

3. THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS REGARDING MALE-ON-MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT AND RAPE

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Cote (2002:xvi) insists that theories are the cornerstone of criminology, and are therefore necessary in a study of male-on-male sexual assault and rape. There are various ways to describe theory. According to Homans and Turner (in Moyer, 2001:3-4) a theory must be empirically verified by research. Both these theorists are of the opinion that theories must furthermore consist of a set of concepts and propositions or theoretical statements. These propositions must be deductive and testable. Robert Merton (in Moyer, 2001:6) defines theory as “logically interconnected sets of propositions from which empirical uniformities can be derived”. According to Shoemaker (in Joubert, 2003:92), theories are attempts to make sense of observations. It is postulated by Schmallegger (2004:84) that “theory is a series of interrelated propositions which attempt to describe, explain, predict and ultimately control some class of events”.

According to Joubert (2008:92) the characteristics of a good theory are as follows:

- Plausibility (providing an explanation between two or more facts);
- Real-life evidence (evidence is obtained through empirical research);
- Falsifiability (testing in order to refute an explanation); and
- Predictability (predicting future behaviour).

In addition, Schmallegger (2004:84) states that theory should provide an understanding of a phenomenon, be supported by observations and stand up to continued scrutiny.

This chapter consists of a discussion of the theories applicable to the explanation of male-on-male sexual assault and rape in a correctional centre.

3.2. THE APPLICATION OF VICTIMOLOGICAL AND CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES

As this study involves both offenders and victims of male-on-male sexual victimisation, the researcher identified victimological theories as well as criminological theories to explain this phenomenon. The theories used are set out in the table below.

Table 2: Exposition of the victimological and criminological theories to explain male-on-male sexual assault and rape

General theory	Specific theory	Exponent(s) of the theory
Victimological theories	Differential risk model of criminal victimisation	Fattah
	- routine activities - lifestyle exposure - opportunity model	Felson & Cohen Hindelang, Gottfredson & Garofallo Cohen, Kleugel & Land
	Social exchange perspective	
	Socio-interactionist perspective (victim precipitation theory)	Von Hentig, Wolfgang & Amir
	Extended control balance theory	Piquero & Hickman
Criminological theories	General theory of crime	Gottfredson & Hirschi
	Control balance theory	Tittle

3.2.1. Victimological theories

The victimological theories used to explain male-on-male sexual victimisation focus on aspects such as the lifestyle and routine activities of the victim, interactions between the victim and the perpetrator, as well as the power or resources available to both the victim and the offender.

3.2.1.1. Differential risk model of criminal victimisation

According to Davis (2005:35) the differential risk model of criminal victimisation was developed due to shortcomings of the lifestyle/exposure model, the routine activities theory and the opportunity model. Thus, prior to explaining the differential risk model, it is imperative to briefly describe the above mentioned three theories or models.

The **lifestyle/exposure model** was developed by Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo. It holds that the possibility of victimisation depends on the lifestyle and routine activities of a person. Therefore, people with a high-risk lifestyle, such as drinking, taking drugs and interacting with criminals are at increased risk of victimisation (Davis, 2005:36; Goodey, 2005:71; Siegel, 2006:77).

Four prerequisites have been identified before victimisation can occur (Davis, 2005:36):

- The offender and victim have to meet at a certain location. Within a correctional centre the offender and potential victim are usually locked up in the same cell.
- A dispute develops between the two parties and the victim is identified as a suitable target. The offender approaches the potential victim and attempts to make an agreement of sex in exchange for a commodity. In most cases the potential victim refuses this request.

- The offender uses the threat of violence or actual violence to achieve a result. After the potential victim refuses to have sex with the offender, the offender may resort to intimidation or actual violence to force the victim to have sex with him.
- The offender regards the circumstances as advantageous to achieve a result. Within a correctional centre the occurrence of forced sex is a “secret” and therefore the offender knows that it is unlikely for the incident to be reported or for fellow inmates to assist the victim.

In Walklate’s (in Davis, 2005:39) evaluation of this model it is postulated that the theorists did not take into account that some activities are so routine that individuals are not even aware that they are doing it. It is further suggested by Walklate that certain types of personal victimisation such as domestic violence, as well as intra-familial victimisation are not explained by this theory.

According to the two exponents of the **routine activities theory**, Cohen and Felson, changes in a person’s lifestyle routine can increase the risk of victimisation (Cote, 2002:286; Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:135). Because this theory traditionally focuses on social activities and lifestyles of people and not on the offending behaviour of the criminal, it is generally regarded as a victimological theory. This theory is, however, currently also applied to explain the behaviour of offenders (Brown, Esbensen & Geis, 2007:217; Davis, 2005:39-40; Nagin & Paternoster, 1993:469).

Felson (2002:298) believes that at least four types of crime exist, namely:

- The exploitative (predatory) crime entails at least one person exploiting another person or obtaining and/or damaging the property of another. When applying this to sexual abuse and male-on-male rape it directly translates to the offender sexually exploiting the body of another inmate.

- The mutualistic crime is where two parties voluntarily take part in an offence. In the correctional environment it will be an inmate offering his body in exchange for a commodity.
- Competitive crimes involve two parties participating in physical activities (i.e. fights). The practical application is where the potential victim resists the sexual advances of another inmate resulting in physical violence.
- The individualistic crime is when one person engages in criminal behaviour, such as drug abuse.

The routine activities theory as first developed by Cohen and Felson only focused on the direct-contact predatory crimes. For these crimes to be committed successfully, three elements must be present, namely motivated offenders, suitable targets and the absence of capable guardians or witnesses. Together this is known as the crime triangle (Brown *et al.*, 2007:213; Cote, 2002:286; Davis, 2005:40; Goodey, 2005:62; Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:135; Siegel, 2006:80; Walklate, 2003:39). These three elements will now be discussed in detail.

- **Motivated offender**

According to this theory offenders are rational human beings and will commit a crime whenever opportunity presents itself (Walklate, 2003:39). In applying this to sexual victimisation in a correctional centre, the offender makes a rational choice to sexually assault another inmate. These offenders are usually opportunistic, meaning they will target the inmate who does not receive visits, do not have commodities or are young first time offenders.

- **Suitable target**

Four elements determine whether a person or property is regarded as a suitable target. The elements include the value of the target (financial or symbolic), physical visibility (the risk to be observed by offenders), accessibility (approaching the potential victim without the risk of attracting attention) and effortlessness (the ease with which a target is selected and acquired) (Burke, 2005:46; Davis, 2005:40).

- **Absence of capable guardians or witnesses**

A guardian can be described as “any person who is able to prevent a crime as a result of his or her presence or direct actions” (Davis, 2005:40). Capable guardians can take many forms, but in the context of this study the term refers to correctional officials (guardians) and fellow inmates (witnesses).

According to this theory, a crime will occur when motivated offenders come into contact with suitable targets in the absence of capable guardianship. Within the framework of this theory, one way of preventing crime will be to reduce the attractiveness and/or accessibility of the target (Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:136). Therefore vulnerable, young, first time offenders should be segregated from hardened violent offenders. Because of the current overcrowding of correctional centres in South Africa, this is not a practical option.

Critique against this theory is that it shifts the responsibility of preventing crime onto the victim by suggesting that crime can be prevented if the victim changes his or her lifestyle (routine activities). Furthermore the theory cannot be used to explain white-collar crimes and violent crimes. It was initially developed to explain the occurrence of property crimes. A further criticism against this theory is that it does not explain the motivation for crime. In this regard Cohen and Felson point out that this is not the aim of the theory, rather the focus is on identifying the situations that contribute to criminal behaviour. With reference to the element of guardianship, Cohen and Felson do not attempt to explain why some guardians are more capable than others. They also do not elaborate on the susceptibility of some victims (Davis, 2005:41; Walklate, 2003:40).

The **opportunity model** developed by Cohen, Kleugel and Land combine elements of both the lifestyle and routine activities approaches. According to these theorists there are five factors that may increase a person's victimisation risk, namely: Exposure, proximity, guardianship, target attractiveness and properties of specific offences (Burke, 2005:47; Davis, 2005:42). Although not all of these elements can be applied to sexual assault and rape in a correctional setting, some are of value to this study.

- **Exposure**

This element is the physical visibility and accessibility of persons and property to become victims. The risk of victimisation increases if the motivated offender comes into regular contact with the potential victim. In a correctional centre the potential victim may be in the same cell as the motivated offender or come into contact with the offender during mealtimes in the dining hall.

- **Proximity**

This refers to the physical distance between potential victims and offenders. The closer the residential area of the potential victim to that of the motivated offender, the higher the risk of victimisation.

- **Guardianship**

Guardianship refers to the presence of people (correctional officials) or monitoring equipment (close-circuit television [CCTV] cameras in cells) to prevent the occurrence of crime. In 2006 the Minister of Correctional Services, Ngconde Balfour, announced that inmates will no longer have privacy in their cells "as gevolg van die dinge wat in die selle aangaan" [as a result of the things that is going on in the cells]. According to Balfour it is known that inmates have sex with each other and that rape occurs in cells. With the implementation of CCTV cameras in cells it is suggested that illegal sexual activities and gang activities could be reduced (Du Plessis, 2006:12).

- **Target attractiveness**

This element includes two dimensions, namely the desirability of people and objects as well as the perceived ability of potential victims to offer resistance. Thus the greater the attractiveness of the target, the greater the risk of victimisation. If the motivated offender identifies an inmate as a desirable target, due to age or physical characteristics, he will approach this victim. The likelihood of resistance will also be taken into consideration. Therefore motivated offenders are likely to target young first time offenders who are not familiar with the “inner world” of a correctional centre, and will most likely enter into an agreement without proper consideration of the consequences. From the current research it emerged that sexual exploitation takes place when new inmates enter into an agreement of accepting commodities in exchange for sex. Little resistance will occur because the agreement is almost always honoured.

- **Properties of specific offences**

This refers to the ease with which a crime can be committed. Thus the more difficult it is for the offender to commit a crime the less likely it is for the crime to occur. A significant number of research participants in the current study confirmed that they find it easy to commit a sexual offence as witnesses and victims are not likely to come forward and correctional officials are usually absent, especially at night.

In the evaluation of this model three factors are important. Firstly little attention is paid to the lifestyle of a potential victim. Secondly the presence of a motivated offender is regarded as the only precipitating factor, and numerous other factors such as alcohol and drug abuse or peer group influences are not considered. Thirdly, and related to the first factor, is the absence of explaining the lifestyle differences between the two genders. Accordingly women are less likely to come into contact with potential offenders due to their lifestyle, of mother and wife, but they fear crime more than men (Davis, 2005:42-43).

The former three theories or models laid the basis for the development of the **differential risk model of criminal victimisation**. In this model Fattah combined 40 propositions of criminal victimisation under ten broad categories (Davis, 2005:43-44; Walklate, 2003:126):

- **Opportunities**

According to Fattah criminals seek opportunities to commit crime. Opportunities encompass two factors, namely characteristics of targets as well as the activities and behaviour of individuals. For Fattah the absence of a guardian is an important opportunity factor.

- **Risk factors**

The following are identified as risk factors for victimisation: Attractiveness, vulnerability, socio-demographic characteristics (age and gender), residence, absence of guardianship and alcohol abuse.

- **Motivated offender**

Fattah postulates that victimisation is dependent on the number of motivated offenders in a specific area.

- **Exposure**

The risk of victimisation increases when a person comes into contact with a potential offender, and/or high risk environments. A correctional facility is a setting where both these factors are present, therefore increasing the risk of sexual victimisation.

- **Associations**

Association refers to personal, social or professional contact with potential offenders. Within the correctional environment this can relate to associations with prison gangs. As already discussed in Chapter 2, paragraph 2.3.1., associations with especially the 28 gang may increase one's chances of being sexually assaulted.

- **Dangerous times and places**

Activity patterns may influence the risk of victimisation. Violent crimes are more likely to take place at night and in the early morning hours, over weekends on the street or secluded public places.

- **Dangerous behaviour**

In some instances factors such as negligence, provocation and ignorance increases one's risk of being victimised. For example, motivated offenders may target ignorant, first time offenders and offer them commodities such as cigarettes or extra food. The dominant party may request the victim to give these commodities back within a few days, with the full knowledge that this is not possible. It is then when an agreement is reached where the victim "agrees" to have sex with the provider to prevent a physical assault.

- **High-risk activities**

Certain occupations (police, correctional officials, nurses, security guards) and participation in unlawful activities (sex work and drug dealing) may increase one's risk of victimisation.

- **Defensive/avoidance behaviour**

Attitude towards risk may influence the chances of being victimised. Thus risk takers are more often victimised than risk avoiders. In the previous chapter (paragraph 2.2.3.) certain sexual risk avoidance behaviours, such as keeping to oneself and not accepting anything from anyone, were discussed.

- **Structural/cultural proneness**

According to Fattah, there is a relationship between powerlessness, deprivation and the frequency of criminal victimisation. Accordingly minority groups or members of powerless groups are more likely to be victimised since they are viewed as “legitimate” victims by members of dominant or conventional groups. Although it is true in the USA that minority groups within the correctional centre (i.e. Hispanics) are usually the victims of sexual assault, the same is not true in the South African setting. In PLCC the victim can be from any racial, political, social or cultural background, as long as he is viewed as a suitable target.

The limitation of this theory is that it differentiates the victim from others by either personal or behavioural characteristics. Thus the blame for victimisation is solely placed on the victim (Walklate, 2003:126).

3.2.1.2. Social exchange perspective

According to the social exchange perspective, people interact appropriately as long as both sides receive something in exchange, and each party feels that the other is treating them fairly. There is an assumption of equitable power or resources by both sides of the exchange. Victimisation may occur when one of the parties perceives an imbalance in the relationship and abuse is used to rectify the imbalance on the part of the abuser (Doerner & Lab, 2002:255 - 256).

This theory can be applied to the so-called “wife-husband” relationship that exists in correctional centres. In this type of relationship both parties receive something in exchange, the “husband” receives sex and the “wife” commodities such as cigarettes, food and clothing. However if the “wife” refuses the “husband” sex he may resort to violence (i.e. rape). Therefore the balance is distorted but since the victim needs commodities to survive in the correctional centre he may accept the victimisation in silence.

3.2.1.3. Socio-interactionist perspective

The socio-interactionist perspective, also known as the victim-precipitation theory, stems from the early publication of Von Hentig in which he claimed that the victim often contributed to the criminal act. Von Hentig questioned what it was that triggered victimisation, which he referred to as the *criminal-victim dyad* (Doerner & Lab, 2002:4). Empirical support for the role of the victim in the victimisation process was provided in 1958 by Wolfgang. He reviewed the police homicide records of all murders committed during 1948-1952 in Philadelphia. According to Wolfgang, in 150 of these murder cases, the victim initiated the violence, which he referred to as “victim precipitation”. When the other party retaliated during a violent confrontation the violence escalated into murder. In 1971 Amir (a student of Wolfgang) conducted a similar study and concluded that female victims of rape sometimes contribute to their victimisation, for example if they dress provocatively they were more likely to be raped (Davis, 2005:49; Doerner & Lab, 2002:272; Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:167).

Two types of precipitation are distinguished in the victim precipitation theory, namely active precipitation and passive precipitation. Active precipitation is when the victim initiates the victimisation process. This occurs when the victim verbally or physically provokes the offender (Davis, 2005:49; Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:167). Passive precipitation refers to a victim that unknowingly exhibits a personal characteristic that could either threaten or encourage the offender. Belonging to a group can also increase personal victimisation, since the group’s mere presence may threaten the attacker’s reputation, status or economic well-being. Passive precipitation is related to power: If the target group can regain power, their vulnerability will decrease. The group remains a potential threat, but becomes a formidable target to attack (Davis, 2005:49-

50; Siegel, 2006:77). According to Siegel (2004:100), this theory can be applied to explain multiple victimisations: If a person continues to provoke behaviour he or she will become repeat victims.

Both active and passive precipitation can be applied to male-on-male sexual assault and rape in correctional centres. Regarding active precipitation some respondents indicated that they will physically assault an inmate if verbal sexual remarks are directed at them. Therefore the initial attacker (active precipitation) may become an actual victim. With regard to passive precipitation, a potential victim's vulnerability and/or demeanour may increase his chance of victimisation. Furthermore, membership of a prison gang can also precipitate an attack. For example, junior members of the 28 gang are more likely to become victims of sexual exploitation as this gang allows senior members to engage in sexual activities with junior gang members, in most cases against their will.

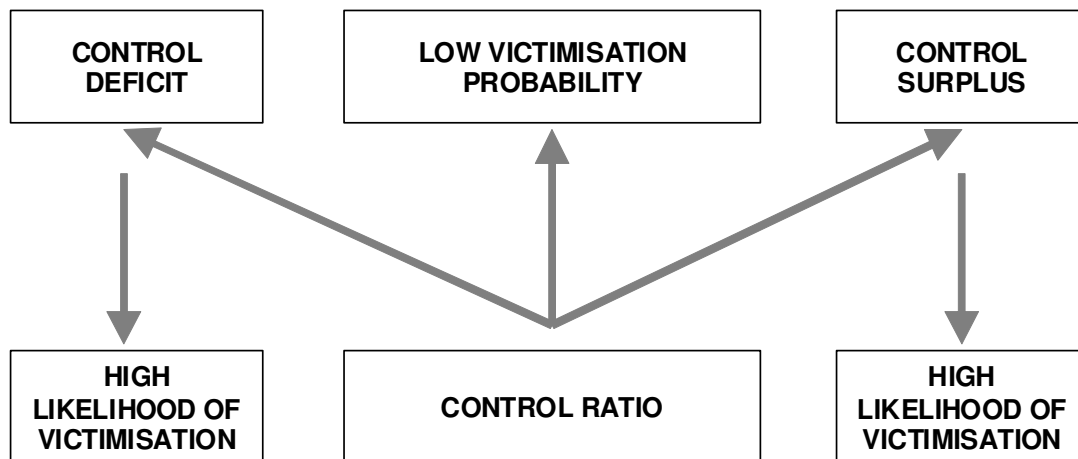
3.2.1.4. Extended control balance theory

The control balance theory was originally developed by Tittle to explain all deviant behaviour, and this theory will be discussed in paragraph 3.2.2.2. of this chapter. However, during the empirical testing of this theory, Piquero and Hickman concluded that control not only determines offender probability, but can also be linked to the probability of becoming a victim of crime. As a result Piquero and Hickman formulated the extended control balance theory (Davis, 2005:47).

As with Tittle's general theory of crime, Piquero and Hickman (2003:295) found that a control continuum consists of two elements, namely control surplus and control deficit, both of which can be associated with the probability of victimisation. If a person experiences control deficit he or she does not have the confidence and/or skills to defend themselves against those who want to victimise them and they will become weak because of this inability to exercise control. This results in the person becoming passive, submissive and vulnerable to victimisation. This sense of weakness is sought out by the offender who then exploits such individuals. Thus as control deficit increases, so too does the vulnerability to victimisation (Piquero & Hickman, 2003:286).

An example is the passive acceptance of sexual harassment by other inmates. On the other hand, individuals who experience a control surplus are able to exercise more control than the level to which they are subjected to. These individuals are at risk of victimisation because of their feelings of impunity, invulnerability and “untouchability” (Piquero & Hickman, 2003:286). They tend to seek out risky situations in order to “show off” their control. Therefore an inmate walking around a correctional centre boasting that no man will ever touch him, may fall victim to rape by a prison gang. The centre of this continuum is the balanced control ratio and individuals who manage to achieve this have the lowest victimisation probability (Davis, 2005:47).

FIGURE 2: EXPOSITION OF PIQUERO AND HICKMAN’S EXTENDED CONTROL BALANCE THEORY (OWN ILLUSTRATION)



3.2.1.5. Summary

The contribution of the four victimological theories to explain male-on-male sexual assault and rape can be summarised as follows: It is proposed by Fattah in the **differential risk theory of criminal victimisation** that certain factors differentiate victims from offenders. This theory incorporates elements of the lifestyle exposure theory, the routine activities theory and the opportunity model. According to the **social-exchange perspective**, victimisation will occur in a relationship as soon as one party perceives an imbalance in the relationship. The third victimological theory, namely the **socio-interactionist perspective** holds that the victim may actively or passively

precipitate violence. Lastly the **extended control balance theory** holds that too much or too little control can make a person vulnerable to victimisation.

3.2.2. Criminological theories

As male-on-male sexual assault and rape are such complex phenomena, integrated criminological theories are used to explain these crimes. With an integrated approach, existing theories are combined to better understand the causes of crime (Brown *et al.*, 2004:423). The two integrated theories used in this study are the general theory of crime and the control balance theory.

3.2.2.1. General theory of crime

By integrating elements of biosocial, psychological, classical, routine activities and rational choice theories, Gottfredson and Hirschi developed a general theory of crime (Hagan, 2002:168; Nagin & Paternoster, 1993:470; Siegel, 2006:208). Accordingly, this theory can be applied to explain all types of crimes, ranging from property crime to violent crime to economic crime (Moyer, 2001:151; Schmalleger, 2004:189). Gottfredson and Hirschi define crime as “acts of force or fraud undertaken in pursuit of self-interest” (Moyer, 2001:151). This definition is applicable to male-on-male sexual victimisation since some instances of rape occur with the use of force, but in the majority of situations an inmate can be “tricked” into having sexual relations. In both instances the offender strives towards self-interest, which is to maximise his own pleasure and avoid pain. Gottfredson and Hirschi further propose that crime is the result of “individuals with low self-control encountering situations or opportunities in which crime will produce immediate gratification with relatively low levels of risk” (Brown *et al.*, 2007:352 – 353).

The concept self-control refers to the degree to which a person is vulnerable to temptations (Schmalleger, 2004:189). People with low self-control tend to display the following characteristics (Brown *et al.*, 2004:367; Nagin & Paternoster, 1993:470; Siegel, 2006:310):

- Impulsiveness: Inability to delay gratification.
- Simple tasks: Preference for activities that do not require planning.
- Risk seeking: Risky behaviour is sought out because of the excitement attached to it.
- Physicality: Physical activities are preferred to intellectual activities.
- Self-centeredness: Insensitivity to other people's feelings and excessive focus on own desires.
- Temper: Easily lose control because of their short temper.

Gottfredson and Hirschi postulate that crime is committed by a person with low self-control when an opportunity arises. Although the current study did not focus on the offender's characteristic (self-control) *per se*, the researcher found that sexual assault and rape in PLCC is a crime of opportunity in most cases.

The evaluation of Gottfredson and Hirschi's work focuses on both empirical and theoretical matters. Regarding the empirical limitations, it is suggested by some authors that the link between self-control and deviance is weak. Although the link between self-control and deviance is statistically significant, it is of no substantive importance (Brown *et al.*, 2007:354 - 355; Siegel, 2006:313). Gottfredson and Hirschi used the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) of the USA as empirical basis. However this self-report study only incorporates crimes reported to the police, thus a dark figure of crime exists with regard to their data base. Gottfredson and Hirschi do however, claim that their general theory explains all types of crimes and deviant acts, but excludes those crimes underreported in the UCR (Moyer, 2001:155).

The first major theoretical concern is that this theory of crime is tautological or characterised by circular reasoning. Accordingly, low self-control is defined in terms of persons committing deviant acts, but the theory maintains that low self-control is the cause of deviance (Brown *et al.*, 2004:369; Siegel, 2006:312). Although Gottfredson and Hirschi refer to opportunity, they do not elaborate on the importance of this variable. The opportunity to commit crime may be more important in crime causation than a person's self-concept (Brown *et al.*, 2004:370). Lastly it has been questioned whether the general theory can explain all types of crime. Two crimes that do not clearly fall within the framework of this theory are economic crimes and domestic violence. Gottfredson and Hirschi suggest that all crime is spontaneous, requires little skill and is not profitable. However, economic crime is a highly planned offence that requires great skill and usually holds significant profit for the offender. They also state that crime provides only short-term gain. However, in cases of domestic violence the continuous battering of a victim result in long-term benefits for the abuser, which includes power, authority and control over the victim (Brown *et al.*, 2007:357; Burke, 2005:213; Moyer, 2001:155).

3.2.2.2. Control balance theory

Tittle's control balance theory expands on the concept of control as a predisposing element for criminal behaviour. According to Tittle, and following on the work of Gottfredson and Hirschi, an excess of control can lead to deviance and crime (Siegel, 2006:315). The control balance theory is an integrated approach that incorporates elements from social control, social learning, differential association, rational choice, labelling and routine activities theories (Braithwaite, 2002:159; Hunter & Dantzker, 2002:142; Tittle, 1995:135).

At the heart of this theory are the two factors of "control balance" namely: The level of control one is subjected to by others and the level of control one can exercise over others. When these two factors are in balance there is conformity, however an imbalance produces deviant and criminal behaviour. Tittle refers to this as the control ratio (Brown *et al.*, 2004:436; Siegel, 2006:315).

According to Tittle (1995:142) “the amount of control to which people are subjected relative to the amount of control they can exercise affects their general probability of committing some deviant acts ...”. The decision to exercise control is dependent on four factors: Predisposition, provocation, opportunity and constraint.

- Predisposition is defined as the deviant motivations of a potential offender to engage in criminal behaviour. The degree of deviant motivation results from a combination of four concepts. Firstly deviant motivation reflects basic desires for autonomy. Secondly if fundamental bodily and psychological desires are blocked individuals may be predisposed towards deviance. Thirdly deviant motivation contains the control ratio component, which is the control that one can exercise relative to that which one experiences. Finally deviant motivations depend on provocation in specific situations.
- Provocation refers to the positive or negative outcome of one’s decisions, and includes verbal insults, challenges or the displaying of weakness.
- Opportunity is the actual chance to commit an act of deviance or crime.
- Constraint is the fourth factor in the control balance theory and refers to the probability or perceived probability that control will be exercised (Tittle, 1995:142-169).

Deviance is defined by Tittle (1995:124) as “any behaviour that the majority of a given group regards as unacceptable or that typically evokes a collective response of a negative type”. Furthermore it is postulated that deviance occurs when a person has either a surplus or deficit of control in relation to others. Control deficit is when one’s desires or impulses are limited by other people’s ability to regulate or punish behaviour. Control surplus is when the amount of control one can exercise over others is in excess of the ability others have to control or modify one’s behaviour. In corrections, control deficit will refer to the control correctional officials have over inmates. One way an inmate can restore the control ratio and regain some control is by sexually victimising

others. While both types of control imbalance produce deviance, the nature of control imbalance affects the type of deviance that is likely to result (Brown *et al.*, 2004:436; Davis, 2005:47).

According to Tittle (1995:137-140), six types of deviance are likely to occur in any society, namely predation, exploitation, defiance, plunder, decadence and submission.

- **Predation**

Acts of predation are diverse and include theft, rape, murder, robbery, assault, fraud and sexual harassment. As a category, predation is one of the most serious types of deviance. If they are able to, the victims are likely to take actions that will be unpleasant for the perpetrators. Thus victims may fight back, seek revenge or try to persuade others to intervene. This type of deviance falls well within the context of this study as it includes male-on-male sexual harassment and rape. The reactions of the victims are also applicable as revenge, where the victim tries to assault the rapist, and/or the persuasion of others to intervene, such as correctional officials and fellow inmates, are relevant.

- **Exploitation**

This involves acts of indirect predation where the exploiter uses others as intermediaries. Organisational arrangements can also be used to coerce, manipulate or extract property from potential victims. Within corrections the rapist can use others to approach the potential victim to make an arrangement of protection in exchange for sex. The correctional centre, as an organisation, can also be used where food, or the lack thereof, is used to obtain sex.

- **Defiance**

Defiant acts can be described as those in which the perpetrator expresses contempt of, or hostility toward a norm or to the individual, group or organisation with which that

norm is associated. These acts violate normative expectations, but with minimum harm inflicted on the object of the hostility. An example of this type of deviance within a correctional centre is the “wife-husband” relationship which is in direct conflict with the policy of the DCS not to allow sex within correctional centres.

- **Plunder**

This refers to individuals or organisations who pursue their own interests without regard for how their behaviour affects others. Plunder differs from predatory or exploitative acts in that the offender has a poorly developed conscience and is therefore less aware of the consequences of his or her actions. The researcher has applied this to the current study and proposes that a plunderer will be an older inmate who sexually abuses a child, juvenile, inexperienced or effeminate detainee for his own sexual gratification. A plunderer can also be someone who rapes because he himself had previously been a victim of rape.

- **Decadence**

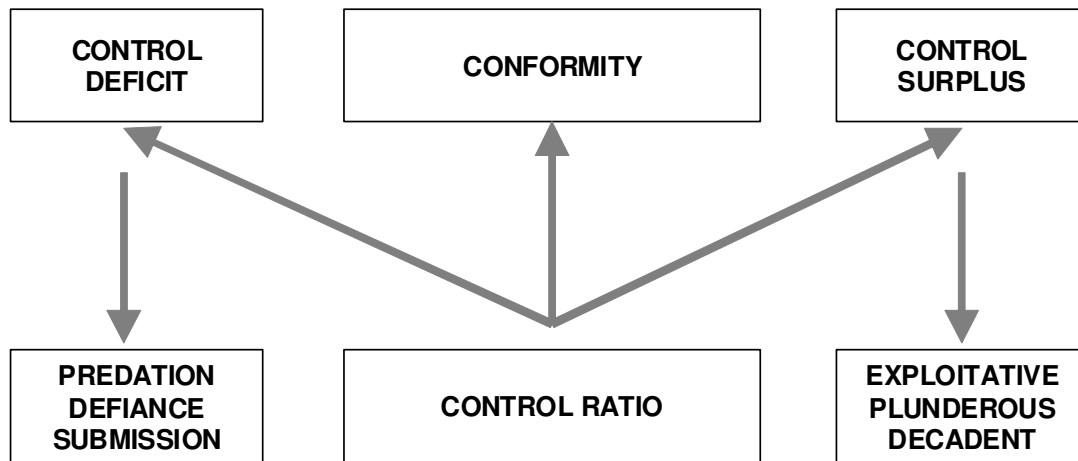
This theory also deals with individuals who act impulsively and have no long-term goals. Their behaviour can be classified as erratic, unpredictable and often irrational. Decadence includes excessive or unusual forms of sexual expression, humiliating the victim and nonsensical pleasure-seeking or destruction, such as sadistic torture. The practical application is where the male victim is anally penetrated by using an object or being urinated on by the perpetrator(s) after the sexual attack.

- **Submission**

A sixth form of deviance consists of passive obedience to the expectations, commands or desires of others. An example of this was shown in an interview with a detainee who seems to accept being sexually victimised, even negotiating with the perpetrators not to anally penetrate him but to “do it between the legs” (inter-femoral sex).

According to Tittle (1995:177), a person with a control deficit is predisposed towards “repressive” forms of deviance. The types of deviance committed to restore the balance will be predation, defiance and submission. He proposes that the greater the control deficit, the greater the chances of predatory and defiant forms of deviance. Those with control surplus are likely to express themselves in “autonomous” forms of deviance – exploitative, plunderous and decadent (Tittle, 1995:180).

FIGURE 3: EXPOSITION OF TITTLE’S CONTROL BALANCE THEORY (OWN ILLUSTRATION)



3.2.2.3 Summary

The contribution of the two integrated criminological theories to explain the causes of male-on-male sexual assault and rape is as follows: Firstly the **general theory of crime** is included in this study as the theorists claim that it can be applied to explain all types of crimes, and therefore also sexual assault and rape in a men’s correctional centre. An important addition to this theory is that crime is committed if an opportunity arises. In a correctional centre there is ample opportunity to sexually exploit other inmates, influenced by lack of manpower, organisational structure, corruption and vulnerable targets. Secondly, it is set out in the **control balance theory** that an excess of control can lead to deviant and criminal behaviour. According to Tittle there can be control deficit or control surplus, and an excess of any one of these can cause an imbalance, thus leading to deviance and crime.

3.3. CONCLUSION

Four victimological theories guided this study namely the differential risk model of criminal victimisation, the social exchange perspective, the socio-interactionist perspective (also known as the victim precipitation theory) and the extended control balance theory. Central to all four the victimological theories are that the victims of male-on-male sexual assault and rape are targeted because of individual characteristics, such as attractiveness, vulnerability and absence of guardianship, viewed as favourable by the offender. In the socio-interactionist perspective it is set out that victims play either an active or a passive role in their victimisation. In the last victimological theory, Piquero and Hickman postulate that both control surplus and control deficit can increase an individual's vulnerability to become a victim of crime. Those individuals who experience control surplus believe they are "untouchable" and as a result seek out risky situations which increase their chances of becoming a crime victim. On the other hand individuals who experience control deficit are likely to become victims of crime because they lack the confidence and skills to defend themselves in a potential dangerous situation.

In the first criminological theory, namely the general theory of crime, it is argued by Gottfredson and Hirschi that the perpetrator is an individual with low self-control who will commit a crime when the opportunity exists. Individuals with low self-control tend to be impulsive, will seek out risky situations, prefer physical activities and tend to be short tempered. According to Tittle and argued in the second criminological theory, namely the control balance theory, crime will occur if an imbalance is present in the relationship between two parties. Tittle further postulates that six types of deviance are likely to occur in any society, and therefore also in a correctional environment, namely predation, exploitation, defiance, plunder, decadence and submission.

4. RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1. INTRODUCTION

A description of the research methodology, the measuring instrument, the sampling method as well as the data collection method will be discussed in this chapter. According to Durrheim (1999:29) research design is “a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research”.

4.2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

For the purpose of this study, the researcher combined the quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, a process known as triangulation (De Vos, 2005:361). Triangulation involves the use of different research methods to study the same phenomenon (Martin, 2000:225). The rationale for combining the two research methodologies is that both can be used to explore, describe and explain male-on-male sexual assault and rape in PLCC.

With quantification it is easier to aggregate, compare and summarise data, and data can be statistically analysed. The strategies associated with quantitative research are experiments and surveys and in this study the data was collected by means of cross-sectional survey research. The disadvantage of quantitative survey research is the possible “loss of richness” of information (Creswell, 2003:13-14; Maxfield & Babbie, 2001:23).

Qualitative research can be classified as descriptions of participants' behaviour or the content of their answers to interview questions (Whitley, 2002:32). Strategies associated with qualitative research include ethnography, grounded theory, case studies, phenomenology and narrative research (Creswell, 2003:14-15). The qualitative component of this study is phenomenological whereby the researcher aims to describe the experiences of the research participants (Rubin & Babbie, 2001:389).

4.2.1. Mixed methodology: Creswell's dominant-less-dominant model

The emergence of the mixed methodology strategy can be traced back to the 1960's. However, this approach was only widely accepted during the 1980's (Maxwell & Loomis, 2003:241). Creswell's dominant-less-dominant model of combination (De Vos, 2002:366) was used to guide this study: The dominant model being the qualitative methodology and the less dominant model the quantitative methodology. In this study, which focuses on the nature and extent of male-on-male rape in a correctional centre, the dominant qualitative methodology is used to describe participants' experiences of sex and rape in the correctional centre and the less-dominant model gives numerical value to the research.

4.2.2. Research objectives

The objectives of research can be to explore, describe, explain, correlate, evaluate or intervene. Studies may consist of one or more of these objectives, but one objective is usually dominant (Fouché & De Vos, 2005:106). The current study can be described as exploratory, descriptive and explanatory research.

Exploratory research is used when a researcher wants to explore the nature or frequency of a problem, gain insight into a situation, phenomenon, community or individual or explore a new topic (Babbie, 2004:87; Fouché & De Vos, 2005:106; Maxfield & Babbie, 2001:18; Neuman, 1997:19). This type of research is applicable when studying a persistent phenomenon, such as male rape in correctional centres, and is frequently used in qualitative studies (Babbie, 2004:88; Fouché & De Vos, 2005:106). It is postulated by Babbie and Mouton (2001:80) that exploratory research usually involves the use of in-depth interviews. This strategy was used in this study.

The purpose of a *descriptive study* is to describe certain situations, events or relationships (Babbie, 2004:89; Neuman, 1997:19-20). The researcher observes behaviour and then describes the behaviour in question. Descriptive research can be

quantitative or qualitative in nature. Regarding the quantitative nature, description refers to the characteristics of a population (offenders and detainees in PLCC) and is often used in survey research. In qualitative research description refers to an in-depth examination of a phenomenon (Fouché, 2002:109).

Explanation is a method used to explain a phenomenon and to answer the “why” question. The aim of explanatory research is to indicate the causality between variables or events (Babbie, 2004:89; Babbie & Mouton, 2001:81; Neuman, 1997:20).

For the purpose of this study the research objectives can be set out as follows:

- To explore the nature and extent of male-on-male sexual assault and rape in PLCC.
- To describe how male-on-male sexual assault and rape occurs in PLCC.
- To explain why males are raped in PLCC.

4.3. MEASURING INSTRUMENT: QUESTIONNAIRE

The data was collected by means of a questionnaire (Appendix A). The objective of a questionnaire is to obtain facts, but also opinions about a certain phenomenon from people who are informed about a specific research topic. There are different types of questionnaires such as mailed questionnaires, telephonic questionnaires, self-administered questionnaires, questionnaires delivered by hand and group administered questionnaires (Delport, 2005: 166-169). Although the researcher was aware of these types of questionnaires, it was decided to conduct structured interviews with the research participants for two reasons, namely the research environment (correctional centre) and the sensitive nature of the research topic. With regard to the research environment it would have been difficult to complete a questionnaire via telephone as

inmates are not allowed to receive telephone calls. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic the researcher did not want to leave a questionnaire with a participant without offering immediate intervention if needed. During an interview the researcher can immediately detect whether a research participant is in need of intervention by a social worker by means of verbal and non-verbal cues. In the light of the above the researcher conducted structured interviews with sentenced offenders and detainees who voluntarily took part in the study by using a questionnaire.

According to Delport (2005:172), the researcher can divide a questionnaire into different sections or areas to simplify the processing of the data. It is for this reason that a proper literature review was conducted. The theoretical overview also guided the formulation of the questions in the different sections or areas. The questionnaire designed to determine sex and rape in PLCC is divided into six sections:

A. Biographical information

Section A will be used to collect biographical information concerning the age, marital status, sexual orientation, language, race/ethnicity background and highest qualification of the research participant.

B. Offence and sentence

This section of the schedule pertains to the type of offence the participant is sentenced or awaiting-trial for, how long the participant has been in PLCC and in which section of the correctional centre the offender or detainee is housed.

C. Prison sex

This is a general section where the participants will be asked about their views regarding the nature of sex in PLCC. Participants' views of the occurrence of rape and

the causes thereof as well as the causes of STI's and HIV/Aids are also addressed in this section.

D. Experience of assault in prison

This is a very personal question area and participants will be asked about their own victimisation in PLCC. The questions range from their experiences of verbal assault, physical assault and sexual assault. If a participant has experienced physical sexual assault (**forced** masturbation, oral sex, inter-femoral sex or anal sex) he is asked to answer specific questions pertaining to the nature of the victimisation.

E. Gang involvement

Research participants will also be asked about their involvement in a prison gang and other related aspects, such as the gang members viewpoints on sex.

F. General comments

The last area pertains to any issues that are not covered in the questionnaire and which the respondents feel could make a contribution to the study.

Since this study is a mixed methodology design, close-ended as well as open-ended questions were used (Creswell, 2003:17). In close-ended questions the participant must select one or two response(s) from a list provided by the researcher (Delpont, 2002:179; Maxfield & Babbie, 2001:249). According to Whitley (2002:345) researchers prefer this type of question because the responses available represent categories of interest to the researcher and the responses can be easily quantified. In constructing close-ended questions researchers should follow two requirements, namely that the response categories are exhaustive and mutually exclusive. The former entails that all possible responses that can be expected are included and the latter means that participants are limited to selecting only one response (Maxfield & Babbie, 2001:250).

Open-ended questions provide the participants the opportunity to write down their own answers in the open space provided (Delpont, 2002:179; Maxfield & Babbie, 2001:249). Since personal interviews will be conducted with all the research participants, the researcher will write the responses to the open-ended questions.

There are three circumstances in which open-ended questions can be more useful than close-ended questions: Firstly when the research is of a sensitive nature or when studying socially disapproved behaviour. This is applicable to the current study of male-on-male rape. Secondly they may be useful if the researcher is unsure about the response categories for close-ended questions. Thirdly open-ended questions can assess judgement more accurately than close-ended questions (Whitley, 2002:345). Another difference between close-ended questions and open-ended questions lies in the coding thereof. With close-ended questions the responses can be directly transferred into a digital format for processing by using a computer. Open-ended questions must be coded before they can be analysed by the researcher. This entails that the researcher must first interpret the responses according to his or her framework. Furthermore some responses may be irrelevant to the study and therefore of no use to the researcher (Maxfield & Babbie, 2001:249).

The questionnaire for this study is designed in accordance with McMurtry's (Delpont, 2002:179) notion that an ideal questionnaire should consist of close-ended questions for statistical analysis by a computer, but also open-ended questions to be processed manually by the researcher.

Since not all the research participants finished schooling or any other training, the wording of some of the questions was changed during the interview. Great care was taken not to lose the meaning of the questions in the original format.

4.4. SAMPLING AND DATA COLLECTION

This section concerns the sampling and data collection methods that were used in this study.

4.4.1. Sampling technique: Non-probability sampling

When selecting the research participants from the population the researcher can make use of either a probability sampling design or a non-probability sampling design. For the purpose of this study the researcher made use of the non-probability sampling technique.

Kumar (2005:177-178), Maxfield and Babbie (2001:238) and Whitley (2002:391) are of the opinion that non-probability sampling is effective when the number of participants in a population is either unknown or cannot be individually identified. Due to the nature of this study victims and/or perpetrators of male-on-male prisoner rape cannot be individually identified. Furthermore participants cannot be coerced into taking part in this study and therefore a list (probability sampling) of the population would not have been helpful. According to Kemper, Stringfield and Teddlie (2003:280) non-probability sampling can be used in either quantitative or qualitative studies and is common in mixed methodology studies.

There are various non-probability sampling techniques, such as accidental (convenient, availability or haphazard) sampling; purposive or judgemental sampling; quota sampling; snowball sampling; target sampling; spatial sampling and dimensional sampling. For this study the researcher made use of accidental sampling. This means that any male offender or detainee who is willing to meet with the researcher and has any knowledge of the research topic will be included in the sample until saturation is reached. Thus research participants are selected based on their availability and willingness to take part in the research (Gravetter & Forzano, 2003: 125; Strydom & Venter, 2002:207). It is postulated by Monette, Sullivan and DeJong (2002:149) that this sample is appropriate in research where it is difficult or impossible to obtain a complete sampling frame of the population due to two factors, namely that it is too costly or impossible to identify all the elements in the population.

A formal application to conduct research and gain access to offenders and detainees was submitted to the Department of Correctional Services in September 2002. The

official permission was granted (Appendix B) to conduct the research in the Pretoria Management Area on 31 October 2002. Hereafter a proposal was submitted on 6 February 2004 to the Research Proposal and Ethics Committee, Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria. Permission was granted to conduct the research, and on 12 March 2004 the researcher received an official letter from the Research Proposal and Ethics Committee (Appendix C). After an extensive literature review which indicated that awaiting-trial detainees are more vulnerable to sexual assault and rape, the researcher applied for permission on 4 August 2004 from Dr Bergh, who is the researcher's internal guide at DCS and Dr Bengu, Director of Research at the DCS, to conduct the research in Pretoria Local Correctional Centre, still within the Pretoria Management Area. Neither Dr Bergh nor Dr Bengu had any objections to the change in the correctional centres. The Area Commissioner, Mr Mkabela, was also informed about this change on 31 August 2004.

On the days of the interviews, a correctional official escorted the researcher to a section of the correctional centre. The researcher went to ten sections of PLCC, including communal cells, single cells, the reception and the hospital section where sentenced offenders and awaiting-trial detainees were asked to voluntarily take part in the study. The disadvantage of this type of sampling, and also experienced in this study, is that research participants who are incarcerated for the first time or are in the correctional centre for only a couple of days voluntarily came forward to participate in the study, but were not necessarily able to answer certain questions, such as gang activity in this particular centre (Kumar, 2005:178). In the end twenty (20) adult sentenced offenders, twenty (20) sentenced juvenile offenders, twenty (20) adult detainees, twenty (20) juvenile detainees and twenty (20) child detainees were interviewed. A total of 100 interviews were conducted. Although saturation was reached after 16 – 18 interviews per category of detainee or sentenced group, it was decided to conduct at least 20 interviews per group to simplify the statistical analysis of the information.

4.4.2. The research sample

This section includes a discussion of the unit of analysis and a detailed description of the sample.

4.4.2.1. Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis is defined as “the person or object from whom the social researcher collects data” (Fouché, 2002:107). The unit of analysis in this study is all sentenced offenders and awaiting-trial detainees at PLCC willing to participate in the research. One hundred (100) male participants were interviewed and the unit of analysis is as follows:



Table 3: Unit of analysis

Section of the Correctional Centre	Sentenced adult	Sentenced juvenile	Adult detainee	Juvenile detainee	Child detainee
A section (hospital)			1	1	
B section (single cells)		11			
D section (adults)			7		
E&F section (adults)	11				
E&F section (juveniles)		9			
G section (adults)			12		
G section (juveniles)				8	
G section (children)					20
H section (juveniles)				11	
Reception	9				
TOTAL	20	20	20	20	20

4.4.2.2. Section A: Biographical description of the sample

PLCC only incarcerates male offenders and detainees, and there are no sentenced child offenders in this correctional centre. A biographical description (section A of the questionnaire) including the age, marital status, sexual orientation, language of preference, race/ethnic background and the highest qualification of the research participants is presented in tables 4 – 9.

Table 4: Age of the research participants

Age	Offender category					%
	Sentenced adult	Sentenced juvenile	Adult detainee	Juvenile detainee	Child detainee	
< 20 Yrs		4		11	14	29
20-24	2	14	4	8	5	33
25-29	6	2	6	1	1	16
30-34	6		2			8
35-39	3		2			5
40-44			2			2
45-49	2					2
50-54			3			3
55-59	1					1
60 yrs >			1			1
TOTAL	20	20	20	20	20	100

From Table 4 it can be deduced that the majority of the participants, namely 33% belong to the age group 20-24 years, followed by 29% younger than 20 years and 16% between the ages of 25-29 years of age. This is in accordance with the notion of Jupp, Davies and Francis (2000:217) that the majority of prisoners are young men.

An alarming finding is that there are five participants between the ages of 20-24 years and one participant between the ages of 25-29 years who are incarcerated with the child detainees. According to the Draft White Paper on Corrections (2003:161), and in accordance with the Children's Act (Act 38 of 2005) as well as Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (Act 32 of 2007), a child is defined as a person under the age of 18 years. Furthermore, the South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) and the Correctional Services Act (Act 111 of 1998) stipulate that a child has to be kept separately from detained persons over the age of 18 years. Although the DCS is in direct breach of South African legislation, it should be noted that many of the detainees are not in possession of any identification documents (ID book or birth certificate) and it is therefore impossible to confirm their actual age. This implies that

the age that some inmates claim to be could be incorrect, and therefore the DCS uses their discretion to place the inmates in the centre.

Table 5: Marital status of the research participants

Marital status	Offender category					%
	Sentenced adult	Sentenced juvenile	Adult detainee	Juvenile detainee	Child detainee	
Single	13	20	13	20	20	86
Married	5		5			10
Divorced	1					1
Separated	1		1			2
Widower			1			1
TOTAL	20	20	20	20	20	100

The vast majority of the participants, namely 86%, are single, followed by 10% who are married. This high percentage of single inmates can be ascribed to the fact that three of the inmate categories interviewed are juveniles (sentenced and detainees) and awaiting-trial child detainees.

Table 6: Sexual orientation of the research participants

Sexual orientation	Offender category					%
	Sentenced adult	Sentenced juvenile	Adult detainee	Juvenile detainee	Child detainee	
Heterosexual	18	19	16	15	17	85
Bisexual	2	1	1	3	3	10
Homosexual			3	2		5
TOTAL	20	20	20	20	20	100

Most (85%) of the participants interviewed are heterosexual. Of the 100 participants interviewed 10% acknowledged that they are bisexual, and 5% indicated that they are homosexual. One homosexual participant indicated that the researcher is the first person he has admitted to being homosexual. This could be due to the fact that rapport had been established between the participant and the researcher and also that no

other person, such as a correctional official, was present during the interview, thus increasing confidentiality.

Table 7: Research participants' language of preference

Home language	Offender category					%
	Sentenced adult	Sentenced juvenile	Adult detainee	Juvenile detainee	Child detainee	
Afrikaans	5	3	4	4	1	17
English		1	5	2	1	9
IsiNdebele	1	1		2	1	5
Sesotho sa Leboa		2	3	5	2	12
Sesotho	3	4	2	3	3	15
SiSwati			1		1	2
Xitsonga		1	3		4	8
Setswana	4	3	2	3	4	16
Tshivenda						
isiXhosa	2	1				3
IsiZulu	5	4		1	3	13
TOTAL	20	20	20	20	20	100

There is an almost even distribution of the following languages spoken by the participants: Afrikaans (17%), Setswana (16%), Sesotho (15%), Zulu (13%) and Sesotho sa Leboa (12%). The least representative languages spoken among the offenders and detainees who took part in the research are Swati (2%) and Xhosa (3%).



Table 8: Race/ethnic background of the research participants

Race/ethnic background	Offender category					%
	Sentenced adult	Sentenced juvenile	Adult detainee	Juvenile detainee	Child detainee	
Asian	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black	16	16	11	14	19	76
Coloured	3	1	1	4		9
White	1	3	8	2	1	15
TOTAL	20	20	20	20	20	100

The majority (76%) of research participants are black, followed by white (15%) and coloured (9%) participants. No Asian offenders or detainees consented to being interviewed.

Table 9: Highest qualification of research participants

Highest qualification	Offender category					%
	Sentenced adult	Sentenced juvenile	Adult detainee	Juvenile detainee	Child detainee	
No schooling	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grade 1-2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grade 3-7	3	2	1	0	4	10
Grade 8-11	10	15	9	14	14	62
Grade 12	6	2	4	6	2	20
Diploma	1	1	4	0	0	6
Degree	0	0	2	0	0	2
TOTAL	20	20	20	20	20	100

Sixty two (62%) of the participants completed or are busy with Grades 8-11. Twenty (20%) of the participants completed or are busy with Grade 12 and ten (10%) completed or are busy with Grades 3-7. Of the 100 research participants interviewed 6% have diplomas and 2% obtained degrees from tertiary institutions.

4.4.3. Data collection method: In-depth structured interview

The data collection method for this study is an in-depth structured interview. In-depth interviewing is “repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed towards understanding informants’ perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situation as expressed in their own words” (Kumar, 2005:124). Before commencing with any interviews, the researcher obtained informed consent (Appendix D) from all the research participants. According to Jupp *et al.* (2000:222) informed consent means “being sure that anyone who is a prospective subject understands what they are participating in and what implications this could have for them”. The informed consent form was explained to the participants in a language that they understood. In many instances the participants opted to read the informed consent form themselves. After agreeing to take part in the study, both the researcher and the participants signed the informed consent form. From the outset it was made clear to the research participants that they will not be rewarded for taking part in the study and all of them agreed to continue with the interview. The participants were also made aware of the fact that they have the right to terminate the interview at any stage.

Individual interviews were conducted from October 2004 to November 2004 and again from May 2005 to July 2005. The reason for the six months delay in finishing the interviews is that the researcher, who personally conducted all the interviews, was on maternity leave. Each interview lasted between 40 - 60 minutes.

The interview consisted of structured questions, which enables the researcher to present the same stimuli and therefore collect the same kind of data from a large number of participants. Such questions facilitates the “comparability of responses”, which allows “categories of subjects to be compared on the same items” (Jupp *et al.*, 2000:56). The latter statement is relevant to this study as it is the aim of the researcher to compare the responses of the sentenced offenders with the awaiting-trial detainees. According to Kumar (2005:131) interviews have the following advantages:

- Conducting interviews is an appropriate approach to studying a sensitive phenomenon, such as male-on-male rape. During the interview the researcher can prepare the participant before asking a sensitive question.
- During an interview the researcher can make use of probing in order to gain in-depth information.
- The researcher can supplement the information gathered from the research participant by observing non-verbal behaviour.
- During the interview the researcher has the opportunity to change some of the words or reformulate a question so that the research participants can understand the question.
- An interview can be conducted with any type of population. For example in the current study the population consisted of juveniles and adults as well as detainees and sentenced offenders.

The high noise levels in the correctional centre made it impossible for the researcher to use a tape recorder, so responses were written down verbatim on the questionnaire. All the interviews were conducted in private offices inside the correctional centre. Because of the sensitive nature of the study, the researcher opted not to have a correctional official present during the interviews. Although this can be perceived to be dangerous, as some of the interviewees were detained in the maximum section, it helped to establish rapport with the research participants. According to Pogrebin (in Hesselink-Louw, 2005:205), rapport is the harmonious relationship between the researcher and the participant, and relates to a basic sense of trust that develops and allows for the free flow of information. The researcher is also of the opinion that the absence of a correctional official elicited truthful responses from the research participants, especially on the areas concerning personal victimisation and prison gang involvement. At all times the researcher made it clear that she is not from the Department of Correctional

Services or the Department of Justice. An identification card from the University of Pretoria (personnel card) was displayed at all times.

The participants were guaranteed that all information shared with the researcher would be treated as confidential. Anonymity was also guaranteed. However, in two cases the participants agreed to have their information divulged to the social worker after it became known that they had been victims of rape. Two other research participants requested that a translator be present during the interview. The participants selected the translators themselves, and in both cases an inmate was chosen whom they trusted and had formed a friendship with. With some of the participants the researcher had to make use of probing, or follow up questions. The intention with this is to elicit clearer and more complete responses. Probing can take two forms, namely a pause in conversation that encourages the participant to elaborate, or an explicit request to clarify or elaborate on a response. Probing is more frequently used in eliciting responses to open-ended questions (Monette *et al.*, 2002:183; Rubin & Babbie, 2001: 373).

Some of the problems experienced during the interviews were as follows:

- Correctional officials entering the offices where the interviews took place without prior arrangement to make tea or coffee or to ensure that no harm had been done to the researcher. As a result of this interruption, an interview has to be stopped to ensure that the confidentiality of the participant stays intact.
- On some days it was difficult to gain access to participants due to the administrative and procedural regulations of the correctional centre such as the inmates of a particular section exercising their right to be out in the courtyard (“binnehof”) or inmates attending life skills programmes. The result of this was that the researcher had to wait for the inmates to return or alternatively go to another section and do a follow-up visit on another day.

- One inmate, who is also a gang member, used prison slang and gang language, which made it difficult for the researcher to understand his responses to some of the questions. As a result this interview lasted more than an hour, because the participant had to explain some of the words or phrases that he used. The researcher did not want to terminate the interview since this participant had valuable information regarding sexual activities and rape in the correctional centre.

Despite these shortcomings the researcher is of the opinion that the responses to the questions were truthful and reflected the experiences and knowledge of the research participants. The completion rate of this study is 100% with no participant wanting to terminate the interview at any stage. Furthermore the number of “don’t know” and “no answer” replies decreased significantly when the researcher made use of probing.

4.5. CONCLUSION

The methodology, sampling techniques and description of the sample group were discussed in this chapter. For the purpose of this study the researcher made use of Creswell’s dominant-less-dominant methodology, with the dominant being the qualitative methodology and the less-dominant the quantitative methodology. The research objectives were set out as exploratory, descriptive and explanatory in nature. Questionnaires were used as the measuring instrument, but instead of mailing them to the research population or handing them over to the research participant to complete themselves, the researcher opted to interview the participants. The main reasons for this were because of the sensitive nature of the topic, and also because many of the research participants are illiterate and may not have been able to comprehend the questions. Furthermore, during the interview the researcher could make use of probing to extract information from the research participants, and as such the researcher gained valuable information regarding the nature and extent of sexual activities, the types of sexual activities practiced in PLCC and also an insight into the gangs active inside this correctional centre.



The researcher made use of accidental sampling and interviewed male offenders and detainees willing to participate in the study. As a result 100 research participants from ten sections within the correctional centre were interviewed. The majority of the research participants were single black heterosexual men. In the following chapter the focus is on the analysis and interpretation of the quantitative and qualitative data gathered by the researcher.