduction of women in black townships, by a specific gang known as the "Jack-rollers" (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993:39). This term came to mean gang rape, specifically for recreational purposes, and the emergence of "jack-rolling" coincided with a rise in youth unemployment and an increase in youth violence (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993:39). "Jack-rolling" is differentiated from ordinary rape in that it is predominantly a youth crime and one of the aims of "jack-rolling" is to commit the rape as publicly as possible in order to gain respect (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993:39). Furthermore, "jack-rolling" is considered a sport, and "jack-rollers" become role models for younger boys because they are seen as masculine and tough (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993:40). Andersson et al., (2000:56) found in the Gauteng area that "jack-rolling" was seen as "cool", "just a game" or "good" among youth aged 14 to 19 years. Moreover, "jack-rolling" is not seen as a crime in the townships, but a game and it has become a "male fashion" (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993:40).

There is still much to understand about the possible risk factors that could contribute to an adolescent choosing to commit a sex offence over other violent non-sex offences or non-violent, non-sex offences. It is however clear that these factors are not isolated from each other and the multiplicity of factors illustrates the complexity of the problem of youth sex offending.

## **2.3 CONCLUSION**

The focus of this chapter was to discuss the relevant literature and past research findings that are applicable to youth sex offending. The nature and extent of youth sex offending, the difference between adult and youth sex offenders, the characteristics of youth sex offenders, typologies of youth sex offenders and the types ("hands on" and "hands off") as well as the levels (level 1,2 and 3) of offences they commit were discussed. Following this an exposition was given of both the individual (age, gender and race) and social (urbanisation, unemployment, the "culture of violence, family structures and family dysfunction, lack of parental supervision and privacy, alcohol and drug availability, school conditions, prior victimisation, media and peer relationships) risk factors that are pertinent to this population of offenders.

The literature review revealed that youth sex offenders form a heterogeneous population. They vary in terms of race, social class, victim preferences, compliance methods, levels of aggression and violence, types of offences committed and motivation (Rich, 2006:43; Weinrott, 1996:11). Moreover, the literature review revealed that while not all children are subject to the same risk factors, there appears to be certain social risk factors that could be correlated to an early onset of sex offending. The “culture of violence” in SA, and subsequent family dysfunction, the housing conditions, the opportunity to abuse substances, prior abuse of any form, the media and peer networks are all interlinked and form an integral part of the psychosexual and psychosocial development of a youth sex offender. These risk factors need to be further researched and addressed so that therapeutic strategies specific to the needs of youth offenders can be further developed.

Chapter 3 will provide a contextualisation of the theories seen to be relevant to youth sex offending and this study. The psychoanalytic theory of Sigmund Freud and the personality theory of Erik Erikson will be discussed within the psychological context; Albert Bandura’s social cognition theory will provide the social explanation of youth sex offending; and lastly the integrated theory of William Marshall and Howard Barbaree, as well as Neil Malamuth’s confluence model of sexual aggression will be examined within the context of adolescent sexual misconduct. An exposition of each theory, the application of each theory and the contributions and limitations of each theory will be forthcoming.

### **3. THEORETICAL CONTEXTUALISATION**

Very little is known about specific causes of sexual aggression (Roizen, 1997:33). One of the reasons for this is that new research often does not build on what is already known. Finding knowledge on this topic is difficult because the available research is too widely spread among many disciplines. However, there are numerous theories that attempt to explain the aetiology surrounding youth sex offences. According to Grant (2000:3), theoretical approaches to sex offending behaviour have progressed from suppositions based on theoretical assumptions to suppositions based on current research findings. For this reason the theories discussed below are those that were found within the relevant literature about the possible causal relationships within youth sex offending behaviour.

The current research focuses on risk factors not causes, but it is important to theoretically contextualise the phenomenon of youth sex offending. The following theories were identified as relevant to the current study because they discuss how an individual's experiences affect emotional adjustment and the formation of personality traits; how sexually aggressive behaviour can be learnt; how the change in attachment to parents can lead to a change in behaviour; the moral and developmental milestones associated with adolescence; and an integrated conceptualisation of how youth sex offending begins. Vitaly, stages of development are included in the discussion. These stages will be used to guide the thinking related to pertinent risk factors and coercive sexual behaviour. These theories will be discussed further in Chapter 6, with specific reference to the forthcoming risk factors in the current study.

The remainder of this chapter will be divided into the contextualisation of three categories of theories, namely: psychological theories, social theories and integrated theories. Psychological and social theories are linked to the two categories of risk factors discussed previously, that is to say individual and social or environmental risk factors. As with the risk factors, these theories are divided into those factors that stem from within the individual and then those which are socially or environmentally constructed. Lastly, integrated theories of youth sex offending will be discussed.

#### **3.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES**

Psychological theories suggest that individuals commit acts because they suffer from psychological disorders or are mentally ill (Boyles, 2007:8). However, less than eight percent of the overall (known) sex offender population fulfil the requirements needed to be diagnosed

with a psychological disorder (Grant, 2000:3). Furthermore, Boyles (2007:8) states that it is only in extreme cases that sex offences are considered to be a consequence of borderline personality disorder, schizophrenia or other psychotic disorders. The two main divisions of psychological theories, namely psychoanalytic theory and personality theory are discussed below.

### **3.1.1 Sigmund Freud's Psychoanalytic Theory (1856 - 1939)**

According to Beystehner (1998:1) psychoanalytic theory is a general theory of individual experience and behaviour. Sigmund Freud made three main contributions to the handling of youth that misbehave. He maintained that the personality was made up of three components; all normal children pass through five phases of psychosexual development; and personality traits are developed in early childhood (Bartollas, 1997:109). The psychoanalytic theory's focal point is abnormalities or disturbances in an individual's emotional development during childhood (Boyles, 2007:8).

#### **3.1.1.1 Exposition of the theory**

Freud's personality theory implicates that the personality is made up of three forces of psychic apparatus (Beystehner, 1998:2) namely the id, the ego and the superego. The id has the quality of being unconscious and is associated with an individual's primitive drives and instincts (Freud, 1949:14). The id seeks immediate gratification of needs and as Bartollas (1997:110) states "tends to be primitive and savage." The ego has the quality of being conscious and has the function of controlling the urges of the id, responding to stimuli and serving as a link between the id and the external environment. Additionally, the id responds to stimuli by adaptation or flight, regulates activity and endeavours to achieve pleasure and avoid pain (Freud, 1949:14-15). Lastly, the superego is responsible for limiting satisfaction and representing the influence of significant others (parents, peers, teachers and role models) and social, cultural racial and societal traditions (Freud, 1949:15). Thus, the superego can be likened to the conscience and is responsible for internalising the rules of society (Bartollas, 1997:110). The ego acts as the mediator between the id and the superego and is an important socialising component for the child (Bartollas, 1997:110). The result of this interaction between these three components is that a child learns to distinguish between socially acceptable and socially unacceptable behaviour.

Freud (1949:18) suggests that all behaviour is the result of the instincts that are situated within the id. Freud distinguishes between two main instincts – Eros (love) and Thanatos

(death or destruction). These two instincts can either work against each other through repulsion or they can combine to work together through attraction (Freud, 1949:19). The instincts have different functions within the structure of the personality; Eros functions to establish and preserve unity through relationships and Thanatos functions to destruct connections and unity (Freud, 1949:18). In Table 2 an illustration is given of Freud's perception of the personality.

**Table 2: Structure of the personality**

Structure	Levels of thought	Operating principle	Description
Id	Mostly unconscious	Pleasure	Source of instinctual impulses – Eros and Thanatos
Ego	Mostly conscious	Reality	Mediator between the id, the superego and the external reality
Superego	Mostly unconscious	Idealistic	Comprised of the conscience and the ego ideal

(Adapted from Sternberg, 2001:483).

Freud's second contribution is that of the five phases of psychosexual development. Freud (1949:23) states that human sexuality begins to manifest soon after birth. The five phases are the oral phase, the anal phase, the phallic phase, the latency phase and the genital phase. Each phase is characterised by certain occurrences that will be detailed below.

According to Boyles (2007:8) the oral phase occurs in infancy (from birth to approximately one year of age). During this phase, emphasis is placed on the mouth as this emerges as the first erotogenic zone (Freud, 1949:24). Thus, in the oral phase of development, pleasure is obtained through sucking, eating and chewing (Bartollas, 1997:110). The second phase of psychosexual development – the anal phase, also referred to as the sadistic-anal phase (Beystehner, 1998:3) lasts until approximately three years of age. During this phase, satisfaction is obtained through aggressive behaviours and the excretory functions of the body (Boyles, 2007:8). Thirdly, during the phallic phase, which occurs between the ages of three to six years (Boyles, 2007:8), a young boy enters the Oedipus phase. During this phase, a boy begins to fear his father and suffers from castration anxiety, while simultaneously fantasising about sexual relations with his mother (Freud, 1949:25). Moreover, pleasure is obtained from the genitals during the phallic phase (Bartollas, 1997:110). From approximately six years of age until the onset of puberty, an individual

experiences the latency phase (Boyles, 2007:8), during which sexual development comes to a halt (Freud, 1949:23). The final phase of sexual development is the genital phase, which occurs from adolescence into adulthood (Boyles, 2007:8). During this phase, the sexual function is organised and the co-ordination of sexual urges towards experiencing pleasure is complete (Freud, 1949:25).

Freud states that the oral, anal and phallic phases are important in the development of the personality (Bartollas, 1997:110). As the child enters a new phase, social demands increase and these affect the way in which a child deals with the innate drives of the id (Bartollas, 1997:110). Any form of abnormal development or fixation during these phases results in problematic behaviour during adolescence and adulthood. According to Freud (1949:27), errors that occur during the development of the sexual function result in homosexuality and/or sexual perversions. Moreover, Freud viewed all sexually deviant behaviours as aetiologically and theoretically similar, and these behaviours represent some form of a character disorder that is highly resistant to change (Grotmeter & Elliott, 2002:5). The term “perversion” specified that the object of an individual's sexual desire had either become diverted, or had regressed to an earlier phase of psychosexual development (Grotmeter & Elliott, 2002:5).

Lastly, Freud insisted that by the age of five years, all personality traits were fixed in an individual. An individual's emotional experiences before the age of five years will have an impact on the individual's personality and behaviour for the rest of his life (Bartollas, 1997:110). This is relevant because misbehaviour is continually influenced by the experiences a person has as a young child. For example, if a child experiences sexual or physical abuse before the age of five, this will influence the construction of personality and how he will cope with the demands of the innate drives (Eros and Thanatos). In other words, whether he will attempt to establish and preserve unity and relationships or whether he will attempt to destroy unity and relationships with others.

### **3.1.1.2 Application of the theory to youth sex offending**

Bartollas (1997:110) ascertains that there are four ways in which abnormal emotional development may lead to subsequent misbehaviour:

- I. Antisocial behaviour can be linked to neurotic development in the personality. Freudian theory states that there is a relationship between desire and behaviour. So, everything is incorporated into the subconscious drives of any organism. For example, a youth may

feel guilty about a socially unacceptable desire or behaviour and therefore punishes himself with self-defeating behaviour.

- II. An underdeveloped superego can also be linked to antisocial behaviour. This is because the failure to develop a normal superego can lead to an inability to feel guilt, learn from experience, or to feel empathy towards others. Individuals with defective superegos are sometimes called sociopathic or psychopathic and can have a long history of aggressive behaviour.
- III. Just as a defective superego can result in delinquent behaviour, so too can an overdeveloped superego. Children that have an overly-developed superego repress all negative emotions as children and these emotions can explode in aggressive behaviour in adolescence.
- IV. A search for compensatory gratification can also be a cause of youth misbehaviour. Freud's psychoanalytic theory postulates that an individual who was deprived as a child may seek satisfaction in later years. An example of this is a child who exhibits sexually inappropriate behaviour because he was punished for touching his genitals as a child and thus denied that pleasure as a child.

Simplistically, youth sex offending could be a result of a weak ego or superego that fails to control an aggressive or lustful id. Moreover, over-identification with the mother could lead to compensatory masculine acting out behaviour. Freud noted the resemblance between childhood sexual feelings and fantasies and what he referred to as perversions that persist into subsequent development (Hoffman, 2005:18). Such sexual fantasies are expressed as emotional disorders in overtly sexual acts (Hoffman, 2005:18). Importantly, past experiences and feelings impact on each developmental stage; and the overall desire for pleasure serves as a motivating factor in behaviour.

The two currents of emotional life (the affectionate current and the sensual current) need to be assimilated during adolescence in order for sexuality to be integrated in a balanced way (Hoffman, 2005:19). According to Hoffman (2005:19) numerous inner conflicts take place in the attempt to integrate these two emotional currents – one which involves bonding with significant others, and the other involves gratifying sexual impulses. Failures in development can lead to immature sexual patterns (Hoffman, 2005:19) and subsequent sex offending.

Abnormal development leads to unconscious conflicts within an individual, particularly with the sexual and aggressive drives, and these can account for antisocial behaviour, including sexually coercive and abusive behaviour (Bartollas, 1997:110). The psychoanalytic theory asserts that aggression is an innate personality characteristic of all humans; and behaviour is

motivated by sexual needs and drives (Smith, 1999). During adolescence, the genital region becomes the area for pleasure, and males should search for an appropriate partner with which to fulfil sexual urges (Smith, 1999). However, if childhood conflicts have not been resolved, residual aggression could still be present and could be exhibited during sexual encounters.

### **3.1.1.3 Evaluation of the theory**

While Freud's theory is a noteworthy addition to the theories of personality, there appear to be more criticisms than strengths with regard to this theory as a whole. These criticisms and strengths will be examined and explained below, with specific reference to the areas of the theory that are considered valuable to this study.

#### **3.1.1.3.1 Contributions of the theory**

Freud has been named the most "influential thinker" of all time in personality psychology (Sternberg, 2001:490). According to Gill (2002), perhaps the most important contribution of Freud's theory is that it served as a starting point for much research, specifically in child psychology and the unconscious mind. Moreover, this theory is comprehensive in that it addresses its problem, it can be combined with other theories, and it has withstood changing society (Beystehner, 1998:6). Various psychoanalytic tests and psychological treatments still used in the 21<sup>st</sup> century were developed as a direct result of Freud's theory. Considering the era in which he worked, Freud's research can be regarded as innovative, intensive and revolutionary. Furthermore, it stimulated various new discoveries and research arenas (Thomas, 2005:78). Freud's theory also rates relatively highly for clarity – the main components of the theory are clearly described and the use of illustrations and case study examples also help to convey the inner constructs of the personality and the way in which childhood experiences impact on subsequent behaviour (Thomas, 2005:79). The psychoanalytic theory was intended to be a theory used to inform therapeutic and psychological concepts (Beystehner, 1998:7) and yet it provides explanations of the nature of human development and all aspects of mental functioning.

#### **3.1.1.3.2 Limitations of the theory**

While Freud's theory has had a huge impact on the understanding of sexual abuse, there are also a number of criticisms that can be levelled at it. Firstly, Freud's theory is untestable because it is built on its own internal logic and thus cannot be proved either way (Gill, 2002).

Moreover, the psychoanalytic theory is metaphysical in nature because it is comprised solely of abstract thought. Due to it being untestable and metaphysical, this theory holds little scientific worth. Secondly, Gill (2002) asserts that Freud's theory holds little predictive value, for example, it is not possible to predict the behaviour of all children that are raised without a father figure. Freud invented many terms, for example, "perversions" but did not clearly define them, and thus they are vague and open to interpretation (Gill, 2002). Thirdly, many of the rape and sexual assault myths prevalent in society can be traced back to this model and myths such as children are sexually provocative, serve to perpetuate the cycle of both sex offending and sexual abuse (SECASA, 2007). Fourthly, this model does not explain extra-familial sexual assault such as in the case of brother-sister incest or sexual assault perpetrated by strangers or peers (SECASA, 2007). Fifthly, Freud's theory ignores social and cultural factors and focuses solely on the intra-psychic functioning of individuals (Gill, 2002; Thomas, 2005:82). Sixthly, the collusive mother or seductive child is blamed and thus the offender is exonerated of all responsibility (SECASA, 2007). Seventhly, Freud did not study children when he explained the personality development of an individual, but rather used retrospective studies (Thomas, 2005:80). Moreover, this model assumes that all sexual abusers, sex offenders and rapists are mentally ill. It can be applied to youth sex offending, but in order to do so, the basic underlying assumptions of this theory have to be believed and since research on his case studies have proved non-definitive, this is a difficult task. Furthermore, Freud refers to childhood psychosexual development, but he did not observe children in his studies (Sternberg, 2001:484).

It is the researcher's opinion that the most important criticism of Freud's theory lies in his conception of the unconscious mind (where the id is situated). Freud contends that the conscious mind can be used to comprehend the unconscious mind, and yet, no-one knows the exact functioning of the conscious mind. Therefore, as Gill (2002) states "how can something which does not understand itself begin to interpret what the unconscious mind generates?"

### **3.1.2 Erik Erikson's Psychosocial Theory of Personality Development (1902 -1994)**

Personality theories focus, as the name suggests, on problems within the individual's personality, rather than on problems within the subconscious. Personality theorists maintain that criminal behaviour is a result of abnormal emotional adjustment. The causes of crime are therefore within the individual and not genetically inherited (Boyles, 2007:9). Erikson's theory is important in the study of youth misbehaviour because the identity crises individuals experience could provide an explanation for deviant behaviour (Hesselink-Louw, 2001:71).

### 3.1.2.1 Exposition of the theory

Erikson rejected Freud's attempt to define the personality purely within sexual terms and stated that all stages in an individual's life are innate, but unfold with the passing of time depending on upbringing and within the cultural context (Davis & Clifton, 1995:109). Erikson, like Freud, made three significant contributions with regard to the personality, namely: the development of a healthy personality; the process of socialising a child through innate psychosocial stages (which mirror Freud's psychosexual stages); and the individual task of achieving ego identity by solving specific crises during each psychosocial stage (Thomas, 2005:86).

- **The healthy personality and ego identity**

Erikson (1968:92) believed that a healthy personality "*actively masters* the environment, shows a certain *unity of personality*, and is able to *perceive* the world and self *correctly*." Thus, Erikson's theory deals with how social factors interact with the development of the personality throughout the entire lifespan (Hesselink-Louw, 2001:71; Sternberg, 2001:363), and as such developing ego identity. According to Erikson (1959:23) ego identity consists of two elements: the first aspect is knowing and accepting oneself and the second is the recognition of and identification with the norms and values of one's culture. People that have achieved ego identity therefore accept their inner essence and the group culture in which they live (Thomas, 2005:87). Erikson's concept of personality development rests on the principle of epigenesis, which means that everything that grows is governed by a preset plan (Peacock, 2008:64; Thomas, 2005:88).

- **The epigenetic principle**

The term epigenetic principle refers to the belief that an "organism develops from an undifferentiated state to the differentiation of its parts" (Peacock, 2008:64) according to a construction plan established by the genetic material of an individual (Thomas, 2005:87). Thus, an individual's life is a series of developmental phases (Peacock, 2008:64). The epigenetic principle is central to the process of identity development, which Erikson (1963:235) believes is never a completed act, but rather one that focuses on the emergence of the autonomous self because individuals are constantly faced with changes in identity. Erikson is of the opinion that the psychological traits of an individual develop from a basis laid down in previous psychosocial stages.

• **The psychosocial stages**

Erikson’s theory (Davis & Clifton, 1995:111; Meyer & Van Ede, 1998:53) explains the “crises” that occur during different stages of the life-span and the manner in which an individual resolves each life phase crisis. This results in progress towards the development of the personality and thus self or ego identity. If an individual fails to resolve one or more of these crises or challenges, then the emergent conflicts that arise because of this failure have to be considered (Sternberg, 2001:634). Table 3 illustrates Erikson’s psychosocial development stages. Column A refers to the approximate age category in which the psychosocial crisis occurs. These psychosocial crises are stipulated in Column B and are phased as opposing or contradictory personality characteristics. Column C refers to the expanding circle of significant others with whom a developing child interacts and lastly, Column D explicates the acts on which the developing child focuses. For example, in stage 5, a youth between 12 and 18 years of age experiences the crisis of identity versus identity diffusion. During this period, his circle of significant others has expanded from parents, family and neighbourhood and school friendships to include his peer group and other role models. He will be focused on the act of being himself and sharing himself with others.

**Table 3: Erikson’s psychosocial development stages**

	<b>Column A</b>	<b>Column B</b>	<b>Column C</b>	<b>Column D</b>
<b>Stage</b>	<b>Approximate age (in years)</b>	<b>Psychosocial crisis</b>	<b>Significant relationships</b>	<b>Psychosocial modalities</b>
1	0-1	Trust vs. mistrust	Mother	Getting and giving in return
2	2-3	Autonomy vs. shame & doubt	Parents	To hold on and to let go
3	3-6	Initiative vs. guilt	Basic family	To go after things and to play
4	7-12	Industry vs. inferiority	Neighbourhood and school friendships	To make things alone and together (with others)
5	12-18	Identity vs. identity diffusion	Peer groups and out groups; role models	To be oneself (or not) and to share oneself with another
6	The 20s	Intimacy vs. isolation	Partners in friendship, sex, competition and co-operation	To lose and find oneself in another
7	20s to 50s	Generativity vs. self-absorption	Significant partner	To take care of oneself and others
8	50s and beyond	Integrity vs. despair	Humankind	To be and to face not being

(Adapted from Erikson, 1959:166).

The identity versus the identity diffusion stage is relevant to the current study because it describes a crucial stage to adapting to societal norms. This crisis is not exclusive to the adolescent developmental phase, but it is more acute in this period (Erikson, 1959:89). The reason for this is that it is necessary for adolescents to cope with many emotional, physical and cognitive changes (Hesselink-Louw, 2001:75). This stage is applicable to adolescents in which they have the task of acquiring a feeling of identity. They need to answer questions relating to their own characteristics, their social identity as well as morals and values. In order to resolve this crisis, adolescents sometimes resort to rebelling against society's norms. They must integrate intellectual, social, ethical and sexual aspects of themselves into a cohesive whole which represents the self-identity (Sternberg, 2001:364).

The successful integration of the previous years' experiences should lead to a synthesised version of self-definition. From this, an adolescent's strength of purpose and their understanding of reality should extend (Thomas, 2005:93). If this does not occur in the adolescent psychosocial stage, it will result in identity diffusion or confusion, in which the youth does not know who they are to themselves, or to others (Erikson, 1959:92). An effect of this could be an over-identification with role models or peer groups and thus a loss of individuality. Adolescents help each other through confusion by stereotyping themselves in clothing, speech, ideals, attitudes, role models and behaviours (Thomas, 2005:94). Factors such as social disorganization, poverty, the culture of violence and association with deviant peers have a negative impact on role experimentation and identity formation (Erikson, 1968:257; Holleran & Waller, 2003:335). The social demands, social roles and choices that are available to the adolescent are also important in the development of antisocial behaviour (Peacock, 2008:64).

Individuals are constantly confronted with changes of identity and the ability to cope with new life roles is dependent on the successful resolution of the adolescent crisis of adolescent identity versus identity diffusion (Peacock, 2008:64). The importance of resolving previous psychosocial crises becomes apparent on examination of the epigenetic principle and general misbehaviour. Erikson (1968:185) proposes that youth antisocial behaviour is a product of basic mistrust in oneself or residual identity diffusion.

Furthermore, Erikson (1970:157) makes use of the term "psychosocial moratorium" to refer to the period of free experimentation before a coherent sense of identity is achieved. This psychosocial moratorium allows adolescents to experiment with morals, roles, and values in order to construct an idea of how to fit into society (Hesselink-Louw, 2001:74; Peacock, 2008:65). Moreover, it allows an adolescent to maximise his personal potential and to

receive recognition for that (Peacock, 2008:65). Thus, according to Peacock (2008:73) the integration of life experiences should be accompanied by this psychosocial moratorium in order for a unique sense of personal identity to emerge.

### 3.1.2.2 Application of the theory to youth sex offending

A youth that misbehaves is seen as “stuck” in the identity stage. O’Connor (2006:4) asserts that this means they are in a semi-permanent state of identity crisis. Erikson refers to the challenges that face adolescents as:

...the body changes its proportions radically, when genital puberty floods body and imagination with all manner of impulses, when intimacy with the other sex approaches and is, on occasion, *forced* on the young person, and when the immediate future confronts one with too many conflicting possibilities and choices (Erikson 1968:132).

This statement is important with reference to youth sex offenders, as Erikson asserts that the challenges of adolescence can impact on sexual development. This is especially relevant to the current study if sexual intimacy is forced on an adolescent. Furthermore, Hesselink-Louw (2001:76) states that premature exposure to sexual behaviour causes a distorted perception of love, disrespect for personal boundaries, inappropriate sexual behaviour and it can minimise inhibitions. Additionally, it is important to note that males may experience identity without intimacy and females can experience intimacy without identity. The concepts of self-worth and faithfulness are not yet developed in this stage (O’Connor, 2006:4).

Furthermore, Hjelle and Ziegler (1981:143) expanded Erikson’s theory in five areas in order to identify the type of behaviour an adolescent identity crisis can cause. The five areas highlighted below all offer an explanation into how an adolescent identity crisis could result in a sex offence being committed. These five areas are as follows:

- *The career choice*: Indecision could result in a youth turning to crime to support himself.
- *The parent-child relationship*: An adolescent’s need to be independent could lead to conflict within the home. This in turn could result in unacceptable or inappropriate behaviour.
- *The peer group*: Conformity in clothing and mannerisms could be used by an adolescent as a defence mechanism against identity diffusion.

- *Relationships*: The inability to form a meaningful love relationship could result in deviant behaviour.
- *Substance abuse*: The use of substances (be that alcohol or drugs) could provide temporary relief from emotional stress (Hjelle & Ziegler, 1981:143-145).

In the case of youth sex offending, youth that experience identity diffusion rebel against all that is seen as acceptable by society, in an attempt to form their own identities. They are also often submerged in a culture of sexual aggression and therefore their behaviour is seen as a “natural” progression from possible earlier misappropriate behaviour. Furthermore, the importance of the peer group is highlighted to avoid identity diffusion or confusion – this is crucial to youth sex offending as past research (explicated earlier in this chapter) indicates an association with deviant peers and subsequent negative behaviour; and that youth sex offenders often have peers who are sex offenders.

However, Smith et al., (2005:86) asserts that it is critical that youth who have sexually offended are not labelled as sex offenders. This is due to the fact that the combination of changes which occur during adolescence influence identity development and specifically sexual identity, resulting in a new definition of self and an alteration in personality (Smith et al., 2005:86). Emphasis should thus be placed on holding an adolescent accountable for his sex offending behaviour, while separating the offence from the individual to avoid self-fulfilling prophecies (Smith et al., 2005:85).

### **3.1.2.3 Evaluation of the theory**

Erikson’s theory continues to occupy a prominent place in child development literature (Thomas, 2005:101). However, like Freud’s theory, much of his writing must be accepted purely on faith rather than on empirical evidence.

#### **3.1.2.3.1 Contributions of the theory**

This theory has been praised for detailed definitions of the psychosocial stages, in particular the proposed identity crisis of the adolescent years (Thomas, 2005:102). Erikson’s theory focuses more on the normal development of an individual and thus the healthy development of an individual in both personal and social relationships (Thomas, 2005:102). This is important because it then becomes easier to deduce where antisocial behaviour may have originated rather than having to use induction, as is the case with Freud’s theory. Moreover, Erikson’s psychosocial theory is also supported by research as described above.

### **3.1.2.3.2 Limitations of the theory**

As with all theories, Erikson's theory also has its downfalls. It is difficult to scientifically validate because similarly to Freud's theory, it is built on its own internal logic; questions remain as to why certain crises appear in certain life stages and not in others; and Erikson does not make provision for the possibility of experiencing certain of the crises in different life stages; and lastly, this theory is reliant on an existential "feeling" of its accuracy (Thomas, 2005:83).

This theoretical approach is believed to only account for a small number of youth sex offences, and yet it has received a large amount of attention from researchers. A number of past studies (Boyles, 2007:9) have relied on elements of the personality theory to explain the aetiology of youth sex offences. These studies have focused on personality characteristics of youth sex offenders compared to non-sexually offending youth in order to attempt to determine the role, if any, that psychological theories play in explaining the phenomenon of youth sex offending.

## **3.2 SOCIAL THEORIES**

Social theories were developed because many psychologists were uneasy about theories that propose concepts such as attitudes, ego, needs and levels of consciousness (Thomas, 2005:119). The problem of the psychoanalytic and personality theories is that they depend on components that may or may not exist. Thus a move was made towards the role the environment plays in the development of an individual and of behaviours, thus the broader social context is taken into consideration. The only theory discussed here is that of Albert Bandura as it is seen as one of the most comprehensive and applicable theories on deviant behaviour.

### **3.2.1 Albert Bandura's Social Cognition Theory (1925 - )**

This theory was originally the social learning theory, but was renamed by Bandura because he recognised that children do not only derive knowledge from their environments and experiences, but they also use mental activities to manipulate that knowledge (Thomas, 2005:149). The term social cognition implies a broader array of mental activities than social learning does.

### 3.2.1.1 Exposition of the theory

Bandura's social cognition theory suggests that while people learn through operant and classical conditioning, they also learn through observing others, being aware of their behaviour and crucially understanding the consequences of such behaviour (Symboluk, 1999:16). In order to explain the major premises of social cognition theory, it is important to note that these premises rest on basic assumptions about humans and human behaviour. These assumptions are as follows:

- I. There is an assumption that humans are naturally social beings and they are attentive to the surrounding environment.
- II. People react and respond to stimuli within the environment and the environment as a whole.
- III. Social learning does not make use of or have a particular position about innate drives or traits. The reason for this is the assumption that behaviour is created in conjunction with environmental influences.
- IV. Individual cognitions mediate the cues from the environment (Dyrne & Hogben, 1998:6).

Bandura's social cognition theory asserts that children learn behaviour through imitating models such as parents, peers or role models on the television (Botha, Van Ede, Louw, Louw & Ferns, 1998:277; Dyrne & Hogben, 1998:10; Thomas, 2005:150). Thus, this theory implies that behaviours are learned through interaction with others, and through direct or indirect observation and imitation (Boyles, 2007:11, Stansups, 2008). Moreover, social skills, fears, aggression and sex-roles can all be acquired through observational learning, without having any experience of these constructions (Symboluk, 1999:16). Importantly, children not only learn behaviour, but they also manipulate acquired knowledge to form new understandings. Bandura (1997:116) states that "most courses of action are initially shaped in thought. The cognitive constructions then serve as guides for action." Furthermore, the ability to foresee or imagine the outcome of a course of action contributes to the motivation for that action (Bandura, 1997:35).

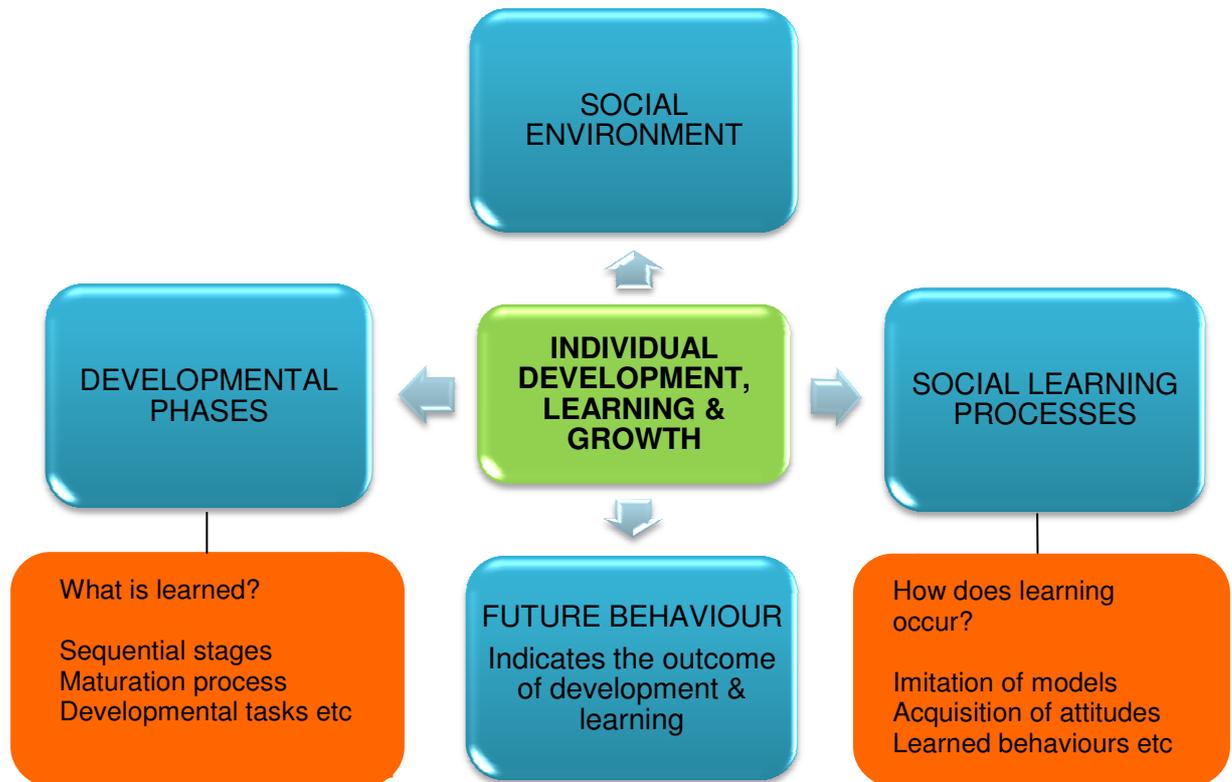
It is not clear how observational learning takes place, however, importantly, it is understood that a child will learn certain behaviours through acquiring information (through observation) and will decide how that behaviour could help or obstruct them in fulfilling future needs (Thomas, 2005:152). Whether the models are live or symbolic is not vital to the emulating of the model's behaviour, rather the power, attraction and novelty the model possesses for the observer is important in influencing that observer's behaviour (Symboluk, 1999:17). This

modelling of others is significant, because it not only influences the acquisition of moral standards and norms, but it also affects other behaviours such as exhibiting aggression, pro-social behaviour and language acquisition. According to Thomas (2005:152-154), the process of observational learning can be divided into five functions:

- I. *Being attentive* – children must be attentive to the relevant clues in the stimulus situation and ignore any information that is not pertinent to the behaviour they seek to learn. Vivaldi, Bandura (1997:89) states that the choice of model is affected by striking features of the behaviour, the attractiveness of such behaviour and the apparent worth to the child of learning the behaviour.
- II. *Memory or semantic coding* – without an accurate code for the behaviour that a child has witnessed, it cannot be stored to memory. Adolescents have a better capability to code information because of an increased comprehension of symbols, abstract concepts and rules. These codes have to be suitable for transformation so that a child can retrieve the perceptions and then put them into action.
- III. *Retaining memorised information* – much of what children observe from models is forgotten. If the behaviour is rehearsed or if multiple associated images or words are coded for that behaviour, it is more easily retrieved.
- IV. *Behavioural production* – a child would formulate a plan of action and then piece together various pieces of coded information or remembered observations in order to execute the plan.
- V. *Motivation* – a child has to be motivated to go through the process of learning. This is influenced by the possible positive or negative consequences of the behaviour.

Bandura's social cognitive theory refers to reciprocal determinism that attributes all human functioning to an interaction between individual characteristics, behaviour and the environment (Sternberg, 2001:493). These personal, situational and behavioural factors all interact to influence an individual's thoughts and behaviour (Symboluk, 1999:16). Consequences are vital to the social cognition theory in that a rewarding or punishing consequence tells a child under which circumstances to try the behaviour in future (Thomas, 2005:154). The child can therefore predict the positive or negative outcome of the behaviour in future circumstances. Consequences are not re-enforcers of behaviour, but rather regulators in that they give information about future consequences and therefore regulate the behaviour (Thomas, 2005:155). This is furthered by Bandura's belief that individuals are more likely to engage in certain behaviours if they believe they can successfully execute the behaviours (McClinton, 2004:30). This is referred to as self-efficacy.

**Figure 3: The developmental-learning environment: environment, developmental stage and social learning.**



(Adapted from Rich, 2003:61)

The overall idea is then that children learn, grow and develop through interaction with their social environment. They absorb, imitate and experiment with what they see, hear and experience (Rich, 2003:58). In short, they become a product of the environment from which they come. Figure 3 clearly illustrates the interactional process that occurs between children and their social environment. Furthermore, it shows the development of attitudes, the mimicking of models and how children find a direction. According to Symboluk (1999:16), individuals are influenced by actively seeking out and processing information regarding their environment and choosing models to assist them in achieving favourable outcomes.

### 3.2.1.2 Application of the theory to youth sex offending

From the aforementioned, one can deduce that socialisation is a vital element in youth sex offending. Bandura emphasises that moral learning occurs through direct and indirect means. Ryan (1997:21) discussed the role that learning plays in the acquisition of sexually deviant behaviour and states that the capacity for sexuality is an inborn trait, biological factors influence the way in which a sexual act is carried out and that the manifestation of sexuality is learned. According to Burton (2008) social cognition theory indicates that there

may be various theoretical paths, which either individually or in conjunction with each other, could lead to the development of sex offending. The fact that individuals respond to stimuli in the environment is important because it implies that sexual behaviour can be taught (Dyrne & Hogben, 1998:6).

It is then clear how such observational learning can lead to youths displaying sexually inappropriate behaviour if this is to what they have been exposed. The extent to which a child's role models engage in sexual activity and sufficiently developed encoding strategies have an influence on the tendency for the child to engage in sexual behaviours (Dyrne & Hogben, 1998:10). It must also be recognised that children are more likely to be re-inforced on same-sex behaviours and thus they learn same-sex behaviours through cognitions about masculinity and femininity as well as male and female sexuality (Dyrne & Hogben, 1998:10). Identification with the same-sex role model has an impact on what is seen to be acceptable behaviour for each sex. Moreover, a child that was previously sexually victimised and perceived the offender to experience pleasure or control (without that behaviour being punished) could have the tendency to re-enact his own victimisation (Symboluk, 1999:17). As Barbaree and Langton (2006:70) conjecture a child victim may model the behaviour of the offender. Moreover, a youth exhibiting inappropriate sexual behaviour may be displaying a learned behaviour pattern, or an inappropriate reinforced sexual script formed during childhood development (Symboluk, 1999:17).

Current literature (Burton, 2008:104; Funari, 2005:12; Symboluk, 1999:17; Weinrott, 1996:12) pertaining to youth sex offending notes that not all adolescent sex offenders have been previously victimised. Thus, in relation to youth sex offenders that have not experienced prior sexual victimisation, the social cognition theory would suggest that the youth has learned the inappropriate behaviour from social sources, for example, witnessing violence, the mass media, and the peer network. According to Symboluk (1999:17) these social sources encourage youth sex offenders to meet their sexual needs without considering the consequences of their actions on others.

Dyrne and Hogben (1998:15) noted that adolescent males who engage in sexually coercive behaviour almost always have sexually aggressive peers and that the presence of such peers can facilitate sex offending without an explicit link being drawn. They learn attitudes and beliefs about sexuality and sexual behaviour from those peers and act according to those attitudes and beliefs. The lack of the explicit link is important because it highlights the difference between a conditioning-based model and a social learning-based model. In other words, the observation of other individuals' behaviour, contributes to the expectation of a

positive outcome regarding the sex offence – in Bandura’s terms, it heightens self-efficacy. Dyrne and Hogben (1998:16) point out that sexual pleasure alone is a strong re-enforcer of such behaviour.

With regards to reciprocal determinism, the decision to commit a sex offence will be determined by individual characteristics, such as motivation to commit the offence, beliefs about sexuality and the idea that the behaviour will have a positive outcome. This decision is also influenced by environment factors, such as previous victimisation, pornography, exposure to violence and peer pressure. The decided behaviour will then result and the reciprocal process will then begin again.

### **3.2.1.3 Evaluation of the theory**

Bandura’s theory of social cognition theory provides an integrative and possibly the best interpretation of how children acquire the learned, rather than the inherited aspects of their personalities. The personality develops as a consequence of three continually interacting factors, namely environmental situations, individual responses and self efficacy, which regulate an individual’s thoughts and actions (Symboluk, 1999:16). It also has immense practical value and is consistent, falsifiable and moderately scientifically supported (Thomas, 2005:164).

#### **3.2.1.3.1 Contributions of the theory**

The social cognition theory goes a long way to explaining why certain adolescents engage in antisocial behaviour and others do not. Bailey (2000:209) asserts that humans are in constant interaction with their environments and they absorb and react to accessible information and societal demands. A vulnerable group of youths that have experienced negative incidents can develop certain thinking patterns. Such developmental vulnerabilities can predispose an individual to an increased susceptibility to the sexual scripts of society (Rich, 2003:59). This is furthered by the suggestion that experiences such as prior victimisation, exposure to violence and a dysfunctional family structure could influence the social and psychosexual development of a child, which in turn leaves the child vulnerable to other prompts for sex offending such as the peer group, pornography and substance abuse.

This theory is particularly useful in exacting a behavioural change in that individual beliefs, motivation and attitudes can be modified. Moreover, this theory focuses on the conscious rather than the unconscious as is the case with Freud’s theory and thus the modification of that which falls into awareness is easier than the modification of unconscious processes.

### **3.2.1.3.2 Limitations to the theory**

The social cognitive theory focuses less on individual characteristics and the structure of the personality than other theories do (Sternberg, 2001:494). This is pertinent because the dimensions in which people differ is somewhat ignored which means that social learning indicates a person could simply be a product of their environment and thus reduces personal responsibility to a degree.

## **3.3 INTEGRATED THEORIES**

Psychological and social theories cannot be used exclusively to explain youth sex offending because of the tautological nature of these theories. A clear indication of this is the use of elements from these different theories to explain youth sex offending - the result being an integrated theory. The two theories described below are specific to sex offending; Marshall and Barbaree's integrated theory is specific to youth sex offending, while Malamuth's confluence model of sexual aggression is not related to youth sex offending in particular.

### **3.3.1 William Marshall (1935 - ) and Howard Barbaree's Integrated Theory (1937 - )**

Marshall and Barbaree's theory integrates four factors (biological, developmental, socio-cultural, and situational) in an attempt to explain general sex offending (Gannon, Ward & Polaschek, 2004:38, Keown, 2008:12). This theory has been used to explain the onset, development and maintenance of sexually deviant behaviour. Therefore, sexual offending is a result of multiple, interacting factors that converge at a specific time, in a specific context, to result in an offence being committed (Keown, 2008:12; Ward, Polaschek & Beech, 2006:34).

#### **3.3.1.1 Exposition of the theory**

Marshall and Barbaree's integrated theory proposes that sex offending occurs as a consequence of various distal and proximal factors interacting (Ward & Beech, 2006:59). This theory posits that males are biologically predisposed to sexual aggression, however, during childhood they learn to inhibit aggressive tendencies and to regulate their moods (Keown, 2008:12). Moreover, through social learning, they develop attitudes and behaviours that discourage sexual aggression (Keown, 2008:12). According to this theory (Keown, 2008:12), some males fail to inhibit the inherent tendency to be sexually aggressive as a

result of three influences, namely, childhood experiences, sociocultural context and transitory situational factors.

Specifically, this theory suggests that childhood adversity leads to poor socialisation (Keown, 2008:12), because these experiences provide limited opportunities to adequately develop social skills. Keown (2008:12) further states that childhood adverse experiences, (for example poor attachment to parents and witnessing physical and/or sexual abuse) encourage self-centredness, indifference to the rights and needs of others, feelings of inadequacy, and attitudes that aggression is an effective approach to difficult situations. Moreover, adverse childhood developmental experiences can impact on an individual's internal working models, (through a disruption of the social learning process in which young males discover how to attain intimate relationships and constrain aggression) leading to a distorted view of relationships, specifically with regard to sex and aggression (Keown, 2008:12; Ward & Beech, 2006:59). This distorted view can further result in a lack of effective social and self-regulation skills, making the transition into adolescence a difficult period for such an individual (Ward & Beech, 2006:59).

During adolescence, individuals acquire sexual scripts, preferences, interests and attitudes (Ward & Beech, 2006:59). Moreover, the influx of sex hormones during this period enhance the saliency and strength of these sexual cues (Ward & Beech, 2006:59). Certain biological factors may facilitate sexual aggression in males, but as previously stated, this type of aggression should be inhibited through socialisation in the adolescent years (Gannon et al., 2004:38; Ward & Beech, 2006:59). This inhibition process can be impeded by negative childhood experiences, such as any form of abuse or maltreatment, or exposure to violence. The result is then vulnerability and predisposition to offend (Gannon et al., 2004:38). A child that is abused is unlikely to develop trust in others and therefore could experience difficulty relating to others – he will lack the self-regulation skills and may turn to less adaptive forms of mood management, for example masturbation (Ward et al., 2006:35). Crucially, a child that witnesses violence in the home, especially the physical abuse of his mother, may start to consider females as inferior to men or simply as objects to satisfy a male's needs. The other pathway may be that intimate relationships are characterised by fear, anger and violence, and this then becomes the norm for the child (Ward et al., 2006:35). This impacts negatively on the overall development of the child.

According to this theory, one of the critical areas of development for adolescent males is to distinguish between sexual and aggressive impulses, and to obtain the ability to control aggressive tendencies during sexual experiences (Ward et al., 2006:34). This task is more

difficult if the male is insecurely attached, has poor self-esteem and inadequate interpersonal and social skills. The task of distinguishing between these two impulses is complicated because they are both governed by the same brain structures (Ward et al., 2006:37). Marshall and Barbaree's theory suggests that if an individual comes from a difficult background, and as such is predisposed to antisocial behaviour, the release of hormones that occurs during adolescence may serve to fuse sexual and aggressive impulses (Ward & Beech, 2006:59; Ward et al., 2006:37). Furthermore, an adverse environment could consolidate already acquired sexually abusive tendencies (Ward & Beech, 2006:59).

Marshall and Barbaree's theory suggest that such vulnerable individuals are attracted to negative socio-cultural attitudes, for example those displayed in mainstream media, and more specifically through pornography (Gannon et al., 2004:38). They are also influenced by negative attitudes regarding women and children that are prevalent in society (Keown, 2008:13). The reason for this is that beliefs that portray males deserving dominance over females and encourage the use of violence to meet desired needs allow vulnerable youth to feel a sense of superiority and power (Keown, 2008:13), which they otherwise do not feel because of their lack of social skills.

Adolescents who lack effective self-regulation and interpersonal skills feel defeated by the biological changes that are present in puberty and the acquisition of sexual scripts, attitudes and beliefs could be negatively affected. The affect is then that they learn to meet their emotional and sexual needs in unacceptable ways because they lack the social skills to maintain intimate relationships (Ward & Beech, 2006:59; Ward et al., 2006:36) and because they experience more rejection from females due to their low self-esteem, and unsatisfactory interpersonal skills. This in turn leads to increased anger and negativity towards females that could fuel the intensity of sexual desires and the development of deviant sexual fantasies (Beech & Ward, 2006:59; Ward et al., 2006:36). Pornography, for example, often portrays females in a misogynistic and reductionistic manner and thus such a socio-cultural factor could have an immense impact on an adolescent, who is already vulnerable to risk factors associated with sex offending. Moreover, violent or humiliating pornography could become a fantasy for an adolescent, and masturbation to this fantasy could increase its potency and could also become a sexual script to which future offences are planned (Ward & Beech, 2006:59). Such fantasies could fulfil a multitude of needs for the adolescent, such as releasing sexual tension, increasing feelings of personal effectiveness, power, control, self esteem and masculinity (Ward & Beech, 2006:59).

The inherent biological factors and the pertinent socio-cultural factors could then interact with transitory situational factors, such as alcohol intoxication, negative association with peers or watching pornography, with the result of a sex offence being committed (Ward & Beech, 2006:59; Gannon et al., 2004:38). According to Keown (2008:13) youths offend under circumstances that disinhibit their control. Furthermore, youth who experienced childhood adversity are more likely to be behaviourally influenced by such circumstances (Keown, 2008:13). An example provided by Ward et al., (2006:38) demonstrates this integration of factors: an individual that lacks the capacity to regulate his negative emotions may discover, during his adolescent years that masturbation to deviant fantasies helps to alleviate these emotions and provides him with positive emotions including the feeling of importance and being powerful. The tendency to utilise sex as a coping mechanism contributes to the onset and maintenance of sex offending, because now the individual regulates his mood through offending and not masturbation.

### **3.3.1.2 Application of the theory to youth sex offending**

This theory is directed at the adolescent development phase and specifically on the consequences of developmental, socio-cultural and situational factors that could lead to “unhealthy” sexual development and how this impacts on later sex offending behaviour. This is especially true if childhood experiences are seen to influence adolescent development and behaviour. Various authors (Keown, 2008:13; Ward and Beech, 2006:5; Ward et al., 2006:34) state that the basic suggestion of this theory is that the presence of vulnerability factors combined with the influx of male hormones present at the onset of puberty increases the chances of the male behaving in a sexually aggressive manner.

### **3.3.1.3 Evaluation of the theory**

Marshall and Barbaree’s theory suggests that sex offending is caused by a number of interrelating developmental, social, biological and situational factors. Overall, it has many useable aspects pertaining to this research and it has accounted for many of the factors that could impact on sex offending. It does, however, also have some limitations.

#### **3.3.1.3.1 Contributions of the theory**

This theory can be seen as dynamic, complex, innovative and convincing (Ward et al., 2006:39). Marshall and Barbaree’s (1990) integrated theory is broad in scope in that it views the offender as a biological being who is situated amongst various changing environmental

influences (Keown, 2008:13). This theory also makes use of cognitions (learned from childhood experiences and interactions with his social context) as an aspect of the aetiology of youth sex offending (Keown, 2008:13). Thus, it has great explanatory depth and is a model of good theory-building practice (Ward et al., 2006:39) in that it integrates ideas from personality, developmental and learning theories.

The focus on vulnerability and the reasons for such vulnerability (i.e. childhood adversity) clarify how developmental factors can influence an individual to engage in sex offending behaviour. This theory has also encouraged causes such as interpersonal deficits to be further researched and thus important therapeutic strategies have been developed from it (Ward et al., 2006:39). Furthermore, Marshall and Barbaree's theoretical hypotheses have been supported by research and are therefore empirically sound (Ward et al., 2006:39). It can also be applied to both adolescent boys and adult men and is therefore not restricted to only one type of offender.

#### **3.3.1.3.2 Limitations of the theory**

The first limitation of this theory is its wide scope and therefore it does not differentiate between types of offences, this is important because there are crucial differences within offence types and also within individuals that commit the same type of offence (Gannon et al., 2001:39; Ward et al., 2006:40). The second shortcoming is that even though there are multiple pathways towards sex offending behaviour that are identified in the integrated theory, there is no explanation as to why they lead specifically to a sex offence and not to general aggression (Ward et al., 2006:41). The third downfall of this theory is that the authors provide a simplistic explanation to the fusion of the sexual and aggressive impulses and do not take cognisance of the fact that the midbrain structures are extremely complex (Ward et al. (2006:42). This means that there is no empirical evidence to support the notion of fused sexual and aggressive impulses. A further complication with the supposition of sexual and aggressive impulses fusing is that it would imply that a male will interpret all sexual urges aggressively – there are two problems with this assumption: firstly, this would mean that a male with fused sexual and aggressive impulses would not be able to maintain a normal, non-aggressive intimate relationship. This is clearly a false statement as many sex offenders do maintain such relationships. Secondly, if sexual urges are interpreted as aggression, why does the behaviour specifically manifest as sexual and not physical aggression? Lastly, this theory does not explain how certain environmental factors disinhibit males against sexual aggression or why males that do not hold negative sociocultural beliefs commit sex offences (Ward et al., 2006:41).

### **3.3.2 Neil Malamuth's Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression (1951 - )**

Malamuth's confluence model of sexual aggression focuses on both cognitive and personality predictors of male sexual aggression (Anderson & Anderson, 2008:606). The four central elements to this model are that sexual offending results from the convergence of risk factors; the causes of sexual aggression against women are unique and cannot be used to predict sexual aggression against other men; the causes of sexual aggression towards women predict other controlling behaviour towards them; and environmental factors are important in explaining variations in actual behaviour (Ward et al., 2006:81). According to Anderson and Anderson (2008:607) this model relies on feminist and evolutionary perspectives and proposes that two distinct pathways (sexual promiscuity and hostile masculinity) lead to both sexual and general aggression.

#### **3.3.2.1 Exposition of the model**

The key features of Malamuth's model that will be discussed are (i) the four elements central to his model; and (ii) the two pathways, namely sexual promiscuity and hostile masculinity, that converge to produce sex offending behaviour against women.

- **Convergence of risk factors**

The first element of the confluence model of sexual aggression is the convergence of risk factors results in sexual violence. According to this theory, three types of risk factors – motivating, disinhibiting and opportunity – need to converge in order for an individual to be at risk of committing a sex offence (Ward et al., 2006:81). This is important because it highlights the role of interrelated risk factors, rather than relying solely on inherent dispositions (as in Freud's and Erikson's theories). These risk factors operationalise the two pathways (sexual promiscuity and hostile masculinity) to sexual aggression or sex offending. Vitally, these pathways are not seen as mutually exclusive, but rather they merge to provide an empirical account of sexual violence (Ward, et al., 2006:81).

- **Domain-specific causes**

The second element of this model is that of gender or domain-specific causes with regard to sex related crimes. Malamuth posits that although there may be factors that overlap in the prediction of sexual aggression against men and women, there are specific causes or risk factors that could predict sexual aggression against women because men and women have different optimal strategies with regards to sexual intercourse (Ward et al., 2006:80). In other words, evolution has ensured that men and women have fundamentally different

psychological mechanisms relating to sex. Ward et al. (2006:80) state that while men are capable of long-term intimate relationships, they are more capable than women of engaging in sexual activities with a fertile stranger. It could then follow that if a man is evolutionally adapted for sex in an impersonal and distant circumstance, his sexual desire will not be inhibited by a disinterested or even unwilling female. This type of impersonal sex is characterised by noncommittal orientation towards sexual relations (Anderson & Anderson, 2008:607).

- **Within-domain generalisation**

Within-domain generalisation means that there will be general characteristics that are relevant to all forms of aggression or dominance against females (domain), thus this model suggests that the same factors that are pertinent to sexual aggression will also be pertinent to general forms of aggression, coercion, control and domination of women (Ward et al., 2006:82). In other words, males who are physically aggressive to females will have backgrounds that are characterised by the same risk factors as those males who are sexually aggressive towards females. Ward et al. (2006:82) cite the reason for this as being the motivation to enhance “paternity confidence, and express dissatisfaction with conflict over sexual access.”

- **Environmental influences**

The last element refers to environmental influences. Malamuth suggests that all men have a degree of readiness to sexually coerce women based on their inherited psychological mechanisms, but differences in childhood development, peer influences, cultural contexts and immediate stimuli contribute to whether those inherited mechanisms are activated or not (Ward et al., 2006: 82). Two important features of childhood experiences are parental violence and prior sexual or physical victimisation. It is postulated in this model that boys that are exposed to interpersonal violence could develop adversarial schemata regarding relationships and women. They could also fail to develop skills such as frustration tolerance and conflict mediation (Ward et al., 2006:82). These children are then at higher risk of engaging with antisocial peers and in antisocial behaviour. The result of this is often the adoption of sexual behaviours without the interpersonal skills required to maintain a relationship. The consequence of this is the use of coercion and domination to achieve the sexual outcome because they have no desire to preserve the relationship (Ward et al. (2006:82). Sexual promiscuity and hostile masculinity routes evolve from this background (Ward et al., 2006:82).

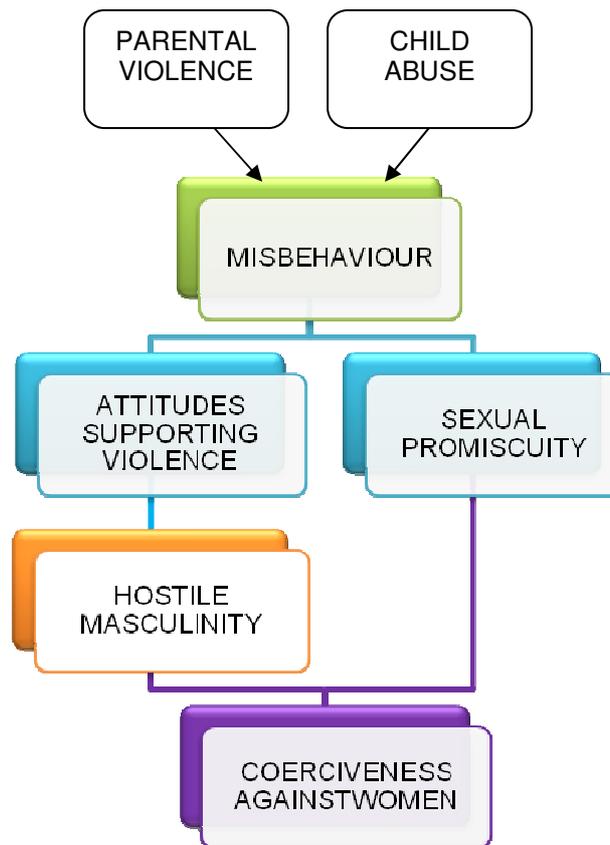
- **Sexual promiscuity pathway**

Anderson and Anderson (2008:607) state that impersonal sexual relations are part of the “Ludus love style”. Individuals that express this type of love style show noncommittal attitudes towards sexual encounters, and furthermore, they view sex as a game to be won (Anderson & Anderson, 2008:607). Malamuth (1996:281) states that involvement with an antisocial peer group could foster the manifestation of a noncommittal orientation towards sexual relations. Often in such a subculture, peer status and self-esteem are established through sexual conquests, thus various strategies to obtain sex from women are developed (Ward et al., 2006:82). It is important to recognise that not all promiscuous males use coercive methods and thus, other factors contribute to promiscuous males committing sex offences. Ward et al. (2006:83) mention that sex offending males have personalities that are characterised by hostile, controlling attitudes towards women.

- **Hostile masculinity pathway**

The hostile masculinity trajectory refers to a constellation of personality traits that consist of two overlapping elements: (i) a defensive, hostile, mistrusting and insecure orientation specifically towards females, and (ii) satisfaction from controlling, dominating and humiliating women (Anderson & Anderson, 2008:607; Ward et al., 2006:83). Men who develop this type of personality profile need to dominate women in an attempt to feel less controlled by them (Anderson & Anderson, 2008:607). Moreover, Anderson and Anderson (2008:607) suggest that pressure to conform to masculine gender roles could result in a male, who believes that his masculinity has been challenged, displaying hostility and/or aggression towards women. The implication of this is that males develop a negative, defensive, mistrusting and insecure orientation towards women over time because of abuse (e.g. sexual molestation), negative role models (e.g. abusive parents) and environmental pressures (e.g. peer group pressure). These influences impact on the male psyche in a very complex manner, and could sway males to eventually experience satisfaction from dominating, controlling, and humiliating women (Ward et al., 2006:83). These traits both motivate and disinhibit sexual aggression – it serves as a motivation because sex is used to degrade women and disinhibition occurs because the adversarial attitude towards women disables any form of empathy that under normal circumstances would thwart sexual aggression (Ward et al., 2006:83).

**Figure 4: Malamuth’s model of the characteristics of sexually coercive men**



(Adapted from Malamuth, 1996:284).

Figure 4 depicts a summary of Malamuth’s proximate model (Malamuth, 1996:284). It further illustrates the characteristics of generally coercive men and offers clarity on how the four predictor variables (parental violence, child abuse, general misbehaviour, and attitudes supporting violence) interact to form the two hypothesised pathways: sexual promiscuity and hostile masculinity which could lead to sexual aggression. Importantly, because this model refers to domain-specific causes and within-domain generalisation, it is likely that any resultant sexual aggression will be against females and not males.

### 3.3.2.2 Application of the model

Malamuth’s confluence model of sexual aggression can be applied to the phenomenon of youth sex offending. In order to give a thorough explanation of this model, the researcher believed it to be necessary to include all elements of this model. However, whether the causal factors of sexual aggression towards women are different from those towards men or not, or whether sexual coercion against women could predict other forms of female dominance and control or not is of little relevance to the current study. The particular points

of interest here are that environmental or situational factors play a crucial role in the committal of a sex offence and moreover these environmental factors are vital in the proposed trajectories to sexual aggression towards women.

In the literature review, two important risk factors associated with youth sex offending became apparent, namely, familial violence and prior physical and sexual abuse. Malamuth's model uses the same two factors to explain the route to misbehaviour and thereafter the development of the sexual promiscuity and hostile masculinity pathways.

- **Sexual promiscuity pathway**

A discussion about adolescent promiscuity is beyond the scope of this study; however, it is important to mention it because it is an element of general antisocial behaviour and some youth may resort to coercive methods to gain compliance. Malamuth's model also refers to the crucial role that the peer network plays in the onset and maintenance of antisocial behaviour, specifically sexually aggressive behaviour. Adolescence is a period in which affiliation with the peer group is of vital importance and the status and self-esteem gained by being accepted cannot be underplayed. Therefore, youth that come from violent family backgrounds are likely to seek out peers from similar backgrounds and attempt to prove themselves in the group. Vulnerable youth may engage in coercive methods to gain sexual compliance, either because it is the strategy the peer group uses, or to up or keep their status within the group and not be isolated as they are in their homes.

- **Hostile masculinity pathway**

The hostile masculinity pathway is slightly more difficult to ascribe to youth sex offending in that it refers to the feelings, attitudes and beliefs of an individual, not their actions. It would be assumed that most adolescents do not yet have fixed, cynical attitudes towards women in terms of dominance, control and humiliation. However, if a boy has been repeatedly rejected, by his mother and by other females, he could already exhibit anger and mistrust towards women. Furthermore, the media influences the way males relate to females, portrays women as "seductive" and yet at the same time objectifies them, and instils beliefs about how males should treat women. Once more, the peer group can also be responsible for a youth's attitudes about femininity, sexual prowess and the way in which women should be treated. Derogatory comments about women shared between peers or a thwarted discussion about the female anatomy and other sexual innuendos can manifest as an erroneous cognitive script in a boy's mind. Thus, female rejection (from a boy's mother or peer group), mainstream media and the peer network could have a possible impact on the development of a hostile masculinity pathway.

### **3.3.2.3 Evaluation of the model**

Malamuth's model is useful in that it explains how patterns of sexual aggression develop, rather than attempting to answer why they develop (Ward et al., 2006:79). Conversely, it is not considered to be a scientifically mature model and lacks certain clarity and explanatory depth.

#### **3.3.2.3.1 Contributions of the model**

This model makes many contributions to the field of sex offending research. According to Ward et al. (2006:84) this model is the most coherent model of “theory-informs-data-informs-theory” and is thus falsifiable and holds great predictive and treatment value. Moreover, it has both a solid and empirical basis provided by extensive research (Ward et al., 2006:84). Importantly, the database that Malamuth used was not one of convicted offenders (Ward et al., 2006:84) and therefore there is a possibility of being able to generalise findings to the population of sex offenders as a whole and not just to convicted sex offenders. This model also addresses the interaction of risk factors and does not attribute sex offending to a single simplistic factor. Lastly, it has more of an explanatory feature regarding why the same environmental and developmental factors result in sex offending and not general aggression (Ward et al., 2006:84).

#### **3.3.2.3.2 Limitations of the model**

Ward et al. (2006:90) question where the constructs of parental violence, child abuse, misbehaviour, adversarial attitude and the pathways were obtained. Certain other common variables, such as alcohol and drug use, were omitted from the model. This model also only alludes to the driving force behind the relationship between variables and thus for this theory to be more pragmatic, it needs to be more in-depth and contain more detail. The confluence model only refers to trait-like characteristics and does not allow for situational influences (Ward et al., 2006:91). The same traits and convergent pathways are used to describe all sexual aggression towards women and so the model implies some form of uniformity between offenders and sex offences and ignores the heterogeneity of the population.

## **3.4 CONCLUSION**

This chapter demarcated three schools of theoretical thought that could be used to further the understanding of youth sex offending. Firstly, the psychological theories were discussed,

with specific reference to Sigmund Freud and Erik Erikson. Both these contributions were discussed briefly and thereafter the theories were applied to the phenomenon of youth sex offending. A critical evaluation followed the application in each case. Secondly, social theories were reviewed as a reaction to the psychological theories. The most pertinent social theory is the social cognition theory of Albert Bandura and thus only this theory was discussed. The same procedure was followed namely, the theory was discussed, applied to youth sex offending and then critically appraised. Lastly, an integrated theory of sex offending was examined. William Marshall and Howard Barbaree's integrated theory was specifically developed to explain adolescent sex offending and was therefore elucidated in detail before being assessed. Finally Neil Malamuth's confluence model of sexual aggression was examined. The theory was applied to youth sex offending because it is specific to adult male sexual aggression against women, and then the strengths and weaknesses of the model were delineated.

Chapter 4 will provide an exposition of the research design as well as the methodological procedures and techniques. The researcher will specifically focus on the qualitative research design, symbolic interactionism as a paradigm and qualitative procedures, namely: the pilot study, the data collection instrument, the place of the literature review and the sampling method. Thereafter, the specific interviewing procedures and processes will be explained. The process of phenomenological interpretive analysis (IPA) will be clarified as the data analysis method, and lastly, the ethical considerations specific to this study will be discussed.

## **4. RESEARCH DESIGN: METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES**

The term “research design” refers to “the option available to researchers to study certain phenomena according to certain ‘formulas’ suitable for their specific research goal” (Delpont & Fouché, 2005:268). It is the blueprint or the plan for the study (i.e. it acts as the framework or guideline for the study) (Huysamen, 1993:10). The rest of this chapter will be dedicated to outlining the plan for the current study and will provide an exposition of the methodology that was used in this study. This includes the envisaged sampling technique, data collection method and data analysis technique.

### **4.1 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH**

A qualitative research approach is followed in this study. Neuman (2000:17) defines qualitative research as “the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social world.” Qualitative attributes are given names or labels rather than numbers and are then categorised (Bailey, 1994:62).

In addition Kvale (1996:70) maintains that qualitative research is sensitive to the human situation. He insists that the strengths of this approach are threefold, namely:

- It allows the researcher to gain an “insider perspective” because it studies people in terms of their own meanings and definitions of the world;
- It is possible to look at the subjective experiences of people; and
- The context in which individuals interact can be taken into account (Mouton, 2001:194).

From the first two strengths above 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 researcher 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 for the current study.

As stated in Chapter 1, this research falls naturally into the symbolic interactionism paradigm because it aimed to understand the “abnormal” interaction that occurs in youth sex offending. Babbie (2005:36) describes symbolic interactionism as a process through which individuals

reach a common understanding through symbolic systems such as language. Brumer (1969:21) states that individual actions are based on the meanings that the individuals have for those actions. These meanings are derived from social interaction and are altered through interpretation.

This paradigm introduces the idea of a shared sense of belonging and “the looking-glass self” which is formed by internalising others’ reactions to us (Babbie, 2005:36). Through socialisation, individuals take on roles of others such as parents, teachers and authority figures – this type of socialisation leads to the “composite self” or the general standpoint from which the individual views himself and/or his behaviour (Brumer, 1969:22). The “composite self” is based on the attitudes of significant others in an individual’s life and the individual will take these attitudes and the meanings he ascribes to those attitudes into account when deciding on a course of action (Clagett, 1988:101). Shared experiences and expectations arise through social interaction and these in turn shape an individual’s identity and behaviour (McClelland, 2000). Thus, summarily, symbolic interactionism is comprised of three principles:

- Humans act towards things based on the meanings they have ascribed those things;
- Such meanings are derived from social interactions;
- These meanings are modified through interpretation (Teenage pregnancy and crime, 2008).

This shared sense of belonging and the concepts of the “looking-glass self” and “composite self”, as well as the interactional process, lend themselves to understanding the phenomenon of youth sex offending. It also allowed the researcher to identify and explore risk factors associated with youth sex offending. The researcher wanted to identify and understand the risk factors related to youth sex offenders by sharing their experiences and contextualising these experiences in a scientific way.

A phenomenological approach is the best method to further the understanding of a phenomenon being studied. The phenomenological perspective is open to the human experience and the subjective nature of ascribing meanings to descriptions provided by research respondents (Kvale, 1996:39). The proposed study sought to understand and interpret the meaning that youth sex offenders give to their behaviour and what they consider to be high risk factors that contributed to their actions. The researcher aimed to explore the experiences and grounds that the youth sex offenders provide for their own behaviour in an attempt to explain their youth sex offending behaviour. Their qualitative experiences were

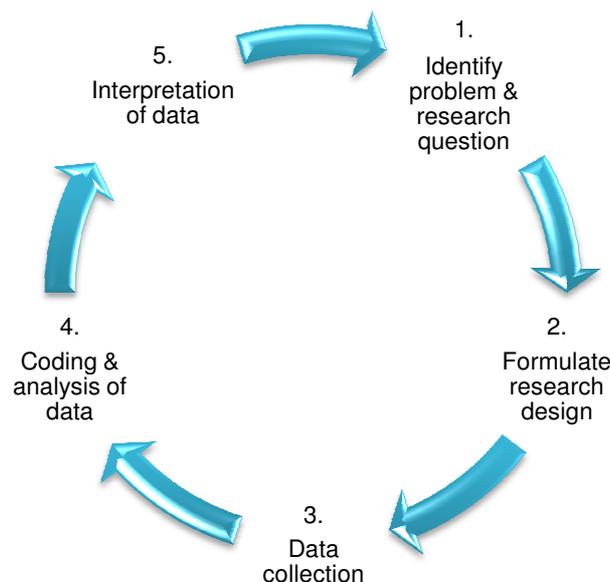
condensed into central categories after which the experiences were analysed within the specific context of risk factors that contributed to youth sex offending, not risk factors that were associated with youth crime in general (Creswell, 1998:144). Furthermore, the findings were compared so that existing theories could be validated (Fouchè, 2005:272). Babbie (2005:89) and Rubin and Babbie (2001:123) indicate that phenomenology is suitable for studies that aim to gain insight into a particular phenomenon, as was the intention of the current study.

Qualitative research procedures are not as formalised or rigid as quantitative research procedures; the scope is less defined; and the researcher is looking at subjective exploration from the participants' perspectives rather than objective quantification (Fouché & Delpont, 2005:74). The result is that it is impossible to categorically state exactly what the procedures for qualitative research will be, and a degree of flexibility is present because the design may change subtly as the researcher discovers aspects that were not anticipated during the planning phase of the research.

## 4.2 PROCEDURES

According to Bailey (1994:12) the research process is best described as circular, as shown in figure 5.

**Figure 5: Stages in the research process**



(Adapted from Bailey, 1994:13).

The identification of the problem and the statement of the research question were discussed in Chapter 1. The qualitative research design was discussed in the previous section of this chapter. Bailey (1994:34) states that methodology refers to the philosophy of the research process. This includes the values and assumptions that serve as a rationale for the research process (Bailey, 1994:34). The methodological procedures followed in the current study will now be delineated.

#### **4.2.1 The pilot study**

The purpose of a pilot study is to ascertain whether the required data can be obtained from the respondents. A pilot study can be defined as “a small study conducted prior to a larger piece of research to determine whether the methodology, sampling, instruments and analysis are adequate and appropriate (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000:155). Qualitative research is more flexible and open ended and thus it is difficult to establish a time frame, costs, permission and the number of respondents that would be needed to reach data saturation (Holliday, 2002:5). The pilot study can give an indication to these and other possible problems that may arise.

The four aspects of a pilot study as described by Babbie (1990:235) are the literature review, expert opinions, feasibility of the study and testing the data collection instrument. The literature review will be conducted before the data is collected so that the researcher is orientated and guided in the development of the interview schedule. Furthermore, a phenomenological study attempts to understand people’s perceptions and perspectives of a phenomenon and thus the findings have to be related to an already established theoretical body of research (Babbie, 2005:302). More detail about the literature review is given in the next section.

##### **4.2.1.1 Pilot-testing of the data collection instrument**

Janesick (1994:213) is of the opinion that the qualitative pilot study allows the researcher to focus on unclear sections and to test certain questions. This pilot study also allowed the researcher to structure the interview in the most respectful and sensitive way to guarantee that the participants felt that the interview is fair and justified (Bailey, 1987:108). Prior to the final interviews being conducted, the interview schedule was tested on two youth sex offenders that met the sampling criteria. The interviews were conducted personally so that any misconstrued questions could be identified. The researcher used observation to make field notes to test the process and the analysis of the data. The purpose of a pilot study was

to ascertain whether the required data could be obtained from the participants. The outcome to this was affirmative and the interviews conducted for the pilot study are included in the analysis of the data. The pilot study took place at National Institute of Crime and Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) Nelspruit.

#### **4.2.1.2 Feasibility of the study**

The current study was feasible in that it fell within the financial budget, available timeframe and practical boundaries, for example travel requirements, of the researcher. The researcher had obtained permission from both NICRO and Protem to conduct the interviews with youth in their care (Appendix A and Appendix B). In order to gain this permission, the researcher had to provide the letter to the institutions stating that the research proposal was ethically approved by the University of Pretoria. She also had to provide the full proposal to NICRO and a research synopsis to Protem, which was submitted to the Department of Social Development. The researcher followed up both requests telephonically and via email until clearance to conduct the research had been granted. The organisational aspects of the research were discussed telephonically with NICRO Nelspruit and the consent forms were emailed so that the parents or guardians had time to consider the research before the day that the interviews were scheduled to take place. The researcher had a meeting with six of the social workers and the supervisor of Protem to discuss the interview schedule and also to organise the signing of the consent forms.

#### **4.2.2 Literature review**

Mouton (2001:87) states that once a research problem has been chosen, it is vital to gather information on the chosen topic. Campher (2007:90) points out that a literature review is essential to learn from and build onto past research findings while simultaneously providing a safeguard against duplicating previous research. Delpont and Fouché (2005:263) are of the opinion that a literature review should indicate gaps in the field of research and demonstrate that the current research addresses certain research shortcomings in the chosen topic. Furthermore the literature review is important to establish credibility as it demonstrates that the researcher is familiar with the current topic and has the most up to date information on that topic (Mouton, 2001:87; Neuman, 1997:89).

In a phenomenological study, the literature review is normally completed after the research findings have been formulated because the findings need to be related to an existing body of theory and research (Delpont & Fouché, 2005:264). Furthermore, this is needed to avoid

subjectivity. Delpont and Fouché (2005:264) are of the opinion that a literature review should follow shortly after the topic outline. However, for the current study, the researcher found little existing evidence about the current topic, especially in the South African context as the phenomenon of youth sex offending is a relatively new area of study. Consequently, the literature review was conducted before performing the actual research and was used to orientate the researcher and guide the study.

#### **4.2.3 Research population: sampling and sampling method**

According to Arkava and Lane (Strydom & De Vos, 1998:190) a universe is defined as individuals out of all potential subjects that possess characteristics specific to a research study. Bailey (1994:83) defines a universe as the sum total of all the units of analysis or objects of study. This would include all youth that commit sex offences in the world. A research population can be described as the sampling frame (McBurney, 2001:248) or as defined by Babbie (2005:196) as “that aggregation of elements from which the sample is actually selected.” The population for this study was therefore all youth sex offenders in South Africa. Lastly, the sample refers to a set of individuals that are selected from the population (Babbie, 2005:206; Gravetter & Forzano, 2003:465). Thus, the sample for the current study was youth sex offenders who were in the NICRO rehabilitation programme and the Protem intervention programme during the time frame when the interviews were being conducted and that assented to being interviewed. Bailey (1994:83) warns that a sample must always be viewed as an estimation of the whole and not the whole itself.

The researcher used a qualitative strategy and it therefore followed logically that a non-probability sampling technique was used. Delpont and Fouché (2005:328) state that non-probability sampling is most appropriate when the researcher seeks individuals where the particular processes or behaviour being studied is most likely to occur. In this case, non-probability sampling was appropriate because the researcher was seeking information specifically to do with youth sex offending and possible risk factors that contribute to such behaviour.

Babbie (2005:189) and Bailey (1994:96) state that purposive theoretical sampling is most appropriate when studying deviant cases, or cases that do not fit into regular patterns of attitudes or behaviours. Since the researcher was focusing on a specific population (youth sex offenders), the most appropriate sampling method was purposive theoretical sampling. This type of sampling refers to a sampling method that relies solely on the judgement of the researcher and includes specific case selection because the cases illustrate the main

features that are being studied (Babbie, 2005:188; Bailey, 1994:96; De Vos, 1998:334). Participants would be drawn from an operational population, or one that represents the ideal population. Purposive theoretical sampling is useful because it is not costly; it is valuable in determining the suitability of the research approach and it ensures that all the relevant elements are included. The biggest problem with qualitative sampling is the fact that it is impossible to generalise the findings.

The following two questions from the method of Lofland and Lofland (1995:132) was used to identify the youth sex offenders used for interview purposes:

- I. Frequency – how often does youth sex offending occur (possible difference between the frequency and what is being said, or recorded)?
- II. Magnitudes – on which level do the sex offences fall (level 1, 2 or 3)?

The sample was compiled using youths, aged 13 years to 18 years, who have been diverted from the courts to an intervention programme for youth sex offenders at NICRO or children that are housed in the in-house programme at Protem before appearing in court. The children identified were all first time sex offenders (frequency), and had all committed sexual assault that fell only on level 1 or level two (magnitudes). 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.

In order for a child to qualify for the NICRO South African Youth Sex Offender Programme (SAYStOP) diversion programme, he or she is required to undergo assessment, acknowledge guilt, be a first time offender and inflicted little or no physical injury on the victim (Ehlers, Madotyeni & Wood, 2000). Referring a child to a SAYStOP diversion programme is one of the ways that the CJS and other organisations can ensure that children who commit sexual offences are responded to in a manner that accomplishes the objectives of the Child Justice Act (Ehlers, Madotyeni & Wood, 2000). The youth in the Protem programme consist of youth under the age of 18 years who are awaiting trial. They are referred there by Court order from the Magistrates court and a J7 form is required for them to be admitted into the programme. A J7 form is the form issued by the court with the instruction to detain an individual (Supreme Court of Appeal, 2007:6). The youth in the Protem programme are youth that have been charged with a variety of offences, not only sex offences (List of Government Services, 2004).

The above-mentioned age group was targeted as literature shows that most of the youth sexual offenders are 13 years and older. It is not always clear how many youth sex offenders are in the programme offered by NICRO and Protem respectively, at a given time, but the researcher interviewed every assenting youth sex offender diverted to these programmes until data saturation was obtained. Ten youth sex offenders from NICRO and ten youth sex offenders from Protem were identified for the research. Only nine of the ten identified youth from NICRO were available for interviews, while all ten of the identified youth from Protem were interviewed.

### **4.3 MEASUREMENT**

Qualitative research is less structured than quantitative research (Fouché & Delpont, 2005:74) and therefore a data collection instrument most appropriate to the qualitative nature of the study should be selected. For the current study, the semi-structured interview schedule was selected as the data collection instrument. The interviewing procedure and the semi-structured interview schedule are discussed below.

#### **4.3.1 The interviewing procedure**

The qualitative research interview aims to gain an understanding of the respondents' world through listening to their own points of view and it attempts to disclose meanings to respondents' experiences (Kvale, 1996:1). Interviews are a method of obtaining knowledge in the social sciences and can be used to renew, broaden and enrich knowledge conceptions and research in the social sciences arena (Greeff, 2005:287; Kvale, 1996:10). According to Kvale (1996:20) the research interview is characterised by a "methodological awareness of question forms, a focus on the dynamics of interaction between the interviewer and interviewee, and a critical attention to what is being said." Interviewing involves the respondents' description of an experience but also the reflection or analysis of that description (Greeff, 2005:287).

There are various advantages to using interview schedules as a data collection method. Hagan (2001:175) states that these advantages are as follows:

- It is easier to obtain large amounts of data in a relatively short period of time;
- Interviews allow the researcher to gain depth knowledge of the data through having the opportunity to personally interact with the respondents;
- Ambiguous questions can be dealt with immediately;

- Further explanation from respondents can be obtained if required; and
- Non-verbal communication can also be used to give depth to the information gathered.

With regard to the interview schedule that was used in this study, Greeff (2005:299) and Bailey (1994:175) state that the interview schedules have the following disadvantages:

- The researcher has no guarantee of the truthfulness of the responses provided;
- The researcher has to rely on co-operation from the respondents;
- It can be costly, specifically if field workers need to be used;
- Verbal comments, body language, age, race and social background can all have a negative impact on the interview resulting in biases being present in the research report; and
- It is possible that the researcher can make an error when recording the responses.

To overcome some of these limitations, the researcher conducted the research herself and with the assistance of another interviewer. Since the current study is a Masters level study, the researcher required a knowledgeable person to assist specifically in qualitative interviewing. Thus two interviewers, who have completed a methodology workshop that covered the topic of interviewing children, conducted the interviews. This not only limited any costs but the interviewers could also explain or elaborate on any misconstrued questions immediately. It was also possible for the researcher and the co-interviewer to observe non-verbal communication more comprehensively. In addition, by ensuring that there is congruence between the two interviewers' understanding of what was disclosed during the interview, the risk of subjective interpretation was greatly reduced.

Face-to-face interviews exclude the possibility of anonymity and therefore the respondents were informed that their responses were completely confidential and would only be used for research purposes. It was also stated to the respondents that their identities and any other personal information would be kept confidential. The respondents all signed an assent form and their guardians or parents signed an informed consent form (Appendix C and Appendix D).

#### **4.3.2 The semi-structured interview as a data collection instrument**

The researcher used a semi-structured interview (Appendix E) to obtain the necessary data. In the schedule cross-queries (two queries seeking the same information asked differently) were included so that information could be verified. Should a significant discrepancy be noticed, the query can be eliminated to ensure valid and reliable data. This is one of the best

possible ways to ensure valid and reliable information when looking at subjectively recalled experiences. Interviewing is appropriate according to Huysamen (1993:132) because it provides information about respondents' opinions, beliefs and perceptions.

The 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). The semi-structured interview makes use of neutral probes in order to allow the respondent the freedom to express themselves (Bailey, 1994:194). The semi-structured interview can be used to ensure the same general information is collected from each respondent. 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. A semi-structured interview is used to direct the conversation in the direction of the themes to be explored (Kennedy, 2006). The researcher is of the opinion that it was important to have an open discussion in order to explore themes related to youth sex offending. The use of standardised questions could have hampered the open discussion. Therefore the semi-structured interview was used as a guideline during the discussions with respondents. The semi-structured interview schedule made use of more questions in order to enable the researcher to address all the angles of the research as the literature review revealed that there were numerous risk factors that could come to the fore during the interviews. Moreover, the semi-structured interview schedule is the preferred method of data collection when conducting an IPA study (Chapman & Smith, 2002:127; Reid, Flowers & Larkin, 2005:22). This type of data collection instrument allows the researcher and the respondent to participate in a dialogue. Initial questions in the interview schedule may be modified in light of the respondent's answers, and thus there is a greater degree of flexibility (Chapman & Smith, 2002:127). Moreover, the researcher is able to approach the topic holistically and to probe interesting or important areas which may arise during the course of the interview (Chapman & Smith, 2002:127).

The semi-structured interview covered biographic information, risk behaviours and resiliency factors among adolescents. In order to identify risk factors for sexual violence, nine main categories, namely: biographic characteristics, academic performance, activities, substance use, family substance use problems, family and community violence, emotional status, caring

and attachment to family and peers, sexual abuse and knowledge about sex were addressed during the discussions (Borowsky et al., 1997:9). This is a comprehensive list of factors all of which were deemed necessary in the semi-structured interview to cover most of the responses that might be forthcoming from the research participants. These factors were identified during the literature review section of this research as possible issues that could have an influence on the development of youth sexual misbehaviour. The validation of these issues and the factors that the youths identify was key in achieving the goal of the current study, namely to determine risk factors by using youth sex offenders to identify these factors. To ensure that the researcher gained insight into the various risk factors related to youth sex offences, the method devised by Makkai and Payne (2005:153) was employed. This method is based on three types of queries, namely open-ended questions or probes related to why the youth were in the programme or had been arrested; questions on the possible reasons for the committal of the offence; and lastly a question relating to risk factors that the youth reports as being relevant to their specific offence behaviour or to behaviour of other youth sex offenders.

#### **4.4 THE INTERVIEWING PROCESS**

The qualitative interview is an interpersonal situation (Kvale, 1996:125). The interview is neither anonymous nor impartial as in a questionnaire, but it is also not a personal and emotional interaction as is the case with a therapeutic session (Kvale, 1996:125). Thus, the location, procedures followed and the duration of the interview need to be discussed.

##### **4.4.1 Interview setting**

Kvale (1996:125) asserts that the researcher must ensure an environment in which the respondent feels both comfortable and safe. This allows the respondent to talk freely and openly about their situations and experiences. Furthermore, Greeff (2005:294) states the interview setting should be quiet and in a place where interruptions are unlikely. This is important so that the children feel they are listened to and also so that the interviewer can stay focused and observe non-verbal communication.

The respondents were all involved in the diversion programme for youth sex offenders offered by NICRO and Protem and therefore the interviews were conducted in a location provided by NICRO and Protem. The researcher is of the opinion that the respondents were comfortable in such a setting because they are exposed to it on a daily basis as part of the

intervention programme. The researcher also ensured that the interview setting was relaxed and that no staff members moved in and out of the interview venue.

At the NICRO office in Nelspruit, the boys were asked to wait in the waiting room while the interviews were conducted in a separate office. The interviewers and the respondent sat in a small circle so that more open communication was stimulated and to make the interview more of a conversation. The researcher feels that this is important because of the sensitive nature of the information she was seeking. After the interview the respondent were guided out of a side door to ensure that the respondents did not converse in the waiting room after one of them had been interviewed. NICRO had indicated that ten boys were available for interviews, however, only nine arrived, all of whom were interviewed.

A similar venue set up was used at the Protem office in Cullinan. The interviewers used a separate office to conduct the interviews to ensure confidentiality. At Protem the boys were separated from the school population and they were asked to wait in the “camp”. The “camp” is a neutral area where the respondents feel relaxed according to the Protem staff. Again, the respondent and the interviewers sat in a circle opposite each other with no obstruction between them. Once the interview was complete, the interviewer accompanied the boy to the front desk and he was then escorted back to class. Only after he had left did the interviewer call the next child in from the “camp”. In total, Protem provided the ten youth in their care that had been charged with a sex offence, and all of them were interviewed.

#### **4.4.2 Interviewing procedures**

The interviews were conducted personally by the researcher with the assistance of a post graduate co-interviewer. This enabled the researcher to make use of a type of triangulation to interpret the data effectively. Research triangulation in qualitative data analysis involves having more than one interviewer approach the same phenomenon or research so that comparison analysis can occur (Shaw, 2001:51). The researcher decided to use triangulation in order to confirm the important themes that the interviews revealed. This also broadened the researcher’s knowledge of interviewing and improved her interviewing skills. The researcher made use of a translator if a respondent experienced difficulty in doing the interview in English. This ensured that the non-English speaking respondents understood the interview and the researcher understood the forthcoming responses. This also assisted in the transcribing of a non-English interview into English. The translator was only called in at the child’s request because the interviewers were aware that the children may be hesitant to take part in the interview and talk about their experiences when someone they knew was also

present in the interview venue. At NICRO, by interview number five, data had already begun to repeat, however, the researcher and co-interviewer conducted all nine interviews to ensure that data saturation was reached with that sample of boys. A similar trend was noted at Protem, where all ten boys were interviewed, again to ensure data saturation of that sample.

It was impossible to ensure anonymity because the researcher was conducting face-to-face interviews with the respondents. However, the respondents were guaranteed confidentiality at the beginning of the interview and were informed that there was no need for them to reveal their identities. The respondents' guardians or parents in the NICRO cases signed the informed consent forms prior to the interview because they were not on the premises at the time of the actual interview. In the Protem cases, Protem acts as a guardian to the children in their in-house programme and therefore the *in loco parentis* principle is present and the supervisor is allowed to give consent for the boys to be interviewed. All of the respondents could write and as such, the assent forms were signed at the beginning of the interview. Before the signing of the form, the nature of the research and the aims thereof were clearly explained to the respondent. They were also informed of their voluntary participation status in the research. They were well-informed that they could leave the interview venue at any stage during the interview without any forthcoming complications. They were also informed of the fact that a social worker would immediately assist them during and after the interview if they experienced any emotional discomfort during the interview. This was to ensure that no harm was imposed during the interview.

#### **4.4.3 Interview duration**

The researcher used a semi-structured structured interview schedule and determined through the pilot study (discussed previously) that approximately 45 minutes to an hour was sufficient to obtain the required information. The respondents were all involved in various other activities and therefore it was essential to stick to the one hour time frame. The respondents were made aware of the duration of the interview and all of them agreed to participate. The interviews that had to be translated took the longest, approximately 50 minutes. Of the 19 interviews, five needed to be translated.

#### **4.5 DATA ANALYSIS**

Babbie (2005:387) defines qualitative analysis as the “nonnumerical examination and interpretation of observations, for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and

patterns of relationships.” The researcher needs to act as an interpreter of the data collected so that an understanding of the phenomenon being studied can be gained (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994:33).

De Vos (2005:336) outlines four steps for the analysis of qualitative data. The first step is the organising of data. Transcribing interviews acts as an intermediate step between data collection and analysis (De Vos, 2005:336). According to Kvale (1996:168), transcribing interviews structures the oral conversations into a more agreeable form for data analysis. This structure allows for data analysis to begin. However, Kvale (1996:163) also warns that transcriptions can be regarded as the solid empirical data from the interview process and states that transcribing from a verbal to a written context involves many judgements and decisions. The researcher transcribed the interviews to avoid making judgements that could affect the reliability and validity of the data.

The second step involves familiarising oneself with the collected data (De Vos, 2005:337). It is vital to become familiar with the collected data in order to get a sense of the overall meaning gained from the interview before breaking it into categories. This is also useful for obtaining a detailed account of the respondents’ subjective interpretation of their behaviour.

After the interviews were conducted, the third step of final analysis commenced. The researcher 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 other words, IPA has the dual aim of conducting in-depth and systematic exploration of lived experiences and examining how people make sense of such an experience (Shaw, 2001:49). 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. There are three theoretical underpinnings to IPA. Firstly, IPA stemmed from phenomenology in that it is concerned with how things appear in experience and how individuals perceive objects and events (Shaw, 2001:49). The second theoretical underpinning is hermeneutic inquiry; IPA is concerned with people as interpreting and sense-making individuals. The dual aim of IPA is achieved through social engagement and interpretation on the part of the researcher (Shaw, 2001:50). It is vital to recognise that as with any social interaction, there will be a dual interpretation process because access to the respondent’s experience is complicated by the researcher’s own conceptions (Chapman & Smith, 2002:126). Shaw (2001:48) states that these processes are completely necessary “in

order to make sense of that other personal world through a process of interpretive activity.” The third theoretical underpinning is symbolic interactionism. The central point of interest in symbolic interactionism is the meanings that individuals ascribe to certain events and life experiences (Chapman & Smith, 2002:126; What is IPA, 2006:1).

Smith and Osborn (2003:51) sum up the theoretical cornerstones of IPA in the following way: “...the participants are trying to make sense of their world; the researcher is trying to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their world.”

IPA is an inductive process; it favours open-ended questions over hypotheses. It is idiographic in that it works at the individual level. The research is seen as a dynamic process and is data-driven (prioritises respondent’s accounts of their experiences). Lastly, individuals actively interpret their experience and their world and the researcher seeks to understand that lived experience and how they make sense of it (Shaw, 2001:50).

IPA is pertinent to this study for a number of reasons:

- This study is qualitative in nature, and IPA employs qualitative methodology in that it makes use of interview schedules as a data collection instrument.
- The researcher followed a phenomenological approach to further understand the phenomenon of youth sex offenders. It is thus a logical step to use IPA as a data analysis procedure.
- This study allows for the researcher to make use of interpretation. The only way to have access to the lived experience of the respondents is through active interpretation. This is one of the cornerstones of IPA.
- As previously mentioned, this research falls into the symbolic interactionism paradigm. Symbolic interactionism is an important theoretical undercurrent within IPA because it looks at the meanings that individuals give certain life experiences. These meanings are obtained through social interaction processes and interpretation. Information yielded through the process of IPA is relevant to youth sex offenders because youth sex offenders ascribe specific meanings to their experiences which are unique and these meanings ultimately determine their actions or behaviour.
- IPA makes use of small sample sizes because of the idiographic approach to analysis (Reid et al., 2005:20). Furthermore, IPA makes use of homogenous samples because respondents must have had the same experience (Chapman & Smith, 2002:127). IPA therefore makes use of purposive sampling. This study focused on youth sex offenders and

their experiences and the researcher used purposive sampling in order to find a closely defined group to whom the research question would apply.

- Semi-structured or unstructured interview schedules are used as the data collection instrument in IPA (Chapman & Smith, 2002:127; Shaw, 2001:48-52).– the researcher made use of the semi-structured interview as the data collection instrument

Moustakas (1994:120-121) developed a seven-step method to phenomenological, interpretive data. The elements of this method include:

- I. *Horizontalisation* – this refers to listing and preliminary grouping of the transcript statements that describe an element of the experience. These horizons are named according to the statements.
- II. *Elimination* – each horizon is tested for two requirements (is it necessary for the understanding of the experience? Can it be labelled?). If both of these criteria are not met, the horizon is eliminated.
- III. *Clustering* – the remaining horizons are grouped together into similar themes. These form the core themes of the experience or phenomenon studied.
- IV. *Validation* – the themes are checked against interview transcripts to ensure they are valid. Any themes that are not valid are then deleted.
- V. *Individual Textural Description* – this is a description of “what” happened and includes verbatim examples from the transcribed interview.
- VI. *Individual Structural Description* – this is the researcher’s explanation for what happened in the individual’s experience. This can consist of the field notes made by the interviewer.
- VII. *Composite Description* – this is the final step in the data analysis and it represents the meanings of the experience for the whole group.

The researcher followed the above seven steps and the applications of the steps as well as a detailed account of the collected and analysed data will be presented in Chapter 4.

## **4.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Ethics are associated and often confused with morality – matters of right and wrong (Maxfield & Babbie, 1995:152). In relation to research procedures, the term “ethics” refers to how things ought to be done, or in other words, the obligations of the researcher to ensure objective, sound research (Binder & Geis, 1983:21).

Ethics are important in studying crime and criminal behaviour because the researcher is often exposed to behaviour that is classified as illegal. Therefore the research participants may experience anxiety about revealing their behaviour (Maxfield & Babbie, 1995:82 & 152). Criminal behaviour often encompasses sensitive issues. Thus the basic ethical issue, that is present in all research, is to balance the potential value of the research with the potential harm to the participants (Maxfield & Babbie, 1995:82). It is also vital not to make moral judgements of the behaviours and individuals involved.

The Nuremberg Code is comprised of ten ethical principles that came about as a result of the Subsequent Nuremberg Trials at the end of the Second World War (Binder & Geis, 1983:25). These ethical principles became the basis of the Code of Federal Regulations in the United States of America and have now been incorporated into other countries' research principles (Binder & Geis, 1983:25). This Code highlights certain ethical issues that researchers should consider in the course of their studies, namely:

- I. Participants cannot be forced to participate in any research, but should do so voluntarily.
- II. The social value of the research should be clear and the most compassionate method of data collection should be used.
- III. No mental or physical harm should come to the participants.
- IV. The gains of the research should outweigh the possible risks to the participants.
- V. The participants should be able to terminate their participation at any time.
- VI. Confidentiality and, if possible, anonymity must be ensured at all times.

The Nuremberg Code emphasises the responsibility of the researcher to the participants and to scientific research as a whole. This code underlines the ethical issues that should be considered regardless of the research being conducted however the ones particularly relevant to the proposed study will be discussed below.

#### **4.6.1 Informed consent**

This is very sensitive research and the researcher had to ensure that all the aspects of the above code were respected during the research. A vitally important ethical issue in this research was to get written assent from the youths and informed consent from the youths' guardians to interview them (Strydom & Venter, 2002:207).

All information regarding the aims, the duration, the data collection method, confidentiality and possible advantages and disadvantages of the study was explained to the participants (Strydom, 2005:59; Strydom & Venter, 2002:207). All participation was voluntary and therefore participants were given both accurate and complete information to allow them to make an informed decision. The researcher obtained assent from all participants and informed them of their right to terminate their participation at any stage of the study. This was vitally important in conducting a study of this nature, because the participants were below the legal age and thus informed consent was required from their guardians. The guardians were requested to sign a copy of the consent letter. If the participants were unable to sign their name on the assent letter they were requested to make a mark on the assent letter to indicate that they understood their involvement in the research. The social workers at NICRO and Protem assisted the researcher during the initial orientation phase to ensure that the research participants fully comprehended the content of the consent and assent forms. Permission was requested in the assent and consent forms to store the documentation, at The University of Pretoria for the mandatory 15-year period, for archiving purposes only (See Appendix C and Appendix D).

#### **4.6.2 Privacy and confidentiality**

Privacy refers to “that which normally is not intended for others to observe or analyse” (Strydom, 2005:61). It is especially pertinent to this study because of its sensitive nature and since the participants are children. The right to privacy should be protected by means of confidentiality (Strydom, 2005:61). According to Babbie (2005:65) confidentiality implies that the researcher will know the identity of the participants and their responses, but promises not to make it public knowledge. A letter of consent had to be signed by the participants’ guardians because they are under the legal age, however no other documentation was needed and thus all the responses remained confidential. Participants were informed that their responses were confidential in an attempt to encourage honesty with regards to the study. Confidentiality in this study also implied that no legal action would be forthcoming on any other criminal action that they may divulge in the course of the research. This undertaking was communicated to them clearly in an effort to encourage openness. All documentation will be stored for the minimum 15-year period, as required by the University of Pretoria. Permission to store all documentation was obtained through the informed consent form. Furthermore, only the researcher, co-interviewer and the researcher’s supervisor had access to the semi-structured interview in order to analyse them and there was no need to indicate the names of the participants on the interview schedule itself.

#### **4.6.3 Avoidance of harm**

The participants in this study are a vulnerable group because they are children and also because they have engaged in criminal and stigmatising behaviour. Therefore, it is important to guarantee that the potential gain of such a study outweighs any possible harm. Much social research has the potential to harm participants either physically or psychologically (Babbie, 2005:63). For this study, the researcher was very sensitive to the possible psychological anguish that may occur when recalling the crime committed, possible victimisation due to participation in the study and possible embarrassment due to the sensitive nature of the study. The researcher was careful to use what is considered “neutral scientific terminology” as the participants may have viewed everyday sexual concepts as a type of label. The term “rapist” may be potentially harmful for a child who does not understand his behaviour as such. There is evidence that young people internalise labels and formulate a belief that they cannot change their behaviour (Erooga & Masson, 1999:38; Lundrigan, 2001:xvii; Smith et al., 2005:85). It is therefore vital to avoid any kind of labelling or stigmatisation because this can prevent youths from taking responsibility for their behaviour and this could have negative repercussions for treatment and could result in self-fulfilling prophecies (Erooga & Masson, 1999:38; Smith et al., 2005:85).

To overcome the possibility of causing harm, questions were formulated in a clear and unambiguous way and they were tested during the pilot study (discussed previously) to ensure that they were not loaded or leading. In this study, the sensitive issues of both high risk behaviour and youth sex offending were being investigated, thus the researcher attempted to ensure that no judgements were incorporated into the interview schedule and that the participants were aware of what exactly the research entailed. Furthermore, the researcher attempted to allay any fears or negative emotions after the interview had been conducted. If any participants showed signs of distress, counselling was immediately available as arranged with a social worker from NICRO. The social workers at Protem also indicated that they would conduct a debriefing session should any distress be noted.

#### **4.6.4 Deception**

According to Neuman (2000:229) deception “occurs when the researcher intentionally misleads subjects by way of written or verbal instructions.” This can be done to ensure participation. The researcher made certain that no information was misrepresented or omitted when informing participants of the nature of the study. They were informed of all aspects of the research and of what they could expect from participating in the study.

#### **4.6.5 Release or publication of findings**

Strydom (1994:18-19) states that all findings should be in written format otherwise it is not viewed as research. It is therefore vital that the researcher is both objective and accurate in writing the final report to avoid bias in the results. The researcher has given recognition to all sources consulted and the participants will be informed of the results without breaching confidentiality. The researcher is also obliged to make all shortcomings of the study known and to report any negative findings, as these also contribute to the body of criminological knowledge. NICRO, Protem and all the participants were informed that the current research would be published as a Masters dissertation and it is envisaged that a scientific article will be forthcoming. Both NICRO and Protem have asked to be informed of the outcome of the study and the researcher will ensure that this happens and will provide both institutions with a final copy of the research.

#### **4.6.6 Debriefing**

Debriefing is an essential way to assist participants in minimising harm (Strydom, 2005:66). The researcher allowed time for sessions with the participants to discuss their experience and their feelings associated with it. During this session time could also be used to correct any misperceptions that the participants may have (Strydom, 2005:66). Adequate time was allocated for the participants to ask any questions they might have or to comment further if they felt the need to do so. These sessions took place in a private, secure area in order to ensure that the participants were comfortable and did not feel threatened.

The researcher believes that the possible benefits of this study outweigh the possible harm that could be caused to the participants. The benefits include recognising certain contributing factors to youth sex offending, and thus SA can look at a therapeutic jurisprudence rather than just adopting the curative approach. The participants are involved in diversion programmes and so they are already in the process of understanding and adapting their maladaptive behaviour. This means that the potential stigmatising effect of such research is reduced. Finally, they are all involved in therapy sessions and have access to both social workers and psychologists if debriefing or counselling should be needed or if they needed to discuss their feelings after the interview.

## 4.7 CONCLUSION

The qualitative research design is discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Subsequently, the methodological procedures that were followed during this study are delineated. The importance of the literature review occurring before the actual research is explained, after which the population, sampling method and sample selection is explicated. An exposition of the interviewing procedure, including advantages and disadvantages, is also outlined in this chapter. The envisaged data analysis that was going to be followed in this study was then described according to the four steps outlined by De Vos (2005:335-340), and lastly, the ethical issues relating to the study are also examined in Chapter 4.

In Chapter 5, an analysis of the collected data will be presented. The chapter will be structured around the IPA method discussed in this chapter – the emergent themes and sub-themes will be discussed before a composite description of the risk factors that are common to the whole sample is outlined.

## 5. ANALYSIS OF COLLECTED DATA

This chapter elucidates the step-by-step data analysis process the researcher followed. Bailey (1994:338) posits that data must be reduced and analysed so that a concise set of scientific findings can be presented. Once the emergent themes and sub-themes are clarified, interpretation of these themes can occur. Since the researcher used Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to analyse the data a brief explanation of the technique will follow (also see Chapter 4).

### 5.1 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

IPA involves the systematic search for themes in the first completed interview schedule and the forging of connections between the themes. This process is repeated with each interview that follows with the aim of establishing emergent and sub-ordinate themes (Smith, 1999:5). Through the establishment of emergent and sub-ordinate themes, the researcher aims to gain an understanding of the individual's lived experience and thus a comprehension of the phenomenon being researched. The researcher made use of the seven-step IPA method devised by Moustakas (1994:120-121) to analyse the collected data (as discussed in Chapter 4). Thus, in the current study the researcher started by identifying themes and looking for connections between the list of emerging themes (horizontalisation). The horizons identified in the first endeavour were tested according to their ability to be labelled and their relevance to understanding the phenomenon of youth sex offending. Themes that could not be labelled or were deemed to be irrelevant were eliminated (elimination). The remaining themes were then clustered into sub-ordinate themes before a table of master themes was created (clustering). The researcher inserted a motivating statement to represent each theme in the table and to ensure there was no bias during the clustering process (validation).

After this table was developed, the researcher moved onto the next case and looked for further evidence of the master and sub-ordinate themes or for new emergent themes. This was a cyclic process and entailed the researcher re-reading the data several times and also rethinking the clustering of themes. The researcher then described each individual case, within the themes, using the semi-structured interviews and her field notes (textural and structural description). This allowed for a narrative account of each individual's experience. The narrative account presented the emergent themes that were supported by verbatim extracts from the respondents. The composite description forms the possible risk factors associated with youth sex offending as a whole and can therefore be viewed as the interpretation of the collected data – as such, it will be discussed in Chapter 6.

De Vos (2005:339) states that the last step of qualitative data analysis is to present the data in a written format. All findings should be in written format in order for the study to be viewed as research (Strydom, 1994:18-19). The researcher needs to be both objective and accurate in writing the final report to avoid bias in the results (Strydom, 1994:19). The writing of the report also allowed the researcher to ascertain whether the goal and aims of the study had been met. Furthermore, it allowed the researcher to acknowledge the limitations of the study and to provide recommendations for further researchable topics. The researcher aimed to translate the identified themes into a narrative account. She needed to be selective in that both prevalence and richness of data that highlighted a particular theme were deemed to be important.

## 5.2 STEP 1: HORIZONTALISATION OF DATA

The emergent themes presented in Table 5.1 were based on the structure of the interview schedule. From the analysis of the first interview, the following themes emerged:

**Table 4: Emergent themes**

EMERGENT THEMES
5.2.1 Age
5.2.2 Incomplete family structure
5.2.3 Participation in extramural activities
5.2.4 Gang membership
5.2.5 Substance abuse
5.2.6 Culture of violence
5.2.7 Emotional status
5.2.8 Attachment
5.2.9 Sexual knowledge
5.2.10 Pornography
5.2.11 Influence of pornography
5.2.12 Rape myths
5.2.13 Previous sexual conduct
5.2.14 Previous sexual victimisation
5.2.15 Peer influence

### 5.3 STEP 2: ELIMINATION OF THEMES

This section focuses on the elimination of themes. It highlights the themes that were deleted after all the interviews had been analysed. The researcher wrote down possible themes to be eliminated as she analysed each interview. Step 1 to step 4 in IPA are cyclic in nature, but in order for the researcher to explain exactly how the master themes were identified and to avoid possible confusion, the researcher has condensed the cycle to represent the eliminated themes and the conclusions reached for elimination. Certain of the emergent themes were eliminated either because it was impossible to label them, or because they were deemed irrelevant with specific regard to risk factors. The list of the deleted themes and the rationale for their elimination are as follows:

- I. *Age* – this theme was deleted because age is not considered a criminogenic risk factor, but rather an individual risk factor that might indicate the specific developmental phase. Although it would appear that the younger an individual is when he/she becomes involved in crime or enters the CJS, the higher the risk of committing further offences (Bezuidenhout, 2008, personal communication), the fact that the whole sample was between the ages of 14 and 18 years means that the exact age of each respondent was seen as extraneous to the study because they were all in the “adolescent developmental phase.”
- II. *Sexual knowledge* – this was deleted as a theme because the specific theme of rape myths emerged from the data and not information pertaining to sexual activity. The researcher was also aware that there was very little information forthcoming regarding the extent of sexual knowledge in the sample-frame. However, it was noted that most of the sample’s understanding of sexual concepts is gained through social interaction, especially with peers, and through other informal means, such as pornography. This type of understanding could be seen to perpetuate rape myths and therefore, the researcher is of the opinion that a discussion of these rape myths is more pertinent to the study than general knowledge about sexual behaviour.
- III. *Participation in extramural activities* – this theme was eliminated because it was seen as more of a protective factor than a risk factor. Eighteen of the 19 boys interviewed were involved in some sort of extramural activity. The activities the boys were involved in included, dancing and singing (fine arts activities), school or community sports teams, chess and debating (hobbies) and youth group (church activities). Past literature (Burton, 2008:19; Hartmann, 2008:15; Maderthaner, 2005:9; Ward, 2007:67; Williams & McShane, 1999:195) has indicated that these types of activities encourage pro-social behaviour and allow for a positive sense of group belonging. There is also less time spent

“hanging out” and therefore less opportunity to be involved in antisocial behaviour (Burton, 2008:19). Non-participation in extramural activities needs to be researched to ascertain whether it has any predictive value for youth sex offending.

- IV. *Emotional status* – this was removed as a valuable theme because the researcher did not use any psychological tests to determine the emotional status of each respondent. Furthermore, there were no controlling variables and thus it was impossible to discern whether the emotional status of the respondent was a result of the offending behaviour or whether the emotional status was a risk factor pertinent to the offence.
- V. *Attachment* – this theme was eliminated for similar reasons to emotional status. Firstly, no psychological tests were administered to evaluate the respondent’s level of attachment to family and peers. Secondly, attachment is a complicated concept and it is difficult to ascertain attachment only through verbal communication with a child. Their responses may also have been more positive regarding their families because they did not want to disrespect them. Attachment as a theme is therefore beyond the scope of this study.
- VI. *Gang membership* – the researcher had indicated in the literature review that previous studies (Bezuidenhout, 2007:iv; De wet, 2003:93; George & Finberg, 2001; Maree, 2008:60) had implicated gang membership as a risk factor in the perpetration of sex offences. However, for this study, the theme was eliminated as only one boy indicated being involved in gang activities and it was therefore impossible to retrieve enough information for this to be seen as a relevant contributing factor in this study.

### 5.4 STEP 3: CLUSTERING

The table below represents the clustering of sub-ordinate themes that became apparent after the elimination process was complete. The clustering of themes forms part of the cycle in IPA, but for the purposes of unambiguous explanation, only the clusters of themes that became apparent after the analysis of all the interviews is presented.

**Table 5: Emergent and sub-ordinate themes after elimination**

EMERGENT THEMES	SUB-ORDINATE THEMES
5.4.1 Incomplete family structure	5.4.1.1 Absent father 5.4.1.2 Absence of both parents
5.4.2 Substance abuse	5.4.2.1 Personal 5.4.2.2 Family
5.4.3 Culture of violence	5.4.3.1 Violence towards respondents at school 5.4.3.2 Violence committed by respondents at school 5.4.3.3 Violence towards respondents at home

	5.4.3.4 Violence committed by respondents at home 5.4.3.5 Violence towards respondents in the community 5.4.3.6 Violence committed by respondents in the community
5.4.4 Pornography	5.4.4.1 Viewed any form of pornography 5.4.4.2 Never viewed pornography
5.4.5 Influence of pornography	5.4.5.1 No influence of pornography 5.4.5.2 Negative influence of pornography
5.4.6 Rape myths	
5.4.7 Previous sexual conduct	5.4.7.1 Sexual actions towards respondents 5.4.7.2 Sexual comments towards respondents 5.4.7.3 Sexual actions by respondents 5.4.7.4 Sexual comments by respondents
5.4.8 Previous sexual victimisation	5.4.8.1 By a family member 5.4.8.2 By a peer or a community member
5.4.9 Peer influence	5.4.9.1 Specific influence of peers 5.4.9.2 Possible influence of peers

## 5.5 STEP 4: VALIDATION

In Table 5.3 below the emergent and sub-ordinate themes that were identified after the researcher analysed all 19 interviews are presented. The appearance of the emergent and sub-ordinate themes in this table is justified or validated by the motivating statement of how many boys out of the sampling frame could be placed into the relevant categories. This is the last step in the cyclic process of IPA and the themes, sub-ordinate themes and validation presented in Table 3 are those that were deemed important after evaluation of the clusters had taken place. The themes in this table are the ones that will be discussed and interpreted as possible risk factors that contribute to youth sex offending in the textural and structural descriptions and in the composite description.

**Table 6: Emergent themes, sub-ordinate themes and motivating statements**

<b>EMERGENT THEMES</b>	<b>SUB-ORDINATE THEMES</b>	<b>MOTIVATING STATEMENT (OUT OF 19 RESPONDENTS) AND VERBATIM EXTRACT FROM ONE RESPONDENT</b>
5.4.1 Incomplete family structure	5.4.1.1 Absent father	<i>7 respondents</i> "I live with my mom; my father is in London so he's not around."
	5.4.1.2 Absence of both parents	<i>6 respondents</i> "I don't live with my father and I don't have a mother. I



		don't live with anyone in my family.”
5.4.2 Substance abuse	5.4.2.1 Personal	<i>7 respondents</i> “I smoked dagga and nyaope ( <i>a mixture of dagga and heroin</i> ). I smoked nyaope about 5 times and dagga a lot.”
	5.4.2.2 Family	<i>7 respondents</i> “My father drinks beer and smokes. When he drinks, he hits my mother.”
5.4.3 The “culture of violence”	5.4.3.1 Violence towards respondents at school	<i>7 respondents</i> “Everything happens at school! There are fights, sometimes just pushing and hitting, sometimes with knives. I was stabbed at school, with a broken bottle – it was a big fight.”
	5.4.3.2 Violence committed by respondents at school	<i>7 respondents</i> “You say first, threaten them and then you hit.”
	5.4.3.3 Violence towards respondents at home	<i>11 respondents</i> “...she hit me in the face with a hammer and knocked my teeth out, see?”
	5.4.3.4 Violence committed by respondents at home	<i>3 respondents</i> “...I only hit him once though - I had enough and so I hit him.”
	5.4.3.5 Violence towards respondents in the community	<i>8 respondents</i> “I was stabbed with a broken bottle in a fight...”
	5.4.3.6 Violence committed by respondents in the community	<i>5 respondents</i> “Someone says something, you get angry, they get angry and you fight... Everybody fights.”
5.4.4 Pornography	5.4.4.1 Viewed any form of pornography	<i>16 respondents</i> “You should only look at it ( <i>pornography</i> ) if you are older than 18. It arouses you.”
	5.4.4.2 Never viewed	<i>3 respondents</i>



	pornography	"I have never seen it, but I think it is bad. It makes you go to jail."
5.4.5 Influence of pornography	5.4.5.1 No influence of pornography	<i>7 respondents</i> "... it does nothing to me."
	5.4.5.2 Negative influence of pornography	<i>10 respondents</i> "Pornography arouses you – I didn't think I was raping her, I thought it was ok..."
5.4.6 Rape myths		<i>3 respondents</i> "The girl wants to have sex if she is wearing a short skirt."
5.4.7 Previous sexual conduct	5.4.7.1 Sexual actions towards respondents	<i>5 respondents</i> "The girls at school offer sex. They want drugs, dagga, but don't have money for it, so you have sex with them and then buy the drugs for them."
	5.4.7.2 Sexual comments towards respondents	<i>5 respondents</i> <i>None of the respondents divulged exact wording of the comments.</i>
	5.4.7.3 Sexual actions by respondents	<i>5 respondents</i> "I molested them, but they didn't catch me."
	5.4.7.4 Sexual comments by respondents	<i>6 respondents</i> <i>None of the respondents divulged exact wording of the comments</i>
5.4.8 Previous sexual victimisation	5.4.8.1 By a family member	<i>2 respondent</i> "...my sister molested me from when I was young..."
	5.4.8.2 By a peer or community member	<i>1 respondent</i> "He put ( <i>indicated to his penis</i> ) it there – then inside at the back..."
5.4.9 Peer influence	5.4.9.1 Specific influence of peers	<i>7 respondents</i> "My friend made me do it – he said it was going to be nice."
	5.4.9.2 Possible influence of peers	<i>2 respondents</i> "My friend was with me, but I think it is only the alcohol that made me do it."

## 5.6 STEP 5 AND 6: TEXTURAL AND STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTIONS

The textural and structural descriptions of a phenomenon refer to the description of the experience and a possible explanation for the experience respectively. These descriptions are made up of verbatim extracts from the interview schedule and field notes made by the researcher. The researcher combined steps 5 and 6 to provide richness of data and more depth into each theme. Since the researcher required specific information about risk factors that could contribute to youth sex offending, the textural and structural descriptions will be discussed under each master theme and its sub-ordinate themes. Only the relevant extracts from the semi-structured interviews and field notes will be documented.

### 5.6.1 INCOMPLETE FAMILY STRUCTURE

The researcher asked the respondents to give an overview of their home lives. When needed the researcher probed about the whereabouts of one or both parents. If the respondent indicated that he did not live at home or with either one of his parents, the researcher asked him to elaborate on his living circumstances. The researcher also probed about family relationships. There were no circumstances in which only the father took care of the child. The emergent themes were thus an absent father, or a family situation in which both parents were absent and the respondent lived within an extended family, with friends or in an orphanage.

#### 5.6.1.1 Absent father

- When respondent P5 was asked to talk about his living arrangements, he stated that “I live with my mom; my father is in London so he’s not around. I can talk to my mom about anything; I just want to surprise my mom.”

##### Field notes

The researcher noted that the child was comfortable in the interview setting and with the discussion, but he did not want to elaborate on anything about his father. He did not state when he last saw him, if the father was aware that he (the child) was awaiting trial or when he would see him again. The respondent seemed despondent when probed about his father.

- Respondent P4 had the following to say about his living conditions: “I live with my mom, we can talk sometimes, but she’s busy, so I do my own thing, but I don’t know if

she loves me...she's upset now." When probed about his father the only response was "my father hit my mother; I don't see him anymore."

#### Field notes

The child was uncomfortable and very reserved. He answered politely, but was not willing to share his experience. He hardly took part in the discussion.

- Respondent N8 said: "I live with my grandmother and my uncle. My mom is sometimes there but I talk to my gran not my mom... my father is in Joburg so I don't see him and it's his fault my parents are divorced and I have no-one to look up to. He drinks. I'm sad because my mom is sick, I want to see her."

#### Field notes

The respondent was open and comfortable in the interview. He categorically stated that his father caused the divorce, and could not tell the researcher how his father felt about him.

### **5.6.1.2 Absence of both parents**

- Respondent P1 indicated that he lived in the Jakaranda Children's Home before being placed in the in-house programme at Protem. "I was abused when I was younger. My mom hit my teeth out with the handle of a hammer. I don't really want to see my mother or father again. I talk to my friend \*CoCo she's 35. My mom drinks and she's bitchy. My father has a new wife and children."

#### Field notes

The respondent was open, excitable and appeared very honest. He discussed his home circumstances clearly. He does not dislike either of his parents; he just does not want to see them again. (\*CoCo is a pseudonym used to protect the privacy of the individual named).

- Respondent P2 said: "I don't live with my father and I don't have a mother. I don't live with anyone in my family. I live with my friend's grandparents because my father hurt me... he beat me. I'm sad I don't live with my real family and that they don't care about me. They (*the friend's grandparents*) take care of me, but what is going to happen to me and where is my life going to?"

### Field notes

The child was very uncomfortable and distressed. He cried during the interview. He was confused and wanted to see someone to take him home and in his words “make him happy.” It is the researcher’s opinion that he is yearning for substitute parents who cares about him.

- Respondent P10 repeated consistently that his brother hated him. “I live with my grandfather. I don’t know where my mother or my father is. I have a brother – he hates me. He lied and now I am here...they say I raped someone. He hates me.”

### Field notes

Upon further investigation, it emerged that the “brother” was in fact a cousin. The respondent was unhappy throughout the interview, but opened up more when the interviewer asked him about soccer and table soccer. He seemed very stressed and adamant to relate that his “brother” hated him and was lying.

- Respondent N7 stated “I live with my uncle; my sister also lives there. I don’t know my father and I don’t care and my mother is dead.”

### Field notes

The respondent was keen to be interviewed, but became defensive when the researcher probed about his family background and living arrangements.

## **5.6.2 SUBSTANCE ABUSE**

The researcher focused on cigarette smoking at the beginning of this topic. As the discussion progressed, the researcher channelled the interview to cover the topic of drinking alcohol and the use of illicit drugs. To glean information on substance abuse in the family, the researcher continued the conversation by asking respondents about the smoking, drinking and drug-taking habits of their family members.

### **5.6.2.1 Personal substance abuse**

- Respondent P8 indicated that he had his first cigarette at the age of 14 years; he also drank alcohol for the first time when he was 15 years old. About illicit drugs, he stated “I smoked dagga and nyaope (*a mixture of dagga and heroin*). I smoked nyaope about 5 times and dagga a lot. I had smoked nyaope when I broke into that house – I

wanted “daai sussie.” He also stated “I want to leave drugs...and crime... I don’t want to do it... you see drugs and crime go together.”

#### Field notes

The respondent struggled with English, but did not want an interpreter. He was eager to express himself, especially, the fact that he was high at the time of the offence and that this was the reason for his behaviour. He also showed remorse and expressed a desire to change his offending behaviour.

- Respondent P6 indicated that he did smoke, but did not drink because he suffers from epilepsy. He had also sniffed glue and used dagga “I only used glue and dagga. I used it a lot ... more than 40 times in total. You can’t get it easily inside, so I’ve had it only 1 or 2 days while I’ve been here. I was high toe ek my broek uitgetrek het (*when I pulled down my pants*) I didn’t touch him. It was a game... Drugs are wrong; I want to leave them – to give up dagga, so I can go home.”

#### Field notes

The child was shy and nervous. He questioned the case against him and said it was not rape but should be indecent assault. He was open during the conversation. At the end of the interview, he asked who would bring him some clothes to the rehabilitation centre. He re-iterated the fact that he did not touch the other boy.

- Respondent P1 stated that: “I drink sometimes, about three glasses... I like Amarula. I would have done what I did without alcohol, drinking it just makes it easier. It doesn’t make it happen, just easier... it’s easier to do it if you’ve been drinking. I didn’t do it because of the alcohol.”

#### Field notes

This respondent was open and honest – he seemed keen to talk about his life and what experiences he had had. He wanted to make sure that the interviewer understood that alcohol makes it easier to commit crime, but he could not answer why that is the case.

- Respondent N3 noted that: “I first drank when I was 17, now I drink about twice a month – I don’t know how much. It was the alcohol that made me do it because I was drunk and my friend said it was good.”

### Field notes

This child was nervous, but became more comfortable as the interview progressed. He was adamant that there was nothing in his past that made him commit rape and that it was just because he was drunk on the day the offence occurred.

- Respondent P7 indicated that he started smoking at the age of 12 and smokes between 1 and 5 cigarettes a day. He drinks when he goes to a party and has more than 6 drinks at a time. He stated: “I smoke dagga and heroin together. I was 13 when I first tried it and still smoke it – even here. I didn’t do anything – my mother said I raped my sister, but I didn’t. I think alcohol is big...it makes you want to have sex.”

### Field notes

The respondent denied the charge against him, but did say that he had smoked the dagga/heroin mixture on the day he was arrested. The use of any substance is prohibited in the diversion programme, and the respondent seemed slightly boastful about the fact that he smoked cigarettes and the mixture of dagga and heroin during his time in the programme. Unlike some of the other respondents, he did not express a desire to stop using drugs.

#### **5.6.2.1 Family substance abuse**

- Respondent P4 did not use any substances himself (cigarettes, alcohol or illicit drugs) but said “My father drinks beer and smokes. When he drinks, he hits my mother.”

### Field notes

The respondent answered in monosyllables and did not want to elaborate. He was unwilling to give any additional information and answered as briefly as possible when probed.

- Respondent P8 stated that: “My father smokes and he drinks – it caused my parents’ divorce, the drinking caused the divorce.”

### Field notes

The child could not answer why he thought the drinking caused the divorce and did not want to discuss the matter any further. When the topic of conversation changed, he opened up again and responded without hesitation.

- Respondent N3 said: “My father drinks beer only... When he drinks they fight.” When probed about who fights, he stated: “My father fights with my mother.” When asked about any other of his family members’ drinking habits, his response was “My brother gets drunk and then harasses me – he hits me when he is drunk, so I hit him back.”

### Field notes

The child seemed embarrassed about admitting that his father and mother fight and he was uncomfortable talking about his parents. He was more open about his relationship with his brother.

- Respondent P1 replied in the following way: “My mother drinks, she spends lots of money on liquor – it caused problems ‘coz there was no money and she was aggressive. My cousin used to use drugs, but I dunno now.”

### Field notes

The respondent did not need to be encouraged to share information. He was very open and occasionally drifted off the topic to talk about alcohol and drug use in general. He stated all the information factually and with no emotion. He seemed eager to please the interviewer.

- Respondent N5 stated that: “My father drinks, sometimes, but it doesn’t cause any problems.”

### Field notes

The respondent was open, although he appeared nervous. He was keen to express that alcohol does not cause problems at home, and his father does not drink very much or very often.

### 5.6.3 THE “CULTURE OF VIOLENCE”

During the interview, the researcher asked respondents about violent behaviour in their schools, in the community and in their homes and their associated feelings when they witness or experience violence. The researcher guided the interview with regards to the respondents’ own behaviour which could be seen as being physically aggressive.

#### 5.6.3.1 Violence towards respondents at school

- Respondent P8 indicated that: “Everything happens at school! There are fights, sometimes just pushing and hitting, sometimes with knives. I was stabbed at school, with a broken bottle – it was a big fight. There are always fights at school, the teachers don’t do anything, they can’t stop it.”

##### Field notes

The respondent was very open on this topic – he was more comfortable talking about what happened at school in general, rather than talking about his own involvement in school fights, or the specific details about the fight where he was stabbed.

- Respondent N3 had the following to say: “My friend hit me at school. We argued and he hit me in the face.”

##### Field notes

The respondent was factual in revealing the information. He did not view the fight as anything important and the boy that hit him is still his friend.

#### 5.6.3.2 Violence committed by respondents at school

- Respondent N8 stated that: “You have to be strong, if someone does something you don’t like; you have to show them that they must think again. You say first, threaten them and then you hit.”

##### Field notes

The respondent was shy and seemed to be seeking approval. It was important to him not to be viewed as weak. He asked the interviewer what she thought about violent behaviour and the interviewer channelled the conversation back to his perceptions.

- Respondent P1 said: “When I was in primary school, I stabbed someone on the arm with scissors. He didn’t want to listen; I had to make him listen. I know now it was wrong.”

Field notes

The child showed remorse for his actions, and indicated that the only way to make the other child listen was to be physically aggressive.

### 5.6.3.3 Violence towards respondents at home

- Respondent P1 made the following remark: “I told you already about my mom – she hit me in the face with a hammer and knocked my teeth out, see? I won’t have them fixed ‘coz I don’t want to forget and if I see her, I don’t want her to forget. She hurt me a lot when she was drunk, just hitting me and stuff.”

Field notes

The child was not angry about having to repeat himself. He was honest about the situation and about his feelings regarding the violent behaviour. He was not upset or angry, but did not want to forget that it had happened.

- Respondent P2 said: “My father beat me up, I don’t know why. He left marks and made me scared...”

Field notes

The interview had to be translated, but the translator could not get very much information from the child. He cried throughout the interview and was very stressed. He asked to go home.

- Respondent P7 remarked as follows: “See the scar on my head? My aunt did that. She was angry with me so she hit me. I didn’t go to hospital and now I have the scar – I’m not scared of her now. I’m not scared of anyone.”

Field notes

The respondent stated things factually; he was not emotional at all.

#### 5.6.3.4 Violence committed by respondents at home

- Respondent N3 stated that: “My brother causes trouble when he drinks; he harasses me, so I harass him back. I only hit him once though – I had enough and so I hit him.”

##### Field notes

The respondent looked ashamed and when probed, stated that you cannot hit your family. It shows disrespect, especially if the family member is older than you.

- Respondent P1 said: “My sister did stuff to me, she molested me from when I was five, I threatened her, I didn’t hit her or anything, I just threatened her. I said I would tell everyone what she did and that if she didn’t stop I’d hurt her, or I’d kill her.”

##### Field notes

- The respondent was not remorseful. His statement was factual and unemotional.

#### 5.6.3.5 Violence towards respondents in the community

- Respondent N6 commented as follows: “I was in a fight with the boyfriend of another girl. He was angry because he thought I wanted his girl, so he hit me and I hit him back – you can’t walk away.”

##### Field notes

The child was very open and did not feel embarrassed about having the fight. He indicated that fighting back was a matter of honour, and fighting was a way boys sorted out any problems.

- Respondent P8 stated “I was stabbed with a broken bottle in a fight... I didn’t do anything, there was just this fight and I got stabbed.”

##### Field notes

The child was uncomfortable passing on any details regarding the fight. He had been open about school violence, but he did not want to elaborate on his own involvement in fights that occurred.

### 5.6.3.6 Violence committed by the respondents in the community

- Respondent P6 stated that: “I fight a lot, it just happens... Someone says something, you get angry, they get angry and you fight... Everybody fights.”

#### Field notes

The respondent indicated that fighting was a natural progression from being angry. He looked down throughout the interview, and while he was respectful, he did not want to share any details because he was scared he would get into trouble, or the boys in the community would beat him up if they found out he spoke about the fights.

- Respondent P7 said: “I was in a fight once – I learnt from my dad, there were a lot of fights in the house and on the street. I saw a lot of fighting when I was growing up, in my house, with strangers on the streets; it’s just how it was and that’s how I learnt.”

#### Field notes

Again, the child was not emotional, he spoke of his experiences from his perception and made it clear that for him, fighting was a normal occurrence; it was how things were for him.

### 5.6.4 PORNOGRAPHY

The respondents were asked if they know what pornography is. Eighteen of the 19 youth needed the term explained to them. Once the researcher had confirmed they understood the concept, she asked them about their perceptions of pornography and probed about the type of pornography they had seen.

#### 5.6.4.1 Viewing of any form of pornography

A total of 16 of the youth interviewed had seen some form of sexually explicit material and they had the following perceptions about pornography:

- Respondent N9 said: “You should only look at it (*pornography*) if you are older than 18. It arouses you.”
- Respondent N8 concurred and claimed that: “I don’t think it is right – it makes you feel like raping.” When probed about whether it made you want to have sex or made you

want to rape, the respondent was adamant and reacted as follows: “No, it makes you want to rape, to do those things to a girl to feel powerful – sex doesn’t make you feel powerful.”

- Four of the respondents had the opinion that pornography was bad because “it makes you want to try what you see” (Respondents P4, P9, P8 and N7).

#### Field notes

The four respondents used exactly the same words to describe their perceptions of pornography. It is possible that these are the words they learn during their sessions with the social workers to communicate their feelings about pornography.

- Two of the respondents were under the impression that the viewing of pornography would lead to the contracting of AIDS (Respondent P5 and P9).
- Two of the respondents viewed pornography as “bad” because they were too young to view it (Respondent N5 and N6).
- Respondent P1 stated: “Pornography is stupid, you make yourself cheap by watching it” and respondent P7 declared “I hate the stuff, it’s worthless, but you can lose yourself in pornography and then do the stuff that you see.”

The respondents that had viewed pornography indicated they had seen the following forms of pornography:

- 10 respondents had viewed pornographic videos;
- 10 respondents had seen pornographic images in magazines;
- 7 respondents used the Internet to download pornographic images and videos;
- 5 respondents had watched pornographic movies on television, or had seen sexual frivolities on television.

#### **5.6.4.2 No viewing of any form of pornography**

- Three respondents indicated that they had never viewed pornography. Respondent N1 mentioned in this regard: “I have never seen it, but I think it is bad. It makes you go to jail.”

### Field notes

When probed, the child could not answer why pornography made you go to jail. He may have been talking specifically about the possession of child pornography. He could also have misconstrued the information he received about pornography. It is possible that the child does not recognise that the viewing pornography is not a crime, but that the possible subsequent offending behaviour after viewing pornography could result in a jail sentence.

- Respondent P4 stated that: “Pornography is not right – you’ll get a virus from it. I think it makes you do bad stuff.”

### Field notes

Again, when probed about how pornography gives you a virus, the child was unsure about the context of pornography and its effects. The interviewer’s perception is that these children have been threatened by authority figures with jail or the contraction of a virus (probably sexually related) if they view pornography. The result is that they have been misinformed about pornography and hold misconceptions about pornography.

## **5.6.5 INFLUENCE OF PORNOGRAPHY**

If it was ascertained that a respondent had viewed pornography before, the interviewer guided the respondent to discuss the influence that pornography may have had on his offending behaviour.

### **5.6.5.1 No influence of pornography**

Seven of the 16 youth sex offenders that had viewed pornography indicated that pornography had no influence on them or on their behaviour.

- Respondent P2 was of the belief that: “I don’t feel anything about pornography, I don’t care about it... it does nothing to me.”

### Field notes

The child was very distressed during the interview, but it appeared to the researcher that he responded to the best of his ability. He maintained that he had not committed an offence, and therefore found it difficult to discuss anything related to sex.

- Respondent P5 said: “I’ve seen the pictures in the magazines, but it doesn’t make me do anything because I don’t look at it anymore.”

Field notes

The respondent was open and friendly and was willing to share information and participate in the conversation.

#### **5.6.5.2 Negative influence of pornography**

Nine of the 16 respondents that had viewed pornography believed that pornography had a negative impact either on their own sex offending behaviour, or on youth sex offending in general.

- Respondent N9 simply stated “The pornography I saw aroused me, it was only that, which made me sleep with my girlfriend even though she said no – I was confused afterwards and I felt bad because she said no, but I wanted to because of the porn.”

Field notes

The respondent was prepared to take responsibility for his actions and indicated his remorse. He did not blame his actions on viewing pornography, but indicated that his viewing of the pornography was the only reason he forced himself on his girlfriend.

- Respondent N8 stated the following: “Pornography arouses you – I didn’t think I was raping her, I thought it was ok, but it happened after I’d watched porn and that makes you want to have sex.”

Field notes

The respondent indicated that he thought the sexual intercourse was consensual and therefore it was not an offence to have sex with her. However, he made it clear that regardless of whether it was an offence or not, the pornography he had viewed aroused him enough to want to have sex.

- Respondent N4: “Pornography is bad, it gives you sexual feelings - it makes you want to do it (*have sex*).”

### Field notes

The child did not feel that pornography was the cause of his behaviour, but stated that he wanted to try what he had seen and that it made him have sexual feelings. It was also clear that he was embarrassed by these feelings and when probed, indicated that he had to have sex.

- Respondent N5 indicated “I’m still young, but I wanted to experience what I saw on TV – it felt good, I don’t know what I think about sex anymore.”

### Field notes

There were few other factors that could have played a role in this child choosing to commit a sex offence, and the only reason that he gave for his decision was that he wanted to have the same experience as what he had seen.

- Respondent P3 said: “Pornography makes you do stuff”. When probed about “stuff”, he responded: “The stuff you see on the videos... that stuff.”

### Field notes

This child did not categorically state that what he viewed made him commit an offence; however, he had the opinion that pornography can influence an individual to engage in sexual behaviour.

- Respondent P1 was of the opinion that: “Pornography has a sexual influence on you, but other things also make you do it – porn just makes you horny... I would have done it anyway, but the pornography makes the sexual feelings worse.”

### Field notes

The respondent was candid in his responses and felt that pornography was an influencing factor, but not the only factor that caused him to commit a sex offence.

- Respondent P8 stated that “the videos make you want to have sex – when I saw daai sussie (*that girl*) I wanted to do what I saw – the boys are powerful in videos and I felt powerful and wanted to do what they did to a girl... I wanted to have sex, rape her, but I didn’t.”

### Field notes

The respondent maintained his innocence on the attempted rape charge, but admitted breaking and entering and wanting to rape the girl in the house. He was adamant that while pornography (and drugs) arouse sexual feelings, they specifically create the desire to commit rape.

- Respondent N7 said: “It was nice to see, I liked what I saw and I wanted to try it... my girlfriend must do that stuff to show she loves me.”

### Field notes

The respondent was clear in his conviction that a girl needs to show love through engaging in sexual behaviour on the demand of her partner. He also maintained that the sex was consensual and his first time and that he wanted to try what he had seen because he had never done it before.

- Respondent P7 claimed that: “I’m not guilty, but it’s easy to lose yourself in porn... yes, porn makes people rape girls because they like what they see – but not me, I didn’t do it.”

### Field notes

While the respondent maintained his innocence, he was clear in his belief that pornography influences other boys to commit sex offences, specifically rape.

## **5.6.6 RAPE MYTHS**

The researcher started this section by asking respondents about their sexual knowledge and where they had received most of the information about sex. The researcher then channelled the conversation to cover attitudes and beliefs about sex.

- Respondent P7 stated that: “I didn’t do it; they said I raped my sister, but boys rape girls because they wear short skirts. The girl wants to have sex if she is wearing a short skirt.”
- Respondent P4 put the following statement forward: “Um, when girls wear short skirts, boys want them... it’s not only skirts though – if they dress like a nyatsi (*an easy girl*), then boys are gonna rape them.”

- Respondent N7 said: “Girls have to show you that they love you. Your girlfriend has to give it, if she wants to or not, she has to show you she loves you and that she isn’t giving it to others.”

#### Field notes

None of the respondents were shy about sharing their beliefs. They were open about what they thought the reasons were for why males raped females. In the case of respondent N7, he stated that he wanted to know his girlfriend loved him and he thought that the sexual intercourse was consensual and did not classify as rape.

### **5.6.7 PREVIOUS SEXUAL CONDUCT**

During the interview, the researcher directed the interview to cover two aspects of sexual conduct - sexual actions and sexual comments. The researcher asked the respondents about their experiences of sexual conduct within a school scenario and within the community. The researcher also probed to ascertain whether the respondents had been the victims of an unwanted sexual action or comment, the aggressor, or both. This theme differs from that of previous sexual victimisation in that this topic was focused on level 1 “hands on” misdemeanours. “Hands on” offences are those that include some form of physical contact. A level 1 “hands on” offence is one which can be defined as sexual assault with little or no physical harm done to the victim (Sexual Offences, 2003). This section of the interview therefore discussed only sexual touching and not any form of penetration (digital, with an object, penile-vaginal or penile-anal). This theme preceded the theme of sexual victimisation.

#### **5.6.7.1 Sexual actions towards respondents**

- Respondent N7 claimed that: “Stuff happens at school – people say and do stuff. You say and do stuff to be part of the group...It’s not always meant to hurt people, girls like boys and boys like girls so they say stuff or touch each other to show it, even if the other one doesn’t like you back.”

#### Field notes

The interviewer explained the meaning of “unwanted” actions or comments and the respondent indicated that you have to show someone that you want them. The respondent did not recognise that anything was wrong with behaving sexually towards someone and thought it was a way of showing affection.

- Respondent P7 insisted that: “The girls at school offer sex. They want drugs, dagga, but don’t have money for it, so you have sex with them and then buy the drugs for them. If you say no, they laugh at you; they call you names, so you have to do it.” When probed, he further revealed the following: “There’s this teacher – she touched me (*indicates to his penis*) there. She asked me to go to her house; she said she wanted to do stuff with me... I went, I went to her house, but when I got there I was scared, so I ran away.”

#### Field notes

The child was embarrassed by this topic and seemed relieved when the conversation moved in a different direction.

### **5.6.7.2 Sexual comments towards respondents**

Five of the respondents mentioned that comments of a sexual nature had been directed at them. Respondent P1 and P3 specified that the comments were only meant in a playful manner. None of the respondents were comfortable divulging what exactly was said, but all of them said that the comments came from fellow students at school and not from members of the community.

### **5.6.7.3 Sexual actions by respondents**

Five of the respondents indicated that they had behaved in an unwanted, sexual way. However, only one of the five respondents was prepared to elaborate on his sexual actions towards other children.

- Respondent P1 said that: “I touched a lot of minors at the *kinderhuis (orphanage)* – I did what was done to me. I guess I molested them, but they didn’t catch me. I had sex at the orphanage too - the girl said no, well sort of... she didn’t say yes.”

#### Field notes

A reason for the lack of information provided could be that the children were worried about getting into more trouble. It is possible that information that may have been forthcoming could have disclosed undetected or unreported sex offences, and thus the respondents were reluctant to become involved in the conversation.

#### **5.6.7.4 Sexual comments by respondents**

As with comments directed against them, those respondents that had made comments of a sexual nature were uncomfortable discussing exactly what they had said. Five of the respondents had made such comments, and respondent P1 and P3 again indicated that the comments were only meant playfully and that there was no malicious intent involved. Furthermore, the comments were directed at school students and not to members of the community.

#### **5.6.8 PREVIOUS SEXUAL VICTIMISATION**

The researcher directed the interview to cover a section that dealt with their possible previous sexual victimisation. The researcher started the discussion by recognising the sensitive nature of the topic and then asked the respondents if they had ever been persuaded or forced to do something sexual that they did not want to do. When the forthcoming answer was affirmative, most of the respondents continued the discussion without being prompted. If the respondent answered in the negative, the researcher channelled the interview away from that topic.

Although it was a sensitive topic, the boys were open and direct in their discussions. Those that were sexually victimised spoke very factually about their experiences and with very little emotion.

##### **5.6.8.1 Family**

- Respondent P1 stated in this regard: “Yes, a lot happened to me in my life – my sister molested me from when I was young, I think I was about 5. When I was about 7 years old, we visited my father’s new wife and her 15-year-old son molested me too. Both of them touched me on my penis, they only played with me, I didn’t touch them.”

##### Field notes

The respondent indicated that neither he nor his sister received adequate attention from the mother. It appears that the sister began touching her brother to receive attention; however, it is not possible to verify this information.

- Respondent N7 said that: “My brother used to touch me in the bath”. When probed, the child responded “He touched me here (*indicated to his penis*), when we were small and bathed together; I don’t know how old I was.”

#### Field notes

The respondent spoke openly, but could not remember exactly what had happened. He could also not inform the researcher about how many times this had happened, or if he had told anyone about it.

### **5.6.8.2 Peer or community**

- Respondent P8 said that: “I went swimming in the dam. I was just swimming and then I got out and was going to get dressed again. A boy came up and (*indicated to his buttocks*). He came and put it there.” The researcher asked the child if he could explain further. “I didn’t know him, I saw him before but nothing else... He put (*indicated to his penis*) it there – then inside at the back... he was hurting me, then he finished and I got dressed to go home.”

#### Field notes

The child was open about his experience and indicated on his body what had happened. The researcher spoke to a black social worker about this and was told that in the African culture and amongst certain ethnic groups, they do not use words to refer to the genitalia or other private parts of the body such as the breasts or buttocks. This would explain why the child used his body to communicate rather than using words to explain what had happened. It is also the opinion of the researcher that if words that refer to the sex organs and erogenous zones of the body are taboo, it then offers a possible simplistic explanation for the lack of sexual knowledge displayed in the sample and also the prevalence of rape myths.

### **5.6.9 PEER INFLUENCE**

The interviewer guided the conversation to cover gang membership, but only one child indicated involvement in a gang. Due to this fact, the researcher channelled the interview to glean information about the respondents’ friendships and the peer network. The conversation revolved around the influence the peer group has on an individual and specifically on what influence, if any, friends had on the respondents’ offending behaviour.

### 5.6.9.1 Specific influence of peers

In total, 7 of the 19 respondents indicated that a fellow peer or the peer group had a direct impact on their behaviour. Five respondents indicated that the peer group influenced them to commit the offence. Two respondents thought they had engaged in consensual sex, but recognised the influence of their friends.

- Respondent P3 said in this regard: “My friend made me do it – he said it was going to be nice. The girl didn’t say no, but then she didn’t say anything. I did it ‘coz my friend said so.”

#### Field notes

The child did not specify that he had raped the girl, but it was clear that he felt unhappy about something. Further, he did not want to share information.

- Respondent N4 claimed that: “My family, no my family and my friends are the cause. That’s why I did it (*rape*).”

#### Field notes

When probed, the child would not share any other information. He was not rude, just quiet and did not answer direct questions. The researcher asked the social worker to interpret this behaviour. She said that certain ethnic groups in the African culture use this as a type of defence mechanism. If a child is in trouble, he will remain silent out of respect of an authority figure.

- Respondent N2 indicated that: “My friends made me do sexual things – I feel bad because we were not married, but it is only because of my friends that I had sex with her.”

#### Field notes

The child was under the impression that he should not have been arrested. He felt bad about having sex outside of marriage, but did not mention his feelings about the rape specifically.

- Respondent P6 said: “I saw my friends do it – it was a joke, but you have to do what your friends do.” When probed about the reasons for having to do what his friends did, he responded: “You must, otherwise you are out of the group.”

#### Field notes

The respondent maintained that he only took his trousers off, but he did not touch the other boy – he was also high on dagga at the time of the offence. He was not clear whether his friends were present at the time of the offence.

- Respondent N1 contributed in the following manner: “My cousin told me about sex – nobody else ever spoke to me about it. I didn’t want my cousin to think I was stupid because I didn’t have sex and I wanted to know what he was talking about – so that’s why I did it.”

#### Field notes

The child indicated that he knew he made a mistake in having sex with a small child. He was also adamant that the only reason he had done it was to experience what his cousin had spoken about.

- Respondent N6 said: “We were playing soccer, then we went to my friend’s house. He was there with his girlfriend - they were having sex. My friend and me said we were going to tell the parents (*the boyfriend’s and girl’s parents*). She said no, we mustn’t. My friend went to the kitchen and then the girl said she would have sex with me and my other friend if we didn’t tell on them. We shouldn’t have because it was three boys and one girl, but my friend said ok. I wanted to have sex, but not like that, but my friend said I should, so I did.”

#### Field notes

The child believed that it was consensual because the girl had suggested it. He no longer trusts girls and is therefore unsure about sex; however, he stated that he would not have done it if he was the only one there with the couple. It appeared that the two friends may have been unsure, but encouraged each other.

- Respondent N8 claimed that: “I thought I could sleep with her, but they say I raped her. It was (*indicated an erection with his forearm*), and I wanted to do it. The friends,

they all talk about girlfriends and sex and you want to talk too, so you do it too. It is to be part of the group.”

#### Field notes

The child was shy talking about sex and did not know the English word for an erection and so demonstrated what he meant with his forearm. He was embarrassed about talking about being aroused, but stated “you can’t stop once you going” and he indicated the need to belong in his peer group.

#### **5.6.9.2 Possible influence of peers**

One respondent maintained that he was innocent, but thought that peer pressure could be a factor that contributed to boys engaging in forced sexual behaviour. One respondent admitted his offence, but was not convinced that he had committed the offence because of the influence of his friends.

- Respondent P7 claimed that: “Boys influence each other, even here (*at Protem*), but I’m not part of that. It happens outside too, you do what they do... you must all be the same, then girls know not to fight with that group of boys.”

#### Field notes

This respondent also indicated a belief that girls that wear short skirts are asking to be raped; the child demonstrates a patriarchal attitude towards women and sex in that females are viewed as sexual objects. Furthermore, his statement demonstrates that the attitude that females do not have the right to stand up for themselves and that males need to assert themselves sexually prevails.

- Respondent N3 had the following to say: “I was drunk and I was having fun, it felt great. My friend was with me, but I think it is only the alcohol that made me do it.”

#### Field notes

The child indicated that he now knows that what he did was “totally wrong”. It became apparent that the friend neither encouraged, nor discouraged the offending behaviour.

## 5.7 CONCLUSION

The researcher used the seven-step IPA method of Moustakas (1994:120-121) to analyse the collected data. The first four steps exposed the relevant themes and sub-themes. Step 5 and 6 were combined to provide a textural and structural exposition of the themes, using verbatim extracts from the interviews were pertinent. Also, the interviewer's and the co-interviewer's field notes were reflected in the chapter. The final step of this method, the composite description, forms the structure for the interpretation of the data and will be presented in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 will provide an interpretation of all the relevant themes outlined in the aforementioned analysis, with reference to the literature review and theories discussed in Chapter 2 and 3 respectively. This will be followed by an elucidation of the interaction of risk factors; possible methods of addressing risk factors that contribute to youth sex offending and a directive for future research; concluding thoughts; and the acknowledged limitations of the current study. A discussion about the achievement of the aims of this study and the value of the study will serve to conclude this study.

## **6. DATA INTERPRETATION, ACHIEVEMENT OF OBJECTIVES AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The current study focuses on the risk factors that contribute to youth sex offending in SA. The researcher conducted interviews with youth sex offenders in the NICRO diversion programme and with youth who had been charged with a sex offence and were awaiting trial at the in-house programme at Protem in order to gain their perspectives on factors that contributed to their offending behaviour. This chapter will therefore focus on the factors that youth sexual offenders consider to be significant in the commission of a sex offence.

These factors will be detailed and interpreted according to the themes (the predominant risk factors) which were outlined in Chapter 5 and thereafter the following will be discussed with reference to the findings and interpretation of the data:

- The interaction of identified risk factors;
- The linking of theories to the identified risk factors;
- Possible methods of addressing risk factors that contribute to youth sex offending and recommendations for future research;
- Concluding thoughts;
- The acknowledged limitations of the current study;
- The achievement of the aims of the study; and
- The value of the study.

### **6.1 DATA INTERPRETATION**

Moustakas (1994:121) indicates that the final step in IPA is to provide a composite description of the gathered data. This description offers a representation of the meaning of the experience for the sample as a whole. The master themes and sub-themes in the textural and structural description of Chapter 5 will be discussed in relation to current literature as well as the relevant theories which provided a framework for this study.

#### **6.1.1 INCOMPLETE FAMILY STRUCTURE**

Researchers (Lab, 2000:135; Yablonsky, 2000:302) have emphasised the importance of the family structure in producing well-balanced and socially adjusted adolescents. There has been a noteworthy worldwide growth in “single-parent” households. Globally, nearly half of all marriages end in divorce and a quarter of all births are to unmarried mothers, therefore approximately 25% of all children live in a “single-parent” family (National Academy of

Sciences, 1993:43-44). The rate of poverty in a “single-parent” household is almost six times higher than in a two-parent family (National Academy of Sciences, 1993:44). According to Shapiro (1990) this is further emphasized in rural areas as generally fewer social services are provided in these areas compared to urban areas. Current literature (Dahlberg, 1998:263; Dhabicharan, 2004, Maree, 2008:62; Vanzant 2004) indicates that an incomplete family structure is consistent with high levels of youth antisocial behaviour. The research conducted by the National Academy of Sciences (1993:49) showed that children from “single-parent” families and step families are more likely to exhibit deviant behaviour such as smoking, early dating, truancy, contact with the police and subsequent arrests, even after factors such as socio-economic status were controlled.

This is consistent with the finding in the current study as 13 of the 19 youth interviewed came from incomplete families; this means that 68% of this sample lived in circumstances in which the family structure was not complete. The importance of this finding is that these children have fewer role models and less opportunity in which to learn socially acceptable behaviour. Furthermore, they experience role confusion and often have feelings of worthlessness and being unloved (Dhabicharan, 2004). Respondent P4 said in this regard that he does not know if his mother loves him or not. Respondent P2 categorically stated that his family did not care about him.

It is important to note that an incomplete family structure does not cause maladaptive behaviour, but rather allows for the possible opportunity for the adolescent to have more freedom and thus increases the risk of youth misbehaviour. Hartman (1997:8) points out that areas that have higher levels of family disruption also have higher levels of youth misbehaviour, and this is especially pertinent in families in which the male counterpart is absent.

#### **6.1.1.1 Absent father**

The absence of a paternal figure has proved to have a significant influence on a child, particularly a male child (Angenent & De Man, 1996:105; Barlow & Ferdinand, 1992:156). Mkhondo (2005:16) states that the absence of a father figure will have an influence on a child’s future behaviour and not just on a child’s emotional well-being. Malamuth’s model is useful in explaining the incomplete family structure as a risk factor. Boys that do not have an appropriate male on which to model themselves may fail to develop adequate skills in order to cope with the challenges that adolescence presents. Seven of the 19 youth interviewed in this study indicated that their fathers were not involved in their lives, and six were brought up

without a mother or father being present, thus a total of 13 youth were without a paternal figure or role model. Respondent N8 and P5 both knew where their fathers were (Johannesburg and London respectively), but neither of these boys had any interaction with their fathers. Respondent P4 indicated that he did not see his father anymore because his father was abusive towards his mother and respondent N8 stated “my father is in Joburg so I don’t see him and it’s his fault my parents are divorced and I have no-one to look up to.”

Although the responses regarding the absent father were concise, these responses are still important. They point towards the fact that the absence of a father figure with whom these youth can identify and respect can cause unacceptable acting out behaviour. Without the positive male influence, it is difficult for a child to learn how to interact with other males, how to respect women and how to develop mechanisms to cope with environmental challenges throughout adolescence. This is in line with Freud’s thinking, who proposes that once a young boy has reached an adequate resolution of the Oedipus complex, he identifies with his father and seeks to adopt his father’s characteristics (Thomas, 2005:66). Children incorporate their same-sex parent’s values into their personalities and it is these values that form the superego. This is important because children can reward or punish themselves in the absence of authority figures (Thomas, 2005:66). The lack of a father figure therefore minimises the opportunities that a male child has to adopt pertinent values and also to model himself on someone he respects. The incomplete or dysfunctional family structure therefore has a negative impact on a youth adopting pro-social values. Bandura’s social cognition theory contrasts with Freud’s psychoanalytic theory in that he maintains that moral development is a consequence of modelling. Social learning takes place when young people observe and then imitate the moral behaviour of the adults involved in their lives (Schumaker & Heckel, 2007:22). Thus, morality emerges from social interaction and experience with both parents and peers. It is clear then how a lack of suitable role models can lead to a youth committing crime.

Marshall and Barbaree assert that a negative, stressful or traumatic childhood experience, for example divorce or the death of a parent, leads to decreased social skills (Gannon et al., 2004:38). This in turn leads to the child not having sufficient self-regulation techniques and the child may turn to maladaptive behaviour to regulate his moods (Ward et al., 2006:35). Furthermore, if a child does not develop adequate social skills, he may experience rejection from his female counterparts. This in turn can result in anger and frustration towards females (Ward et al., 2006:36). Without the presence of a father figure on whom he can model himself, the child is vulnerable to negative attitudes, beliefs and values associated to females and sexual behaviour.

The researcher noted that not only was an absent father an important factor in a young male's life, but that it was a sensitive matter to discuss with the respondents. None of the youth interviewed was comfortable discussing their relationships with their fathers. They were reserved in their responses and it is the researcher's opinion that although some of these youths did not have a father figure; the respondents did not want to be disrespectful to the father figure. This could be due to cultural innuendoes, or the possibility that the youth themselves recognise the important role that their fathers could have played in their upbringing and that even though they did not necessarily have a patriarch with whom they could identify, they would nonetheless have liked a male figure to be there for them. Tacey (1997:58) states in this regard that it is therefore not necessarily their own fathers to whom they were being disrespectful, but rather the 'ideal' picture of a father they have in their minds. This clearly shows the importance of a male role model in a child's life.

#### **6.1.1.2 Absence of both parents**

The above discussion emphasises the importance of a male role model in the lives of adolescents, particularly male youth. However, there is a dearth in research on the effect of not having either parent involved in the upbringing of children. In the current study, 5 of the 19 research participants (i.e. 21% of the sample), did not live with their parents and were therefore being brought up by family members, friends or in the case of one respondent, an orphanage. Adolescent sexual behaviour does not emerge as a new behaviour during the adolescent developmental phase, but rather this type of behaviour has to be viewed in terms of antecedent developmental experiences (Smallbone, 2006:116), and thus the importance of parental involvement becomes apparent.

The development of healthy adolescent sexual behaviour is in part based on previous attachments with parents and peers, social cognitive development and further involves an adolescent negotiating complex interpersonal relationships (Smallbone, 2006:116). The cognitive, social and behavioural gamut already established through prior experiences with major significant others (the parents) are therefore essential to the development of adolescent sexuality. Smallbone, (2006:116) indicates that the formation of permanent gender and sexual identities and managing emotional and physical intimacy are key developmental challenges in adolescence. Smallbone (2006:117) asserts that the manifestation of developmental problems which affect the experience and expression of intimacy are concentrated within the context of parental caregiving. From this standpoint, the attachment/caregiving relationship between parents and children is therefore crucial in the development of adolescent sexual behaviour because without such a caring relationship, a

developing adolescent may experience and later express intimacy negatively. Respondent P2 indicated that he did not have a mother and his father was physically abusive towards him and therefore he did not live with him. He also stated “I’m sad I don’t live with my real family and that they don’t care about me.” Respondent N7 did not even know who his father was and furthermore, did not care about that. He did not show emotion about the fact that his mother was deceased. Respondent P1 indicated that he did not want contact with either his mother or his father. These types of responses could illustrate reaction formation (rejecting what one actually yearns for) or a lack of attachment to parents and also a lack of both emotional and caregiving intimacy.

Rich (2006:7) asserts that attachment in adolescence is redefined and this can fuel different behaviour because during the adolescent developmental phase, youth become more concerned with their peer relationships and attachments to the peer group (Lakey, 2004:3; National Research Council, 2001:82) and thus the societal norms, morals and values instilled by the parents are sacrificed in an attempt to belong to the peer network.

Early attachment experiences are moulded into mental schemata which contribute to perceptions of the self and others, emotional life, social interactions, behaviour and self-regulation (Rich, 2006:7). Therefore, if a youth experiences a negative attachment to his parents, he may develop a negative self image and develop friendships with other youth in similar situations. Furthermore, a negative attachment style may result in inadequate socialisation occurring in the early developmental years, which could result in maladaptive behaviour and a lack of self-regulation. This is vital to the development of youth sex offending because dysfunctional mental schemata may be formed if a youth experiences a negative attachment style. As stated, this can impact negatively on self and peer perceptions, which in turn may lead to conflicting ideas on acceptable behaviour. Furthermore, the negative self image can result in a lack of empathy and caring towards victims.

In conclusion, the incomplete family structure can cause children to experience a period of instability (Ziebert, 2006:4). Moreover, according to Waul, Travis and Solomon (2002:xii) children will experience the loss of a parent (be that due to divorce, incarceration or death) as a traumatic experience. The main tenet of Marshall and Barbaree’s theory is that any form of a traumatic experience can result in diminished social skills and aggression not being inhibited in the adolescent years. There are various consequences to this, for example, a lack of social adaptability could produce a decreased ability to forge friendships with pro-social peers or rejection from females. This could then result in a youth experiencing

frustration and resentment towards females and resorting to coercive methods to gain sexual compliance. The disinhibition of aggression means that an adolescent could be predisposed to all forms of antisocial behaviour, including substance abuse which is a principal risk factor in youth sex offending. Although it was beyond the scope of this study to explore whether aggression had been inhibited in the respondents, 13 of the respondents came from an incomplete family structure. If one believes the principle assumption of this theory, then it would follow that the youth in this study could exhibit decreased social skills and thus be confronted with the negative consequences thereof. Finally, it appears that the children from disintegrated families could develop problematic behaviour because they are unable to have, maintain and form relationships with parents and other significant others (Ziebert, 2006:4).

### **6.1.2 SUBSTANCE ABUSE**

The relationship between substance abuse and subsequent offending is complex. Illegal substances cannot be said to *cause* offending behaviour, however, according to Maderthaner (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. Respondent P7, who maintained that he did not commit rape, but admitted to using alcohol and illicit drugs, emphasised that alcohol in particular has an impact on antisocial behaviour. He stated “I think alcohol is big...it makes you want to have sex.” This response is in line with previous research which posits that alcohol intake in particular is associated with the crime of rape (Schreiner, 2004:62).

#### **6.1.2.1 Personal substance abuse**

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. Bandura's social cognition theory postulates that the link between aggression and substance abuse is a result of social learning (Gmel & Rehm, 2003:7). If a child is brought up in an environment where substance use and aggression are prevalent, then the child will internalise these norms and copy the behaviour. Experiments with alcohol have shown that even when a placebo is administered, people will act more aggressively if they believe that they have ingested alcohol (Gmel & Rehm, 2003:7). Therefore, it seems that chemical changes in the brain caused by substances and the effects expected by the user may combine to cause aggressive behaviour in certain situations (Gmel & Rehm, 2003:7). Thus, if an adolescent has witnessed substance abuse and subsequent aggression or violence (be that physical or sexual), he could expect the effect of alcohol to produce the same aggressive tendencies and act accordingly if the situation is conducive to that behaviour.

Studies specific to sex offending (Hunter et al., 1993:320; Ryan et al., 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 the current 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.

Respondent P8 denied that he had raped the girl, but admitted that he had smoked *nyaope* (a combination of dagga and heroin) before breaking into the house and that he had broken

into the house with the purpose of raping the girl inside. The impact of illicit substance use on antisocial behaviour was emphasised by respondent P7 who also denied the charge of rape against him, but stated that he was high on *nyaope* on the day in question. He was also of the opinion that alcohol is the biggest risk factor because it “makes you want to have sex.” Respondent N3 re-iterated this in that he was adamant that there was nothing about his childhood that made him commit a sex offence – he maintained the only reason he did it was because he was drunk at the time of the rape. Contrary to this, respondent P1 revealed that alcohol is not the cause of sex offending, but rather that the use of alcohol makes 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. Marshall and Barbaree’s integrated theory rests substantially on the principle of inhibition. Aggression in males should be inhibited in the adolescent years (Gannon et al., 2004:38) however, any negative childhood experience can impede this inhibition from taking place. There is then a predisposition not only to aggressive behaviour, but also other antisocial behaviours such as using substances (Gannon et al., 2004:38). The internal inhibition processes do not function to prevent the youth from using alcohol and drugs.

#### **6.1.2.2 Family substance abuse**

Thloaele (2003:60) points out the family environment in which a child is reared can have the most powerful and long-lasting influence on future development. Thus, the family can have a positive or negative influence on the developmental process of an individual (Thloaele, 2003:60). The family system has to be viewed as one in which each family member influences each other 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. Respondent P4 stated that when his father consumed alcohol, he became physically aggressive towards his (the respondent's) mother. Respondent N3 highlighted that alcohol consumption caused family discord, and in the case of his brother, ignited physical violence. Respondent P8 stated in this regard that his father's drinking caused his parents' divorce. Respondent P1 indicated that one of the consequences of alcohol abuse in his family was a lack of money; he also stated that his mother became aggressive when she was intoxicated.

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, it is the researcher's opinion that 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. Bandura postulates that behaviour is learned through direct and indirect observation. This is predominantly pertinent if the behaviour observed is not deemed to have any negative consequences, for example, a youth who observed his parents abusing substances could emulate this behaviour if no negative consequences are observed. Bandura further asserts that if an individual observes a type of behaviour repeatedly, then the frequency in which he engages in that behaviour will increase. These statements reveal how observing and/or experiencing substance abuse can influence a youth to engage in a number of behaviours, including sex offending.

### **6.1.3 THE "CULTURE OF VIOLENCE"**

South Africa is characterised by a climate of violence (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993:41) and the children of this country are exposed to violence on a daily basis. Violence is rampant in schools, homes and communities and as such they are brought up in a society where overt

and covert aggression is prevalent (Dhabicharan, 2004; Maree, 2008:65; Pelsler, 2008:6; Skybo, 2005:263; Van Niekerk, 2006:104; Vanzant, 2004). The fact that 13 of the 19 youth interviewed for this study had experienced or engaged in violent behaviour shows the “culture of violence” that permeates South African society. Pelsler (2008:7) asserts that perceiving violence and importantly for this study, sexual control as acceptable elements of a culture has become normalised behaviour. Maree (2008:62) and Ryan (2000:11) agree that such a “culture of violence” has negative consequences on a developing adolescent. These consequences include emotional distress, inadequate social skills, and low self-esteem. These consequences also have an impact on adolescent antisocial behaviour in general. The culture of violence as a risk factor is vital because antisocial tendencies contribute to other forms of youth misbehaviour (Seto & Lalumière, 2006:166) and it is therefore a logical progression to question the extent to which youth sex offending is also explained by general antisocial tendencies.

One of two risk factors outlined by Malamuth’s confluence model of sexual aggression is that of interpersonal violence (Ward et al., 2006:81). Children that witness such violence often develop adverse thinking patterns regarding relationships and women (Ward et al., 2006:81). Furthermore, they witness a lack of frustration mediation within the home and this impacts negatively on their choice of friends, their choice to abuse substances and their use of violence to resolve conflict situations. Furthermore, McClinton (2004:24) suggests that youth behaviour patterns arise from what they have learnt in their daily environment. The comment made by respondent P7 illustrates this point in that he stated that he learnt how to fight from watching his father and from seeing fighting in his community. His comment - “that’s just how it was” - indicates that he perceived it as normal behaviour to resolve conflicts through physical aggression. From this, one can deduce that the youth of SA are at a disadvantage in that the environment from which they are learning socially acceptable behaviour is characterised by aggression and violence.

According to Freud’s theory, youth who are submerged in a culture of violence internalise these values with the superego, which is the part of the conscience that represents the “should nots” of the child’s world (Thomas, 2005:59). If violence is incorporated as acceptable behaviour within the superego, the superego no longer acts in regulating aggressive or violent behaviour.

The inhibition principle of Marshall and Barbaree’s theory is also relevant to the risk factor of being exposed to violence because such exposure specifically impacts negatively on a youth’s development of internal inhibition (Gannon et al., 2004:38). Furthermore, a youth that

witnesses violence, particularly towards females, learns that women are inferior to men and they begin to objectify them sexually (Ward et al., 2006:35). Violence is then normalised in the mind of the child and he associates fear, anger and violence with intimate relationships (Ward et al., 2006:35). Furthermore, a youth that lacks social skills could easily be negatively influenced by his peer network in an attempt to fit into the group. The witnessing and/or experiencing of violence, be that family, school or community violence, impacts on the youth because they adopt this type of behaviour as a moral and legitimate way to assert themselves.

### **6.1.3.1 Violence towards respondents at school**

General violence, sexual harassment, sexual abuse and initiation practices in South African schools is becoming an area of increased concern. The sample for this study was relatively small in that there were only 19 respondents, and yet seven of those respondents had experienced violent behaviour at school.

Schools have an important role to play as a secondary socialising agent of young people (Siegal, Welsh & Senna, 2003:268). However, children are experiencing violence and sexual aggression at the hands of fellow learners (George & Finberg, 2001). Respondent P8 said in this regard that “everything happens at school.” He explained that fights at schools occurred often and included everything from pushing and hitting to fights with weapons such as knives. He also mentioned that the teachers are powerless to stop the fights. This is problematic in that there is no-one in the position to guide the learners. Furthermore, the children are aware that there is no-one monitoring their behaviour and there is not an authority figure to enforce any consequences for their behaviour. The fact that disciplinary action is not carried out means that bullying and possible successive aggressive behaviour is not being dealt with effectively and moreover, it sends out the message that the school condones the aggressive behaviour and that children can do as they please at school (George & Finberg, 2001).

Violence towards and committed by the respondents cannot be viewed separately. The respondents in this study that referred to school fights indicated that they had retaliated and as such, they too displayed aggressive behaviour.

### **6.1.3.2 Violence committed by respondents at school**

It is important to note that fights at schools are not simply “boys will be boys” fights, but rather fights with the intention to hurt, maim or even kill a fellow pupil. Several of the respondents that had been involved in school fights indicated that it was a matter of honour and status, rather than a verbal disagreement that escalated and resulted in a “punch up”. In particular, respondent N8 believed that fighting indicated physical prowess and that it was important for others to think twice before they challenged or insulted you – the only way to accomplish this was to threaten them and then if necessary to fight them. These types of responses support the notion that children are increasingly using violence to resolve problems and that they view aggressive behaviour as a suitable method of asserting themselves. Furthermore, they hold the opinion that violence increases their status and therefore the respect they gain from others.

Respondent P1 indicated that he knew the wrongfulness of his actions (stabbing someone), but that it was the only way to make the victim listen. It was his perception that he was forced to stab the other child in order to make himself heard. Again, this illustrates the pervasive belief that violence is a legitimate method of assertion.

### **6.1.3.3 Violence towards respondents at home**

Experiencing and witnessing family violence serves both as an aspect of maltreatment in the home of the offender, and also as a likely risk factor in the development of subsequent sex offending (Rich, 2003:46). Furthermore, youth that experience and witness physical violence within their homes interpret this type of behaviour as normal within intimate relationships and they also become desensitised to the negative consequences of physical aggression (Maree, 2008:66). This is echoed by Rich (2003:47) who stated that youth sex offenders who have histories of physical abuse feel that their parents have a right to treat them this way and often, the youth does not recognise the physical and emotional harm which is being done to them. Importantly, if this pattern of abuse occurs between siblings and between parents, the child may adopt this type of behaviour as a family value and may view the physical violence as “the way things are done in the family.”

In the current study, 11 of the 19 respondents made statements that supported the notion that family violence is detrimental to youth development. Respondent P7 stated that there were many fights in his home and in his community, and he learnt how to fight by watching his father. He stated “I saw a lot of fighting when I was growing up, in my house, with

strangers on the streets; it's just how it was and that's how I learnt." The same respondent (Respondent P7) also pointed to a scar on his forehead and stated that his aunt assaulted him because she was angry - he stated "She was angry with me so she hit me. I didn't go to hospital and now I have the scar – I'm not scared of her now. I'm not scared of anyone." Respondent P1 had his teeth knocked out by his mother, and he refuses to have them fixed because he does not want to forget the physical violence to which he was subjected and he does not want his mother to forget her violent behaviour. Lastly, respondent P2 stated "My father beat me up, I don't know why. He left marks and made me scared..." Such retorts are important because they also indicate the child's frame of mind, for example, in the case of respondent P7, he has learnt not to depend on anyone else to preserve his safety; and in the case of respondent P1, he cannot let go of the hurt he experienced, both physically and emotionally.

#### **6.1.3.4 Violence committed by respondents at home**

McClinton (2004:24) states that many youth pattern their actions on the behaviour they learn from the environment in which they live. Children are more likely to display similar behaviour to that of their parents if they have a family environment characterised by parents with substance abuse problems, a history of criminal conduct, and aggressive tendencies are more. If a child is subjected to emotional or physical aggression at home, they learn to see this type of behaviour as a useful method to assert themselves; and moreover, they see this type of behaviour as acceptable and thus do not learn right from wrong. In a meta-analysis conducted by Seto and Lalumière (2006:183), it was found that while there is a high prevalence of conduct disorders within the youth sex offending population, youth sex offenders score lower in conduct problems than youth non-sex offenders.

In the current study school and community aggression were prevalent, but there were only three respondents that reported being verbally or physically aggressive within their family environments. This is consistent with the abovementioned 2006 study by Seto and Lalumière. Respondent N3 had been physically violent towards his brother, but he was ashamed of this and stated that it is not right to hit someone in your family, especially if the person is older than you. Respondent P1 had threatened to hurt or kill his sister if she did not stop molesting him. He stated "My sister did stuff to me, she molested me from when I was five, I threatened her, I didn't hit her or anything, I just threatened her. I said I would tell everyone what she did and that if she didn't stop I'd hurt her, or I'd kill her." This is noteworthy because this respondent was clearly of the opinion that the only way to assert himself was through verbal aggression and if necessary physical violence.

### **6.1.3.5 Violence towards respondent in the community**

Literature (Hunter, 1999:2) has referred to the negative impact that exposure to community violence can have on a developing adolescent. Such exposure can lead to severe psychological responses and to aggressive behaviour. The fact that South African youth have been socialised to view both physical and sexual violence as a normal part of community life is problematic because it is then difficult for them to see the wrongfulness of their actions (Pelser, 2008:7). Thus, the role that the community plays in the socialisation of adolescents cannot be under-estimated.

Furthermore, inadequate parental monitoring could lead to youth spending more time with their peer groups and unsupervised in their communities (Lakey, 2004:52; Rich, 2003:47; Smallbone, 2006:113). A significant stressor in children's lives could be witnessing family and/or community violence. If a youth does not have adequate skills to cope with violent situations, then stress may be manifested in psychological, physical and behavioural symptoms (Skybo, 2005:263). Moreover, youth are persistently being exposed to aggressive role models within their communities and such exposure has been found to increase the likelihood of a youth engaging in antisocial or aggressive behaviour (Hunter, 1999:117). Respondent N6 was involved in a fight about a girl, and he stated "I was in a fight with the boyfriend of another girl. He was angry because he thought I wanted his girl, so he hit me and I hit him back – you can't walk away." Furthermore, he was of the opinion that fighting was an effective problem solving strategy and that there was nothing wrong with fighting.

### **6.1.3.6 Violence committed by respondents in the community**

The witnessing and/or experiencing violence increases the chance of engaging in violent behaviour (Dhabicharan, 2004, Vanzant, 2004). Thus, youth who have witnessed and/or experienced physical aggression within their communities may also have victimised other community members. Community violence has definite psychological consequences, specifically for adolescents because of the developmental changes which take place in this phase of life (Dhabicharan, 2004; Rosenthal, 2000). The fact that violence is considered the norm within South African society further compounds the attitudes that are formed through witnessing and/or experiencing community violence. In this study, 17% of the sample admitted to being involved in physically aggressive incidents within their communities. All of the respondents that had been involved in physically aggressive incidents had witnessed community violence – the notion that physically aggressive behaviour is learnt is therefore supported by this research. Respondent P6 stated "I fight a lot, it just happens... Someone

says something, you get angry, they get angry and you fight... Everybody fights.” This response indicates that fighting can be seen as a natural progression from experiencing anger and frustration.

It is the researcher’s opinion that whether the violence is occurring at school, at home or within the community is of little relevance. The fact that the youth in this study viewed violent behaviour as a legitimate way to assert themselves and gain respect is problematic because it reveals the cyclic nature of violent behaviour. As Pelsler (2008:1) postulates, youth crime in SA is “a function of development and replication.” This is in line with Bandura’s social cognition theory, who asserts that children model their behaviour on the behaviour of the significant others in their lives. Furthermore, Malamuth asserts that exposure to interpersonal violence has an effect on how young men perceive relationships and women. Thus, the society in which they live offers adolescents little chance of being law-abiding citizens. Moreover, the attitudes and beliefs regarding aggressive and sexually aggressive behaviour to which they are subjected allow for this type of behaviour to be normalised and thus not regarded as damaging to the victims or as morally wrong.

#### **6.1.4 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 et al. (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 re-enforces 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).

#### **6.1.4.1 Viewing of any form of pornography**

Pornography is available in various forms and from different sources of media – television, magazines, videos and the Internet. There is no research that specifically focuses on the viewing of pornography and youth sex offending. Necessary research on this topic could include investigating how many convicted youth sex offenders viewed pornography before they committed the offence, what types of sex offences (“hands on” or “hands off”) could be linked to the viewing of pornography and the resiliency factors portrayed by youth that view pornography but do not commit sex offences. For this reason, the researcher can only use the information gathered in this study to draw conclusions. 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.

The viewing of pornography is an important topic of discussion when youth sexual offending is explained. Rice Hughes (2001) states in this regard 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. The researcher is of the opinion that this is the case 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. Respondent N8 informed the researcher that pornography incites the desire to rape; he stated “...no, it

makes you want to rape, to do those things to a girl to feel powerful – sex doesn't make you feel powerful.” Furthermore, four of the respondents (21%) agreed that pornography is arousing and that they wanted to try and imitate what they had seen in pornographic media.

#### **6.1.4.2 No viewing of any form of pornography**

A salient finding of the current study is that even the three respondents that had not viewed any form of pornography had negative perceptions regarding sexually explicit material. As previously stated, this is contrary to investigations that have found that the desensitising effect of pornography can lead to positive perceptions regarding sexually explicit material (Rice Hughes, 2001). A possible reason for this discrepancy is that the youth in this study were all involved in some form of treatment programme (the NICRO diversion programme or the in-house programme at Protem). Such treatment may have changed their perceptions regarding sexually explicit material, as they may have been taught about the negative effects that pornography can have on a developing adolescent. Respondent N1 referred to pornography as “bad” and thought that the viewing of pornography could result in a jail sentence. Respondent P4 agreed that pornography was “not right” and that it leads to deviant behaviour.

Marshall and Barbaree's integrated theory rests on the assumption that adverse experiences (such as previous physical and/or sexual victimisation – both risk factors associated with youth sex offending) during childhood can result in the inhibition process being impeded, resulting in a vulnerability and predisposition to offend (Gannon et al., 2004:38). These youth can then be attracted to negative socio-cultural beliefs and attitudes, such as those portrayed in pornography (Gannon et al., 2004:38). The problem with sexually explicit material is that it often depicts and appears to support violence and sexual abusive acts towards women (Mathews, 1995:4). Youth could incorporate these notions into their own thought patterns and as such develop cognitive distortions regarding normal sexual relationships. However, there is controversy regarding the influence of pornography and therefore, an in-depth discussion on this topic is presented below.

#### **6.1.5 INFLUENCE OF PORNOGRAPHY**

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. This is supported by Freud's psychoanalytic theory that predicts potentially positive effects from viewing pornography because the sex drive can be released in the form of catharsis (Thornburgh & Lin, 2002:146). Drive reduction is vital to human functioning and the reduction of the sex drive can take place through fantasy experiences with sexually explicit material (Thornburgh & Lin, 2002:146). Respondent N8 stated "Pornography arouses you – I didn't think I was raping her, I thought it was ok, but it happened after I'd watched porn and that makes you want to have sex." It is the researcher's opinion that the respondent experienced drive reduction through sexual intercourse rather than masturbation. The fact that he viewed this behaviour as "ok" and did not perceive himself as a rapist is supported by Freud's theoretical proposition because of the innate need to release the sex drive, either through masturbation or sexual intercourse.

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).

Bandura's theory can be applied to the influence of pornography in that sexually explicit material provides an avenue for children to learn about the mechanics of sexual behaviour, the contexts in which such behaviour occurs, the intentions of such liaisons and lastly the consequences of this behaviour. The implicit messages presented in pornography are specifically influential if the participants are attractive, depicted as powerful or represent an individual with whom the youth can identify (Thornburgh & Lin, 2002:147). Information that is learned is stored for when the youth becomes engaged in a real-world sexual situation. Pornography also perpetuates the belief of rape myths and if youth identify with the characters represented in sexually explicit material, they are also more likely to believe the false situations presented in pornography.

According to Marshall and Barbaree's theory, vulnerable youth are attracted to negative socio-cultural attitudes portrayed through pornography and rape myths, which are prevalent in South African society. Such youth lack the social skills to form intimate relationships and

they resort to mood regulation through masturbation (Ward et al., 2006:35). They may also use sex as a coping mechanism and they could re-enact that which they have seen or heard in an attempt to impress a female. This is clearly problematic as pornography often depicts painful experiences as pleasurable or rape as male dominance that is actually desired by women. Respondent N7 stated “Girls have to show you that they love you. Your girlfriend has to give it, if she wants to or not, she has to show you she loves you and that she isn’t giving it to others.” While the response of respondent N7 does not specifically relate to rape being desired by women, it does indicate the notion that male sexual dominance is acceptable behaviour and that it is a woman’s duty to provide sexually for her male partner regardless of whether she desires a sexual relationship or not.

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, but they had negative perceptions regarding pornography, 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.

#### **6.1.5.1 No influence of pornography**

No consensus exist amongst researchers (Allford, 2007:2; Berry, 2008:1 Rich, 2003:68) regarding the influence that pornography may have on a developing adolescent, yet there is agreement on the fact that the possible influence of pornography is unknown. Groth (1979:9) an expert in sex offending states that:

Rape is sometimes attributed to the increasing availability of pornography and sexual explicitness in the public media. Although a rapist, like anyone else, might find some pornography stimulating, it is not sexual arousal but the arousal of anger or fear that leads to rape. Pornography does not cause rape; banning it will not stop rape.

Seven of the respondents (44%) in the current study indicated that the viewing of pornography had no impact on either them or their behaviour. Respondent P2 mentioned that pornography did nothing to him and respondent P5 stated that pornography did not make him do anything because he does not view it anymore.

### 6.1.5.2 Negative influence of pornography

Rice Hughes (2001) asserts that pornography is detrimental to the development of children in numerous ways. Firstly, youth act out what they see and hear and early exposure to pornographic material can lead to a re-enactment of the sexual behaviour they have witnessed. Secondly, exposure to sexually explicit material may shape attitudes, values and beliefs. Sexually graphic material can act as a deforming sex education tool and because of the adolescent developmental phase, attitudes and values are still being formed. Thirdly, pornography negatively impacts on adolescent identity development. 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. 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. Respondent N9 revealed "The pornography I saw aroused me, it was only that, which made me sleep with my girlfriend even though she said no – I was confused afterwards and I felt bad because she said no, but I wanted to because of the porn." This sentiment was shared by respondent N4 who explained that the pornography led to sexual feelings and after viewing it he had to have sex. Both respondents N5 and P3 indicated that after viewing pornography, they both wanted to try what they had seen.

The adverse schemas regarding women that Malamuth's model highlights are further entrenched through viewing pornography and through the belief of rape myths. Both pornography and rape myths objectify women and both instil beliefs about how men should treat women. Allford (2007:2) is of the opinion that pornography does not provide a progressive outlook in terms of gender roles because the majority of pornography is still about pleasuring men and using women as sex objects. This is emphasised by respondent N7 who stated that he had liked what he had seen and his girlfriend had to have sex with him

to prove that she loved him. Furthermore, respondent P8 revealed that he had wanted to have sex with his victim because the men he had seen in the XXX-rated video were powerful. He also stated “the videos make you want to have sex – when I saw daai sussie (*that girl*) I wanted to do what I saw...I felt powerful and wanted to do what they did to a girl... I wanted to have sex, rape her...”

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 respondent N8 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.

In conclusion, it is the researcher’s opinion that pornography is harmful to youth that are already predisposed to committing sex offences. Her opinion is based on the findings of this study in that 56% (nine of the 16 respondents) of the sample that viewed pornography reported that it had a significantly negative impact on their behaviour. Moreover, the fact that 44% (seven of the 16 respondents) of the sample reported no impact reflects the need for more research on this topic, as youth sex offending is more complex than uncomplicated exposure to pornography.

#### **6.1.6 RAPE MYTHS**

In the section on absent fathers (section 6.1.1.1) above, it was discussed how boys tend to incorporate their fathers’ values. Sackett and Mavor (2003:179) are of the opinion that a young person’s beliefs and attitudes are formed and can be changed with interaction with others. Beliefs, attitudes and values therefore impact on behaviour. The strongest potential influences on these beliefs, attitudes and values arise from the youth’s social environment in the form of significant others in a youth’s life (Sackett & Mavor, 2003:180). Thomas (2004:94) states that adolescence is a period in which youth stereotype themselves in terms of appearance, but also in their values, morals and belief systems. This is pertinent to the role of the peer network in the life of an adolescent, but also in relation to the acceptance of rape myths. If the peer group uphold certain beliefs regarding sexuality and appropriate sexual behaviour, a youth may find himself in a position where it is easier for him to adopt the same stereotypical beliefs and values to solve his identity confusion than it is for him to work

through his confusion and reach a solution that is accepted by society. Respondent P4 said “... when girls wear short skirts, boys want them... it’s not only skirts though – if they dress like a *nyatsi* (*an easy girl*), then boys are gonna rape them.” This implies that it is a view held by his peer group because they have a specific name for a girl that dresses provocatively and through his response, it appears that the boys with whom he associates respond in a sexual or physical manner to girls that wear short skirts.

Gender role prescriptions and cultural norms and myths about women, men, family, children, sexuality and violence perpetuate the acceptance of sexual aggression because social constructions, such as the media, schools, and the legal system, contribute to the gender role expectations to which young people are expected to conform (White, Kadlec & Sechrist, 2006:133). According to White et al., (2006:133) adolescent sexual aggression is partly a result of the structure and meaning ascribed to maleness in our culture.

Research (Franiuk et al., 2008:791) has indicated that there is a correlation between rape myth acceptance and self-reported sexual aggression. This is noteworthy in the current self-report study because three of the 19 respondents (16% of the sample) revealed that they accepted rape myths as factual. Respondent P7 and P4 disclosed that what a girl wears has an influence on whether she becomes a rape victim or not. Respondent P7 said that if girls wear short skirts, then they want to have sex and respondent P4 stated that boys are going to rape girls that dress provocatively because short skirts make boys want girls. These responses are in line with similar findings from other studies (Franiuk et al., 2008:791; Kopper, 1996:3). The study conducted by Franiuk et al., (2008:791) showed that one of the most common rape myths is that girls who dress provocatively are asking for sex or to be raped. Another common false belief is that a girl has to prove her love by having sex with her partner, regardless of whether she wants to or not. Respondent N7 firmly believed this and also stated that because he had sex with his girlfriend, it was consensual and should not be considered as rape. His view was that his girlfriend had to sleep with him to prove that she was not having sexual relations with anybody else.

Franiuk et al. (2008:798) concluded that certain television programmes, newspaper headlines, music videos and general newspaper articles regularly confront media consumers with rape myths. The negative impact of such exposure to rape myths is threefold in that it teaches rape myths to those that did not previously hold such beliefs; it strengthens the belief of such myths in those that already held them as true; and it acts as trigger for those that are prepared to use such myths to their advantage, for example to rationalise their actions. Therefore, the upholding of rape myths perpetuates sexual assault and rape in society and

furthermore, the endorsement of rape myths allows offenders to excuse their offending behaviour and abdicate responsibility in their sex offending behaviour.

### **6.1.7 PREVIOUS SEXUAL CONDUCT**

Sexual harassment is any unwanted attention of a sexual nature that makes an individual embarrassed or uncomfortable (Du Plessis, Fouchè & Van Wyk, 1998:418). Any type of action or comment that humiliates an individual or is deemed offensive can be considered sexual harassment (Prinsloo, 2006:306). Sexual harassment can therefore be classified as either a “hands on” or a “hands off” offence depending on whether it involves actually touching another person. Both verbal and non-verbal forms of sexual harassment are relevant to the current study. Prinsloo (2006:306) defines verbal sexual harassment as any unwelcome innuendos, suggestions and hints, sexual advances, comments with sexual overtones, sexual jokes, graphic comments made about an individual’s body in their presence, inappropriate enquiries about an individual’s sexual relations or whistling at an individual. Non-verbal sexual harassment includes unwelcome gestures, indecent exposure, and an unwelcome display of sexual pictures or objects (Prinsloo, 2006:307). Visual, verbal and physical harassment, particularly in schools, is on the increase (George & Finberg, 2001; Prinsloo, 2006:314). Respondent N7 said “Stuff happens at school – people say and do stuff. You say and do stuff to be part of the group...It’s not always meant to hurt people, girls like boys and boys like girls so they say stuff or touch each other to show it, even if the other one doesn’t like you back.”

#### **6.1.7.1 Sexual actions towards respondents**

There is little research on sexual harassment as a risk factor contributing to youth sex offending. It is important to remember that this theme served as a precursor to the theme of previous sexual victimisation because it directed the discussion towards previous sexual victimisation as a risk factor. Respondent N7 indicated that sexual touching is a way of showing affection and that it was not always meant to be malicious. The respondent did not view fondling as wrong, but rather as a way of letting someone know that you like them. Respondent P7 stated “The girls at school offer sex. They want drugs, dagga, but don’t have money for it, so you have sex with them and then buy the drugs for them. If you say no, they laugh at you; they call you names, so you have to do it.”

#### **6.1.7.2 Sexual comments towards respondents**

A discussion about sexual comments is vital because children also imitate what they hear from significant others and off pornographic videos (Allford 2007:2). Such comments can also introduce youth to sex in a demeaning, humiliating way because the words used in pornographic material are often non-intimate and degrading (George & Finberg, 2001). The result of this is that sex is viewed simply as a physical act required to meet sexual needs. Twenty-six percent of the current study had comments of a sexual nature directed at them, but two of the five respondents indicated that the comments were “playful” in nature. None of the respondents would divulge the nature of the comments, or their retorts. It is the researcher’s opinion that perhaps these comments are more offensive towards females than males. Furthermore, perhaps the male respondents were not embarrassed or were not made to feel uncomfortable by comments of a sexual nature and therefore, the exact wording or nature of the comment was not deemed important to the respondents.

#### **6.1.7.3 Sexual actions by respondents**

Sexual behaviour “problems” can often be the foundation for future sex offence behaviour (Barbaree & Langton, 2006:58). As such, a discussion about previous sexual actions and sexual comments committed by respondents is important because this behaviour may serve to have some predictive value. This is apparent in the response of respondent P1 who stated “I touched a lot of minors at the *kinderhuis (orphanage)* – I did what was done to me. I guess I molested them, but they didn’t catch me. I had sex at the orphanage too - the girl said no, well sort of... she didn’t say yes.”

#### **6.1.7.4 Sexual comments by respondents**

As with comments directed at the respondents, those comments made by respondents were also not revealed to the researcher, except that two respondents mentioned that they did not mean any harm by what they said. The fact that the nature of the comments was not divulged makes a discussion problematic. However, the researcher could speculate that if the comments were of a debased nature and were intended to humiliate the victim of the sexual harassment then this could indicate a preoccupation with sex which youth sex offenders often display (Lakey, 2004:1). If the comments were not meant maliciously, then perhaps the comments made, simply indicate the natural development of sexuality and a sexual identity which takes place in adolescence.

Grant (2000:4) asserts that sexual assault is by nature a descriptive process – it is cyclic in that previous sex offences (including sexual harassment) reinforce subsequent offending behaviour. Importantly, sexual comments and physical contact with sexual connotations are less frequently regarded as sexual harassment (De Wet, Jacobs & Palm-Foster, 2008:104). It is the researcher's opinion that children need to be educated as to what sexual harassment constitutes so the progressive nature of the sex offending cycle does not develop.

#### **6.1.8 PREVIOUS SEXUAL VICTIMISATION**

There is controversy surrounding whether or not sexual victimisation is a pervasive factor in the histories of youth sex offenders. Erooga and Masson (1999:3) state that only about 50% of youth sex offenders have a history of sexual victimisation and therefore previous abuse cannot be seen as a predictive factor. However, there appears to be more research pertaining to the notion that previous victimisation can lead to an increased probability that a youth will engage in sexually inappropriate behaviour (Awad et al., 1984:107; Burton, 2008:104; Lakey, 1994:1; Mbambo, 2002:29; Rich, 2003:44).

According to Burton (2008:103) there has been much research and discussion about the prevalence of sexual victimisation in youth sex offenders' histories. A boy's early sexual experiences, specifically sexual victimisation, have been found to be predictive to sexual aggression (White et al., 2006:135). In terms of Bandura's concept of reciprocal determinism, past experiences of sexual aggression can be seen as modelling-orientated predictors of deviant sexual behaviour (Dyrne & Hogben, 1998:15). Thus, it is possible that early sexual experiences, especially abusive ones, could shape a youth's perceptions of normal sexual conduct. White et al., (2006:135) assert that abusive sexual experiences have major psychological consequences, including frustration tolerance and specifically lowered self-esteem, which is another factor that predicts sex offending behaviour.

Moreover, according to Malamuth's model, previous victimisation has a negative impact on youth developing skills such as frustration tolerance and conflict mediation, which could result in general aggression or sexual aggression in the form of acting out behaviour (Ward et al., 2006:81). Current literature (Burton, 2008:102, Hunter, 1999:2) eludes to the fact that a youth sex offender's own victimisation increases the severity of his later offences and these offenders tend to repeat the same abusive acts which they experienced as victims. Respondent P1 highlighted this when he stated "I did what was done to me. I guess I molested them, but they didn't catch me."

#### **6.1.8.1 Family**

Barbaree and Langton (2006:62) refers to a study in which it was found that sexual abuse perpetrators within the family tend to act against other family members, either the extended family or within the victim's own home. Research (Rich, 2003:24) has further shown that in the cases of child sexual abuse, parents are responsible for 50% of the abuse and 18% of child sexual abusers are other family members. This is pertinent in the current study because only two respondents disclosed any form of previous abuse and both of them revealed that it was a sibling that abused them. Both his biological sister and his stepbrother molested respondent P1. They touched and fondled his penis, but did not make him do anything in return. The abuse only stopped when the respondent was placed in an orphanage. Respondent N7 also experienced familial abuse. His brother touched him when they bathed together, but he could not remember the details of the incidents. Both of these respondents have charges of rape pending against them, but neither of them is accused of raping an individual within their family environments.

#### **6.1.8.2 Peer or community**

The majority of sexual abuse against children (71%) is perpetrated by someone known to the victim (Rich, 2003:30). In the current study, there was only one child that disclosed being sexually abused by someone outside of the family network. However, he recognised his assailant as he lived in the same neighbourhood as the child. Respondent P8 stated "I didn't know him, I saw him before but nothing else... He put (*indicated to his penis*) it there (*indicated to his buttocks*) – then inside at the back... he was hurting me, then he finished and I got dressed to go home."

In terms of youth sex offending, it is important to note that a youth's early experience of sexual arousal may have occurred in an exploitative, abusive relationship or situation (Grant, 2000:4). The result of this could be a youth supporting and protecting his own sex offending behaviour (Grant, 2000:4). While all youth sex offenders have not experienced sexual abuse, and while many sexually abused youth do not become offenders, Grant (2000:4) states that there may be a plausible link between prior victimisation and subsequent offending.

#### **6.1.9 PEER INFLUENCE**

Current literature on the relationship between peer influence and antisocial tendencies is inconsistent (Poulin et al., 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. 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).

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). In the adolescent developmental phase, the expression of independence from parents and the identification with peers becomes increasingly important (Baker, 1998:9). Therefore, 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). 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. However, research (Kipke, 1999:16) has also shown that the influence that the peer group has on an adolescent can be mediated by family variables, such as parental monitoring and an open, caring relationship between parent and child. Respondent P6 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.

### 6.1.9.1 Specific influence of peers

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).

There are various characteristics of a peer network, such as approval of deviant behaviour, attachment to the peer group, peer pressure and time spent within the peer network that can be associated with antisocial behaviour (Erooga & Masson, 1999:74; Lakey, 2004:3; National Research Council, 2001:80). According to Erikson (1956:88; 1959:131) negative identity formation occurs when it is easier for an adolescent to derive a sense of identity out of deviant or antisocial behaviours rather than attempting to meet the societal demands being placed on him. This is relevant in terms of associating with a deviant peer group because an adolescent can derive a sense of identity without having to develop emotional intimacy with the group. It was beyond the scope of this study for the researcher to investigate the respondents' peer group structure and attachment to the peer group; and as a qualitative study, she relied on the respondents' feelings and perceptions regarding the influence that the peer network may have had on the offending behaviour. Having-so-said, thirty-seven percent (7 of the 19 respondents) of the sample indicated that their peers had a direct impact on their behaviour.

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 agrees with this in that he states that youth who have violent family backgrounds seek out peers with similar backgrounds and attitudes towards violence. Respondent P6 stated "I saw my friends do it – it was a joke, but you have to do what your friends do." When probed about the reasons for having to do what his friends did, he responded: "You must, otherwise you are out of the group." Respondent N8 said "The friends, they all talk about girlfriends and sex and you want to talk too, so you do it too. It is to be part of the group." These types of responses reflect the need for affiliation which is present within the peer network. 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 et al., 2006:82). Moreover, the researcher noted the interdependence of the peer group and the perpetuation of rape myths in that a youth who is experiencing identity confusion (as asserted by Erikson) could resort to adopting peer beliefs about sexuality and coercive sexual behaviour as his own in order to resolve this confusion and derive a sense of group belonging.

With relation to Bandura's theory, this is pertinent because the peer network is influential during adolescence and youth adopt similar attributes, morals, values and behaviours and thus they learn from their peer group. Four of the respondents (21%) stated that they committed the offence because their friends said they "should do it." Respondent N8 stated that it is important to be part of the group and therefore he committed the rape so that he could also discuss sex and sexual feelings within his peer group. Again, the concept of imitation was prevalent in that respondent N1 stated "my cousin told me about sex – nobody else ever spoke to me about it. I didn't want my cousin to think I was stupid because I didn't have sex and I wanted to know what he was talking about – so that's why I did it."

It has been found (Dyrne & Hogben, 1998:15) that adolescent sexual aggression can be linked to the influence of family and peers and that an explicit link does not need to be drawn to explain the manifestation of sexually coercive behaviour when sexually aggressive significant others are present in the lives of adolescents. In terms of youth sex offending, Bandura postulates that the observation of sexual aggression increases the positive expectancies associated with this behaviour.

#### **6.1.9.2 Possible influence of peers**

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 pro-social 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. With regard to this respondent P7 stated "Boys influence each other, even here (*at Protem*),

but I'm not part of that. It happens outside too, you do what they do... you must all be the same, then girls know not to fight with that group of boys.”

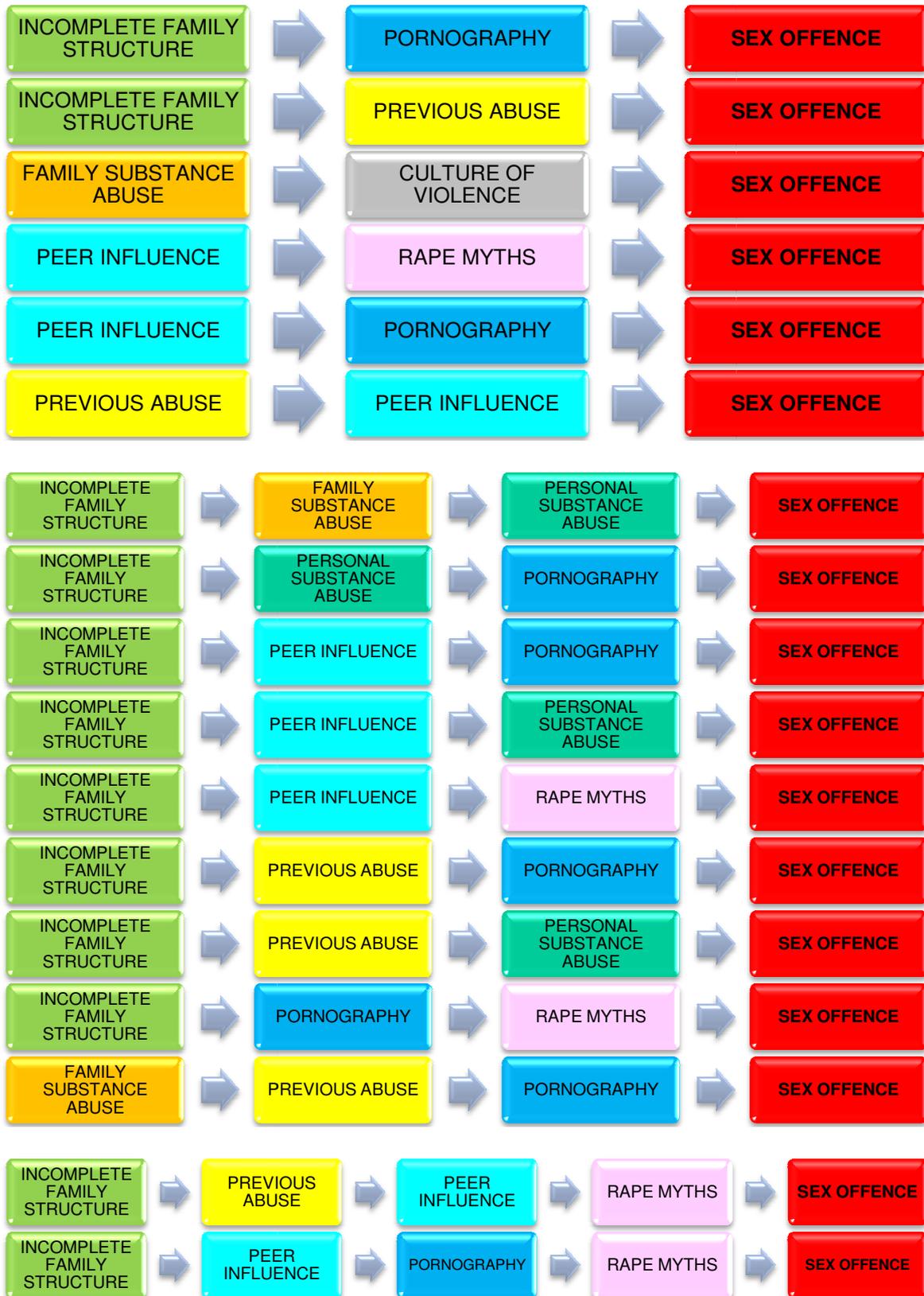
In the current study, two of the 19 respondents (11%) indicated that the peer network can have an influence on adolescent behaviour. Respondent P7 maintained his innocence, but asserted that boys influence each other and that all of those in the group must be the same so that girls know not to “mess” with that group of boys. Respondent N3 was unsure about the influence of his friends – he blamed the fact that he was intoxicated at the time of the offence, but also stated that his friend was there, but had neither encouraged nor discouraged him to engage in the offending behaviour.

Dube (2007:iv) suggests that outside of the family, the peer network has the greatest influence over an individual. An adolescent's “sense of self” and his reaction to peer pressure can influence his sexual behaviour (Condrin, 2004:16). 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). 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. Finally, 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.

## **6.2 INTERDEPENDANCE OF THE IDENTIFIED RISK FACTORS**

In Figure 6 the complex interaction or possible pathways that could result in a sex offence being committed is illustrated. This figure clearly illustrates how the risk factors for youth sex offending form a constellation and cannot be seen in isolation. While one risk factor, for example previous abuse, be that sexual or physical abuse, can result in a youth engaging in coercive sexual behaviour, more often than not, it is usually the interplay between different risk factors that form a pathway to youth sex offending. This is crucial in the development of treatment and intervention programmes, because if the risk factors and the associated thought patterns and emotions are not dealt with, the actual behaviour cannot be changed. In essence then, it is the difference between treating the symptoms (sex offences) and treating the “cause” (the risk factors contributing to sex offences). Figure 6 illustrates the possible interaction of risk factors and therefore several of the possible pathways that could lead to the committal of a sex offence.

**Figure 6: The possible pathways that could lead to the committal of a sex offence**



## **6.3 POSSIBLE METHODS OF ADDRESSING RISK FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO YOUTH SEX OFFENDING AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE**

Lundrigan (2001:9) suggests that the management of youth sex offenders is a field still in its infancy and thus there are many challenges which present themselves in terms of prevention and addressing risk factors that contribute to youth sex offending. However, the importance of combating the problem of child sexual abuse committed by other youth and the need for prevention strategies to thrive cannot be denied. All of the risk factors that were discussed in section 6.1 will be addressed, however, the researcher has combined pornography and rape myths, as it is her opinion that pornography is a specific factor which perpetuates the belief of rape myths; and she has also combined previous sexual conduct and previous abuse because previous sexual conduct preceded the theme of previous sexual victimisation in the interview schedule.

### **6.3.1 Incomplete family structure**

It is not only the family structure which needs to be addressed with regards to youth sex offending, but also the nature of family dynamics and the quality of relationships within the family environment. There are many factors that influence child health and development (Smolensky & Appleton Gootman, 2003:16), and one of the most important of these is the importance of early life experiences on human behaviour. The pivotal role of early relationships is also important, either as a source of support and adaptation or risk and dysfunction. The role of the parents in both children's early development, and also in adolescence, when young people face numerous challenges and salient tasks, cannot be underestimated. It is therefore crucial that youth are brought up in homes where both parents are present because as Reppucci, Fried and Schimdt (2002:7) state, the disintegrated family could be seen as "the most dominating single influence on the development of aggression and violence." Maderthaner (2005:178) states that children from divorced families have less parental supervision, weakened attachment and are susceptible to peer pressure – all of which are conducive to antisocial behaviour.

According to Marano (1997:2) marriage education is one method of preventing family breakdowns because such education makes the marriage more satisfying for both partners. Thus, divorce is not made more difficult, but rather, the need for divorce is minimised. Marriage education is useful in that it prevents the development of problems and distress before they start. Thus instead of attempting to fix a disintegrating marriage, as is the case with therapy, it educates partners on how to recognise and cope with possible discord before

the marriage begins to disintegrate (Marano, 1997:2). Furthermore, marriage education equips partners with realistic expectations of their marriage and thus disappointment and despair are lessened. Marriage education is also vital because mismanaged conflict predicts marital distress and has negative effects on the couple and children in the home (Marano, 1997:2). Marriage education teaches couples the skill of good communication, both verbally and non-verbally. This is crucial as frustration linked to feeling misunderstood is decreased and communication is also seen as a method to assert oneself and the need to resort to physical methods of assertion is minimised. Another avenue to prevent family breakdown is a community marriage policy (Marano, 1997:2). This entails the religious institutions of a community signing an agreement to perform wedding ceremonies on the condition that the couple has undergone training in communication and conflict resolution. There is also an initiative that couples seeking a marriage licence need to receive marriage counselling before being granted one by a magistrate or judge (Marano, 1997:2). The community can also be involved in reducing divorce by providing “marriage mentors” which are older couples that provide a realistic picture of married life and advice to younger couples looking to get married.

Parental monitoring is crucial to preventing youth sex offending. This includes knowing a child’s whereabouts, his/her peer group and the activities in which they routinely engage (Mounts, 2001:101). Parental monitoring and parental support have been shown to increase a youth’s self-esteem which is vital if one considers that low self-esteem is a characteristic prevalent in the lives of young sex offenders (Mounts, 2001:101; White et al., 2006:135). Moreover, parental monitoring has been associated with fewer externalising behaviour problems such as substance abuse and other risky behaviours (Stephenson, Quick & Atkinson, 2005:315). In terms of the incomplete family structure, it follows logically that parental monitoring and support are easier to accomplish if both parents are involved in the child’s life and have knowledge of the friendship group, school activities and the child’s usual behaviour. Respondent P4 said he had free movement during the day because his mother was busy and he had no contact with his father because he was physically abusive. It is possible that his living arrangements had an impact on his offending behaviour because he had no father figure with whom to identify and his mother was not aware of his movements or the friendships he had forged.

### **6.3.2 Substance abuse**

Parents and schools have a shared responsibility in fostering drug-free lifestyles for youth (Soska, 1994). Children learn ethical values and responsibility through modelling (Soska,

1994), therefore parents who have responsible habits and attitudes towards substance use strongly influence their children's perceptions on drugs and alcohol. Research (Resnick, Ireland & Borowsky, 2004:12) has found that teen drinking can be linked to access to alcohol in the home. Moreover, children who have alcoholic parents, or who can easily access alcohol have an increased likelihood of developing their own problems with alcohol abuse (Aufseeser et al., 2006:7). Once more, supervision is of utmost importance. Parents need to know their children's friends and be aware of the activities in which they engage. Moreover, parents need to ensure that children are not unsupervised at parties where underage drinking is becoming more of a problem. It is important to note that a youth's peer group also plays a role in determining whether a youth will abuse alcohol or not (Aufseeser et al., 2006:7). Therefore, it is vital that parents have knowledge of their children's friendship groups and the activities in which they engage.

Education is another key area in which drug usage can be addressed, and it is Soska's (1994) opinion that parents and schools need to provide clear, factual information regarding substances and their effects. Schools are a vital component in combating substance abuse among adolescents (Soska, 1994). Drug prevention strategies can be incorporated into the Life Orientation curriculum at schools. Furthermore, schools by nature provide an organised peer structure in which youth can learn to communicate, develop decision making skills and resist peer pressure (Soska, 1994). There should be a no-use drug and alcohol policy which is strictly adhered to within the school environment and parents and students should sign an agreement regarding how substance usage will be handled at the school. Teams of learners, teachers, administrators parent, and counsellors should be trained to recognise causes and symptoms of substance abuse and to provide advice on intervention strategies (Soska, 1994).

Thompson (1999) states that prevention strategies linked to reducing substance use and deviant behaviour should encourage participation in a band, choir or orchestra because music involvement in particular can reduce the risk of using substances and engaging in antisocial behaviour by up to 86 percent. Activities, such as mastering a musical instrument, which instil a strong sense of discipline, patience and self-control are useful in reducing a youth's risk of using substances.

### **6.3.3 The "culture of violence"**

Thornton, Craft, Dahlberg, Lynch and Baer (2002:41) indicate the parents' interaction with each other as well as their children is a predictive factor for youth violence. Parents therefore

play an integral role in preventing their children becoming violent and also to combating the cycle of violence in SA. Family-based interventions aim to address problematic family interactions and/or practices (Thornton et al., 2002:41). These interventions include educating parents on effective conflict resolution, good communication, child development and factors that can lead to physical and sexual aggression by youth.

As previously stated, violent behaviour, substance abuse, and poor school performance have been linked to risk factors such as child abuse, poverty, inadequate parental relationships and parental substance abuse (Thornton et al., 2002:81). The elimination of these risk factors helps to reduce violence in the home, school and community. Home-based strategies involve bringing community resources to the high-risk family in their home (Thornton et al., 2002:81). Resources such as information, healthcare, and psychological support are offered to help parents function more effectively. Home visits by professionals and volunteers can help expectant mothers to stop using alcohol and other drugs and these visits can improve child-parent relationships. In addition, such visits can minimise abusive disciplinary styles; and can address parents' physical and emotional needs to increase tolerance and decrease frustration, which in turn decreases aggressive tendencies (Thornton, et al., 2002:84). This is relevant to the current study because such strategies could prove vital to minimising violence within the home environment and therefore these strategies have a role to play in breaking the cyclic nature of violence within society.

Peers also have a role in preventing violence. Thornton et al (2002:119) discuss how the social-cognitive strategy can be used to explain youth violence. These authors assert that adolescents who are emotionally or cognitively unprepared for certain situations may react violently, particularly if they have the perception that it is acceptable to do so and that it is an effective response. In order for a child's ability to avoid violent situations to be enhanced, pro-social relationships with peers, improved recognition of behavioural cues, and improved conflict management skills are needed (Thornton et al., 2002:119). Schools can initiate policies and alter their physical surrounding in an attempt to reduce the risk factors for violent behaviour. This type of strategy is based on Bandura's social cognition theory and is reliant on good role models and situations for the youth to imitate. Moreover, it facilitates peer relations and increases social competence so that children can avoid conflict situations, and in the event of such a situation, react in a non-violent, non-threatening manner (Thornton et al., 2002:122). Social-cognitive strategies typically address the following:

- negotiation, critical thinking, and decision making,
- identifying, managing, and coping with feelings, including anger,

- anticipating the consequences of one's aggressive verbal and nonverbal behaviour,
- finding non-violent alternatives to conflict, and
- moral reasoning.

It is thus crucial that schools, parents and communities are all dedicated to the reduction of violence, so that adolescents do not receive mixed messages regarding violent behaviour. In the context of the current study the relevance of this is important because ten of the 19 respondents (53% of the sample) did not feel that they had committed an offence or did not recognise the impact that their behaviour had on their victims. It is the researcher's opinion that a possible reason for this is that these individuals have received mixed messages regarding acceptable and appropriate behaviour. Moreover, according to Dhabicharan (2004) and Vanzant, (2004), the youth in SA are exposed to the belief that sexuality is naturally coercive, and therefore, the "culture of violence" in this country contributes directly to youth sex offending.

### **6.3.4 Pornography and rape myths**

Pornography, specifically "technological pornography", such as Internet and cellphone pornography, is clearly contributing to misguided knowledge about consenting sexual relationships and appropriate sexual behaviour (Brown & Keller, 2000:256; Maughan, 2006:1; Rich, 2003:68-69). Pornography in itself cannot be banned as it is legal for those over the age of 18 years to view sexually explicit material, however, restrictions must be put into place to prevent youth from being exposed to or able to access this potentially damaging material.

Filtering and blocking software has been developed in the information technology industry (Campher, 2006:179), but this is not the case within the cellphone industry. Many cellphones are wireless application protocol (WAP) enabled, or have a function which allows the user to access the Internet from the cellphone. Blocking programmes or a method of age verification needs to be developed to prevent youth from accessing cellphone pornography. Children are using their cellphones to send pornographic pictures of themselves for monetary compensation (Momborg, 2006, Bezuidenhout, 2007:ii; Campher, 2006:147) and they have no control over where those images are posted nor any concept of the fact that once an image is in cyberspace, it is extremely difficult to trace or retract. Thus, stricter punishments need to be imposed on Internet Service Providers (ISPs) that allow minors to access their websites or who allow child pornography to be posted. This is important because as Greenfield (2004:744) explains, pornography and related sexual media has different

meanings for boys and girls. Pornography produced more positive memories and responses, such as arousal and interest, in young males than it did in young females, whose responses were more negative, such as crying and sadness (Greenfield, 2004:744). This discussion is relevant to the current study because often the main focus of sexually explicit material is on physical attributes and sexual pleasure and not on emotional and relational aspects. A possible result of exposure to hardcore pornography is an increase of sexual aggressive tendencies in high-risk males. The respondents in this study had already committed a sex offence and therefore, the importance of limiting youth exposure to sexually explicit material becomes clear.

Education is a vital part of addressing the use of pornography and the acceptance of rape myths because a lack of appropriate sex information has been identified as a contributing factor to youth sex offending. Sex education courses at schools should not only focus on the general anatomy of the male and female body and on the physical changes that occur during puberty, but also on positive sexuality and the issues of consent, equality and coercion (Phaneuf, 1990:4). Furthermore, youth need to be educated on the dangers of sending both sexually explicit messages and pictures.

### **6.3.5 Previous sexual conduct and sexual victimisation**

Research (Hay & Jones, 1994:379; Daro & McCurdy, 1994:405) asserts that successful strategies for addressing child abuse require intervention at all levels of society. The complexity of the problem of child abuse (emotional, physical and sexual) and neglect is reflected in the lack of research on the prevention of such abuse (Bethea, 1999:6). Prevention strategies are difficult to develop because measuring and interpreting the outcomes of child abuse is problematic, and there has been a lack of attention paid to the interacting factors associated with child abuse (Bethea, 1999:6).

Although previous sexual conduct and/or sexual victimisation do increase the risk of a youth resorting to sex offending, it is not the most predictive factor (Ryan, 2000:5). Youth that have been previously abused have specific needs that have to be addressed before treatment can be directed at their own offending behaviour. Those offenders that were victimised need to be supported in accepting and resolving their own feelings about having been abused (Phaneuf, 1990:4). However, the disincentives for boys and young men to disclose their own sexual abuse and to seek help in coping with it are strong in the South African society, where male strength, virility and control are valued (Borowsky et al., 1997:7). This is problematic

because young male victims often act out their own abuse and demonstrates early sexualised behaviour and identification with the offender (Borowsky et al., 1997:7).

Bethea (1999:5) asserts that effective prevention strategies for child abuse require intervention from all levels of society. Prevention of any form of child abuse can be divided into social and individual interventions (Bethea, 1999:8). Social interventions include:

- Increasing the value that society places on children,
- Increasing the economic self-efficacy of families so that children are not exploited for money, and also so that they no longer need to live in poverty, where sexual abuse is rife,
- Enhancing community resources. This is important for the prevention of sexual abuse because children can be monitored and their safety can be better ensured,
- Discouraging the use of violence because this desensitises communities to the reality and consequences of a society characterised by sexual violence,
- Improving medical care and making professionals more accessible to poorer communities,
- Tackling the problem of substance abuse because of the crematory link that can be drawn between drug use and coercive sexual behaviour;
- Increasing the affordability of childcare, so that children are not left unsupervised.

Individual interventions to child abuse, specifically child sexual abuse could include:

- Supporting parents in their parental roles. As described in Bethe (1999:8) parents cannot meet the needs of their children if their own needs are not being met.
- Identifying substance-abusing families – as previously stated, there is a link between substance abuse and sex offending.
- Counselling parents that are both victims and offenders of spousal abuse. This could reduce youth sex offending because exposure to violence has been recognised as a risk factor to the phenomenon of youth sex offending.
- Parents need to be educated on appropriate discipline measures, stress management and child development. Furthermore, knowledge of the warning signs of youth antisocial behaviour is crucial (Bethea, 1999:8).

### **6.3.6 Peer influence**

Research (Marcus, 1996:152) has shown that a coercive interpersonal style which originates within the family has a direct influence over the development of coercive relations with peers, which in turn leads to deviant behaviour. An aggressive child will gravitate towards a sub-group that prizes aggression in order to fulfil his/her need for intimacy and belonging and will

be accepted into such a peer network based on his/her similarity with other members (De Guzman, 2007:1752; Marcus, 1996:153). The problem with this is that they are subjected to pressure for other deviant behaviours. Therefore, in order to address this risk factor, youth sex offenders need to be helped in determining their own positive self-identity. Borowsky et al. (1997:7) found that a crucial resiliency factor for youth sex offenders is a caring relationship with a competent adult. Further, school and family consecutiveness were deemed to be salient protective factors against youth engaging in sexually coercive behaviour. Schools, therefore, play a vital role both in educating youth on appropriate and acceptable sexual behaviour and in providing a sense of belonging to youth so that they do not become part of an antisocial peer group within the community. Teachers, sports coaches, school priests and nursing sisters can all provide the care and attention that a child may not be receiving at home and this can encourage a positive self-identity and the development of empathy.

It is critical that parents recognise that although adolescents' friendships become increasingly important and the social influence of peers intensifies (Smolensky & Appleton Goodman, 2003:179) they still have a crucial support role to play in the lives of their children. Furthermore, relationships with unrelated adults such as teachers, mentors and coaches are also vital influences (Smolensky & Appleton Goodman, 2003:180). Young people need to learn empathy as this serves a reparative function within interpersonal relationships – empathy allows an individual to facilitate conflict resolution without the use of violence. Further, in relation to youth sex offending, the development of empathy allows a youth to recognise the damage being inflicted on the victim. Empathy is important in the final stage of adolescent friendship formation, where intimacy, trust, self-disclosure are present (Marcus, 1996:153). Thus, if a youth sex offender learns to be empathetic, not only does this highlight the negative impact on his victims, but it also allows for the development of friendships which can have a positive, rather than a negative impact on the youth.

De Guzman (2007:1752) highlights that parents, schools and communities must interact to develop effective strategies to guide youth behaviour and to support adolescents in their transition to mature, responsible adults. She further suggests the following strategies to combat peer pressure:

- Nurturing youth's abilities and self-esteem – this allows youth to foster positive peer relationships and deflect peer pressure. This is particularly relevant to the current study because low self-esteem is a predictor to youth sex offending (White et al., 2006:135).

- Encourage positive relationships with significant others – youth can then model their behaviour on positive role models and constructive relationships. Furthermore, this type of relationship provides an avenue for youth to gain advice and guidance and promotes a feeling of worthiness. As previously stated, modelling is a crucial aspect of youth sex offending. Thus, if youth no longer witness and/or experience violence, abusive sexual relationships, substance abuse and peer pressure, then aspects of the possible pathways to sex offending could be removed.
- Encourage diverse relationships – significant others should model an attitude of appreciation for gender, ethnic, religious belief, socio-economic class and sexual identity differences. This allows a youth to accept their personal differences and to be less judgemental. Diverse relationships further expose youth to a variety of beliefs and have an educational purpose. This is important with regards to youth sex offending because the acceptance of rape myths is prevalent as a risk factor in the current study.
- Encouraging the development of an open mind and acceptance of diversity could minimise youth sex offending because youth may question the perceptions of their peers regarding appropriate sexual behaviour. Furthermore, they could learn to accept other individuals' choices and not resort to coercive methods to gain compliance.
- Support a parental education programme – parents need to be educated on the dynamic nature of peer relations and the demands and expectations placed on a youth within the peer network.
- Give youth the skills to recognise negative and/or antisocial behaviour – these skills allow an adolescent to analyse the situation and make an appropriate decision. Teaching an adolescent to analyse according to the “cost versus benefit” principle is useful in preventing a youth from succumbing to peer pressure. The “cost versus benefit” principle could be useful in addressing youth sex offending because this knowledge would allow an adolescent to recognise potential problematic behaviour before he engages therein.
- Teaching youth exit strategies – this entails dealing with possible peer pressure before it occurs. Parents, schools and communities can be involved by discussing potential pressure situations or role playing the situations so that youth are prepared to deal with the situation should it arise. In terms of youth sex offending, exit strategies could prove to be constructive in that youth that engage in sex offending behaviour because of peer pressure could learn how to cope with these pressure situations without succumbing to the demand to commit an offence.

Professionals and caregivers of high-risk youth can be trained to recognise dysfunctional coping strategies and early intervention can prevent these patterns from becoming habitual (Ryan, 2000:5).

### **6.3.7 Future research recommendations**

Sustainable research is needed in all aspects relevant to youth sex offending in order to develop effective treatment programmes and to curb the problem of youth sex offending in SA. It is important to establish the exact nature and extent of youth sex offending in SA so that preventative measures can be put in place. Research into the aetiology of youth sex offending is especially important so that prevention programmes can be established for high-risk youth. Therefore, specific factors, particularly new risk factors such as the impact of music lyrics need to be investigated. Furthermore, research on the impact of attachment and family relationships on the committing of a sexual offence by a child needs to be conducted in SA. Controversial risk factors, such as substance abuse and pornography also need to be further researched so that conclusions can be drawn as to whether these are in fact risk factors or if they simply act as disinhibitors to sex offending. It is the researcher's opinion that research needs to be focused on methods for early identification of youth displaying aggressive and/or sexually deviant behaviour in order to interrupt the cycle of sexual violence which permeates South African society.

### **6.4 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS**

The literature review and theoretical contextualisation exemplifies that sex offending is experienced as confusing and disquieting by both those that commit sex offences and those that are victimised. The literature review also provided the researcher the opportunity to glean some understanding of the extent of youth sex offending, high risk youth, the dynamic nature of this offending behaviour and possible treatment methods.

In the current study, the researcher's findings were consistent with those of other researchers (Bourgon et al., 2005:16; Calder, 2001:3; Hunter, 2000; Miner et al., 2006:3; Rich, 2006:195; Serrao, 2004:1; Smith et al., 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 ("hands on" or "hands off") and levels (level 1, 2, or 3) 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 was previously sexually victimised could sexually act out his experience.

The literature review revealed various risk factors that can be associated with youth sex offending. 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. Importantly, 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. It is the researcher's opinion that sex education needs to extend beyond information sessions about male and female anatomy, menstruation, sexually transmitted diseases and pregnancy to include the broader subject matter of relationships, respect and responsibility for others. This would allow misconceptions regarding sex and sexual relationships to be dispelled, thus reducing the acceptance of rape myths. Furthermore, more elaborate and detailed education would allow youth to develop with clear, age-appropriate ideas about sex and emotionally satisfying relationships.

Importantly, these factors also impact on the youth's psychosexual and psychosocial development. For this reason, the researcher chose to use Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic theory to clarify the influence of certain risk factors on youth development. The researcher also made use of Erik Erikson's psychosocial theory and Albert Bandura's social cognition theory to explain how these aspects impact on the psychosocial development of the adolescent. Due to the fact that this study was focused specifically on risk factors associated with youth sex offending, the researcher chose to incorporate two integrated theories (William Marshall and Howard Barbaree's integrated theory and Neil Malamuth's confluence model) concerned with sex offending into the theoretical approach on which the study was based. Theories are important to provide a conceptual space for problem identification and investigation (Ward et al., 2006:332). The researcher believes that it is important to note that there is no one theory that can explain the phenomenon of youth sex offending. As Ward et al. (2006:331) state, it is possible to refine and assess different theories, however, perhaps an attempt to explain youth sex offending would be a global exposition of all aspects relating to this phenomenon.

The researcher concludes that 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 (Smith et al.,

2005:100). As such, future research efforts should endeavour to contribute to the overall understanding of the phenomenon of youth sex offending. Thus, research needs to focus on stipulating the origin of youth sex offenders' risks and problems by isolating predetermining differences (Ziebert, 2006:9). Moreover, it is vital that specific factors that explain why some high risk youth do not engage in sexually coercive behaviour are identified. Having-so-said, the researcher recognises the difficulty of this task, since youth who have increased adaptability skills often avoid being involved in the CJS. The result of this is that to a large extent they remain "invisible" and are thus unavailable as respondents. While this study is deemed valuable and contributes to the body of criminological knowledge, it has to be noted that the literature review and theoretical discussion can only speculate on the myriad of factors, the interrelationships of these factors and implications of such factors on a developing adolescent.

## **6.5 ACKNOWLEDGED LIMITATIONS**

- While there is some South African research regarding youth sex offending and assessments of treatment programmes, for example SAYStOP, there is not enough research for it to be regarded as significant. Therefore, the researcher had to rely mainly on international sources, media reports and expert opinions.
- The data collected on risk factors associated with youth sex offending cannot be generalised to the entire population of youth sex offenders because confounding variables, such as socio-economic status, and specific individual differences, such as attachment and self esteem could not be taken into account. Furthermore, the researcher did not distinguish between the different types of offences such as rape, sexual assault and verbal coercion because of the difficulty in securing respondents.
- The study cannot necessarily be generalised because it focuses only on diverted and awaiting trial youths and not on those already in custody.
- It was difficult to ascertain the actual extent of youth sex offending in SA because there are no statistics relating solely to youth because the SAPS do not differentiate between adult and youth perpetrators of sex offences. Thus the researcher had to rely on literature and educated guesses by experts rather than official statistics.
- The study relies on self-report data. Three possible problems were experienced, namely: a clear understanding of the questions (three of the 19 respondents [16% of the sample] needed to have the interview translated), recalling specific information (youth in this study were required to recall sensitive information about their home environments, substance abuse, and previous physical and sexual abuse) and finally respondents' hesitation at reporting another illegal action (this could be due to respondents being afraid of getting into

more trouble with the law, or within the intervention programmes in which they are involved).

## **6.6 ACHIEVEMENT OF THE AIMS OF THIS STUDY**

The achievement of the aims as delineated in paragraph 1.6.2 will now be discussed.

### **6.6.1 DETERMINATION OF RISK FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO YOUTH SEX OFFENDING AS IDENTIFIED BY YOUTH SEX OFFENDERS**

The first aim of this study was to determine risk factors contributing to youth sex offending as identified by youth sex offenders themselves. The risk factors which were included in the semi-structured interview schedule were factors which have been researched before. Factors such as those discussed in paragraph 2.2.2 also proved to be prevalent in the lives of the youth sex offenders interviewed in this study. The acceptance of rape myths also proved to be a factor in the commission of sex offences within this sample. The most pertinent risk factors identified by the respondents in the current study are substance abuse, pornography and peer pressure. The fact that the respondents indicated specific reasons for their offending behaviour indicates that the researcher achieved this aim.

### **6.6.2 COMPREHENSION OF THESE RISK FACTORS THROUGH A THOROUGH LITERATURE REVIEW**

The second aim of the current study was to gain an understanding of the risk factors through a thorough literature review. It is the researcher's opinion that the literature review served as a useful guide in developing the unstructured interview schedule. The researcher gained an understanding of both individual and social risk factors that play a role in youth sex offending. Furthermore, the researcher gleaned an understanding into the complex pathways that lead to youth sex offending. Considering the dearth in available sources on this topic the researcher still managed to consult a significant body of scientific resources in this study. The researcher is therefore of the opinion that this aim was achieved.

### **6.6.3 DESCRIPTION OF THESE RISK FACTORS AND POSSIBLE WAYS OF ADDRESSING THEM**

The third aim of the research was to describe the risk factors associated with youth sex offending and the possible ways of addressing these risk factors. The beginning of this chapter served to describe the risk factors that the youth in this study identified as contributory to their offending behaviour. These risk factors were related to current literature

and both similarities and discrepancies between the literature and current study were highlighted. Furthermore, the risk factors were also discussed with relation to the theories outlined in Chapter 3. Paragraph 6.2 of this chapter demarcated possible ways to address these risk factors. The researcher is of the opinion that this discussion and the recommendations offered in paragraph 6.2 fulfil the requirements of this aim and therefore the aim has been achieved.

#### **6.6.4 PRODUCTION OF A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH REPORT ON RISK FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO YOUTH SEX OFFENDING**

The last aim of this study was to produce a qualitative research report on the risk factors that contribute to youth sex offending. This document serves as this qualitative research report and therefore, the researcher has achieved this aim.

#### **6.7 VALUE OF THE STUDY**

Bower (2000) asserts that early intervention in sex offending behaviour is crucial because youth are possibly more accessible and responsive to treatment and such intervention can prevent a deviant sexual cycle from being developed. The current study highlighted risk factors which can be used in developing a strategy to identify high risk youth before an offence is committed. Furthermore, this study is valuable in that the individual needs that the respondents in this study identified can be taken into account during treatment.

This study is also valuable in that the findings of this study can offer insight in terms of preventing youth sex offending. Firstly, youth that are at risk of engaging in sexually coercive behaviour can be identified by examining their histories for factors such as family structure and violence, substance use, previous sexual victimisation and peer influences over the youth. The possible methods of addressing the risk factors identified in this study could contribute to the role that those involved with the youth of this country play in primary prevention through encouraging protective factors for example, structured activities and increased self-esteem through academic or sporting achievements. Furthermore, this research is of value because as discussed in Chapter 2, there are certain risk factors that are specific to South African youth and this study has helped to identify certain of these factors, for example the culture of violence present in South African society.

Lastly, the risk factors identified in this study provide an educational basis about youth sex offending for all those involved with young people. Thus, it is the researcher's opinion that this study will contribute to the existing body of knowledge with regard to the youth sex

offender, although it is acknowledged that the information is forthcoming from a qualitative, micro-level study.

## **6.8 CONCLUSION**

The complex nature of youth sex offending and the interactive risk factors that contribute to youth sex offending have been explicated in this chapter. Moreover, the theories which were highlighted in Chapter 3 have proved to add value to the discussion of risk factors associated with youth sex offending and not only to the discussion of youth sex offending itself. Various methods for addressing the identified risk factors have been delineated, but the researcher recognises that many more suggestions could be viable when attempting to prevent these risk factors and therefore impacting on the phenomenon of youth sex offending. While there is much research still needed to address this problem and to give youth sex offenders the best chance of changing their behaviour; the researcher trusts that this study has added some insight and understanding into the phenomenon and further hopes that it may be used to target high-risk youth and also to contribute in some way to the development of intervention and treatment programmes by practitioners. It is also hoped that this study will stimulate further research and macro-level studies in order to be able to generalise the findings in the future.

## REFERENCES

- Adolescent Sex Offenders*. 1997. [O]. Available: [http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/ncfv-cnivf/familyviolence/html/nfntsxadolinfractions\\_e.html](http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/ncfv-cnivf/familyviolence/html/nfntsxadolinfractions_e.html) Accessed on 2005/04/18.
- Akdeniz, Y. 1997. Governance of Pornography and Child Pornography on the Global Internet: A Multi-Layered Approach. In Edwards, L. & Waelde, C. (Eds.). *Law and the Internet: Regulating Cyberspace*. Leeds: Hart Publishing.
- Aljazireh, L. 1993. Historical, environmental, and behavioural correlates of sexual offending by male adolescents: A critical review. *Behavioural Sciences and Law*, 11, 423- 440.
- 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.
- Anderson, C. A., & Anderson, K. B. 2008. Men who target women: Specificity of target, generality of aggressive behaviour. *Aggressive behaviour*, 34, 605-622.
- Andersson, N., Mhatre, S., Nzwakie, M., & Penderis, M. 2000. *Beyond victims and villains: The culture of sexual violence in South Johannesburg*. Johannesburg: CIETAfrica.
- Andrew, M. & Mhlongo, A. 2006. School's sex shame. *Daily News*, 4 September. [O]. Available:[http://www.dailynews.co.za/general/print\\_article.php?fArticleId=3424195](http://www.dailynews.co.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=3424195) . Accessed on 2008/01/29.
- Andrews, D. A., Bonta, J., & Hoge, R. D. 1990. Classification for effective rehabilitation: Rediscovering psychology. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, 1(7), 19-52.
- Angenent, H., & De Man, A. 1996. *Background factors of juvenile delinquency*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Aufseeser D, Jekielek S, & Brown B. 2006. *The Family Environment and Adolescent Well-Being: Exposure to Positive and Negative Family Influences*. Washington, D.C.: Child Trends.
- Awad, G.A., & Saunders, E. 1989. Adolescent child molesters: *Clinical observations*. *Child Psychiatry and Human Development*, 19, 195-206.
- Awad, G.A., Saunders, E., & Levene, J. 1984. A clinical study of male adolescent sexual offenders. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 28(1), 107.
- Babbie, E. 1990. *Survey research methods*. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Babbie, E. 2005. *The basics of social research* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Canada: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Bailey, K.D. 1987. *Methods of social research* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). New York: The Free Press.
- Bailey, K.D. 1994. *Methods of social research* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). New York: The Free Press.
- Bailey, S. 2000. Sadistic, sexual, and violent acts in the young. In Itzen, C. (Ed.). *Home truths about child sexual abuse: Influencing policy and practice*. London: Routledge.

- Baker, J. 1998. *Juveniles in Crime - Part 1: Participation Rates and Risk Factors*. New South Wales: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research and NSW Crime Prevention Division.
- Bandura, A. 1997. *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York: W. H. Freeman.
- Barbaree, H. E., & Langton, C. M. 2006. The effects of child sexual abuse and family environment. In Barbaree, H. E., & Marshall, W. L. (Eds.). *The juvenile sex offender* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York: Guilford Press
- Barbaree, H. E., & Marshall, W. L. 2006. An introduction to the juvenile sex offender: Terms, concepts, and definitions. In Barbaree, H. E., & Marshall, W. L. (Eds.). *The juvenile sex offender* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York: Guilford Press.
- Barlow, H. D., & Ferdinand, T. N. 1992. *Understanding delinquency*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Bartol, C. R. 2002. *Criminal behaviour: A psychosocial approach*. (6<sup>th</sup> ed.). New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Bartollas, C. 1997. *Juvenile delinquency* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon
- Bartollas, C. 2000. *Juvenile delinquency* (5<sup>th</sup> ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Basile K.C., & Saltzman L.E. *Sexual violence surveillance: uniform definitions and recommended data elements version 1.0*. Atlanta: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control. [O]. Available: [www.cdc.gov/ncipc/pub-res/sv\\_surveillance/sv.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/ncipc/pub-res/sv_surveillance/sv.htm) Accessed on 2006/08/12
- Becker, J.V., Cunningham-Rathner, J., & Kaplan, M.S. 1986. Adolescent sexual offenders: Demographics, criminal and sexual histories, and recommendations for reducing future offenses. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 1, 431-435.
- Beckner, H.M. 2005. Attachment theory as a predictor of female aggression. Texas: Texas A&M University (DPhil Thesis).
- Benshoff, J.J., & Janikowski, T.P. 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/AFPIBerryKristenPornographyAndYouthInnocenseLost.doc](http://www.atlantafamilypsychiatry.com/AFPIBerryKristenPornographyAndYouthInnocenseLost.doc) Accessed on 2009/01/18
- Bethea, L. 1999. Primary prevention of child abuse. *American Family Physician*, 59(6): 1577-1598.
- Beystehner, K.N. 1998. *Psychoanalysis: Freud's Revolutionary Approach to Human Personality*. [O] Available: <http://www.personalityresearch.org/papers/beystehner.html> Accessed on 2009/04/22
- Bezuidenhout, C. 2003. Introduction and terminology dilemma. In Bezuidenhout, C. & Joubert, S. (Eds.), *Child and youth misbehaviour in South Africa: A holistic view*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

- Bezuidenhout, C. 2007. Are we fighting a losing battle against crime? *Acta Criminologica*, 20(4), i-vii.
- Bezuidenhout, C. 2008. Historical perspective. In Bezuidenhout, C. & Joubert, S. (Eds.) *Child and youth misbehaviour in South Africa: A holistic view* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Bezuidenhout, C. 2008. Personal communication to Tara Harris, August 2008.
- Binder, A., & Geis, G. 1983. *Methods of research in criminology and criminal justice*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Bischof, G. P., Stith, S. M., & Whitney, M. L. 1995. Family environments of adolescent sex offenders and other juvenile delinquents. *Adolescence*, 4-8.
- Bless, C., & Higson-Smith, C. 2000. *Fundamentals of social research methods: An African perspective* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Cape Town: Juta.
- Booyens, K. 2003. Introduction and terminology dilemma. In Bezuidenhout, C. & Joubert, S. (Eds.), *Child and youth misbehaviour in South Africa: A holistic view*. Pretoria: VanSchaik Publishers.
- Booyens, K., Beukman, B., & Bezuidenhout, C. 2008. The nature and extent of child and youth misbehaviour. In Bezuidenhout, C. & Joubert, S. (Eds.), *Child and youth misbehaviour in South Africa: A holistic view*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Borowsky, I.W., Hogan, M., & Ireland, M. 1997. Adolescent sexual aggression: Risk and protective factors. *Pediatrics*, 100(6), 7-17.
- Boswell, G. 1996. *Violent children and adolescents: Asking the question why*. London Whurr Publishers, Ltd.
- Boswell, G., & Wedge, P. 2003. A pilot evaluation of therapeutic community for adolescent male sexual abusers. *Therapeutic Communities*, 24(4), 259-260.
- Botha, A., van Ede, D. M., Louw, A. E., Louw, D. A., & Ferns, I. 1998. Early childhood. In Louw, D. A. van Ede, D. M., & Louw, A. E. (Eds.). *Human development* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Cape Town: Kagiso Tertiary.
- Bourgon, G., Morton-Bourgon, K.E., & Madrigano, G. 2005. Multisite investigation of treatment of sexually abusive juveniles. In Schwartz, B.K. (Ed.). *The sex offender: Issues in assessment, treatment and supervision of adult and juvenile populations: Volume V*. Kingston, NJ: Civic Research Institute.
- Bower, C. 2000. Becoming part of the solution. ChildrenFIRST 32 [O]. Available: <http://www.childrenfirst.org.za/shownewa?mode=content&id=21155&refto=4018>  
Accessed on 2005/04/08
- Boyles, J. 2007. *Influences on juvenile sexual offending: Individual versus environmental predictors*. Bowling Green: Graduate College of Bowling Green State University (MA Dissertation).
- Breer, W. 1987. *The adolescent monster*. Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. 1991 What do families do? *Family Affairs* 4(1-2):1-6.

- 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, J.D., & Keller, S.N. 2000. Can the mass media be healthy sex educators? *Family Planning Perspectives, 32*, 255-256.
- Brumer H. 1969. *Symbolic interactionism: Perspectives and method*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Burton, D. L. 2008. An Exploratory evaluation of the contribution of personality and childhood sexual victimization to the development of sexually abusive behavior. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment, 20(1)*, 102-115.
- Burton, P. 2008. Learning to fear, fearing to learn: Measuring the extent of school violence. *SA Crime Quarterly, 26*, 15-20.
- Calder, M. C. 2001. *Juveniles and children who sexually abuse: Frameworks for assessment (3<sup>rd</sup> 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).
- Canham, T. 2006. Child rape: Shock figures. *Sunday Tribune*, 1 October. [O]. Available: [http://www.sundaytribune.co.za/general/print\\_article.php?fArticleId=3465796](http://www.sundaytribune.co.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=3465796)  
Accessed on 2008/01/30
- 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: 2008/04/12
- Center for Sex Offender Management. 2000. *Myths and Facts about Sex Offender* Silver Spring: MD.
- Chaffin, M., Boner, B., & Pierce, K. 2002. What research shows about adolescent sex offenders.[O].Available: [http://www.ndaa.org/publications/newsletter/in\\_re\\_volume\\_5\\_number\\_2\\_2002.htm](http://www.ndaa.org/publications/newsletter/in_re_volume_5_number_2_2002.htm)  
I Accessed on 2006/04/09
- Chapman, E., & Smith, J. E. 2002. Interpretive phenomenological analysis and the new genetics. *Journal of Health Psychology, 7(2)*, 125-130.
- Children's Services Practice Notes 2002. *Working with juvenile sex offenders*. [O]. Available: <http://www.sowo.unc.edu/fcrp/Cspn/cspn.htm> Accessed on 2006/05/06
- CIETafrica. 2000. *Beyond victims and villains: Sexual violence surveys 1997-2000*. South Johannesburg.

- Clagett, A. 1988. Theoretical consideration of integrating social structure into symbolic interactionism: Selected methodological insights. *Social Behavior and Personality: An International Journal*, 16(1):97-108.
- 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](http://www.kidsintheknow.ca/PDFS/impact_of_viewing.pdf) Accessed 2008/08/16
- Cooper, C.L., Murphy, W.D., & Haynes, M.R. 1996. Characteristics of abused and nonabused adolescent sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 8(2), 105-119.
- Condrin, D. 2004. Teens' sense of self to alcohol, drug use and sex. *PR Newswire*, 6(15): 14-28.
- Creswell, J. W. 1998. *Qualitative inquiry and research designs: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Dahlberg, L. 1998. Youth violence in the United States: Major trends risk factors and preventive approaches. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 14, (4): 259- 272.
- Daro D., & McCurdy K. 1994. Preventing child abuse and neglect: programmatic interventions. *Child Welfare*. 73(5), 405-430.
- Davis, D., & Clifton, A. 1995. *Psychosocial Theory: Erikson*. [O]. Available: <http://www.haverford.edu/psych/ddavis/p109g/erikson.stages.html>. Accessed on 2008/07/25
- De Guzman, M. R. T. 2007. *Friendships, peer influence, and peer pressure during the teen years*. Nebraska: University of Nebraska – Lincoln Extension, Institute of Agriculture and Natural Resources.
- De Vos, A.S. 1998. Qualitative data analysis and interpretation. In De Vos, A.S. (Ed.); Strydom, H.; Fouché, C.B. & Delpont, C.S.L. *Research at grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- De Vos, A.S. 2005. Qualitative data analysis and interpretation. In De Vos, A.S. (Ed.); Strydom, H.; Fouché, C.B. & Delpont, C.S.L. *Research at grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- De Wet, C. 2003. Eastern Cape educators perceptions of the causes and the scope of school violence. *Acta Criminologica*, 16(3), 89-106.
- De Wet, N. C., Jacobs, L., & Palm-Forster, T. I. 2008. Sexual harassment in Free State schools: An exploratory study. *Acta Criminologica*, 21(1), 97-122.
- Delpont, C.S.L., & Fouché, C.B. 2005. The place of theory and the literature review in the qualitative approach to research. In De Vos, A.S. (Ed.); Strydom, H.; Fouché, C.B. & Delpont, C.S.L. *Research at grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Denton, R. E., & Kampfe, C. M. 1994. The relationship between family variables and adolescent substance abuse: A literature review. *Adolescence*, 29. Available:

<http://www.questia.com/googleScholar.qst;jsessionid=J6rRJ7JhRBWd1PsyBdvNXLTtHyr7PtdvYglwWCJpcvrhTskBWp!1083457915!1477775285?docId=500022605>  
Accessed on 2009/06/23

- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.). 1994. *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Department of Child Justice 2003. *Child justice bill synopsis*. [O]. Available: <http://www.childjustice.org.za.departmentdocs/Synopsis.doc>  
Accessed on 2006/04/30
- Department of Correctional Services. 2007. *Inmates per crime category as on the last day of 2007/01*. [O]. Available: <http://www.dcs.gov.za/WebStatistics/child-18.aspx>  
Accessed on 2007/03/03
- Department of Social Development. 2003. *What can communities do to break the cycle of violence?* Pretoria: Government Printer.
- 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.
- DiCristina, B. 1995. *Method in criminology*. New York: Harrow & Henson.
- Dishion, T. J., Andrews, D. M., & Crosby, L. 1995. Antisocial boys and their friends in early adolescence: Relationship characteristics, quality, and interactional process. *Child development*, 66, 139-151.
- Dishion, T.J., Capaldi, D., Spracklen, K., & Li, F. 1995. Peer ecology of male adolescent drug use. *Development and Psychopathology*, 7, 803-824.
- Dorfman, L., & Schiraldi, V. 2001. *Youth, race and crime in the news*. Washington, DC: Building Blocks for Youth.
- Du Plessis J.V., Fouchè M.A., & Van Wyk M,W. 1998. *A practical guide to labour law* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Durban: Butterworths
- Du Toit, Y.A. 1998. *'n Kriminologiese ondersoek na die aard en impak van pornografie gebaseer op 'n gemeenskaptoleransiemodel*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria. (PhD Dissertation).
- Du Toit, C. 2006. A measure of last resort? Child offenders and life imprisonment. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 17: 13 -18.
- Dube, D. J., 2007. *Social factors influencing adolescent drug abuse in high schools in Atteridgeville*. Pretoria: Tshwane University of Technology (MA Thesis).
- 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
- Ehlers, L., & Wood, C. 2001. *Towards a viable diversion programme for young sex offenders in South Africa*. Working paper, Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town.
- Ehlers, L., Madotyeni, Z., & Wood, C. 2000. *South African young sex offenders project*. [O] Available: <http://web.utc.ac.za/depts/criminology/saystop.htm> Accessed on 2005/04/09.
- Epps, K.J. 1997 Managing risk. In Hoghugh, M., Bhate, S. R., & Graham, F. (Eds.), *Working with sexually abusive adolescents* London: Sage Publications.
- Erikson, E.H. 1956. The problem of ego identity. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytical Association*, 4, 56-121.
- Erikson, E. H. 1959. Identity and the life cycle. *Psychological Issues Monograph* 1(1). New York: International Universities Press.
- Erikson, E.H. 1963. *Childhood and society*. New York: Norton.
- Erikson, E.H. 1968. *Identity, youth and crisis*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Erikson, E.H. 1970. Reflections on the dissent of contemporary youth. *Daedalus*, 99, 154-176.
- 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.
- Fagan, J., & Wilkinson, D. L. 1998. Social contexts and functions of adolescent violence. In Elliot, D. S., Hamburg, B. A., & Williams, K. R. (Eds.). *Violence in American schools*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Family Preservation Project*. [O]. Available: [www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/discuss/fampol2l.html?rebookmark=1](http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/discuss/fampol2l.html?rebookmark=1) Accessed on 2008/01/22
- Finkelhor, D. 1979. *Sexually victimized children*. New York: Free Press.
- Finkelhor, D. 1990. Early and long-term effects of child sexual abuse: An update. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 21(5), 325-330.
- Ford, M.E., & Linney, J.A. 1995. Comparative analysis of juvenile sex offenders, violent nonsexual offenders and status offenders. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 10, 56-70.
- Fouché, C.B. 2005. Qualitative research designs. In De Vos, A.S. (Ed.); Strydom, H.; Fouché, C.B. & Delpont, C.S.L. *Research at grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

- Fouché, C.B., & Delport. 2005. Introduction to the research process. In De Vos, A.S. (Ed.); Strydom, H.; Fouché, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L. *Research at grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Franiuk, R., Seefeldt, J. L., & Vandello, J. A. 2008. Prevalence of rape myths in headlines and their effects on attitude towards rape. *Sex roles* 58, 790-801.
- Freud, S. 1949. *An outline of psychoanalysis*. New York: Norton.
- Friedrich, W.N. 1997. In Araji, S. K.(Ed.). *Sexually aggressive children: Coming to understand them*. London: Sage Publications.
- Funari, S. K. 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).
- Gallinetti, J. 2009. *Getting to know the Child Justice Act*. University of the Western Cape: The Child Justice Alliance.
- Gannon, T.A., Ward, T., & Polaschek, D. L. L. 2004. Child sexual offenders. In Connolly M. (Ed.), *Violence in society: New Zealand Perspectives*. Christchurch: Te Awatea Press.
- Garcia, I.F. 1998. Bullying and violence in Spain. [O]. Available: <http://www.gold.ac.uk/euconf/posters/spain.html>. Accessed on 2009/05/14
- George, E., & Finberg, A. 2001. *Scared at school: Sexual violence against girls in South African schools*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Gerretsen, B. 2007. Sex offence stats indict children. *Mercury*, 27 April. [O]. Available: [http://www.themercury.co.za/general/print\\_article.php?fArticleId=3803167](http://www.themercury.co.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=3803167) Accessed on 2008/01/30
- Gill, A. 2002. *Sigmund Freud (1856-1938)*. [O] Available: <http://www.hull.ac.uk/php/cetag/2dfreud.htm> Accessed on 2009/05/14
- Gmel, G., & Rehm, J. 2003. *Harmful alcohol use*. [O]. Available: [www.niaaa.nih.gov/publications/arh27-1/52-62.htm](http://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
- Gouws, E., & Kruger, N. 1994. *The adolescent: An educational perspective*. Pretoria: Butterworth.
- Grant, A. 2000. The historical development of treatment for adolescent sex offenders. *Australian Institute of Criminology: Trends and issues in crime and criminal justice*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology

- Gravetter, F. J., & Forzano, L. B. 2003. *Research methods for behavioural sciences*. Belmont: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.
- Graziano, A. M., & Raulin, M. L. 2000. *Research methods: a process of inquiry*. (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Greeff, M. 2005. Information collection: Interviewing. In De Vos, A.S. (Ed.); Strydom, H.; Fouché, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L. *Research at grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Greenfield, P. M. 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.
- Groth, A. N. 1979. *Men who Rape: The psychology of the offender*. New York: Plenum.
- Grotmeter, J. K., & Elliott, D. S. 2002. *Violent sexual offending*. Boulder, CO: Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence.
- Hagan F. 2001. *Research methods in criminal justice and criminology*. Singapore: Allyn & Bacon.
- Hamburg, M.A. 1998. Youth violence is a public health concern. In Elliot, D. S., Hamburg, B. A., & Williams, K. R. (Eds.). *Violence in American schools*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hartman, J. R. 1997. *Institutionalizing juveniles: An analysis for social disorganization controlling for arrest rates*. Virginia: Virginia State University (MA Dissertation).
- Hartmann, D. 2008. High school sports participation and educational attainment: Recognising, assessing and utilising the relationship. *Report to the LA84 Foundation*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota.
- Hay T., & Jones L. 1994. Societal interventions to prevent child abuse and neglect. *Child Welfare*. 73(5), 379-403.
- Hesselink\_Louw, A.E. 2001. 'n Viktimologiese ondersoek na vroulike kindersekswerkers met spesifieke verwysing na Gauteng. Pretoria: University of Pretoria (MA Dissertation).
- 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](http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_mo978/is_n3_v24/ai_21154249)  
Accessed on 2005/03/15
- Hjelle, L.A., & Ziegler, D.J. 1981. *Personality theories: Basic assumptions, research and applications* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Auckland: McGraw-Hill.
- Hoffman, L. 2005. Freud's Theories About Sex As Relevant as Ever. *Psychiatric News* 40(15), 18–19.
- Hoghugh, M. 1997. Sexual abuse by adolescents. In Hoghugh, M.; Bhate, S. R.; & Graham, F. (Eds.), *Working with sexually abusive adolescents*. London: Sage Publications.

- Holleran, L.K., & Waller, I. 2003. Sources of resilience among Chicano/a youth: Forging identity in the borderlands. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 20(5): 325-350.
- Hollin, C. R. 2002. Criminological psychology. In Maguire, M.; Morgon, R.; & Reiner. R. (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of criminology* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Holliday, A. 2002. *Doing and writing qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Hunter, J. A. 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, J. A. 2000. Understanding youth sex offenders: research findings & guidelines for effective management & treatment. *Youth Justice Fact Sheet*. Charlottesville,VA: Institute of Law, Psychiatry, & Public Policy, University of Virginia.
- Hunter, J.A., Lexier, L.J., Goodwin, D.W., Browne, P.A., & 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.
- Huysamen, G.K. 1993. *Methodology for the social and behavioural sciences*. Pretoria: Southern Books.
- Janesick, V. J. 1994. The dance of qualitative research design. In Denzin, K. N., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Johnson, G. M., & Knight, R. A. 2000. Developmental antecedents of sexual coercion in juvenile sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research & Treatment*, 12,165-178.
- Kennedy, M. 2006. *A guide to interview guides*. [O]. Available: <http://ed-web3.educ.msu.edu/digitaladvisor/Research/interviewing.htm> Accessed on 2008/08/08
- Keown, K. 2008. *What were they thinking? An investigation into child sex offenders' beliefs*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington. (PhD Thesis).
- Kipke, M. D. 1999. *Risks and opportunities: Synthesis of studies on adolescence*. Washington D.C: National Academies Press.
- Kleder, M. 2001. *Sexually explicit media and children*. Available: <http://www.cwfa.org/printerfriendly.asp?id=148&department=cfi&categoryid=cfreport>. Accessed 2008/08/16
- Koch, R., & Wood, C. 2002. *Case studies of children with experience of the criminal justice system in South Africa*. Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town.
- Kopper, B. A., 1996. Gender, gender identity, rape myth acceptance, and time of initial resistance on the perception of acquaintance rape blame and avoidability. *Sex roles: A Journal of Research* 34(1-2), 1-10.
- Kvale, S. 1996. *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: Sage Publications.

- Lab, S.P. 2000. *Crime prevention: approaches, practices and evaluations*. (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing Co.
- Lahey, J.F. 1994. The profile and treatment of male adolescent sex offenders. *Adolescence*, 29(116), 2-9.
- Lahey, J. F. 2004. *Beware the child: A journey with adolescent sex offenders*. AuthorHouse
- Lawrence, B., & Janse van Rensburg, K. 2006. Forms of sexual abuse and practical implications of applying South African law to sexual offences cases. In Spies, G. M. (Ed.). *Sexual abuse: Dynamics, assessment and healing*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Leggett, T., Louw, A., & Parry, C. 2002. Drugs and crime in South Africa: A study in three cities. *Monograph No 69: Implication for Drugs Policy*. [O]. Available: <http://www.issafrika.org/PUBS/MONOGRAPHS/No69/Chap5.html> Accessed on 2006/05/18.
- List of Government Services*. 2004. [O]. Available: <http://www.gautengonline.gov.za/Services/main?fa=services&action=serviceitem&operation=DETAILS&id=243> Accessed on 2008/08/04
- Lofland, J., & Lofland, L.H. 1995. *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis*. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Louw, L. 2008 The impact of HIV/Aids on the participation of children in crime. In Bezuidenhout, C. & Joubert, S. (Eds.), *Child and youth misbehaviour in South Africa: A holistic view* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Lovinger, D. 1995. *In a word, today's rock, rap and lyrics can be just plain nasty*. Available: <http://www.southcoasttoday.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/19950523/NEWS/70308028/-1/SPECIAL11> Accessed 2008/08/16
- Lundrigan, P.S. 2001. *Treating youth who sexually abuse: An integrated multi-component approach*. New York: The Haworth Press.
- Lupu, A. 2006. *Teenagers listening to vulgar music have sex earlier*. Available: <http://news.softpedia.com/newsPDF/Teenagers-Listening-to-Vulgar-Music-Have-Sex-Earlier-32233.pdf> Accessed: 2008/08/16
- Maderthamer, N. 2005. *Significant factors contributing to youth offending*. Pretoria: University of South Africa (MA Dissertation).
- Makkai, T., & Payne, J. 2005. Illicit drug use and offending histories: A study of male incarcerated offenders in Australia. *Probation journal* 52(2):153-168
- Malamuth, N. M. 1996. The confluence model of sexual aggression: Feminist and evolutionary perspectives. In Buss, D. M., & Malamuth, N. M. (Eds.), *Sex, power, conflict: Evolutionary and feminist perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Males, M., & Macallair, D. n.d. *The color of justice: An analysis of juvenile adult court transfers in California*. [O] Available:

[http://www.jjpl.org/Publications\\_JJ\\_InTheNews/JuvenileJusticeSpecialReports/BY/colorofjustice/coj.html](http://www.jjpl.org/Publications_JJ_InTheNews/JuvenileJusticeSpecialReports/BY/colorofjustice/coj.html) Accessed on 2009/05/13

- Marano, H.E. 1997. *Rescuing marriages before they begin*. New York Times, 28 May p.2
- Marcus, R.F. 1996. The friendships of delinquents. *Adolescence*, 31(121), 145-158.
- Maree, A. 2003. Criminogenic risk factors for youth offenders. In Bezuidenhout, C. & Joubert, S. (Eds.), *Child and youth misbehaviour in South Africa: A holistic view*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Maree, A. 2008. Criminogenic risk factors. In Bezuidenhout, C. & Joubert, S. (Eds.), *Child and youth misbehaviour in South Africa: A holistic view (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Martens, M.P., Page, J.C., Mowry, E.S., Damann, K.I., Taylor, K.K., & Cimini, M.D. 2006. Differences between actual and perceived student norms: an examination of alcohol use, drug use, and sexual behaviour. *Journal of American College Health*. 54(5), 295-309.
- Martino, S. C., Collins, R. L., Elliott, M. N., Strachman, A., Kanouse, D. E., & Berry, S. H. 2006. Exposure to Degrading Versus Nondegrading Music Lyrics and Sexual Behavior Among Youth. *Pediatrics*, 118(2), 430-441.
- 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.
- Maxfield, M.G., & Babbie, E. 1995. *Research for criminal justice and criminology*. California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Mayas, G. M., Currie, E. F., Macleod, L., Gillies, J. B., & Warden, D. A. 1992. *Child sexual abuse: A review of literature and educational materials*. Scotland: Academic Press.
- Mbambo, B. 2002. *Child justice project*. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- McBurney, D.H. 2001. *Research methods*. London: Wadsworth Thomson.
- McClelland, K. 2000. *Theoretical perspectives in Sociology: Symbolic interactionism*. [O]. Available: <http://web.grinnell.edu/courses/soc/s00/soc11101/IntroTheories/IntroTheoriesIndex.html> Accessed on 2008/08/02
- McClelland, G. M., Teplin, L. A., & Abram, K. M. 2004. *Detection and prevalence of substance use among juvenile detainees*. [O] Available: [www.ncjrs.gov//203934.pdf](http://www.ncjrs.gov//203934.pdf) Accessed 2009/07/29

- McClinton, N. 2004. The influence of selected perceptual and demographic factors on the involvement of youth in violent behaviors. Louisiana: Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College (PhD Thesis).
- Merriam-Webster's Dictionary of Law*. (1996). Available: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/cgi-bin/dictionary?book=Dictionary&va=juv> Accessed on 2005/03/26
- Meyer, W.F., & van Ede, D. M 1998. Theories of development. In Louw, D. A., van Ede, D. M., & Louw, A. E (Eds.), *Human development* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Cape Town: Kagiso Tertiary.
- Mfusi, N. 2007. The dark side of teen mall culture. *Mercury*, 6 April. [O]. Available: [http://www.themercury.co.za/general/print\\_article.php?fArticleId=3769046](http://www.themercury.co.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=3769046) Accessed on 2008/01/30
- Miner, M., Bourduin, C., Prescott, D., Bovensmann, H., Schepker, R., Du Bois, R., Schladale, J., Eher, R., Schmeck, K., Langfedt, T., Smit, A., & Pfäfflin, F. 2006. Standards of care for juvenile sexual offenders of the International Association for the Treatment of Sexual Offenders. *Sexual Offender Treatment*, 1(3), 2-7.
- 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](http://www.thestar.co.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=3802559) Accessed on 2008/01/30
- Molosankwe, B. 2007, 12 October. Children 'targeting peers for sex crimes': Incidents of child-on-child abuse are rising. *The Star* p.5
- Momberg, E. 2006. Crackdown on child porn begins. *Sunday Independent*, 13 August. [O]. Available: <http://www.sundayindependent.co.za/index.php?fArticleId=3388152> Accessed on 2008/01/29
- Mounts, N. 2001. Young adolescents' perceptions of parental management of peer relationships. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 21(1): 92-122.
- Moustakas, C. 1994. Phenomenological research methods. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications
- Mouton, J. 2001. *How to succeed in your masters and doctoral studies: A South African guide and resource book*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- National Academy of Science. 1993. *Losing generations: Adolescents in high-risk settings*. Washington DC: National Academy Press.
- National Research Council. 2001. *Youth crime, youth justice*. Washington DC: National Academy Press.
- Nedcor ISS Criminal Justice Information Centre. 1997. *Victim empowerment*. Midrand: Duplco.
- Neuman, W. L. 1997. *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon
- Neuman, W.L. 2000. *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative methods* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

- 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](http://www.themercury.co.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=3405131). Accessed on 2008/01/30
- O'Connor, T. 2006. Moral development and developmental theories of crime. [O]. Available: <http://www.apsu.edu/oconnort/rest> of Accessed on 2008/07/24
- Peacock, R. 2008. Adolescent identity, the criminal event and criminal justice in South Africa. *Acta Criminologica CRIMSA Conference Special Edition (1)*, 61-76.
- Pelser, E. 2008. Learning to be lost: Youth crime in South Africa. *Discussion Paper for the HSRC Youth Policy Initiative, Reserve Bank*. 13 May, Pretoria.
- Phaneuf, G. F. 1990. Adolescent Sexual Offenders. Canada: National Clearinghouse on Family Violence.
- Piaget, J. 1932. *The moral judgement of the child*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Pithers, W.D., & Gray, A. 1998. The other half of the story: Children with sexual behavior problems. *Psychology, Public Policy and Law*, 4(1-2), 200-217.
- Poulin, F., Dishion, T.J., & Haas, E. 1999. The peer influence paradox: Friendship quality and deviancy training within male adolescent friendships. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 45, 42-59.
- Pratt, H. D., Patel, D. R., Greydanus, D. E., Dannison, L. Walcott, D., & Slaone, M. A. 2001. Adolescent sexual offenders: Issues for pediatricians. *International Pediatrics*, 16(2), 1-8.
- Prichard, J., & Payne, J. 2005. Alcohol, drugs and crime: A study of juveniles in detention. *Research and Public Policy Series*, 67, 1-114.
- Prinsloo, S. 2006. Sexual harassment and violence in South African schools. *South African Journal of Education* 26(2), 305-318.
- Print, B., & Morrison, T. 2000. Treating adolescents who sexually abuse others. In Itzen, C. (Ed.), *Home truths about child abuse: Influencing policy and practice*. London: Routledge.
- Redpath, J. 2002a. *Juveniles and sexual offence: An analysis of some arrests and custody trends*. Western Cape: Community Law Centre.
- Redpath, J. 2002b. *Child sex offenders in custody in South Africa*. Available: [http://www.communitylawcentre.org.za/children/2002art40/vol4\\_no3\\_sex.php](http://www.communitylawcentre.org.za/children/2002art40/vol4_no3_sex.php) Accessed 2006/08/18.
- Redpath, J. 2003. South Africa's heart of darkness: Sex crimes and child offenders: Some trends. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 4: 17-24.
- Reid, K., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. 2005. Exploring lived experience. *The Psychologist*, 18(1), 20-23.

- Reppucci, N.D., Fried, C.S., & Schmidt, M.G. 2002. Youth violence: Risk and protective factors. In Corrado, R.R., Roesch, R., Hart, R.D., & Gierowoski, J.K. (Eds.), *Multi-problem violent youth*. Amsterdam: IOS Press
- Republic of South Africa. 2007. Proclamation by the president of the Republic of South Africa. Notice 13 of 2007. *Government Gazette*, 30030(3). Pretoria: Government Printers.
- Resnick, M., Ireland, M., & Borowsky, I. 2004. Youth violence perpetration: What protects? What predicts? Findings from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 35(5): 1-12.
- 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.
- Roizen, J. 1997. Epidemiological issues in alcohol-violence. In recent developments in alcoholism. *Alcoholism and violence*, 13(1), 7-40.
- Rondganger, L. 2006. Mxit sting traps sex predator. *The Star*, 18 October. [O]. Available: [http://www.thestar.co.za/general/print\\_article.php?fArticleId=3491163](http://www.thestar.co.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=3491163) Accessed on 2008/01/30
- Roper, M. 2005. *A review of the integrated youth offender programme piloted in Boksburg Juvenile Correctional Centre with the 'Inkanyezi yentathakusa.'* Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.
- Rosenthal, B. S. 2000. Exposure to community violence in adolescence: Trauma symptoms. *Adolescence*. Available: [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_m2248/is\\_138\\_35/ai\\_66171004/](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2248/is_138_35/ai_66171004/) Accessed 2009/06/23
- Rubenstein, M., Yeager, M.A., Goodstein, B.A., & Lewis, D.O. 1993. Sexually assaultive male juveniles: A follow-up. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 150, 262-265.
- Rubin, A., & Babbie, E. 2001. *Research methods for social work*. (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Ryan, G. 1997. Sexually abusive youth: Defining the population. In Ryan, G., & Lane, S. (Eds.). *Juvenile sexual offending: Causes, consequences and corrections*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publications.
- 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, T.J., Metzner, J.L., Krugman, R.D., & Fryer, G.E. (1996). Trends in a national sample of sexually abusive youths. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 35, 17-25.
- Sackett, P., & Mavor, A. (Eds.). *Attitudes, Aptitudes, and Aspirations of American Youth: Implications for Military Recruitment*. Washington DC: National Academies Press.
- 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](http://www.pretorianews.co.za/general/print_article.pho?fArticleId=3951527)  
Accessed on 2008/01/30
- Schreiner, J. A. 2004. *Rape as a human security issue, with specific reference to South Africa*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria (MA Dissertation).
- Schumaker, D.M., & Heckel, R.V. 2007. *Kids of character: A guide to promoting moral development*. Connecticut :Greenwood Publishing Group.
- SECASA. 2007. *Why does sexual abuse happen*. [O] Available:  
<http://www.secasa.com.au/index.php/workers/21/13> Accessed on 2009/05/02
- Serial murderer Dube was an abuser age 7. 2006. *The Star*, 23 October. p.5.
- Serrao, A. 2004 Sexual abusers getting younger. *The Star*, 17 August, p.1.
- Seto, M. C., & Lalumiere, M. L. 2006. Conduct problems and juvenile sexual offending. In H. E. Barbaree & W. L. Marshall (Eds.), *The juvenile sex offender* (2nd ed.). New York:Guilford.
- Sexual offences. 2003. *The Daily*, 25 July. Retrieved April 16, 2005, from <http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/030725/d030725a.htm>
- 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
- Shapiro, R.J. 1990. The family under economic stress. In *Putting Children First: A Progressive Family Policy for the 1990s*. Washington, D.C.: Progressive Policy Institute.
- Shaw, J.A. 1999. Practice parameters for the assessment and treatment of children and adolescents who are sexually abusive of others. *Journal of American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 38(12), 55-76.
- Shaw, R. L. 2001. Why use interpretative phenomenological analysis in Health Psychology? *Health Psychology Update*, 10(4):48-52.
- Siegal, L. J., Welsh, B. C., Senna, J. J. 2003. *Juvenile delinquency: Theory, practice and law* (8<sup>th</sup> ed.). Canada: Wadsworth.

- Skuse, D., Bentovim, A., Hodges, J., Stevenson, J., Andreou, C., Lanyado, M., New, M., Williams, B., & McMillan, D. (1998). Risk factors for development of sexually abusive behavior in sexually victimized adolescent boys: Cross sectional study. *British Medical Journal*, 31 7, 175 - 179.
- Skybo, T. 2005. Witnessing violence: Biopsychosocial impact on children. *Paediatric Nursing*, 31(4): 263-270.
- Smallbone, S. W. 2006. Social and psychological factors in the development of delinquency and sexual deviance. In Barbaree, H. E., & Marshall, W. L. (Eds.). *The juvenile sex offender* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York: Guilford Press
- Smit, M. E. 2003. The bully/victim problem in schools. *Acta Criminologica*, 16(3), 81-88.
- Smith, C.J. 1999. Juvenile Sex Offenders Comparative and Recidivism Studies: What Do We Know? What is Next? *National Institute of Justice Conference*. 19 July, Washington D. C.
- Smith, J. A. 1999. Interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA). [O]. Available: <http://www.psyc.bbk.ac.uk/ipa/> Accessed on 30/07/2008
- Smith, D. 2007. *Youth justice: Ideas, policy, practice* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). [O]. Available: [www.doi:10.1093/bjsw/bcm164](http://www.doi:10.1093/bjsw/bcm164) Accessed on 2008/03/12 Accessed on 2008/06/23
- Smith, J.A., & Osborn, M. 2003. Interpretive phenomenological analysis. In Smith, J.A (Ed.). *Qualitative Psychology*. London: Sage.
- 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
- Smolensky, E., & Appleton Gootman, J. (Eds.). 2003. *Working Families and Growing Kids: Caring for Children and Adolescents*. Washington DC: National Academies Press
- Soska, M. 1994. *How can we enable children to live a drug-free life?* [O] Available: [http://www.kidsource.com/kidsource/content/drug\\_free.html#contents](http://www.kidsource.com/kidsource/content/drug_free.html#contents) Accessed on 2009/06/23
- South African Police Services. 2008. *Crime Statistics: Per category* .[O] Available: [http://www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2008/crime\\_stats\\_2008.htm](http://www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2008/crime_stats_2008.htm) Accessed on 2009/06/23
- Stansups, L. 2008. *Crime and deviance is a learned behavior: Birds of a feather do flock together*. [O]. Available: [http://www.associatedcontent.com/pop\\_print.shtml?content\\_type=article&content\\_type\\_id=478441](http://www.associatedcontent.com/pop_print.shtml?content_type=article&content_type_id=478441). Accessed on 2008/06/25
- Stephens, S. 2000. Kwaito. In Nuttall, S., & Michael, C-A. (Eds.), *Senses of culture : South African culture studies*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Stephenson, M., Quick, B., & Atkinson, J. 2005. Authoritative parenting and drug-prevention practices: Implications for antidrug ads for parents. *Health Communication*, 17(3): 301-321.

- Sternberg, R. J. 2001. *Psychology: In search of the human mind* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Ford Worth: Harcourt College Publishers.
- Stout, B. 2003. Applying effective practice principles to work with child sex offenders in South Africa. *Acta Criminologica: South African Journal of Criminology*, 16(1), 14-19.
- 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
- Strydom, H. 1994. *Maatskaplikewerk-narvorsing*. (D172/94). Potchefstroom: PU vir CHO.
- Strydom, H. 2005. Ethical aspects of research in the social sciences and human service professions. In De Vos, A.S. (Ed.); Strydom, H.; Fouché, C.B. & Delpont, C.S.L. *Research at grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions* (3<sup>rd</sup>ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Strydom, H. & De Vos, A.S. 1998. Sampling and sampling methods. In De Vos, A.S. (Ed.); Strydom, H.; Fouché, C.B.; Poggenpoel, M.; Schurink, E.M. & Schurink, W. *Research at grassroots: A primer for the caring professions*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers
- Strydom, H., & Venter, L. 2002. Sampling and sampling methods. In De Vos, A.S. (Ed.). *Research at grassroots: For the social sciences and human service professions* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Swartz, S. 2003. *Is kwaito South African hip hop? Why the answer matters and who it matters to*. Available: <http://www.theyouthinstitute.org/pubs/Is%20Kwaito%20South%20African%20Hip%20Hop.pdf> Accessed: 2008/08/16
- Symboluk, A. J. M. 1999. *An investigation of family, social, and personal variables in adolescent sexual perpetrators*. Ontario: University of Western Ontario. (MA Dissertation).
- Tacey, D. J. 1997. *Remaking men: Jung, spirituality and social change*. London: Routledge.
- Teen boys held for gang rape of woman and child's torture*. 2007. *The Independent on Saturday*, 7 July. [O]. Available: [http://www.tios.co.za/general/print\\_article.php?fArticleId=3920999](http://www.tios.co.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=3920999) Accessed on 2008/01/29
- Teenage pregnancy and crime*. 2008. [O]. Available: <http://www.123HelpMe.com/view.asp?id=97607> Accessed on 2008/08/01
- Tenacious D. 2008 *Double team lyrics*. [O]. Available: [www.metrolyrics.com/double-teamlyrics-tenacious-d.html](http://www.metrolyrics.com/double-teamlyrics-tenacious-d.html). Accessed on 2008/09/27
- The cycle of violence that is destroying SA. 2007. *Cape Argus*, 17 November. [O]. Available: [http://www.capeargus.co.za/general/print\\_article.php?fArticleId=4132272](http://www.capeargus.co.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=4132272) Accessed on 2008/01/30
- The Sexual Offences Amendment Act 32 of 2006. Pretoria: Government Printers.

- The Supreme Court of Appeal of South Africa. 2007., *Reportable case 387/06*. Pretoria: Government Printers.
- Tilley, L. P. 1998. *Patterns of personality and offense characteristics of teenage sex offenders*. Edmonton: University of Alberta (MA Dissertation).
- Thomas, R.M. 2005. *Comparing theories of child development* (6<sup>th</sup> ed.). California: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Thompson, K. M. 1999. Activity participation and delinquency and substance use: Another look. *The North Dakota Journal of Human Services*, 2(3): 1-15.
- Thornburgh, D. & Lin, H. S. (Eds.). 2002. *Youth, Pornography, and the Internet*. Washington D.C.: National Academies Press.
- Thornton T. N., Craft, C. A., Dahlberg, L. L., Lynch, B. S., & Baer, K. 2002. *Best Practices of Youth Violence Prevention: A Sourcebook for Community Action (Rev.)*. Atlanta: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention & National Center for Injury Prevention and Control
- Tlhoale, O. O. 2003. *The effect of alcoholism in the family on young offenders*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria (MA Dissertation).
- UNESCO 1999. *Sexual Abuse of Children, Child Pornography and Paedophilia on the Internet: An international challenge*. [O]. Available: [http://www.unesco.org/webworld/child\\_screen/conf\\_index\\_2.html](http://www.unesco.org/webworld/child_screen/conf_index_2.html) Accessed 2005/09/29
- 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
- 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
- Van Niekerk, J. 2003. Failing our future: Responding to the sexual abuse of children. *South Africa Crime Quarterly* 3, 11-17.
- Van Niekerk, J. 2006. The often neglected side of the sexual abuse equation – the child sex offender. In Spies, G. M. (Ed.). *Sexual abuse: Dynamics, assessment and healing*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Vanzant, I. 2004/10/01. *True Love magazine*. [O]. Available: [http://www.women24.com/TrueLove/Components/TL\\_ArticleTeaser/0,10764,222-243\\_5650,00.html](http://www.women24.com/TrueLove/Components/TL_ArticleTeaser/0,10764,222-243_5650,00.html) Accessed on 2005/05/04
- Vogelman, L., & Lewis, S. 1993. Gang rape and the culture of violence in South Africa. *Der Uberblick*, 2, 39-42.

- Ward, C. L. 2007. "It feels like it's the end of the world": Cape Town's youth talk about gangs and community violence. *ISS Monograph Series*, 136: 1-91.
- Ward, T., & Beech, A. R. 2006. An integrated theory of sexual offending. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 11, 44–63.
- Ward, T., Polaschek, D.L.L., & Beech, R.B. 2006. *Theories of sexual offending*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
- Waters, M. G. & Harrell, J. 1997. *Child pornography on the internet*. [O]. Available: <http://gsulaw.gsu.edu/lawand/papers/sp97/law&int.htm> Accessed on 2005/10/05
- Waul, M., Travis, J., & Solomon A. L. 2002 Background paper: The effect of incarceration and reentry on children, families, and communities. *From Prisons to Home Conference*. 30 – 31 January, Washington, D.C.
- Weinrott, M.R. 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
- When a child goes off rails. 2006. *The Star*, 24 October. [O]. Available: [http://www.thestar.co.za/general/print\\_article.php?fArticleId=3502487](http://www.thestar.co.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=3502487) Accessed on 2008/01/30
- White, J. A. 1995. Violence prevention in schools. *Journal of Health Education*, 26(1), 52-53.
- White, J. W., Kadlec, K. M., & Sechrist, S. 2006. Adolescent sexual aggression within heterosexual relationships. In Barbaree, H. E., & Marshall, W. L. (Eds.). *The juvenile sex offender* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York: Guilford Press
- Widom, C.S. 1989. The cycle of violence. *Science*, 244, 160-166.
- Williams, F. P., & McShane, M. D. 1999. *Criminological theory*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- 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.
- Yablonsky, L. 2000. *Juvenile delinquency: Into the 21<sup>st</sup> century*. Canada: Wadsworth.
- Yehia, D. 2007. Recent court of criminal appeal decisions (sentencing children): Youth as a mitigating factor: To what extent does the principle survive? *Children's Legal Service Conference*. 16 June. Sydney
- Ziebert, R. 2006. *No easy answers: The effects of parental imprisonment on children*. Department of Research and Evaluation Services Alliance for Children and Families



APPENDIX A



Iziko Lokuthuthukiswa Komphakathi  
Lefapha la Tshetsopele le Ntshetsopele ya Sechaba  
Department of Social Development  
Departement van Maatskaplike Ontwikkeling  
Magaliesoord Treatment Centre

Date 05/07/2008  
Enquiry Ms D Quinchette  
Cell 082469 3103  
To Ms T Harris

SUBJECT APPLICATION FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE  
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Your application to conduct research in the Department of Social Development has been granted. The title of the proposal "A Psychological Investigation into Risk Factors Contributing to Youth Sex Offending" is a very interesting topic which the Research Unit felt that will add value to service delivery in the Department of Social Development.

I have been informed by the Head of Magaliesoord Institution that you have already completed your interviews we had agreed both us that you be given permission as the research unit had the challenges which could have impacted negatively on your studies.

However, your proposal when assessed by the Research Unit was satisfactory as it met all the necessary requirements as prescribed by the Department of Social Development. We also observe that all ethical consideration had been adhered to.

The Unit apologizes for having delayed with your permission letter, nonetheless, we made up by giving you a verbal go ahead to conduct your interviews which were completed within the schedule time.

Do not forget that your have committed to furnish the Research Unit with the final product of your studies and that is the thesis/ report which will be forwarded to the departments specialized library.

We wish you well with these studies and hope that the research study will enhance your career.

With thanks,

Ms L Mokoena  
On behalf of Ms D Quinchette



APPENDIX B



national institute for crime prevention  
and the reintegration of offenders

NATIONAL OFFICE



1 HARRINGTON STREET, CAPE TOWN, 8001 SOUTH AFRICA PO BOX 10005, CALEDON SQUARE, 7905, SOUTH AFRICA  
Tel: +27(0)21 462-007 Fax: +27 (0) 21 462 2447 E-mail: [info@nicro.org.za](mailto:info@nicro.org.za) Website: [www.nicro.org.za](http://www.nicro.org.za)

19 September 2007

To Whom It May Concern:

Dear Sir/Madam

**RE: Permission**

I, Soraya Solomon Executive Director of NICRO do hereby grant Tara Harris Permission to interview children attending the NICRO sex offender program, provided that her proposal is found to be ethically sound by the ethics committee.

Ms Arina Smit have been appointed as liaison for Ms Harris.

Please do not hesitate to contact me directly should you require any additional information.

Kind regards

Thanking you

.....  
**Soraya Solomon**  
Executive Director  
NICRO



Faculty of Humanities  
Department of Social Work &  
Criminology

## APPENDIX C

### Informed Assent Form for Respondents

#### A PSYCHOCRIMINOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION INTO RISK FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO YOUTH SEX OFFENDING.

This Informed Assent Form has two parts:

- The Information Sheet (to share information regarding the study with you)
- The Certificate of Assent (for signatures if you agree to participate)

### PART 1: Information Sheet

#### Introduction

My name is Tara Harris and I am conducting research for my MA degree in Criminology at the University of Pretoria. I am asking you to participate in my study on the risk factors that could lead to children engaging in forced sexual behaviour. My study aims to identify these high risk factors so that we can gain some understanding into such behaviour and possibly prevent it.

#### Purpose

Youth sex offending in South Africa has only recently been recognized as a social problem. There is little research and there is a lack of knowledge surrounding the nature and extent of child-on-child sex offending in this country. Although youths in South Africa form a small percentage of the overall sex offending population, it is nevertheless a grave social problem that needs to be researched. Furthermore, proper early identification and treatment in the teenage years may curb adult offending. Information regarding the origin and consequences of youth sex offending and the possible risk factors unique to South Africa is limited. This means that the problems of such risk factors and subsequent sexual behaviour are undefined.

The aims of this research include:

- To determine risk factors contributing to youth sex offending as identified among youth sex offenders.
- To gain an understanding of such risk factors through conducting a thorough literature review.
- To describe such risk factors and possible ways of addressing them.
- To produce a qualitative research report on the risk factors which contribute to youth sex offending.



Faculty of Humanities  
Department of Social Work &  
Criminology

### **Voluntary participation**

I am asking you to allow me to interview you in a session that will take roughly an hour. Your parents/guardians have already given their permission for you to participate, but you do not have to take part in the research if you do not want to. You can withdraw from the study at any point by telling me that you no longer wish to participate. Your participation in the research will have no effect on your participation in the programme and there will be no consequences if you choose not to participate. No one in the programme or your parents have to know if you choose to participate or what you answer in the interview. The interview is confidential and your name will not be written on anything or used in the final report writing. Only my supervisor, Prof C Bezuidenhout and I will have access to your responses. Your responses will be recorded on audiotape and the tapes and the interview schedule will be stored for archiving purposes only.

### **Risks**

There are no direct risks in participating in this study.

### **Benefits**

There are not any perceivable benefits to you. However, your responses can help inform us about possible risk factors and therefore help us to target high-risk adolescents in future. Such information may also have an influence on addressing current rehabilitation programmes so that the programmes can be enhanced in future.

### **Confidentiality**

As already stated, all information will be kept confidential and only those involved in the research will have access to it. Any information (e.g. structured interview schedule) regarding you will have a number on it and not your name. After the research is completed, all audiotapes and documentation relating to you will be stored and then destroyed after the University of Pretoria's mandatory 15-year storage period.

### **Sharing of information**

The information gathered in this research will be documented in the form of a dissertation and scientific articles, so that other interested parties may learn from the research.

### **Right to refuse or withdraw**

You have the right to refuse to participate in this study. If you agree to participate, you also have the right to withdraw at any stage of the research.

### **Who to contact**

If you have any questions, you may ask these questions at any stage of the research. Please contact Tara Harris [researcher] (tarz\_h@hotmail.com or 083 515 0536) should you want to enquire about the

Faculty of Humanities  
Department of Social Work &  
Criminology

research project. You may also contact my supervisor Dr Christiaan Bezuidenhout (christiaan.bezuidenhout@up.ac.za or (012) 420 3320) in this regard. Please note that the Ethics Committee of the University of Pretoria who must ensure that all participants are protected from harm has approved this research proposal.

**Agreement**

**I agree to participate in this research study and have received a copy of this form.**

**Name/Initials of participant** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature of participant** \_\_\_\_\_

**Mark (if necessary)**

**I have explained to the above named individual the nature and purpose, benefits and possible risks associated with participation in this research. I have answered all the questions raised and have given the participant a copy of this form.**

**Signature of researcher** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date** \_\_\_\_\_



## APPENDIX D

### Informed Consent Form for Parents

#### A PSYCHOCRIMINOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION INTO RISK FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO YOUTH SEX OFFENDING.

This Informed Consent Form has two parts:

- The Information Sheet (to share information regarding the study with you)
- The Certificate of Consent (for signatures if you agree to participate)

### PART 1: Information Sheet

#### Introduction

My name is Tara Harris and I am conducting research for my MA degree in Criminology at the University of Pretoria. My study is on the risk factors that contribute to children engaging in coercive sexual behaviour.

#### Purpose

Youth sex offending in South Africa has only recently been recognized as a social problem. There is a dearth of research and there is a lack of knowledge surrounding the nature and extent of child-on-child sex offending in this country. Although youths in South Africa form a small percentage of the overall sex offending population, it is nevertheless a grave social problem that needs to be researched. Furthermore, proper early identification and treatment in the teenage years may curb adult offending. Information regarding the origin and consequences of youth sex offending and the possible risk factors unique to South Africa is scarce. This means that the problems of such risk factors and subsequent sexual behaviour are undefined.

The aims of this research include:

- To determine risk factors contributing to youth sex offending as identified among youth sex offenders.
- To gain an understanding of such risk factors through conducting a thorough literature review.
- To describe such risk factors and possible ways of addressing them.
- To produce a qualitative research report on the risk factors which contribute to youth sex offending.



Faculty of Humanities  
Department of Social Work &  
Criminology

### **Participant selection**

The majority of studies focusing on violent or aggressive sexual behaviour amongst adolescents focus primarily on retrospective studies on adult sex offenders or on youths who are incarcerated or in diversion programmes. Furthermore, most studies do not have a non-offender comparison group and thus the identification of risk factors associated with youth sex offending is problematic. A study that involves children that have been diverted to an intervention programme is important because it would allow for a better understanding of the risk factors contributing to youth sex offending and thus the phenomenon as a whole. For these reasons, I am asking you to allow your child to participate in this research because the only way to address the aims of the research is to obtain information from young offenders themselves. Selection for participation is based on the fact that the child is participating in an intervention programme at NICRO for committing an offence of a sexual nature.

### **Voluntary participation**

Participation is entirely voluntary and it is solely your choice to decide whether to allow your child to participate or not. There are no consequences if you decide not to allow your child to participate and you may choose to withdraw your child from the research at any stage, even if you have initially agreed to participation.

### **Description of the process**

I will ask your child to assent to an interview with me. All your child's responses will remain confidential and there is no need for your child's name to appear on my notes or in the final report writing. Your child's responses will be recorded on audiotape and the tapes and the interview schedule will be stored for archiving purposes only.

### **Risks**

There are no direct risks in participating in this study.

### **Benefits**

There are not any perceivable benefits to your child. However, your child's responses can help inform us about possible risk factors and therefore help us to target high-risk adolescents in future. Such information may also have an influence on addressing current rehabilitation programmes so that the programmes can be enhanced in future.



Faculty of Humanities  
Department of Social Work &  
Criminology

**Confidentiality**

As already stated, all information will be kept confidential and only those involved in the research will have access to it. Any information (e.g. structured interview schedule) regarding your child will have a number on it and not your child's name. After the research is completed all documentation relating to your child will be archived and then destroyed after the University of Pretoria's mandatory 15-year storage period.

**Sharing of information**

The information gathered in this research will be documented in the form of a dissertation and scientific articles, so that other interested parties may learn from the research.

**Right to refuse or withdraw**

You have the right to refuse to allow your child to participate in this study. If you agree to allow your child to participate, you also have the right to withdraw your child at any stage of the research.

**Who to contact**

If you have any questions, you may pose these questions at any stage of the research. Please contact Tara Harris [researcher] (tarz\_h@hotmail.com or 083 515 0536) should you want to enquire about the research project. You may also contact my supervisor Prof Christiaan Bezuidenhout (christiaan.bezuidenhout@up.ac.za or (012) 420 3320) in this regard. Please note that the Ethics Committee of the University of Pretoria who must ensure that all participants are protected from harm has approved this research proposal.

**PART 2: Certificate of Consent**

**I have read the foregoing information or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and they have been answered to my satisfaction. I voluntarily consent to my child participating in this research and understand that I have the right to withdraw my child from the research at any time without any consequences to my doing so.**

**Initials of participant** \_\_\_\_\_

**Name/Initials of parent or guardian** \_\_\_\_\_

**Signature of parent or guardian** \_\_\_\_\_

**Mark (in necessary)**

**Signature of researcher** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date** \_\_\_\_\_

**APPENDIX E**

**SELF-ADMINISTERED SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: YOUTH SEX OFFENDING**

A psychocriminological investigation into risk factors contributing to youth sex offending

Your name will not be written down on this interview schedule or anywhere else. Your answers are confidential.

	RESPONDENT NUMBER: _____
--	--------------------------

**SECTION 1: BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

1	Race	Asian	Black	Coloured	White	Indian	Other
---	------	-------	-------	----------	-------	--------	-------

2. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_

3. Who do you live with? \_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION 2: ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE (SCHOOL)**

4. How do you feel about going to school?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

PROBES

- Future plans
- Truancy
- School marks
- Learners behaving violently or sexually at school
- Respondent's possible violent or sexual behaviour

**SECTION 3: ACTIVITIES**

5. How do you feel about extramural activities?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

PROBES

- Why do you participate?
- Why don't you participate?
- Gang membership
- Gang activities

**SECTION 4 SUBSTANCE USE**

6. What are your thoughts or feelings on using substances (cigarettes, alcohol, other drugs)?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

PROBES

- Specific drugs
- Age



## SECTION 5: FAMILY SUBSTANCE USE

7. Does anyone in your family alcohol or drugs?

---

---

### PROBES

- Specific drugs
- Feelings about family substance use
- Problems related to substance abuse

## SECTION 6: FAMILY VIOLENCE

8 What are your feelings about physical violence in the home?

---

---

### PROBES

- Thoughts about your own (possible) physical behaviour

## SECTION 7: EMOTIONAL STATUS

9 How do you feel about yourself? Do you like who you are?

---

---

## SECTION 8: CARING AND ATTACHMENT TO FAMILY AND PEERS

10 How do you think your family and friends feel about you?

---

---

### PROBES

- Respect privacy
- Fun activities
- Understanding
- Perceptions of the police

## SECTION 9: SEXUAL ABUSE AND KNOWLEDGE ABOUT SEX

11 Do you know what pornography is? (*explain if necessary*) Have you ever looked at pornography?

---

---

### PROBES

- Types/forms of pornography viewed
- Perceptions of pornography
- Do you think pornography influenced your behaviour?
- Personal experience of sexual persuasion/coercion



**OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS**

12 Why have you been placed in this programme?

---

---

PROBES

- Perception about the reason for arrest
- Number of previous sex offence charges (*not necessary for NICRO respondents*)
- Nature of this specific charge
- Other previous charges (*excluding sex offences*)

**ONLY ASK QUESTION 13 IF CHILD ADMITTED THE OFFENCE**

13 How do you feel when you engage in this behaviour?

---

---

14 Why do you think young people engage in this behaviour?

---

---

15 Is there anything you would like to add?

---

---

**Thank you for your willingness to participate in the research!**

\* Lines for aesthetic purposes only