



**CORRECTIONAL OFFICIALS PERCEPTIONS ON MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT IN
WESTVILLE CORRECTIONAL CENTRE: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY**

by

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**SCHOOL OF APPLIED HUMAN SCIENCES
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UNIVERSITY OF KWA-ZULU NATAL**

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November 2018

DECLARATION

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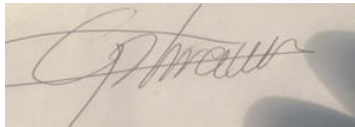
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Yours,

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DEDICATION

I Nomathamsanqa Mthethwa, would like to dedicate this study to the following people:

- To the victims of male sexual assault at Westville Correctional Centre and other South African correctional centres.
- To the Correctional officials at Westville Correctional Centre and other South African correctional centres.
- To my late father, Mzokhona Blessing Mthethwa, and Brother Mvuselelo Mthethwa, whose memory has been the greatest source of my inspiration. It is just so unfortunate that you guys cannot be here to witness this great achievement.
- May this thesis also be a source of inspiration to my siblings; that they too can achieve whatever they set their minds on.

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“Blessed is she who believed that the Lord would fulfil his promises to her (Luke 1:45)”

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ABSTRACT

In correctional centres different types of sexual interactions and relationships occur between male offenders, most of these sexual interactions are commonly abusive, exploitative, involves and various degrees of coercion. Unlike males in the general community, literature show that males in correctional centres are disproportionately vulnerable to male sexual assault. Male offenders' vulnerability to sexual assault is exacerbated by various factors including overcrowding, gang activity and lack of supervision. Correctional officials play a major role in the daily lives of offenders; significantly they influence the structure, culture, activities in correctional centre and are responsible for the safeguard offenders against offences such as male sexual assault. Nevertheless, correctional officials who hold negative perceptions /attitudes towards male sexual assault fail to effectively respond and manage incidents of sexual assault in the correctional centre.

The focus of this study was on the perceptions of correctional officials on sexual assault amongst the male offenders in Westville Correctional Centre. The following were the objectives of the study: To explore awareness of male sexual assault between offenders among correctional officials in Durban, Westville Correctional Centre, South Africa; to explore the perceptions of correctional officials towards male sexual assault between male offenders in Westville Correctional Centre; to identify the current strategies that are in place to address male sexual assault in Westville Correctional Centre.

The study employed a qualitative research approach to explore and describe the perceptions of officials, data was obtained through semi- structured interviews. The data was collected from a sample of 8 correctional officials from medium A- D, by using a purposive sampling Technique. The collected data was transcribed and analysed through thematic analysis, which was used to develop themes that emerged. The findings depicted that correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre are aware of the occurrence of male sexual assault in their respective mediums through reported cases. The study also found correctional officials view in correctional centre it is possible for a male to be sexually assaulted and even though the correctional centres can implement strategies to curb male sexual assault, male offenders will always find an opportunity to commit this sexual offence.

Keywords: male sexual assault, correctional centre, male offender, correctional official.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
BJS	Bureau of Justice Statistics
CCTV	Closed-circuit television
CSA	Correctional Services Act
DCS	Department of Correctional services
DOC	Department of Corrections
DOJ	Department of Justice
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ISS	Interpretive Social Science
IPVS	Independent Correctional Centre Visitors
JDI	Just Detention International
JICS	Judicial Inspectorate for Correctional Services
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
KII	Key Informant Interviews
UNAIDS	United Nations Programme on HIV and AID

CHAPTER 1: GENERAL ORIENTATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study focused on the perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault in Durban Westville Correctional Centre. It was conducted to broaden and provide an understanding of male sexual assault within the correctional centre from the perspective of correctional officials'. This study seeks to provide a meaningful contribution to the body of knowledge and address the gaps by focusing on the correctional officials' awareness of male sexual assault occurring in correctional centre; and the perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault and their reaction to male sexual assault in Durban Westville Correctional Centre.

According to Gear (2001), South Africa has one of the highest rates of sexual assault in the world and more attention has been focused on the devastating effect this has on females and children while males have been neglected, especially in correctional centres (Mezey & King, 2000; Booyens, 2008). The occurrence of male sexual assault in correctional centres is a topic that has been considered with great fear and is largely ignored or considered a rare event. This occurrence makes it difficult for offenders who have been sexually assaulted to come forward and speak about their victimisation (Policy to address sexual abuse of inmates in DCS facilities, 2017). Therefore, it is crucial that the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) breaks this silence. This study will therefore, help break the silence of male sexual assault through the perceptions of correctional services officials.

Males correctional centres "represent an extremely hierarchical, male- dominated space where hegemonic masculinity flourishes through its control and command over other, subordinate masculinities" (Lewin, 2017:1). Consequently, sexual assault of males in correctional centres is regarded as a means of proclaiming one's manhood and exerting power over the weak. It is viewed as an act of power rather than an act of sexual passion (Goyer, 2002; Booyens, 2008). Gear (2010) assert that in correctional centres it is understood that males are sexually assaulted as means to turn the victim into a 'woman' while confirming the masculinity of the perpetrator. The researcher shares the same sentiment with Gear (2010) as it was also found by this study that offenders are sexually assaulted as a means to turn the victims into girlfriends or *wyfes* (refer to CHAPTER 6: of this dissertation for discussion on this finding).

It is the absolute responsibility of the government to prevent and protect male offenders from this sexual offence. Sexual assault in correctional centres, regardless of the perpetrator, represents a government's failure to uphold their responsibility (Just Detention International, 2009). It is one of the responsibilities of the South African correctional officials to safeguard offenders and to make sure that they are protected from such incidents. However, Cook and Lane (2017); Cotton and Groth (1982); Eigenberg (2000a) and Booyens (2008) stated that correctional officials may directly or indirectly contribute to sexual assault in correctional centres, either by means of encouraging the activity or by means of being silent. In addition, correctional officials may be reluctant to acknowledge that victims may fail to report incidents of sexual assault (Eigenberg, 2000a). As a result, this attitude may lead officials to concentrate on other more "serious" problems where officials' estimates of violence are higher (Eigenberg, 2000a).

Historically, the DCS remained silent or submitted to a sense of powerlessness towards such an uncomfortable issue (Policy to address sexual abuse of inmates in DCS facilities, 2017). "DCS has also failed to share information about sexual assault in correctional centres and to ensure that all DCS staff receives the necessary training and guidance on how to prevent and respond to this sexual act in South Africa" (Policy to address sexual abuse of inmates in DCS facilities, 2017). Consequently, the general public knows little, if not nothing, about male sexual assault in a correctional centre (Booyens, 2008).

This research seeks to bring to light all the unknown and/or little-known information about the male sexual assault with the intentions to assist DCS to amend their policies on safety for the victims.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

International studies have revealed that male sexual assault is a detriment to those who live within and beyond the walls of a correctional centre, and its concomitant consequences can contribute to cycles of violence and recidivism (Eigenberg, 2000a; Wyatt, 2006; Cook & Lane, 2015; Lockwood, 1980). The National Organisations began documenting the existence of prison rape/sexual assault in the United State (U.S) during the early 1980s (Wyatt, 2006). These organisations also maintain that sexual assault is a prevalent problem in the U.S. This was proven in the study conducted by the Human Rights Watch by examining male sexual assault in 37 correctional centres in the U.S, and it found that most victims stated that they had been sexually assaulted at some point while incarcerated (Wyatt, 2006). Furthermore, Fishman

(1934), as cited in Fleisher and Krienert, (2006), conducted a study on Sex in Prison: Revealing Sex Conditions in American Prisons in 1934 and noted that wolves, who are the perpetrators, who targeted fairies and younger offenders may lure other offenders sometimes quite persistently and over a long period of time, and shower them with gifts or favours, hoping to make the target into a girl.

Correctional officials tend to report lower incidents of male sexual assault. This is because officials find it difficult to tell whether sexual acts in correctional centres are non- consensual or not (Wyatt, 2006; Eigenberg, 2000b). In correctional centres, some offenders consent to engage in sexual activity with other offenders because they are afraid that if they refuse to do so they will be physically assaulted (Wyatt, 2006). Therefore, to correctional officials it may seem that they consented to participate in sexual relationships with other offenders. In addition, some correctional officials admit that they do not report incidents of sexual assault even when they believe it is occurring because they have not been properly trained on how to handle this situation (Wyatt, 2006). This is one major issue in correctional centres worldwide because due to the lack of training, officials are unable to efficiently deal with male sexual assault occurring within correctional centres. To illustrate the above point, Wyatt (2006:588) found that “one former official remembers being acutely aware that certain offenders were being sexually assaulted or were at risk of being assaulted but felt that there was nothing she could do about it and so just pretended not to notice the problem.”

Sexual assault can be experienced by both females and males. However, in South Africa there have been several previous studies which have explored and explained the concept of female sexual assault (Diedericks, 2003, as cited in Hellmann, 2005). As a result, correctional officials have a good understanding of what sexual assault means and what it implies for the female victims who have endured this sexual act. However, this is not true for victims of male sexual assault in correctional centres (Booyens, 2005). It is evident from previous research studies (Eigenberg, 2000a) that correctional officials doubt that male sexual assault could occur in correctional centres and thus they do not take this seriously. In addition, because incarcerated individuals lack agency and autonomy, sexual victimisation can only be thoroughly understood by examining the context of correctional centres, especially the views of those who work within those correctional centres (Lindegaard & Gear, 2014). Specifically, because officials who work in correctional centres have the power through their regulations and policies to both prevent sexual victimisation of offenders and respond to it or not.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

According to Dumond and Dumond (2002:73), males who are sexually assaulted in correctional centre experience high rates of fear, anxiety, and social disruption. They may feel a devalued sense of manhood, lowered competence and security.

Numerous researchers have studied male sexual assault in correctional centres internationally and have concluded that the problem around the phenomena is that, inconsistent supervision by corrections officials has proven to be the number one factor for offenders to engage in violence and other prohibited acts i.e. sexual assault (Eigenberg, 2000a, 2000b; Hensley, Koscheski & Tewksbury, 2005; Caravaca- Sánchez & Wolff, 2016; Cook & Lane, 2015; La Vigne, Debus-Sherrill, Brazzell, & Downey, 2011). Normally in correctional centres, there are no mechanisms that are in place to ensure that officials are conducting their rounds as often as prescribed (La Vigne, Debus-Sherrill, Brazzell, & Downey, 2011). Scacco (1982:15) stated “that a certain number of officials’ involvement is present in the occurrence of sexual assault in correctional centres.”

In South African Correctional Centres, male sexual assault often occurs in the context of forced relationships which are sometimes referred to as “prison marriages” (Policy to address sexual abuse of inmates in DCS facilities, 2017). The perpetrators of male sexual assault are considered men or husband while the victims are derogatively referred to as “women” or “wyfies” and they are often treated like slaves and forced to be sexually available to their “husbands” (Policy to address sexual abuse of inmates in DCS facilities, 2017). As such, they become victims of ongoing male sexual assault. Some officials and offenders may perceive this type of relationships as consensual, but such relationships are in fact a form of sexual abuse.

Sexual assault is a critical public health issue because most victims are eventually released and return to their communities, bringing with them the emotional and physical impact of the trauma they experienced while incarcerated as a result of the sexual assault (Wolff, Blitz, Shi, Bachman & Siegel, 2006). The South African Department of Correctional Services is advocating its focus on rehabilitation, but very little evidence is found of constructive steps and strategies to combat male sexual assault in correctional centres (Albertse, 2007). Therefore, it is crucial that extensive research to understand perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault become available to find out the views of those who are responsible for the safe custody of offender from such sexual offences. Hence the reason for this study.

Male sexual assault in South African correctional centres is rife because of issues such as overcrowding and inadequate staff. As a result, it becomes difficult for the correctional official to curb this type of crime committed in correctional centres (Nel, 2017). This is highlighted in the following South African correctional centres. Keehn and Gear (2015) reported that an offender was sexually assaulted in an overcrowded cell in Western Cape Correctional Centre while awaiting trial. News24 (2014) informed on what happened in cells of Leeuhof Correctional centre. This was captured in text messages by an offender and fraud-accused Eugene Viljoen. One of the text messages from Viljoen phone stated that “Wyfies are bought, the guard brings him in for R100. Two guards stand at the door and keep watch. The guy being raped gets R50. There have been cases of eight guys on one guy in cell 19. They bring in the juveniles from the other side [of the prison] into the cell” (Pauw, 2014:1).

In addition, Singh (2018) reported that an offender in Emphangeni Correctional Centre was threatened by another offender with a sharpened toothbrush and then sexually assaulted, the perpetrator received 15 years of imprisonment. This is evident that male sexual assault is widespread in correctional centres in South Africa. Male sexual assault in South African correctional centres is recognised as a problematic issue, however very few of the sexual assaults that occur behind correctional centres are officially reported to the correctional officials (Booyens, 2008). Goyer (2003) stated that social stigma that is attached to male sexual assault has prevented many men from admitting that they have been sexually assaulted, hence leading to a dark figure concerning this specific sexual offence (Booyens, 2008).

In some of the South African correctional centres’ offenders stay in communal cells. The daily routine in South Africa’s correctional centre allows for minimal time outside of the cells and given that most offenders are housed in communal cells, this effectively leaves offenders, including gang members, to their own devices (Lindegaard & Gear, 2014). The overwhelming impression is that for the greater part of the day, offenders are effectively locked up but unsupervised or minimally supervised (Lindegaard & Gear, 2014). Homel and Thompson (2005), as cited in Muntingh (2008), further states that offenders in communal cells are difficult to supervise adequately and the cell structure creates opportunities for an offender to commit violence against another offender. It is difficult for correctional officials to identify offenders responsible for any violent act, either physical or sexual. The researcher is of the view that male offender in WCC experience the same problems as other correctional centres in South Africa and internationally. Hence, the study is conducted to unearth male sexual assault that is happening in Westville and to provide perceptions of correctional officials on this

phenomenon. In addition, the researcher chose to conduct this study at the Westville Correctional Centre, because it is one of the largest correctional centres in South Africa and the only correctional centre that is located in Durban with a large offender population.

Despite all the knowledge around the problem of male sexual assault in correctional centres, there also remains a gap in knowledge regarding the perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault (Hensley & Tewksbury, 2005). Without such data, there is no way of knowing whether correctional officials help or hinder the perpetration of male sexual assault in correctional centres. To date, in South Africa there has been no study that focused on the perceptions of correctional officials towards male sexual assault (Booyens, 2008; Nel, 2017; Goyer 2002). To bridge and/or to address the gaps elucidated by Booyens (2008); Nel (2017), the researcher opted to conduct this study with the intent to address these gaps and/or to attempt to augment the existing body of knowledge by providing correctional officials' perception on male sexual assault in correctional centres. In addition, relevant recommendations emerging from this study will attempt to address this gap.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following are the research questions this study sought to answer:

- a. What is the level of awareness of male sexual assault among correctional officials in Durban, Westville Correctional Centre?
- b. What are the perceptions of correctional officials toward male sexual assault?
- c. What preventative measures are in place to curb male sexual assault in Westville Correctional Centre?

1.5 STUDY OBJECTIVES

The following are the research objectives of the study:

- a. To explore awareness of male sexual assault between offenders among correctional officials in Durban, Westville Correctional Centre, South Africa.
- b. To explore the perceptions of correctional officials towards male sexual assault between male offenders in Westville Correctional Centre.
- c. To identify the current strategies that are in place to address male sexual assault in Westville Correctional Centre.

1.6 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE KEY TERMS

The following are the definition of concepts used for the purpose of this study. The researcher has provided two definitions (1) conceptual definitions; (2) operational definitions. They are as follows:

1.6.1 Correctional centre

Conceptual definition: “A correctional facility is the building that many criminal justice systems use to detain offenders. These facilities may hold accused people prior to trial, convicted criminals, juvenile offenders, and other types of individuals. Some correctional facilities are intended to reform or otherwise prepare offenders for a successful reintegration into society, while others simply detain criminals until they can be released. Types of correctional facilities include jails, prisons, and juvenile detention centres. Each country has its own approach to the criminal justice system and uses correctional facilities differently” (Grosz, 2006 as cited in Nel, 2017: 12).

The constitution defines it as follows:

Any place established under the Correctional Services Act (Act 111 of 1998) as a place for the reception, detention, confinement, training or treatment of persons liable to detention in custody or to detention in placement under protective custody. It includes all land, branches, outstations, camps, buildings, premises or places to which any such persons’ have been sent for the purpose of in the correctional centre, detention, protection, labour, treatment or otherwise.

Operational definition: For the purpose of this study, the researcher adopted the definition by Correctional Services Act (Act 111 of 1998) to define the correctional centre.

1.6.2 Correctional officials

Conceptual definition: The Correctional Services Amendment Act (32 of 2001: 10) “defines a correctional official as any employee appointed by the Department of Correctional Services in South Africa under section 3(4) of the Act”.

Operational definition: For the purpose of this study the correctional officials refer to officials who work directly with offenders, responsible for supervision, and safe custody of offenders.

1.6.3 Offender

Conceptual definition: An offender means “any person convicted and detained in custody in any correctional centre or remand detention facility or who is being transferred in custody or is en-route from one correctional centre or remand facility to another correctional centre or remand detention facility” (Correctional Matters Amendment Act 5, 2011: 2).

Operational definition: The researcher shall adopt the definition by Correctional Services Act (Act 111 of 1998) to define the offender for the purpose of this study.

1.6.4 Offender as a Victim

Conceptual definition: “A victim is defined as a person who has suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss, or substantial impairment of his or her fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that are in violation of the criminal law” (http://www.justice.gov.za/VC/docs/2008Understanding%20victims_concept.pdf).

“Persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that are in violation of criminal laws” (<https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/victims.pdf>).

Operational definition: For the purpose of this study offender as a victim refers to the male offender that has been sexually assaulted.

1.6.5 Offender as a Perpetrator

Conceptual definition: The classification of a person as a perpetrator depends on whether his conduct satisfies all the elements of an offence. A perpetrator can therefore, be defined as a person who complies with all the requirements of the offence (Joubert, 1999:97 as cited in Pardhoothman, 2015:8).

Operational definition: For the purpose of this study an offender perpetrator refers to the offender who forcefully oral or anal penetrate an offender; touches or kiss an offender without consent, force another offender to masturbate him and pass sexual compliments or gestures.

1.6.6 Sexual assault

Conceptual definition: An act of unlawfully and intentionally sexually violates a complainant without the consent of the complainant is guilty of the offence of sexual assault according to the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007.

Operational definition: For the purpose of this study male sexual assault refers to forced sexual acts, including forced touching or kissing; masturbation, coerced oral and anal penetration and sexual compliments or gestures.

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The phenomenon of male sexual assault is important because no human should be subjected to violence, degradation and humiliation as experienced by sexual assault victims. All humans have the right to respect and dignity and no person should be denied these rights, including offenders (Dissel, 2002). From the literature studied for this research, it is evident that research examining South African correctional official's perceptions about the sexual assault of offenders is limited (Albert, 2007; Booyens, 2008; Gear & Ngubane, 2002), it is increasingly vital to examine how those who work within these agencies feel about the issue, as they are best situated to address the problem (Cook & Lane, 2017). Due to limited research on the perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault in South Africa, this study aimed to attain a deeper understanding of how correctional officials understand and view male sexual assault in WCC, so that the prevention of this sexual act will improve, and more effective strategies can be implemented. In addition, research on male sexual assault in the correctional centre will provide correctional officials with more complete knowledge of their correctional centre, thereby fulfilling their objective of a safe and secure environment. Research findings from this study will inform exploration in a comprehensive quantitative study as most research around this topic have been conducted using the qualitative method.

It is therefore deemed appropriate to understand how correctional officials perceive male sexual assault to address the problem of male sexual assault in correctional centre. The following discussion pertains to the theory employed in this study. These theories will be explored in the context of male sexual assault.

1.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

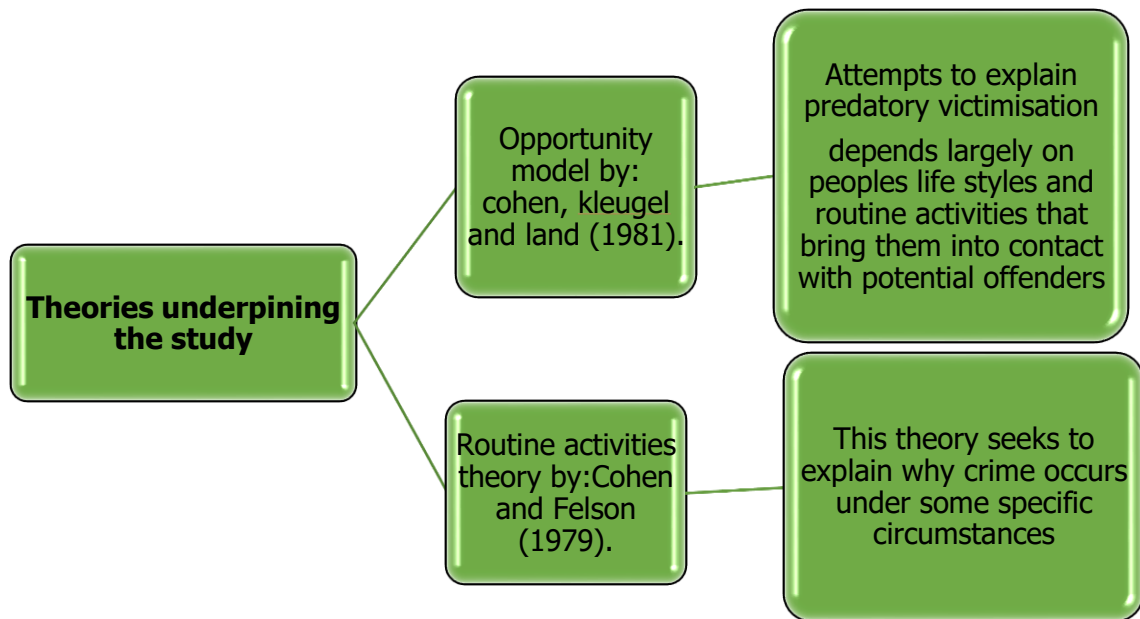


Figure 1.1: Theories underpinning this study

Source: Sibanyoni (2018).

The researcher used the above-mentioned theories to explain the male sexual assault in Durban, Westville Correctional Centre. These theories are the principal theories upon which the research was conducted. The rationale for using the opportunity model for this study was to help explain why and how some male offenders become victims of sexual assault at Westville Correctional Centre. The routine activity theory (RAT), employed in this study in Chapter 3, explain how male sexual assault occurs under certain specific circumstances at Westville Correctional Centre.

The following discussion pertains to the research methods used in this study, more of these methods will be greatly discussed in detail in chapter 4. Here in this chapter 1, the researcher wishes to provide a brief insight to these methods underpinning the study, to orientate the reader to what to expect in chapter 4 in details.

1.9 RESEARCH METHODS

The following discussion highlights the research paradigm in which this study is employed. Thereafter, a brief summary of the methodological tools used for data collection, the research design and sampling techniques are presented.

1.9.1 Epistemological Assumption

Neuman (2011) as cited in Nota (2017:56) stated that the “Interpretive Social Science (ISS) paradigm is mainly concerned with discovering how people construct meaning within their contexts i.e. natural surroundings”. For the purpose of this study, the researcher employed the ISS with the aim of comprehending what Correctional officials’ perceptions are towards male sexual assault.

1.9.2 Theoretical Method

The study used the qualitative research approach which stalks from the ISS paradigm. According to Matthews and Ross (2010), the qualitative approach enables the researcher to explore the phenomena in more depth. The Qualitative approach was employed in this study to gather depth of understanding on the perceptions of correctional officials concerning male sexual assaults amongst offenders in the Westville Correctional Centre.

1.9.3 Sampling Technique

The participants were recruited using the non-probability sampling technique referred to as purposive sampling. According to Matthews and Ross (2010:167), purposive sampling “is generally associated with small, in-depth studies with research designs that are based on the gathering of qualitative data and focused on the exploration and interpretation of experiences and perceptions.” Therefore, this sampling method was deemed appropriate for this study as the researcher sought to explore the perceptions of correctional officials in Westville Correctional Centre on sexual assault among male offenders. The researcher sampled correctional officials from the following mediums (a medium is a different structure of the correctional centres, holding different types of offenders) A, B, C and D from Westville Correctional Centre.

1.9.4 Methods of Data Collection

The study also used interviews to collect qualitative data. The semi-structured interview was appropriate for this study because it allowed for a free and open discussion with the correctional

officials and provided a unique opportunity to acquire in-depth information about the perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault.

1.9.5 Data Analysis

The collected data was analysed using thematic data analysis. Braun and Clark (2006) state that thematic analysis is a qualitative technique used for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns i.e. themes within data. In keeping with the epistemological assumption of this study, ISS aims to acquire in-depth knowledge of other people's perceptions (Neuman, 2011). This was the driving force behind data analysis, where the researcher sought to identify codes in participant's responses and from here the researcher created meaningful and relevant themes.

1.10 STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION

Chapter 1: General Orientation

This chapter includes the introduction of the study, the explanation of the background, research problem, the significance of study, the definition of concept used as well as the objectives of the study together with the research questions.

Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter focuses on the review of literature. Existing literature will be used as a link to explain the significance of this study and to analyse research gaps.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

This section reviews two victimological theories that best describe the topic being studied. An elaboration of what these theories mean is presented and linked to the explanation of the present study. Different aspects of each theory are used to explain the dynamics of the study.

Chapter 4: Research methods

This chapter presents the research methods employed in this study. This includes a discussion of the research paradigm, the research approach, the study design, data collection method, study sample, sampling technique, study context and setting, data analysis method, as well as the challenges and limitations of the study.

Chapter 5: Data presentation, analysis and interpretation of the data

This chapter includes qualitative research findings. Results are presented using a thematic analysis.

Chapter 6: Discussion of the findings

This chapter outlines the discussion of the findings under each of the study's objectives and explained through the literature and theory from the previous chapters

Chapter 7: Conclusion and recommendations

This chapter focuses on the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

1.11 CONCLUSION

The focus of this study was to explore the perceptions of correctional officials on the phenomenon of male sexual assault in Durban, WCC. In this chapter the reader was introduced to the background of the study, this was followed by a problem statement, research question, objectives, definition of concepts, study significance, the structure of dissertation, theoretical framework and research methods. Following is the literature review chapter on male sexual assault.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Generally, sexual assault in correctional facilities is not a new phenomenon and has received much attention. Traditionally, sexual assault is believed to be committed against women. However, male sexual assault in correctional centres is new and continues to receive more attention in the academia and public discourses (Gear, 2001; 2007; 2010). While numerous existing studies focus on sexual assault of offenders, there is a limited number of studies that focus on the experience and perceptions of correctional officials regarding male offenders' sexual assault. This study sought to explore and examine the perceptions and understanding of correction officials on male sexual assault in correctional centres with a particular focus to Westville Correction Centre.

This chapter starts by providing a broad overview of male sexual assault in correctional centres followed by a section on the nature of male sexual assault. Section 2.5 discusses the causes of male sexual assault in correctional centres, section 2.6 focuses on the possible impact of sexual assault on the victim. Followed by a section which examines correctional official's views and awareness of sexual assault in the correctional centre. The last section analyses strategies preventing and curbing male sexual assault in correctional centres, challenges of addressing male sexual assault and then conclusion.

2.2 MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT IN CORRECTIONAL CENTRES

2.2.1 International perspective on male sexual assault

Sexual assault remains the greatest sexual risk for offenders, reported as the leading cause of Human Immune-virus (HIV) and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) transmission in correctional centres (Draughon, 2012). Male sexual assault in correctional facilities is a global problem. Abraham (2001) revealed that male sexual assault in the United State (U.S) correctional centres is a systemic problem that violates basic human rights, and "the U.S is known to have extremely high rate of male sexual assault" (Ellenbogen, 2008:2). Research on sexual assault and violence in male correctional centres can be dated back to the work of A.J. Davis, a sociologist who conducted research from 1966 to 1968 in Philadelphia correctional facility (Booyens, 2008; Wyatt, 2006). A sample of 3 304 male offenders were interviewed during this time. Davis found that nearly 1 in 20 offenders (4.7%) experienced sexual assault over the period of 26 months while incarcerated (Booyens, 2008; Wyatt, 2006). Wooden and

Parker (1982) found that 14% of 200 offenders in a California state prison reported being pressured into having sexual intercourse against their will. In addition, Struckman-Johnson, Struckman-Johnson, Rucker, Bumby, and Donaldson (1996) estimated that 22% of 486 males in Nebraska correctional centres had experienced at least one incident of pressured or forced sexual interaction. Another study conducted in seven Midwestern correctional centres in 1998 revealed that 21% of over 7 000 offenders self-reported being pressured or forced into sexual activity during their time in correctional centres (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2000). Recent findings of a research study that was conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, found that from 2011 to 2012, 4% of incarcerated offenders reported experiencing sexual assault by another offenders or employees (Cook & Lane, 2017). Wyatt (2006:580) argues “that despite widespread recognition of the problem of male sexual assault in U.S correctional centres, correctional officials and law enforcement agencies take little action to combat problem facing male offenders.” This highlights an urgent need for effective intervention programmes to combat the prevalence of this scourge and curb the high number of individuals who fall victim to this phenomenon.

According to Gonsalves, Walsh and Scalora (2012), in the U. S. several studies have been conducted on the prevalence of sexual assault within correctional settings. However, these studies have been inappropriate because there have been conducted on a small scale , cover only a few correctional centres and generalising to the national correctional population (Gonsalves *et al.*, 2012). Nevertheless, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) surveyed 60 500 offenders nationwide , the result of this survey indicated a prevalence rate of 16 800 non-consensual sexual act (Gonsalves *et al.*, 2012), with an addition of 10 600 abusive sexual act reported by offenders (Gonsalves *et al.*, 2012). Although these studies reflect different measures of incidence, they indicate that male sexual assault in correctional facilities does occur and should be addressed. As mentioned above male sexual assault is a problem that occurs internationally, Africa is also one of the country that is experiencing this problem. It is imperative to discuss the phenomenon of sexual assault in the correctional centre from an African perspective. The following is the African perspective on male sexual assault.

2.2.2 African perspective on male sexual assault

Even though most of the research on sexual assault in correctional centres has been derived from “U.S.-based samples, this form of violence is a global phenomenon and has led to select empirical inquiry in other countries” (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014:2). In Malawi sexual assault of offenders has been largely ignored, with more attention focused toward HIV and AIDS in correctional centres (Kangaude, 2014). Kangaude (2014) conducted a study in Malawi to assess the sexual rights approach used to address gender-based sexual violence among male offenders, the study did not measure the prevalence or extent of male sexual assault. However, Kainja (2011) specifically conducted a study to determine the extent of sexual assault in correctional centre. This study established that male sexual assault does occur in Malawi’s correctional centres, and 34% of sexual activity that takes places is coerced (Kainja, 2011). He also found that 21% of the offenders that were interviewed had experienced some form of sexual assault while in correctional centres (Kainja, 2011). Male sexual assault of offenders is a universal problem that needs to be addressed. With South Africa as one of the countries that is affected by this outrageous act that is committed against male offenders in the correctional centres.

From the literature above, it is evident that male sexual assault is experienced by different countries and it is a perpetuating menace that instigate psychological harm to the offender victim receiving it. This problem is not only experienced by international and/or African countries; it is also experienced by South African correctional centres.

2.2.3 South African perspective on male sexual assault

South Africa is a country which ranks high among nations in terms of incarceration rates. The problem of male sexual assault has been intensified by chronic overcrowding in South African correctional centres (Stemple, 2008). In South Africa, no statistics of male sexual assault in correctional centres exist, to date the Department of Correctional Services does not record sexual assault incidents (Stemple, 2008). Also, “the provincial departments as well as individual correctional centres lack any statistical information on correctional centre sexual assault” (Farren, 2000:33). Ghanotakis *et al.*, (2007) also added to this by stating that male sexual assault is not acknowledged as such in South Africa and therefore there is no data on sexual assault that occurs in correctional facilities. Despite the lack of statistics, previous research studies (Booyens, 2008; Goyer & Gow, 2001) revealed that in fact, sexual assault of males in correctional centres does occur in South Africa.

In addition, Muntingh and Satardien (2011:12) also stated that “while many questions remain on the prevalence and exact nature of this phenomenon in South Africa, it is accepted that it is a fairly common phenomenon which poses a grave danger to the dignity as well as physical and mental well-being of many offenders on a daily basis.” Furthermore, a social worker at Westville Medium B correctional centre, stated that more than half of the offenders engage in anal sex, either voluntary or by means of threats and coercion (Booyens, 2008). In addition, Booyens (2008) conducted a study on sexual assault and rape of male offenders and awaiting-trial detainees, the second aim of her study was to investigate the extent of sexual assault in a male correctional centre and the study found that 84% of the participants had heard of cases where offenders had been sexually assaulted in Pollsmoor Correctional Centre (PLCC), with 53% of the participants reported that they had personally witnessed other offenders being sexually assaulted. Six of the one hundred research participants indicated that they had been the victims of sexual assault in PLCC. This is evident that male sexual assault occurs in South African correctional centres.

South Africa remains one of the countries with the highest rate of sexual assault in the world, with more attention to the devastating effect this has on women and children. On the other hand, little attention has been focused on the sexual assault of men, predominantly of men in correctional centres. Thus, this study seeks to understand the perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault as this phenomenon is becoming more pervasive and is one of the challenges in correctional centres.

The above literature highlight that there are no available statistics of male sexual assault in South African correctional centres. However, from the above studies it is evident that male sexual assault is a problem experienced by South African correctional centres. Several factors have contributed to the widespread male sexual assault in correctional centres.

2.3 UNDERSTANDING THE NATURE OF MALE SEXUAL ASSAULTS IN CORRECTIONAL CENTRES

Correctional centres are described as “frightening, disappointing, and boring to people exposed to them, and as a harsh inhuman environment with enforced intimacy, segregation, and uniformity, as well as routine separation from love and status”(Toch , 1975:16).To deal with this environment, offenders develop their own coping strategies, including violence and exploitation of the weakest offenders in the correctional centre (Chonco, 1989). In accordance with the above mentioned, researchers such as Sykes (1956) and Wheeler (1961) believe that

the deprivations imposed by the correctional centre upon the offenders, encourage offenders to find inappropriate ways to deal with deprivation and cope with the pains of incarceration.

Examining the existing literature on male sexual assault in correctional centres, it is evident that offenders engage in both consensual and non-consensual or coerced sexual activity (Martyniuk, 2014). The most common type of sexual interactions offenders engage in are coerced which is described as sexual assault (Martyniuk, 2014). Sexual assault in correctional centres is becoming common to the extent offenders simply accept it as a way of life and part of the correctional facility process and culture (Ashmont, 2014). Sadly, the normalisation of sexual assault in correctional centres by offenders and correctional officials has made it seem as if sexual assault is necessary to be part of life in correctional centres and an accepted part of court-imposed punishment (Ashmont, 2014; Wyatt, 2006). This act of sexual violence in correctional centre is dangerous for staff as well as offenders, it undermines rehabilitation of offenders (Martyniuk, 2014). In the correctional centre sexual assault is embedded in offender and gang culture, the way in which the culture normalises this sexual offence simultaneously makes it invisible (Nel, 2017). This is evident in the following verbatim which captures the participant response in a study conducted by (Gear & Ngubani, 2002):

“If... sex [is done to you] ... you are now a woman... There is nothing we can do... and we don't care... When [you] walk past people want to touch [you] or threaten to rape [you].”

Male sexual assault is more prevalent amongst males compared to females in correctional centres, whereas in the general population it is more prevalent among females. Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson (2006) conducted a study to compare the sexual coercion experiences of male and female offenders in 10 Midwestern correctional centres. The study found that 21% of male offenders and 19% of female offenders reported having been pressured or forced to have sexual contact against their will (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2006). It is evident that male offenders are far more vulnerable to sexual assault when compared to female offenders, as the above statistics reveal that males are disproportionately vulnerable to sexual assault. These statistics reveal that there is an inordinate difference in sexual assault prevalence rates between males and females' offenders. Male offenders are more burdened by sexual assault than females, leading to the notion that male offenders are most vulnerable to sexual assault in correctional centres.

Male sexual assault in correctional centres is considered to a reflection of a ‘macho’ society, which encourages men to strive for dominate and have control over others (Hellmann, 2005; Abdullah-Khan, 2008). Like sexual assault that is committed against women and children in the broader community; male sexual assault is also perceived as an act of power and violence rather than a sexual act within correctional centres (Jones & Schmid 1989; Pantazis, 1999; Scacco, 1982 as cited in Booyens, 2008). In accordance to the above mentioned, Hellmann (2005:19) states that “sexual assault of men in correctional centres is a classic example of men using sexual assault as a means of experiencing themselves as powerful and in control over the victim”. Thus, sexual assault may become a tool for attaining power in a powerless situation (Booyens, 2008).

According to Booyens (2008:28), “upon admission into the correctional centre, the new offender may be subjected to one of the various forms of non-consensual sexual victimisation, such as sexual harassment, sexual extortion and/or sexual assault. Sexual harassment comprises of a new offender being treated as a sexual object and often subjected to verbal abuse. Sexual coercion occurs when an offender must repay his debt (money, cigarettes etc.) to another offender by means of sex, due to a lack of resources.” Within correctional centres experienced offender’s deceptive new admissions into sexual assault. To illustrate this point, Martynuik (2014) established in her paper that the more powerful offenders will offer ‘gifts’ (such as a candy bar or cigarettes) to lure the weaker offender into trusting him. Martynuik (2014), Cook & Lane (2017), Eigenberg (2000b), Booyens (2008) and Alberst (2007) further stated that older offenders approach a new offender with offers of help, and perhaps protection from real or imagined threats from others. The ultimate aim is to create an obligation for sexual activity in exchange for these things (Martynuik, 2014). This is evident in the following comment:

“Maybe they (offender) are naïve. They don’t have an understanding of what can come about. A scheming offender will go to a naïve offender and ask if he needs anything...” (National Institute of Corrections and The Moss Group, Inc., 2006: 8 as cited in Martynuik, 2014).

In accordance with a study by Booyens (2008), it was found that one of the victims was sexually assaulted in the cell because he did not honour the transaction between himself and another offender. He was given food and cigarettes by another man in exchange for sex, but when he had to participate in the sexual act he did not want to and as a result, he was sexually assaulted (Booyens, 2008). In correctional centres, accepting gifts makes offenders vulnerable to male sexual assault because they are expected to pay back for those things sexually, failure to do so

result in sexual assault. This is evident as expressed in the following excerpts from a study conducted by Booyens (2008:144).

“Give you food if you didn’t have ‘besoek’, (visit) midnight come to you said I gave you something today what do you give me now?”

“New inmate with no food, someone provides for him with the intention of having sex, but the young man is not informed of this.”

In agreement with the above study by Booyens (2008), Gear & Ngubeni (2002:17) found that, “assaults and threats of more sophisticated trickery and manipulation are prized instruments for subordinating new offenders. For example, offers of friendship, protection, and dagga are used to lure new offenders and to begin a dependency dynamic in the interaction.” This is illustrated in the following, verbatim:

Moves resembling gestures of friendship and entailing offers or provision of food or small luxuries are the most commonly reported form that trickery follows (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002:18).

Gear and Ngubeni (2002) further found that the target is frequently unaware that an exchange is taking place and a debt being created for which he will later be expected to pay with sex. To further illustrate this, Gear and Barclay (2011) provided a comprehensive diagram that demonstrates how new offenders are lured into sexual assault. Figure 2.1 depicts the interaction between the new offender (victim) and the experienced offender (perpetrator) being deceived into sexual assault. For example, looking at this diagram, it is evident that the victim was unaware that he would be expected to pay back for accepting the gifts from the perpetrator.

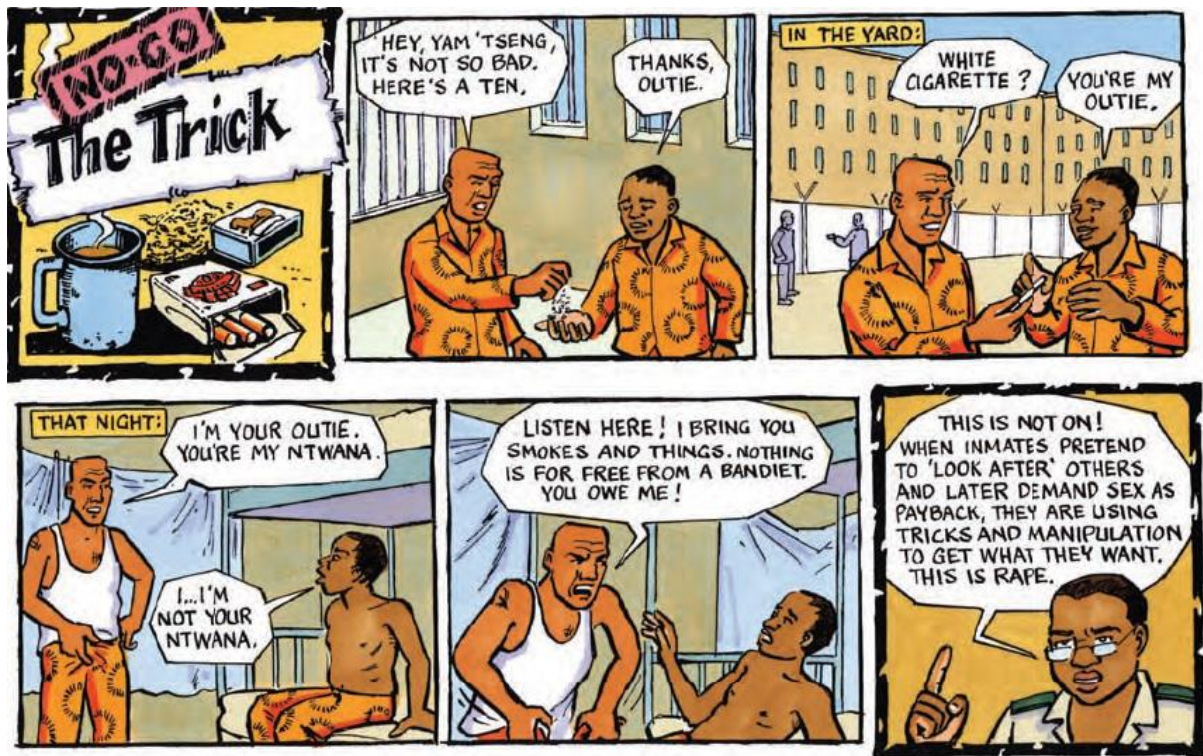


Figure 2.1: How potential victims are tricked into sexual assault in a correctional centre

Source: Gear and Barclay (2011).

Wolff *et al.* (2006) found that sexual assault occurs throughout the day and night, but not with equal risk. Unlike sexual assault, physical assault is most likely to occur during the day, while the chances of sexual assault are highest for offenders between 6 p.m. when they have been locked up in the cells (Wolff *et al.*, 2006). In agreement with this, a study conducted by Booyens and Bezuidenhout (2014) revealed that most forced sexual acts occurred at night. The major reason for sexual assault occurring at night is that the correctional centre is understaffed (Hensley, Koscheski & Tewksbury, 2005). After the correctional officials count all the offenders in that particular ward and confirmed that no one is missing, they locked the offenders up for the night (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014). Consequently, at night, there is an absence of a guardian to protect offenders from becoming victims of sexual assault (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014). This is evident as expressed in the following excerpt in a study conducted by Booyens (2008:145):

“When they master, (In a correctional setting this means after the correctional officials have counted all the inmates in the centre and confirmed that no one is missing, they lock all the offenders up for the night – master refers to the master key and is symbolic of the lock-up

process), forced sex takes place at night when the lights are off, between 22:00 and 04:30 with the most rapes between 00:00 and 01:00.”

“In the late afternoon, evening, and throughout the night, the correctional centre operates with a shortage staff, leaving offenders to fend for themselves. It is during lock-up that most sexual assaults in South African correctional centres occur” (Ashmont, 2014:19). It is evident that in correctional centres male sexual assaults occur at night when all the offenders have been locked up in the cells, with no correctional official watching. This is possible because they may be one correctional official on duty for more than 100 offenders and once the offenders have been locked up it is not easy for the correctional officials to get inside the cell. It is also important to understand the characteristics of potential victims of male sexual assault.

2.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF IDEAL POTENTIAL VICTIM OF SEXUAL ASSAULT

A large volume of research (Cook, 2009:34; Booyens, 2008; Chonco, 1989:73; Gear & Ngubeni, 2002:28; Eigenberg, 2000b:16) recognise the following characteristics of potential victims: “younger than perpetrators, youthful-looking men, physically weak or small, nervous in appearance, talkative, feminine or boyish, willing to accept favours, not prone to violence, having a history of mental health treatment, not being streetwise, first time offenders.” Offenders who portray these characteristics are at particular risk of male sexual assault. An offender explained the reason young men are the target of this to Human Rights Watch (2001) as cited in Booyens (2008:48):

“Mostly young youthful boys are sexually assaulted because of their youth and tenderness, and smooth skin that in the mind of the one doing the sexually assaulting he think of the smooth skin and picture a woman. Correctional centres even fight each other over a youth without the young man knowing anything about it to see whom will have the Boy first as his property.”

According to Gear and Ngubeni (2002:28) “perpetrators of sexual assault also consider the criminal status of the target. Offenders indicated that those offenders whose crimes involved violence and weapons are perceived to be brave.” However, if a man was convicted of theft, a crime where no weapon was used, or indecent assault and/or sexual assault, he is perceived to be a “woman” and is a likely a target for male sexual assault (Booyens, 2008). The crime committed by the potential victim is one of the major characteristics for perpetrators; male offenders who have been sentenced of a sexual offence, especially against a minor, are

vulnerable to sexual assault (Booyens, 2008). An offender explained the reason for this (Human Rights Watch, 2001 as cited in Booyens, 2008:49):

“You need to be sexually assaulted too ‘cos you sexually assaulted our sisters outside”

A study conducted by Smith and Batiuk (1989) on sexual victimization and inmate social interaction in correctional centres suggest that perpetrators perceive those offenders who violate the expectations of masculinity (for example, by appearing weak or vulnerable) as obvious targets for sexual assault. In addition, another study found that there is a tendency among offenders to assume that victims somehow “deserve” their fate of being sexually assaulted by participating in activities (like gambling and getting into debt) that make them vulnerable to victimisation (Jones & Schmid, 1989). Fleisher (2005) reports that offenders believe that all acts of sex in the correctional centre are willing acts, and that male offenders cannot be sexually assaulted.

Previous research conducted by Smith and Batiuk (1989), Chonco (1989) Booyens (2008) revealed that some victims have no prior incarceration experience, these offenders are unfamiliar with the correctional centre subculture and therefore are vulnerable to pressure and domination by more experienced long-term offenders. In opposition to the above mentioned, a study conducted by Lockwood (1980) shows that over half of targets of sexual assault self-report previous experience of being incarcerated. Therefore, victims of male sexual assault are commonly the first-time offender. The researcher opines that these characteristics can be generalised to correctional centres worldwide, since the sexual assault of offenders is a universal problem.

Within the correctional centres, there is a difference between “men” (rapists) and victims. This is “evident in the labels given to the “men” who commit the offence, namely stud, wolves or jockers, whereas victims are referred to as whores, turn-outs, kids, punks and “wyfies” in South African correctional centres” (Booyens, 2008:29). “Men” take a masculine role in the sexual victimisation and are violent when sexually assaulting the victim (Booyens, 2008). In addition, victims of sexual assault are “passive and labelled in derogatory ways (i.e., fags, queens, punks, sissies), while perpetrators are labelled with more aggressive terms (i.e., wolves, jockers, studs)” (Donaldson, 2001:118; Knowles 1999:271). The “sissies” or “punks” are men who “have been forced into a sexually submissive role” (Donaldson, 2001:119). “Punks” do not display feminine characteristics, but are selected because they are young, inexperienced, first-time offenders and are physically smaller than the perpetrators (Booyens, 2008).

Perpetrators of male sexual assault also share the following certain characteristics (Booyens, 2008:46):

- They tend to be older than their victims, but younger than the general correctional centre population. They are usually younger than thirty-five years.
- Men who sexually assault other offenders tend to work in the kitchen since they use food (or the lack thereof) in exchange for sex.
- They are usually larger and stronger than their victims and seem to be well adjusted to the correctional environment.
- Offenders tend to be gang members, are convicted of violent offences and have a criminal record. They serve a longer than average sentence (5 to 10 years) and have served at least six months of the current sentence.

According to Chonco (1989:74) as cited in Booyens (2008:47), perpetrators may show the following behaviour in order to lure the victim into being sexually assaulted:

- They tend to be too nice and over-friendly towards potential victims.
- They give goods such as cigarettes, money and sweets to potential victims
- They do favours for other offenders, such as protecting them and lending them television sets and radios.
- They tend to touch other offender's private parts, put an arm around their shoulders or make sexual remarks.

According to Van Huyssteen (in Gear, 2001) as cited in (Booyens, 2008:37) male victims of sexual assault in a correctional centre are subjected to secondary victimisation in the following ways:

- Some correctional officials insist that what happens to awaiting-trial detainees during their term of incarceration is not their responsibility, since the detainees are under the control of the SAPS.
- The lack of SAPS members to follow up on reported cases of indecent assault.
- The view by DCS that sexual assault in correctional centres does not take place, since acknowledging this will be an embarrassment to the Department.
- The viewpoint that a real man cannot be sexually assaulted
- Correctional officials become "desensitised" to the sexual violence and in effect turn a blind eye.

- Lack of acknowledgment by the broader society regarding the victimisation that takes place in correctional facilities.

In line with this study, the following discussion will focus on the causes of male sexual assault in correctional centres.

2.5 THE CAUSES OF MALE INMATE SEXUAL ASSAULT IN CORRECTIONAL CENTRES

Different factors have been identified as contributors to male sexual assault in correctional centres. Ignorance is one of the main contributors to male sexual assault in South African correctional centres (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014). Compounding this problem is the tendency of correctional officials who neglect to report sexual violations that take place in their institutions once an individual has been incarcerated” (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014:03). This tends to prohibit victims of this crime to report on such an incident.

2.5.1 Overcrowding in Correctional Centres

Hensley and Tewksbury (2005); Dumond and Dumond (2002) point to the growing population in the correctional centre, overcrowding, and understaffing as the main culprits in the occurrence of sexual assault in correctional centres. Hensley and Tewksbury (2005) suggested that overcrowding directly leads to violence and that sexual assault in the correctional centre is a ramification of overcrowded correctional facilities. Additionally, Toch, Adams and Grant (1989) found that correctional centres operating above capacity exhibited more violence than correctional centres operating at or below capacity. Further according to Goyer and Gow (2001:67) the degree of overcrowding varies considerably from facility to facility and from province to province.

Overcrowding is the single most pressing problem facing correctional services around the world and this generates a myriad of problems affecting offenders in great numbers. About 57% of all those incarcerated are in Sub-Saharan Africa, on average 160 per 100 000, compared to the global average rate of 145 per 100 000 (Scheibe, Brown, Duby, & Bekker, 2011: 51). According to the Draft White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2003:42), “South Africa has the world’s highest correctional centre population in relation to the actual population of the country.” In South Africa, 4 out of every 1 000 South Africans are incarcerated in a correctional centre (Booyens, 2008). Hence, this causes overcrowding, and often leading to 50 to 70

offenders in a communal cell intended to accommodate only 18 offenders (Goyer & Gower, 2000:16).

The communal cells of Pollsmoor Correctional Centre have only one toilet and one shower per cell that houses fifty offenders, while 50 % of the offenders are forced to share a bed or sleep on the floor (Booyens, 2008; Nel, 2017). The design of the communal cells in South African correctional centres may have an impact on the sexual assault of male offenders. To illustrate this point, Shayi (2008) states that overcrowding in correctional centres is perceived to be a contributing factor for male offenders seeking sexual gratification with other males. Correctional centre overcrowding has negative effects on an offender's behaviour, Barrett (2005) explains that overcrowding can lead to restlessness and frustration which may then lead to violence. In addition, Manganye (2016:29), state that "challenges presented by overcrowding can also have a profound impact on the quality of work performed by correctional officials and the attitudes of the offenders." Significantly, it has become evident that overcrowding in correctional centres is a common phenomenon which results in some countless problems such as lack of safety, sexual assault, aggression, influence on stress tolerance and death from violence and ill-health (Manganye, 2016; Goyer & Gow, 2000). The Minister of Correctional Services, Ben Skosana, insisted that sexual assault can be associated with the overcrowding of correctional centres (Ministry of Correctional Services, 2001).

Overcrowding in South African correctional centres also has an impact on the extent of sexual assault including Durban Westville Correctional Centre (Singh, 2007). Singh (2007) further mentions that overcrowding in correctional centres contributes to a high risk of sexual behaviour, violence, gang activity and corruption within the correctional centre walls as reported by Correctional centre officials. Goyer, Saloojee, Richter and Hardy (2004) mention that a former offender explained that in the crowded cells there are few beds than offenders in that cell and hence sharing a bed with another offender can lead to sexual exploitation. Goyer and Gow (2001:127) argue that "the more crowded the correctional centre is, the greater the likelihood is of the acts of sexual assault and homosexuality." There are several elements that contribute to factors which influence males' vulnerability to sexual assault in correctional centres.

2.5.2 Understaffing in Correctional Centres

To ensure the safety of the offenders, security is a top priority in any correctional centre, however this is not the case due to understaffing. Overcrowding in correctional centres, is directly related with understaffing. Overcrowding means there are more people in a cell and cannot be protected. As a result, understaffing puts correctional officials and offenders at risk because often correctional officials will not be able to intervene when there is violence i.e. sexual assault (Malgas, 2017). Male sexual assault occurs most easily when there is no correctional official around to see or hear it, particularly at night because offenders are left alone and unsupervised (https://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/prison/report8.html#_1_55). (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2000; Wyatt, 2006), stated that male sexual assault in correctional centres is related to lack of appropriate supervision by correctional officials. Understaffing in South African Correctional Centres is amongst the many issues faced by the Department of Correctional Services. Correctional officials are left incapacitated to manage the affairs of the centre in a satisfactory manner, and their safety and well of the offenders is always of high concern (<http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politics/understaffing-real-cause-of-prison-escapes--popcru>). Booyens (2008) and Gear (2001) stated that male sexual assault occurs at night in correctional centres, due to understaffing.

2.5.3 Gangsterism in Correctional Centres

South African correctional centres have been confronted with the problem of gangs and their violent manifestations for years. “Correctional centre gangs are not exclusive to South Africa, but they are distinctive in South Africa because of their form of operation and due to the fact that they have a nation-wide organisation” (Albetse, 2007:19). Their historic roots also make them distinctive and according to Haysom (1981:1), “these gangs are not spontaneous cliques banding together, but they have a structure and disciplinary code that pre-dates the South African Correctional Services.”

Gangs in correctional centres were primarily formed as a means of self-protection from more dominant offenders and the authorities. This primary formation of protection has evolved to display power and resourcefulness in dealing with forbidden articles and commodities (Wood & Adler, 2001:169). “Each gang has its own vision, mission and aims; and members are identified by distinct tattoos, with their own set of rules and a member will often be violently punished for contravening these rules” (Booyens, 2008:43). In addition, Dissel (2002:10) postulated that gangs oversee correctional centre life, and are responsible for smuggling, assaults, murder, distribution of food, escapes, intimidation, encouraging corruption amongst

officials and forced sexual activity. In contrast to the above mentioned, Minnie, Prins, and Van Niekerk (2002:52) as cited in Booyens (2008:75) state that gangs serve a positive function in correctional centres as “they satisfy the physical, psychological and social needs of offenders, such as comradeship, status and protection.” Several factors have contributed to the escalated rate of sexual assault which has seen male offender bear a disproportionate burden of sexual assault. Sabo, Kupers and London (2001:113) found that sexual assault is not an isolated event in correctional centres. It is part of a larger phenomenon, the hierarchical ranking of offenders by their fighting ability and manliness. In correctional centre, if you are a male offender you must either kill or turn the tables on anyone who approaches you with threats of force and violence (Albertse, 2007).

Albertse (2007:1) further asserts that “the gang culture in correctional centres has brought with it the disproportionate rise in male sexual assault, as gangs increasingly employ sexual assault as an initiation ritual of choice.” In South Africa, gangs have long been part of the South African correctional centres for over a hundred years. Gang violence, power structures and physical size also contribute to the extent of male sexual assault in correctional centre (Dissel, 2002). The Just Detention International (JDI) (2009) reported that correctional centre gangs have a huge role in perpetuating sexual violence in South African correctional centres.

Booyens (2008) conducted a study on male sexual assault in Pollsmoor correctional centre and found that gangs in the correctional centre are responsible for forced sex (i.e. rape and sexual assault). This type of sex goes together with deception, as a young person or a new offender is given the tattoo of a gang, often with the promise that the gang will protect him (Booyens, 2008). The victim later finds out that he must have sex with a senior member of the gang because he has their gang number. If he does not comply, he is sexually assaulted (Booyens, 2008).

In the Durban Westville Correctional Centre gang activities are prevalent. Singh (2007) states that gang activity is alleged to be rife in Westville Correctional Centre. She further mentions the five different kinds of gangs that exist in this correctional centre which include; the 26 gang which is responsible for robbery, assaults, stealing drugs; the 28 gang which is responsible for sodomy; and the big fives-responsible for spying for correctional officials in order for their sentences to reduce and get foster parole; the air force-responsible for escapes (Singh, 2007). These gangs contribute to the extent of male sexual assault in the Durban-Westville Correctional Centre; especially the 28 gang whom use sexual assault when recruiting and

controlling “wyfies” whom are forced to provide domestic services to other gang members (Singh, 2007), Parker Lewis (2003:170) adds that “the 28 gang is famous for their use of coerced sex to create wyfies (wives or sex slaves) for the pleasure of designated males in the gang, by misleading the victim with supposed generosity and protection”. Gear and Ngubeni (2002: 11) state that a “wyfie” or wife is also referred to as a small boy, young man, madam or girlfriend. 28 gang considers the keeping of wives or “catamites” as a major function and, often, as their exclusive right (Schurink, Schurink & Lötter, 1986:25). While the men who exercise power over the victims are considered “men” or “husbands” (Friedman & Fleder, 2012; Gear and Ngubeni, 2002).

A vital aspect of this type of relationship is that the man must provide financially for his wyfie (Booyens, 2014; Gear & Ngubeni, 2002). According to Booyens (2008:9), “the husband is allowed to have many “wives” as long as he is able to support them all. A “husband” must therefore, provide luxuries such as cigarettes, food, dagga (marijuana), and other essential goods. Since he is “paying” for services, he is allowed to move around in the designated correctional centre areas while the “wives” activities are usually restricted, and they tend to stay in the cell (Booyens, 2008). Booyens (2008) further mentioned that, the “wives” must do domestic chores such as cleaning the cell and washing their “husband’s” clothes. This allows the husband to maintain his masculine identity and allows him to dominate others (Trammell, 2011; Gear & Ngubeni, 2002).

Donaldson (2001) defines this type of relationship as protective pairing which is a form of prison sexual assault in which males protect the weaker offender in exchange for sex. In addition, some men enter a “marital” relationship for protection in order to avoid continual sexual assault by different perpetrators (Trammell, 2011). In order to escape being abused by many men, the victim chooses to “pair off” with one partner who can protect him against sexual abuse from others. Since these offenders are “voluntarily” exchanging sex for protection, many correctional officials fail to see the hidden coercion that lies within this relationship (Harvey, 2002; Trammell, 2011). Male victims usually do not report this behaviour because of the offender code of silence (Cook, 2009). Furthermore, these relationships are constructed in a way the man holds all the power and the victim is used for sex (Gaes & Goldberg, 2004). Barrett (2005) argue that incarcerated males create gangs and use physical violence to control each other. Many of the victims who occupy these positions have been forced into their roles, and unsurprisingly then, tend to be drawn from a pool of people who are vulnerable within the correctional centre (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002). “Importantly, vulnerability to being made into a

wife appears to be reasonable with vulnerability to unwanted sex in general, much of the time it is those who are coerced into an initial sex act who are consequently taken as wives for the longer term” (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002:17). Consequently, some correctional officials and offenders may perceive these marriages or relationships as consensual, but such relationships are in fact a form of sexual assault.

There are power structures within the 28 gangs. There are also ranks given to members of the gang and their roles. In order to understand the practice of sexual activities amongst gang members, an exposition of the rank strategy is given and the role each member plays within this gang, i.e. the boy-wives (“wyfies”) of the 28’s members and Jim Crow-the middleman responsible for assigning wives to gang members (Booyesen, 2008). Friedman and Fleder (2012:36) and Albertse (2007:1) reported that “the power structures underlying correctional centre sexual assault reinforce traditional gender norms and negative ideas of masculinity. Wanting to regain a sense of manhood, victims then feel justified committing further acts of sexual assault, feeding into a cycle of violence.” Thus, all these contribute to the prevalence and extent of sexual assault in the male correctional centre.

Therefore, it is crucial to understand some of the impact of male sexual assault on the victims, which will be discussed in the following sections.

2.6 THE IMPACTS OF MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT ON VICTIM

The government has a duty to care for offenders in a manner that does not violate their rights. The practices and threat of being sexually assaulted in correctional centres impinges on these rights. The South African Constitution of 1996 includes a modern set of rights in its chapter 2, the Bill of Rights which states that:

“Everyone who is detained, including in every sentenced correctional centre, has the right to conditions of detention that are consistent with human dignity, including at least exercise and the provision, at state expense, of adequate accommodation, nutrition, reading material and medical treatment” (Constitution, 2006).

The South African Constitution assures rights to all citizens, including those who have committed or are being accused of a crime and are incarcerated (Ghanotakis , Bruins, Peacock, Redpath & Swart, 2007). For that reason, “because offenders are incarcerated by the government, the government has a clear duty to care for offenders in a way that does not violate their constitutional rights, which include the rights to humane conditions of incarceration,

dignity, life, and freedom and security of the person” (Ghanotakis *et al.*, 2007:11). However, this right is usually broken in correctional centres when offenders experience male sexual assault. Victims of male sexual assault may suffer from psychological, physical, emotional, social and sexual consequences.

2.6.1 Psychological consequences

Psychological effects of sexual assault in correctional centres, “described by victims, including attempted suicide, anxiety, and anger, disruption in social relationships, isolation, increased aggressiveness, negative sexual attitudes, continued assault, and loss of identity, manhood, and self-esteem” (Cook, 2009:28; Lockwood, 1980).

Tewksbury (2007) found that male victims of sexual assault are more likely to experience psychological distress than are males who are not victims. The most common emotional reactions men experience are feelings of shame, embarrassment, and stigma (Tewksbury, 2007). “Other emotional responses include depression, anxiety, sleep disturbances, increased substance use and a negative impact on the sense of self in regard to sexuality and gender role” (Dumond & Dumond, 2002:16; Struckman-Johnson *et al.*, 1996:34). Some researchers have suggested that some victims of male sexual assault commit suicide after being victimised (Dumond & Dumond, 2002; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2006). It has been suggested that suicide is the leading cause of preventable death in correctional centres (Hayes, 1997).

2.6.2 Physical consequences

Research suggests that sexual assault of men is more likely to be violent, and accompanied by more and greater outcome of injuries compared to sexual assault of women (Tewksbury, 2007). King (2005) as cited in Tewksbury (2007) stated that sexual assault against males in almost all instances is accompanied by some form of physical force, and weapons are commonly used. However, Libscomb, Muram, Speck and Mercer (1992) conducted in a study that compared male victims who were assaulted in the community to male victims who were assaulted while incarcerated and found that sexual assaults against incarcerated men were less likely to involve the use of a weapon compared to assaults against men in the community. This is however contrary to the notion in correctional centre perpetrators of male sexual assault use weapons.

Physical injuries may occur around the mouth, when force was used to coerce the victim into oral sex, around the nipples and around the penis and testicles (Booyens, 2008). Also, if the victim was constrained during the sexual assault by means of ropes or held down by other

offenders, injuries of such a nature may be visible on various parts of the body (Booyens, 2008). Minor physical injuries may include cuts, bruises and scratches (McMullen, 1990:102) as cited in (Booyens, 2008). Booyens (2008:57) also added “that men who are anally penetrated during sexually assault exhibit at least one form of rectal injury, these types include tears of an anus, abrasions, bleeding, and discoloration with tenderness, fissures, engorgement, vegetation and friability.” Victims may also show scratches on the throat and stomach due to the victim being held down and attempting to resist (Tewksbury, 2007). Tewksbury (2007:27) “further asserts that bruises, broken bones and black eyes may be found, as these can be indications of submissive injuries (striking the victim in a way that will quickly and effectively subdue them).” Male sexual assault not does not only have a negative impact on the victim but also the status of a correctional centre as discussed in the following section.

2.6.3 Correctional centre’s status

Male sexual assault presents a major security concern for correctional centres. Sexual victimisation of offenders’ results in increased time, money, and resources spent at an institutional level (Dumond, 1992). Moreover, a correctional centre is not a permeant place for offenders (McGuire, 2005), thus the community into which offenders eventually return can be affected by the male sexual assault in correctional centres, as “victims of male sexual assault will re-enter the community with elevated needs of physical and mental services. Many victims of offender sexual assault will be released from correctional centre infected with diseases and will, oftentimes, be more violent and antisocial than they were prior to incarceration” (Dumond, 1992:34; Cotton & Groth, 1982). Section two of the Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003 (PREA) addresses this impact on the community, in which it states, “sexual assault of males in correctional centre endangers public safety by making brutalised victims more likely to commit crimes when they are released” (McGuire, 2005:19).

As noted previously, the most vulnerable offenders to sexual assault are those who are young, nonviolent and first-time in correctional centres (Dumond, 2000). McGuire (2005:76) discussed how these correctional centres probably have the most hope for rehabilitation and that “correctional centre sexual assault may seriously undermine the extent to which a correctional centre can have a reforming impact and assures that even those who arrive at a correctional centre uncommitted to violence and aggression do not leave that way.” Sexual assault of males in correctional centres may have an impact on the individual when he must return back into the community.

2.7 THE ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF CORRECTIONAL OFFICIALS IN CORRECTIONAL CENTRES

The Correctional Services Amendment Act (No.32 of 2001: 10) defines a correctional services official “as any employee appointed by the Department of Correctional Services in South Africa under section 3(4) of the Act.” The correctional services official is the most significant individuals in the life of the offender (Mangaye, 2016). According to Grieneder (2013:24) cited in Mangaye (2016:8), “correctional officials are trained in two separate methods that fluctuate between punitive and promoting rehabilitation. They are expected to make sure that security is maintained and at the same time be in a position to be responsible for changing the behaviour of inmates constructively.” “A correctional official needs to exemplify the values of the Department as he/she will be the one to facilitate the rehabilitation process of offenders and also have an attitude of serving with quality, a principled way of relating to others and above all a just and caring attitude” (White Paper on Corrections, 2005:111).

2.7.1 Characteristics of an ideal correctional official

According to the White Paper on Corrections (2005:54) a competence correctional official must have the following characteristics (Figure 2.2):



Figure 2.2: Characteristics of a competence South African correctional official.

Source: White Paper on Corrections (2005:54).

Correctional officials are favourable to keeping social distance between themselves and offenders (Eigenberg, 2000a; Toch & Klofas, 1982). Researchers also suggest that correctional officials believe in being respectful and compassionate toward offenders (Toch & Klofas, 1982). In a correctional context, however, attitudes about the social distance between officials and offenders may be influenced by the career outlook of correctional services officials. Pogrebin and Poole (1988:37) found “that in correctional centres, correctional officials who used the position as a stepping-stone to a career as a law enforcement deputy were more interested in keeping social distance between themselves and offenders than officials who placed more importance on the correctional official job.” The officials who perceived the correctional official job as important and the correctional centre as vital to the overall mission of the agency were more likely to indicate that knowing offenders was integral to successful job performance (Pogrebin & Poole, 1988). Empirical evidence suggests that correctional officials stress both treatment and custody functions of a correctional centre, with the corruption of authority, and contemplate social distance in their relationships with the offender (Pogrebin & Poole, 1988). They show concern over the ability of offender to corrupt their authority and their own ability to maintain enough social distance between themselves and offenders. Officials, however, may have some misperceptions about the punitive or custody orientations of their fellow officials (Cook & Lane, 2014).

The relationship between the official and the offenders is key towards the correction and rehabilitation, as well as to the management of corrections” (White Paper on Corrections, 2005:54). “If there is a good staff-inmates’ relations especially with first line corrections officer’s rehabilitative efforts will be perceived as sincere and as a goal of correctional facilities. In order to strengthen these relations, officials should be trained on interpersonal relations and conflict management “(Patrick & Marsh, 2008:60). According to the White Paper on Corrections (2005:54), correctional officials who are interacting with offenders need to ensure that:

- they are treated with decency, humanity and fairness;
- all offenders are safe;
- offenders, particularly those regarded as dangerous, do not escape;
- good order and control are upheld in correctional centres; and
- they provide offenders with opportunities to use the time that they are incarcerated positively, assisting them to reintegrate into their communities when they are released.

Correctional officials must ensure that all offenders are safe, however male offenders get sexually assaulted at the hands of these officials. It is essential to explore the perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault as this crime occurs under their watch.

2.8 CORRECTIONAL OFFICIALS AND MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT

Correctional officials are responsible for law enforcement in the correctional centres (Eigenberg, 2000a), However, officials may directly or indirectly facilitate male sexual assault of offenders. Booyens (2008) agrees with a study conducted by Eigenberg (2000a) by stating that the involvement of correctional officials can be direct through means of encouragement and active involvement or indirect by means of tolerance or silence. Eigenberg (2000a), further opines that officials may use sexual assault or the threat of sexual assault to control offenders in correctional centre. Graham (2006) pointed out that the power differentials between correctional officials and offenders make it is easy for officials to abuse offenders.

Farmer v. Brennan case established that for a court case against correctional officials on sexual assault in correctional centre to be successful, an offender must show that correctional officials knew that he was at risk to be sexually assaulted and acted with deliberate indifference to that threat (Booyens, 2008). The Supreme Court defined deliberate indifference by a correctional official as follows (Man & Cronan, 200:132-133) as cited in Booyens (2008:20):

(A member who) knows of and disregards an excessive risk to inmate health or safety; the official must both be aware of facts from which the inference could be drawn that a substantial risk of serious harm exists, and he must also draw the inference.

Therefore, deliberate indifference occurs if a correctional official acted or failed to act despite knowing of the harm or risk to an offender's health or safety (Booyens, 2008). The Supreme Court further asserted that a correctional official need not know the exact risk to an offender's health or safety, only that there is a risk (Booyens, 2008). If an official is aware of a risk "it is irrelevant to liability that the officials could not guess beforehand precisely who would attack whom" (Man & Cronan, 2001:135) as cited in Booyens (2008:20). Therefore, if a correctional official is knowledgeable that an offender is planning to sexually assault another offender, the official can be held accountable for not investigating and confirming the suspected assault.

After the Farmer v. Brennan case, courts in the United State of America (USA) have found that deliberate indifference can be inferred from, amongst others, the following circumstances (Man & Cronan, 2001:140 - 143) as cited in Booyens (2008:21):

- officials raping or sexually assaulting offenders
- officials setting offenders up to be raped or sexually attacked by other inmates as a form of discipline;
- knowingly placing an offender with a HIV positive offender who has a history of engaging in prison sexual assault;
- failure to consider the sexual assault victim profile when placing an offender in the general prison population;
- officials witnessing a sexual assault and not doing anything to stop it;
- failure of correctional officials to patrol the correctional facility, especially at night; and
- allowing offenders to obstruct vision into their cells or their beds by hanging sheets.

2.9 AWARENESS OF MALE OFFENDER ON SEXUAL ASSAULT

Men are overlooked and underestimated as being victims of this sexually aggressive behaviour. Sexual assault has been recognised as a widespread occurrence in correctional centres (Worley, Worley & Mullings, 2010). Within the correctional setting, the offender's awareness of sexual assault does depend on a situation where an offender may have experienced or seen sexual acts in the correctional centre. However sexual assault lore and the correctional centre culture itself put them in fear of the prospect of sexual assault (Worley *et al.*, 2010). A study conducted by Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (2000) established that a culture of fear about sexual assault was dominant in the male facilities compared to the female facilities. In addition, Damon *et al.* (1999) also revealed in their study that women have a greater awareness of sexual assault and may sympathise with the victim more readily, because there are more likely to be sexually assaulted than men. Hart (1995:16) contends that "females need and have greater social support at the offender level and as such could have lower awareness of correctional centre sexual assault."

A study conducted by Fleisher and Krienert (2009) in the U.S found that nearly 80% of men and over 90% of women clearly reported that they were not worried about sexual assault or the threat of sexual assault in their facilities. The study conducted by Fleisher and Krienert (2009) on the culture of correctional centre sexual violence and the study conducted by Hart (1995) on gender differences in social support among offender both share the same knowledge that female offenders are less worried and aware of sexual assault within their facilities.

Saum, Surratt, Inciardi, and Bennett, (1995) focused their study on Delaware medium security correctional centre on responses of offenders concerning correctional centre sexual experiences and sexual activities that had either been observed, heard about, or experienced by the offenders themselves. The result of this study revealed that out of the 101 male offenders that were interviewed 40% admitted to knowing that sexual assault occurred (Saum *et al*, 1995). Offenders understand this phenomenon and are fully aware that male sexual assaulted occurs within correctional facilities.

A study by Worley *et al.* (2010) in the U.S established that the longer the offender is exposed to the correctional centre life, the higher the awareness of correctional centre sexual assault. This may be because the longer the offender serves time in the correctional centre, the more he is likely to know and hear about the incidents of male sexual assault and similar inappropriate activities occurring in the correctional centre (Worley *et al.*, 2010). Worley *et al.* (2010)'s study further revealed that about 65% of the offenders were aware that sexual assault was occurring in the correctional facility. According to Fleisher and Krienert (2006), correctional centre "stories" are enough to increase an offender's awareness about the dangers of sexual assaults in a correctional centre.

A study conducted by Booyens (2008) on sexual victimisation of male offenders and awaiting-trial detainees in a South African correctional centre found that the majority (84%) of the male research participants confirmed that they have heard of occurrences of sexual assault in the correctional centre. It is clear from the above that sexual assault does occur in correctional centres and that the offenders are aware that it's happening.

From the above studies, it is evident that offenders are aware of the existence of male sexual assault in the correctional centre. However, it is essential to uncover if correctional officials are aware of male sexual assault in correctional centre. This is further discussed in the following section.

2.9.1 Awareness of correctional officials on male sexual assault in correctional centres

In correctional centres problems such as 'abnormal' sexual behaviours are ignored by administrators, correctional services officials, and offenders (Javaid, 2014). Officials are the men and women who shape the correctional institutions and are responsible for the enforcement of correctional policies regarding correctional centre sex in their respective institutions (Hensley & Tewksbury, 2005), such officials are able to significantly influence the structure, culture, and activities of their correctional centres (Eigenberg, 2000a). Hensley and Tewksbury

(2005) further stated that correctional officials must be aware and concerned about the amount of sexual assault that occurs within their institutions so that they may provide appropriate safety and security measures to their offender populations.

Moreover, a study conducted by Javaid (2014) shares the same knowledge with the study conducted by Hensley and Tewksbury (2005) that correctional officials reject the occurrence of male sexual assault in correctional centres, and generally believe that any sexual acts are consensual. Wyatt (2006) explains that the reason for this type of attitude from correctional officials is that many offenders use coercive, non-violent tactics to sexually assault other offenders. However, Cook (2009) argues that correctional officials may be acting in this manner simply because they are hesitant to pursue issues of male sexual assault, for the same reasons that they are hesitant to discuss other sensitive issues like staff misconduct and corruption. Also, they may not want to recognise its occurrence in their correctional centres for fear of appearing unable to manage the institution effectively (Dennehy & Natel, 2006; Cook, 2009; Wyatt, 2006; Eigenberg, 2000). However, Gonsalves *et al* (2012:26) contradict this finding, suggesting that although the actual prevalence is unknown, correctional officials believe it is an infrequent occurrence and that few offenders are at high risk for victimisation

Eigenberg (2000b) highlight in her work that officials may be embarrassed and ignore to confront offenders who engage in male sexual assault, simply because they perceive no harm. The article further asserts that an alarming proportion of correctional officials are against talking to offenders about sexuality and sexual assault in correctional centre (Eigenberg, 2000b). However, this may be caused by the fact that officials may be lacking of knowledge on male sexual assault or may be uncomfortable talking about the subject because of inadequate training (Eigenberg, 2000b). This indicates that correctional officials require training to be able to recognise the physical, behavioural, and emotional symptoms of sexual assault in a correctional centre. Nevertheless, this requires a better understating of the perceptions and awareness of correctional officials on male sexual assault in correctional centres.

Understanding the awareness and perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault in correctional centres is the focus of the current research. Hensley and Tewksbury (2005) carried out a study in which questionnaires were given to correctional officials in the U.S, in order to understand officials' perceptions on prison sex. Their study found that correctional officials do not believe sexual activity (consensual or coercive and/or assaultive) does occur in their institutions (Hensley & Tewksbury, 2005). It is of importance that correctional officials

are aware and concerned about the amount of sexual activity occurring in their correctional centres so that they may provide additional safety and security to their offender's populations, as well as society (Hensley & Tewksbury, 2005).

Eigenberg (2000a) conducted a study on Correctional officers' definitions of rape in male prisons, in order to evaluate the officials' definitions of rape. Six vignettes were included to determine what type of acts officials viewed as rape. Regarding officials' definitions of sexual assault, the majority believed that sexual assault occurred if the victim was physically overpowered or threatened with bodily injury, though fewer believed that coercive sexual acts (e.g. sex in exchange for goods or protection) constituted sexual assault (Eigenberg, 2000a). However, another study by Eigenberg (2000b) also found that officials were unsure when coercion was used to accomplish sexual assault. This study shares the same sentiment with the study conducted by (Rodriguez, 2011), that correctional officials are unable to apply a uniform definition of sexual assault to the incarcerated population whom they monitor, more so they lack a clear understanding what institutes sexual assault. "Without a clear understanding of what constitutes sexual assault, it is impossible to expect correctional officials to provide safety and security for confined offenders who are at an increased risk of victimisation due to the secured environment" (Rodriguez, 2011:36). Therefore, this study was conducted based on the above information, to unearth if correctional officials in South Africa understood what constitutes male sexual assault.

In addition, Gonsalves *et al.* (2012) conducted a study on staff perceptions of risk for prison rape perpetration and victimisation and it was found that correctional officials mentioned that within the male facilities "male sex drives, forced abstinence, interpersonal conflicts, the exploitative nature of inmate culture and the pursuit of power over weaker offenders contributed to rates of sexual assault" (Gonsalves *et al.*, 2012:254). In addition, Gonsalves *et al.* (2012) study established that correctional officials rated females (87.9%) as being at low risk for perpetrating sexual assault, 11% as medium and 1% as high risk of committing sexual assault. On the other hand, males were rated 93.8 % as low risk , 5.9 % as medium and 3% as high risk for perpetration of sexual assault toward other males (Gonsalves *et al.*, 2012). Gonsalves *et al* (2012) study is like the current study. However, a study of this nature has not been conducted in South Africa more so in Westville Correctional Centre. Moster and Jeglic (2009) conducted a study on correctional centre officials' attitudes toward correctional centre sexual assault, officials were asked about the number of sexual assaults that have occurred within the past year that they knew about. "The study ascertained that 51.8% of the officials

reported zero awareness of assaults; 23.2% reported knowing of 1 assault and 25.0% knew of 2 or more assaults” (Moster & Jeglic, 2009: 72).

According to Shayi (2008) who conducted a study on sexual practices in South African correctional centres, male sexual assault is known to be a problem for both offenders and officials. If male sexual assault in correctional centres also impact the correctional services officials, it is therefore vital to also understand their perceptions. Offenders from Pollsmoor correctional centre who were interviewed by Shayi (2008) stated that up to nine to twelve perpetrators could be involved in a gang sexual assault. Moreover, interviewed officials confirmed to be aware of the occurrences of sexual assault that takes place in this correctional centre, in addition correctional officials handle an average of three to four cases of sexual assault per week (Shayi, 2008). Another study conducted by Ghanotakis *et al* (2007) on Stop prison rape in South Africa found that correctional officials were aware that a male offender can get sexually assaulted upon entering the correctional system, as one who was interviewed mentioned that offenders kept in court cells are expected to go to court the next morning and during that sleepover “things” happen (Ghanotakis *et al.*, 2007). Therefore, an offender arrives in the court as a perpetrator of crime but also a victim of male sexual assault in a correctional centre (Ghanotakis *et al.*, 2007). Correctional officials are aware of the incidents of male sexual assault in their correctional centres, thus this study seeks to explore the awareness and perceptions of officials towards male sexual assault.

The following discussion dwells on the perspective of the general community on male sexual. Correctional officials are members of the community; it is therefore important to understand if they hold the same perceptions as the society on male sexual assault.

2.10 PERSPECTIVE OF MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT IN SOCIETY

Social ideals about gender may contribute to no recognition of men as victims of sexual assault in the general community. For instance, in society men are perceived as strong, tough, self-enough and impenetrable (Weiss, 2010). On the other hand, women are seen as physically weak, sexually vulnerable and fit the overall perceptions of sexual victims (Weiss, 2010). In the general community, “real” men do not get sexually assaulted but “those who do may be judged to have failed in their masculine duty to stick up for themselves” (Doherty & Anderson, 2004:97). Men’s victimisation undermines the dominant ideals of masculinity, as sexually assaulted men contradict the true definition of male sexuality that requires men to be sexually potent, dominant, and in control (Weiss, 2010). Whatley and Riggio (1993), as cited in

Mitchell, Hirschman, Gordon and Nagayama (1999), states that male sexual assault victims are believed to be somewhat responsible for being sexually assaulted. The notion that real men do not get sexually assaulted exist both in the general community and in correctional facilities. Researchers have indicated that the effort to help victims of male sexual assault has been hindered by societal views that sexual assault in correctional centres is an accepted part of the offender's punishment (Wyatt, 2006). It can be argued that correctional officials as members of the general community may also hold such views about the sexual assault of males. Therefore, it is essential to understand the perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault in correctional centres.

2.11 PERCEPTIONS OF CORRECTIONAL OFFICIALS ON MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT

Correctional officials have direct contact with offenders and are responsible for surveillance; safe custody, protection and rehabilitation of offenders, there are the police of the correctional centres (Coelho & GonÇalves, 2010; Eigenberg, 2000a), there are often the first to receive the report sexual misbehaviour when it occurs and therefore have the most interaction with the victims and perpetrators (Gonsalves *et al.*, 2012). Therefore, a significant amount of responsibility and power regarding responding to male sexual assault falls in the hands of correctional services officials. Without the knowledge of the perceptions of officials toward male sexual assault in correctional centre it will be difficult to know how their handle this type of crime. Because of this reason, it is essential to understand the perceptions of correctional officials toward male sexual assault in correctional centres.

Characteristics of the victim also have a considerable effect on perceptions of correctional services officials. Officials believe that offenders who are young, those in debt, and sometimes homosexuals are potential victims (Eigenberg, 1989, 2000). Consequently, Eigenberg (2000b) conducted a study on perceptions of correctional officials in Mid-Western, and the study revealed that 46% of the officials indicated that some offenders "deserved" to be sexually assaulted. In addition, officials are less likely to believe sexual assault allegations made by gang members, muscular men or inmate leaders, and almost 50% of the sample believed some victims (i.e. those who had previously consented to sexual acts) deserve to be sexually assaulted (Eigenberg, 1989, 2000a, 2000b).

In addition, officials were more likely to blame victims who acted feminine or were homosexual for being sexually assaulted, correctional officials tend to blame the victims for

allowing to be sexually assaulted by other males (Eigenberg, 1989, 2000a, 2000b). In addition, about 31% either would never or rarely believe victims of sexual assault who were prostitutes, 27% reported they were doubtful to believe homosexual sexual assault victims, half were hesitant to believe strong inmates, and two-thirds were hesitant to believe gang leaders (Eigenberg, 1989). These findings suggest that stereotypical beliefs about gender, sexuality and sexual assault may influence perceptions of male sexual assault in correctional centres much like they do about perceptions towards sexual assault in the general community.

Traditionally, males are viewed as sexually aggressive, dominant, heterosexual and physically strong, this therefore becomes the basis for male sexual assault myths such as “men cannot be sexually assaulted” (Davies, 2002). Research conducted on the culture of male sexual assault indicated that males are expected to fight when threatened with sexual assault and that people believe that they cannot be forced to engage in sex without consent, contributing to the myth that males cannot be sexually assaulted (Groth & Burgess, 1980). Correctional officials may hold the same perceptions about male offenders that a male cannot be sexually assaulted and therefore blame those who get sexually assaulted. In support of the above statement, Dumond & Dumond, (2002) suggest that one of the reasons male offenders fail to report sexual assault victimisation is the fear that they will be blamed for the incident by officials and fellow offenders.

According to Cook and Lane (2017), correctional officials’ views on the victims of sexual assault are influenced by the factors that impact their beliefs about their jobs or overseeing offenders within correctional settings. Moster and Jeglic (2009) further state that because of the official’s status, his or her beliefs and attitudes toward sexual assault can have a great impact on the rules and culture of the penal institution that he or she oversees. Many officials believe that victims do not report incidences of sexual assault to correctional officials (Eigenberg, 1989) because of fear to be labelled as a snitch as this can lead to further sexual or physical assault (Dumond, 2000; Cook, 2009). In addition, victims’ failure to report could be due to officials’ response to reports. Eigenberg (2000b) found that 8% of officials she surveyed reported to ignoring incidents of male sexual behaviour. Wooden and Parker (1982) also found that correctional officials would ignore sexual activity unless it caused disruption in correctional centre. This may be because officials find it difficult to understand the differences between consensual, coerced, and forced acts of sexual activity. To illustrate this point, Eigenberg (1989; 2000b) established in her paper that officials reported that although they do not think sexual assault is rare in correctional centres, it is difficult to distinguish sexual acts

as coercive or consensual. Another survey of 166 correctional officials employed by the Texas Department of Corrections (Eigenberg, 1989) found that most officials thought rape and consensual homosexual acts were common events.

Lockwood (1980) conducted a research study on inmate victimisation in New work correctional centre, which found that correctional officials sometimes ignored or encouraged fights of offenders when defending themselves against sexual assault or coercive sexual pressure. In a study conducted by Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (2000) it was found that the careless attitudes of correctional officials regarding sexual coercion in detention settings to be a significant factor that promotes sexual assault. Eigenberg (2000) suggested that correctional officials potentially do not respond to sexual assault because they do not define certain types of rapes as sexual assaults and because they may hold attitudes about different types of rape as being precipitated by the victim. Unfortunately, official's values and perceptions significantly contribute to sexual assault in correctional centre (Dumond, 2000). Therefore, correctional officials' perceptions are critical components in the prevalence of reporting sexual assault.

One of the barriers to address male sexual in correctional centres if the underreporting of victims of male sexual assault. Victims have different reasons for not reporting incidents of male sexual assault to the officials. The following discussion is on the underreporting of sexual assault.

2.12 UNDERREPORTING OF MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT IN CORRECTIONAL CENTRES

Sexual assault is one of the most underreported crimes in correctional centres. Research by Levan Miller (2010) revealed that victims of sexual assault may avoid officially reporting due to feelings of shame or embarrassment. "They may also believe that they are partially responsible for the crime, or that no official action will be taken against the perpetrator" (Levan Miller, 2010:3). Shame and the fear of being stigmatised in correctional centres has proven to be the barrier for offenders to report incidents of male sexual assault. The underreporting of male sexual assault in correctional centres is likely to result in correctional officials underestimating the extent of the problem.

Booyens (2008) states that victims of sexual assault in correctional settings are not likely to report this incident to the correctional services officials, hence leading to a dark figure

concerning this specific type of crime. Lack of reporting cases of sexual assault is not only from the male victim in correctional facilities but also male victims in the general community. Lees (1997:18) “state that male victims quite often do not report their case to the police due to the ‘stigma’ and fear that the police may think they are homosexual and not ‘real men’ for not fighting the offender off.” Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that correctional services officials, like police officers, may affect the reporting practices of victims in correctional centres.

Male as victims of sexual assault find it embarrassing to discuss their experiences of the incident, either officially or unofficially (Smith & Batiuk, 1989; Struckman- Johnson *et al.*, 1996), especially considering the emphasis placed on the convict code, which emphasises strength and masculinity of men (Sykes & Messinger, 1960). Because of the value placed on maintaining of masculinity, offenders may be less likely to report to correctional services officials, especially to male staff. “Victims may also fear other inmates discovering their victimisation and labelling them as less masculine. this is especially problematic considering once an offender has been the target of a sexual assault, he is likely to continue to be victimised by other offenders” (Man & Cronan, 2001:23).

The complex relationships between the correctional officials and male offenders may provide some explanation for the lack of reporting (Levan Miller, 2010). Even though previous research reveals that the fear of sexual assault dominates the correctional environment (Hensley & Tewksbury, 2005; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2000), many correctional officials may not recognise sexual assault as a problem in their correctional centres (Banbury, 2004; Eigenberg, 2000). “They may view assaults as a deserved response to an individual’s criminal behaviour or may have difficulty discerning whether the sexual activity is consensual or forced” (Eigenberg, 1989:30; Eigenberg, 2000b; Hensley & Tewksbury, 2005; Owen, McCampbell & Wells, 2007; Owen & Wells, 2006). In addition, this may be due to the fact that correctional officials may also be lacking experience in dealing with cases of sexual assault (Levan Miller, 2010). This may be due to the fact that offenders do not report, “much of the exposure that correctional officials have with sexual misconduct is via discussion with other officers or reading formal reports” (Owen & Wells, 2006:43). Recent studies have indicated “that many of the reports of sexual victimisation were found to be either unsubstantiated or unfounded” (Beck, Harrison & Adams, 2007:22).

The occurrence of male sexual assault outside of institutionalised settings is a problem that has been neglected by society (Worley *et al.*, 2010). Ghanotakis *et al.*, (2007) adds that male sexual assault in correctional centres draw little concern in most societies, with South Africa included. Instead, it is often joked about as though it is an expected part of the sentence, the spectre of which might serve as a useful deterrent against criminal behaviour. To illustrate the above-mentioned points, Wyatt (2006) stated that societal attitudes towards the sexual assault of males in correctional centres may explain why correctional services officials, law enforcement agencies and state legislatures are often unresponsive when offenders report to being sexually assaulted. Brochman (1991) argues that male sexual assault statistics hugely under-represent the true number of males who are sexually assaulted. Brochman (1991) also found that counsellors believe that one in fifty female sexual assault victims report to the police, for males the rates of under-reporting are considerably higher. This therefore shows that the issue of under-reporting by male victims does not only occur in correctional centres but also in the general community. This finding may lead to further uncertainty among correctional officials of the reliability of offender reports of sexual victimisation. This makes it paramount to first know and understand the causes that contribute to male sexual assault in correctional centres.

This problem cannot be ignored by the DCS when designing and implementing prevention methods or strategies against male sexual assault as this has contributed negatively to the well-being of the offenders who experience this. The following discussion is on strategies available to curb male sexual assault in correctional centres.

2.13 STRATEGIES TO CURB MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT IN CORRECTIONAL CENTRES

Even though disparity exists in the rates of sexual assault of offenders, correctional officials have been provided with a number of possible solutions to reduce male sexual assault in correctional facilities (Hensley , Dumond, Tewksbury & Dumond, 2002b). Eigenberg (2000a, 2000b) found that correctional official's responses to inmate sexual assault is a complex issue and can vary by situation. In a related study by Hensley *et al.* (2002), surveys were administered to a nationwide sample of correctional officials to examine their perceptions regarding the efficacy of strategies and practices aimed at preventing sexual assault in a correctional centre. Half of the correctional officials believed that strategies were somewhat effective in reducing sexual assault, a greater amount believed that staff training and offender supervision were

successful strategies to reduce the occurrence of sexual assault in correctional centre (Hensley *et al.*, 2002).

A series of focus groups conducted in a dozen jails and correctional centres suggests that staff (officials, supervisors, and administrators) who work in correctional centres agreed that preventing the occurrence of sexual assault is an essential part of their job (Martyniuk, 2014). There are several strategies that are used in correctional centres nationwide to assist in reducing male sexual assault. The following reduction strategies that are relevant to this will be discussed: conjugal visitation, Identification and segregation of vulnerable offenders, Training of correctional services officials, Legislation and Punishment of offenders is the few of the available strategies.

2.13.1 Conjugal visitation

Conjugal visitation allows an offender to have his wife or common-law partner to visit privately and have sexual intercourse (Booyens, 2008). For example, “during 1967 the Mississippi state penitentiary system in the United State of America (USA) allowed offenders to bring their wives or girlfriends into the general correctional centre population’s sleeping quarters (Booyens, 2008). The offenders could hang blankets around their beds for privacy” (Scacco, 1975:106). Conjugal visits are still practiced in cities and towns such as Mississippi, New York, California, Washington and New Mexico (Booyens, 2008). In “European and Latin American countries conjugal visits are also widely accepted” (Hensley *et al.*, 2002:143). The experience of these states shows that such programs are workable (Booyens, 2008). Wyatt (2006) agrees with Booyens (2008) by stating that correctional officials in these countries assert that conjugal visits are critical components in preventing sexual assault of male offenders in correctional centres. Empirical evidence of these claims, however, remains limited (Wyatt, 2006). Currently, in South Africa conjugal visits are not practised, “even if it were to be allowed, overcrowding, insufficient manpower and lack of facilities will hinder the implementation of such a policy” (Lazarus, 2002:83).

Wyatt (2006) advocates for conjugal visitation, contending that such a policy can decrease violence, generally, and sexual assault among offenders, in that it used as a behaviour controlling mechanism. Conjugal visitation is also reported to promote family stability (Carlson & Cervera, 1991), better disciplinary records and post-release adjustment and socialisation (Howser, Grossman & MacDonald, 1983). In addition, it influences the consensual sexual activity of correctional centres between offenders (Wyatt, 2006). This policy

has a potential to reduce the incidence of sexual assault in correctional centres, Haysom (1981) maintains that this policy would also reduce violence, which while not necessarily constituting sexual violence, often emanates from the competition for sexual partners. However, some researchers contend that conjugal visits cause those offenders who have not been allowed to participate to have negative feelings (Booyens, 2008; Wyatt, 2006). Booyens (2008:96) further mentioned that a man, especially “a gang member, may engage in conjugal visits with his wife, but continue to sexually assault in order to validate his manhood among his peers.”

2.13.2 Identification and segregation of vulnerable offenders

According to Cotton and Groth (1982:53), “offenders who are potentially vulnerable to male sexual assault should be identified and segregated from the general correctional population upon admission, and also increase surveillance of facility blind spots where assaults are likely to occur.” Cotton and Groth (1982) also provide options available to correctional centres who are potential target of male sexual assault. They stipulate that offenders may request protective custody. However, this may mean that they might have to give up certain privileges that accompany in the general correctional centre population (Cotton & Groth, 1982). “They also state that offenders may fight back and risk greater injury and disciplinary action or they may submit to the sexual assaults (making them vulnerable to further victimisation)” (Cotton & Groth, 1982:54). These options have implications for the management of correctional centres. One implication for correctional centre management is that males are hesitant to seek assistance in the first place and may be more prone to try to “take care” of the situation themselves (Cotton & Groth, 1982).

In a study conducted by Booyens (2008), two transsexual participants were interviewed, and they indicated that they were placed in the hospital section of the correctional centre immediately after their arrest, both participants displayed womanly physical appearances such as long hair and the use of cosmetics (Booyens, 2008). Booyens (2008:83) further stated that “although this is the ideal, it is not always possible in the South African context due to the overcrowding of correctional centres.”

Regarding the segregation of offenders, the Correctional Services Amendment Act (Act 32 of 2001) as cited in Booyens (2008:83-84) sets out that segregation of an offender for a period is only permissible under the following conditions:

- upon the written request of offenders;
- to give effect to the penalty of the restriction of amenities;

- if prescribed by a medical officer on medical grounds;
- when an offender displays violent behaviour or is threatened with violence;
- if an offender has been recaptured after an escape and there is a possibility that he will attempt to escape again; and
- if at the request of the SAPS.

According to Booyens (2008), from the terms set out in this legislation, potential as well as actual victims of sexual assault may be separated from the rest of the offenders if they request it. For example, based on their sexual orientation or if they have been threatened with violence, including sexual assault. In addition, Booyens (2008) also mentions the shortcoming of this legislation, which is that “the offender whose application is successful may only be segregated for a period of time” (Booyens, 2008:97). Hence, leaving the potential or actual victim with two options, which are taking a chance in the general correctional population to avoid sexual victimisation or to re-apply for segregation (Booyens, 2008).

2.13.3 Training of correctional officials on male sexual assault

According to Rodriguez (2011), in the U.S very little attention has been dedicated to training correctional officials in understanding how the occurrences of sexual assault may affect offenders during their period of incarceration. A great amount of attention has been focused on research that investigates effective models of training (Rodriguez, 2011). Nevertheless, the Department of Justice (DOJ) in the U.S conducted a focus group between the mental health expert, correctional officials and other substantive experts in the area of male sexual assault in correctional centres (Wyatt, 2006). “The focus group recommended the use of technology to enhance monitoring to reduce the opportunity of victimisation, expand the use of specialised housing for vulnerable offenders and implement training programmes for the correctional services officials” (Wyatt, 2006:581).

Significantly, it has become evident that correctional officials lack sensitivity training on ways to deal with sexual assault in correctional centres. Booyens *et al.* (2004:10) are of the opinion that in South Africa “correctional officials are not adequately trained to reduce sexual assault in correctional centres or to treat victims after a sexual assault.” This is probably due to the fact that most correctional officials received their training during the military era (pre-1994) and as such are not geared towards a human rights perspective (Booyens, 2008). According to Dumond and Dumond (2002:93) as cited in (Booyens, 2008), knowledge of the incidence of sexual assault, information about correctional centre sexuality, victim response to rape and the

dynamics of sexual assault, as well as addressing official's perceptions and attitudes toward homosexuality and sex in correctional centres should be included in the training that correctional officials receive. If correctional officials have a better understanding of the phenomenon, they will be able to address it more effectively.

However, Thompson *et al.* (2008) as cited in (Rodriguez, 2011:19) stated that there are shortcomings within the current training strategies which require actions such as (a) the need for educating correctional officials with a uniform definition of sexual victimisation within the context of an institution; (b) the need for a better method of instilling correctional employees with the important implications of terminology such as rape, sexual assault, and sexual abuse; and (c) the need for correctional staff to receive adequate disclosure of the precautions they should take to minimise occurrences of sexual victimisation among incarcerated juveniles .

The following discussion is on legislation that aims to address male sexual assault in the correctional centre as strategy available to curb the occurrence of male sexual assault in correctional centre.

2.13.4 Legislation that addresses male sexual assault in correctional centres

On September 4, 2003, the Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) was signed into law by President George W. Bush, which mandates data collection on the incidence, prevalence, and further understanding of sexual assault within correctional settings (Beck & Harrison, 2007).

“This Act was the result of increased public and government concern about sexual violence of correctional centres and consequences to the victims, to the correctional facilities in which assaults occur, and to the communities into which incarcerated individuals return” (Zweig, Naser, Blackmore & Schafer 2006:1).

The aims of PREA are as follows (Zweig *et al.*, 2006:1):

- To describe the nature and extent of sexual assault and rape in the United State of America (USA) correctional centres;
- To investigate how sexual violence is addressed by correctional centres across the USA;
- To enhance correctional official's accountability when they fail to protect offenders from sexual violence;
- To develop national standards for addressing prison rape;

- To establish the National Prison Rape Reduction Commission with the objective to understanding “the penological, physical, mental, medical, social and economic impact” of correctional centre sexual assault and rape;
- To establish a zero-tolerance approach towards prison sexual violence; and
- To making the prevention of correctional centre assault and rape a priority in USA correctional centre.

Zweig *et al.* (2006) provided a report on how the United States Correctional Services responded to the high prevalence of sexual violence in its correctional centres and asserted that this was done through developing policies where 27 states reported written policies relating to correctional centre sexual violence which 19 were comprehensively addressing the issue through prevention, investigation and response; prevention efforts, where states had policies and programmes to prevent sexual violence. I.e. offenders housing and transfer strategies; other ways to address the issue included victim services, staff training, documenting incidents (Zweig *et al.*, 2006).

Significantly, it has become evident that the USA regards male sexual assault in correctional centres as an existing problem (Booyens, 2008). USA is the only country in the world that has a legislation that addresses the issue of male sexual assault and how correctional officials can be held accountable for the abuse (Booyens, 2008).

In South Africa, the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (32 of 2007)” states that male offenders may report a sexual assault according to the Act (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014:4). However, unlike the PREA, this law is not aimed at addressing the correctional officials’ awareness of sexual assault, and the reduction of sexual assault in correctional centres. It is evident that South African correctional centres sexual assault victims endure a great plight as South African correctional centre system is characterised by a number of serious problems, for example overcrowding, gangs and sexual violence on the part of both offenders and staff, insults, threat of violence, assault, intimidation and humiliation thus, correctional centres face a substantial risk of being coerced, assaulted, and even killed at the hands of officials and fellow correctional centres (Goyer & Gow, 2001; Muntingh, 2008).

2.13.5 Punishment of perpetrators of male sexual assault

According to Cotton and Groth (1982:56) as cited in Booyens (2008), offenders should upon admission be warned about the consequences of engaging in sexual assaults. Consequences can involve institutional punitive actions and/or prosecution (Booyens, 2008). Nevertheless, Booyens *et al.* (2004:10) as cited in Booyens (2008:38) argue that the prosecution of a perpetrator of male sexual assault in correctional centres is rare. For the following reasons: “Firstly the underreporting of sexual violence because many perpetrators to get away with this crime; Secondly the failure of officials to adequately respond to and investigate complaints of sexual assault results in forensic evidence being lost; Thirdly, correctional centre abuse, including sexual assault has a low priority to most prosecutors.”

Speigler (2012:07) states that in 2006 the Jali Commission which was set by former president Thabo Mbeki issued a report on corruption and maladministration within the Correctional System. In the report; the commission concluded that sexual violence and the spread of HIV/AIDS were issues plaguing South African Correctional Centres. Therefore; South Africa was in need of an intervention to prevent this issue. Booyens (2008) believe that male sexual assault in correctional centres will be hard to prevent because of the factors such as gang activities, perceptions of offenders that a real man cannot be raped, as well as corrupt officials. Booyens (2008) asserts that although it may be difficult to prevent such, there may be reduction strategies such as classification and screening procedures, separating vulnerable offenders, the training of correctional officials and offender education.

2.13.6 The South African Correctional Services Act on sexual assault

The South African Correctional Services and structures also respond to sexual assault in correctional centre as well as on the spread of HIV/AIDS in the South African correctional centres. The Correctional Services Act of 1998 is one of the government’s interventions on preventing sexual violence by promoting the rights of offenders within the Correctional system. Speigler (2012:15) argues “although the Correctional Services Act (CSA) attempts to address issue related to offender’s safety, it does not adequately address the issues of correctional centre rape, sexual assault and offender’s rights to safety within Correctional centres”. Thus, the act does not effectively address the issue. Speigler (2012:14) state that the CSA provide offenders rights in accordance to violence in Correctional Centres in the following; “separation of certain categories of offenders: sentenced offenders must be kept separate from persons awaiting trial or sentence; male offenders must be kept separate from female offenders; children must be kept separate from adults; offenders may be separated based on their age, health or security risk.

Therefore, this serves as an intervention of the Correctional services to curb sexual assault or violence in South African correctional centres.

The White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (2005) recognise the effects of gangs in correctional centres and aims to place the safety of offenders by effectively dealing with the issue of gangs in South African Correctional Centres. “The pervasive manner in which correctional centre gangs assert control over the management of Correctional centres requires a correctional centre anti-gang strategy to be adopted by the Correctional management” White Paper on Corrections (2005:76). It is therefore clear that the South African Correctional Services has not yet found an effective strategy or intervention on the rife of gangs in South African correctional centres which are the main contributory factors to male sexual assaults.

The Just Detention International (2009) reported that efforts to address correctional centre rape in South Africa are in the early stages. “The Department of Correctional Services is developing initiatives focused on the link between correctional centre rape, gangs, and HIV/AIDS. For example, in 2008 the Department of Correctional Services convened a day-long ‘seminar on offender rape in Correctional Centres’; bringing together senior Corrections officials, Non-Governmental Organisations (including Just Detention International), oversight officials, and academics to analyse the problem and to develop a response” (The Just Detention International, 2009:1). In response to the issue; The Department of Correctional Services and Just Detention International provided a five-day ‘master training’ for Corrections officials at Pollsmoor correctional centre to create a core group of staff who are equipped in addressing sexual abuse as well as the spread of HIV (Just Detention International, 2009). Hence as a way of intervening on the issue of sexual assault in Correctional centre; the Correctional system engages with other external organisations.

The Just Detention International (2009) further reports that South Africa has developed a crucial model for independent oversight of its correctional centres which could help with combatting sexual abuse in detention. The Just Detention International (2009:2) state that “the Judicial Inspectorate of correctional centres (JIOP) and Independent monitoring body, employs more than 200 community-based Ombudspersons - Independent correctional centre visitors (IPVS) - who have access to all South African correctional centres and are able to speak confidentially with inmates, and can assist with requests ranging from facility transfers to access medical cares”. This intervention can therefore, create a space whereby inmates are able to report sexual assault and thereby the issue be effectively addressed by the Department. Just

Detention International also conducted workshops on sexual violence for the ombudsperson, secured assistants for survivors and identified policies and practices that contribute to the problem (Just Detention International, 2009).

2.13.7 The Sonke Gender Justice and sexual assault in the correctional centre

The Sonke Gender Justice which is a non-profit organisation aimed at creating gender equality and change, prevent gender-based violence and reduce the spread of HIV ensures that sentences of offenders do not include threats to correctional centres' health and sexual integrity. Sonke also serve as an intervention in preventing and curbing male sexual assault in correctional centre in South Africa, it has programmes in correctional centre aimed at reducing violence i.e. 'men can' and 'brothers for life' programmes where its teams offer training sessions that provide and promote education and health-seeking behaviours among offenders. Friedman and Fleder (2012) reported that Sonke's work in correctional centre began as an extension of its broader efforts to mobilise men and boys against gender-based violence in South Africa.

Friedman and Fleder (2012) argue that "the trainings encourage participants who become peer educators upon completion of the course, to act as leaders within Correctional facilities." Sonke's interventions through programmes in Correctional Centres is a good attempt towards preventing sexual assault amongst offender as it deals directly on a personal level with offenders. The Correctional System need to utilise and support such organisations for a goal of preventing and curbing male sexual assault in the South African Correctional centres.

Although all the above-mentioned reduction strategies do have certain drawbacks, they are worth exploring with an aim to reduce the sexual assault and rape of male offenders in correctional centres. The following discussion is on challenges in implementing the above-mentioned strategies to curb male sexual assault.

2.14 CHALLENGES IN IMPLEMENTING STRATEGIES TO CURB MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT IN CORRECTIONAL CENTRES

The South African Correctional System attempt to address the issue of sexual assault in correctional centres. However, it still faces challenges towards implementing strategies to curb male sexual assault in its correctional centres. One may argue that there is still a long road in the South African Correctional Services to curb male sexual assault in correctional centres.

As mentioned, previously, male sexual assault in South African correctional centres is usually under-reported and hence this makes it difficult to address the issue. Booyens and

Bezuidenhout (2014) argue that consensual sex between inmates is prohibited by the South African Correctional Services and thus offenders hesitate to report on such activities. Therefore, this makes the Correctional system not to see the extent of the problem and hence failing to implement strategies of curbing male sexual assault in the South African correctional centres. Another issue that may result in the Correctional system having challenges in implementing the strategies to curb male sexual assault in correctional centre is that the Department of Correction does not take seriously the issue of sexual assault in correctional centre. Stemple (2008:610) mention that “to date; the Department of Correctional Services does not record rape incidents. Those reported are collapsed under the general category of ‘assault’.” There will be challenges towards curbing male sexual assault if the Department does not consider correctional centre rape or sexual assault.

Overcrowding in South African correctional centres is still an issue that pose a challenge towards curbing male sexual assault in correctional centres. Sexual assaults happen easily in overcrowded correctional centres. Shayi (2008) states that most research shows that overcrowding is a contributing factor to men seeking sexual gratification with other men. Therefore, while South African correctional centres face this issue it is a challenge for the Correctional services and government to curb male sexual assault. Jali (2006:43), as cited in Shayi (2008:52), asserts “while correctional centre authorities were aware that sexual abuse was taking place in jails, the biggest problem they faced was overcrowding. Our first priority is to reduce correctional centres numbers so that we can deal effectively with other challenges.”

Another challenge that South Africa face towards curbing male sexual assault in correctional centres is the issue of legislation regarding male sexual assault/violence. South Africa does not have legislations specifically designed to tackle the issue of male sexual assault in correctional centres; hence the reason why offender victims do not report incidents of male sexual assault and this results in continued widespread of male sexual assault in correctional centres (Shayi, 2008). In the USA for instance, there is a legislation, the correctional centre rape elimination Act (PREA) of 2003, aimed at addressing and eliminating correctional centre sexual violence. The Act recognises that male sexual violence is a problem that needs to be addressed. Zweig *et al.* (2006:1) identify the main aims of the PREA as; to understand the nature and extent of correctional centre sexual violence problem and how it is addressed in facilities across the United States; to establish a zero-tolerance standard for correctional centre sexual violence in the U.S correctional centre system; to hold correctional centre officials accountable when

failing to protect inmates by detecting, preventing, and punishing correctional centre sexual violence.

This legislation shows that the United State recognise the problem and aim to curb the issue. South Africa still faces challenges towards curbing sexual assault in correctional centres because there is no specific legislation like that of the U.S correctional system.

Lack of interdisciplinary collaboration within the South African Correctional system is a challenge towards implanting strategies to curb male sexual assault in correctional centre. The Correctional system in South Africa should work in collaboration with other disciplines and emphasise multidisciplinary teams towards the goal of curbing male sexual assault in correctional centre. Lack of collaboration makes sexual assault to be on the rife. Zweig *et al.* (2006:69) assert, “as we conducted phone interviews with Department of Corrections’ (DOCs) administrators and case study sites visits, we learned to address correctional centre sexual assault often were not implemented by DOCs alone. Rather, as well as outside legal system agencies, medical providers, and sexual assault victim service and advocacy groups.”

The South African Correctional system must put emphasis on collaborations with outside legal systems, civil organisations, Department of health, education, social development, advocacy groups or victim services groups if strategies to curb male sexual assault in correctional centres has to be a success (Booyens & Bezuidenhout 2014). There is no comprehensive strategy to curb male sexual assault in South African Correctional centres because there is lack of collaboration of different disciplines and other stakeholders involved with inmates on addressing this issue (Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014).

2.15 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided a broad picture of male sexual assault in correctional facilities. It was evident in this chapter that male sexual assault is growing and is receiving more attention. However, there appear to be limited studies on the perceptions and understanding of correctional officials regarding male sexual assault in correctional centres. In this chapter, it was found that male sexual assault is being acknowledged in South Africa, but despite existing laws governing correctional centres and the prohibition of male sexual assault is still being practiced. It was observed that correctional officials play an important role in preventing or perpetuating the act of male sexual assault, mainly due to the lack of clear understanding of male sexual assault. Culture, background of the officials as well as working conditions under which officials work can influence their perceptions and understanding of male sexual assault in correctional centres. The following discussion pertains to the theoretical framework of the study.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Davis and Snyman (2005), theories offer reasonable explanations for variations in the risk of victimisation of people and the victimisation of specific groups of people. There are various ways to describe theory. A theory can be defined as “a set of concepts linked together by a series of statements to explain why an event or phenomenon occurs” (Tibbetts, 2009:12).

This study draws from two victimological theories namely; Routine Activity Theory by Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson and Opportunity model by Cohen, Kleugel and Land to explain sexual assault of male offenders in the correctional centre. The routine activity theory (RAT) is employed in this study as a holistic approach, suitable for studying why crime, i.e. sexual assault in this case, occurs under certain specific circumstances in a correctional facility (Felson & Clarke, 1998:25). Opportunity model is employed in this study to examine factors that may increase the male offender victimisation of sexual assault while incarcerated. The aim of illuminating these theories is to provide insights on sexual assault of male offenders.

The following discussion dwells on the theories underpinning this study and their relevance to this study.

3.2 ROUTINE ACTIVITY THEORY

This theory was selected by the researcher because it explicitly delineates the personal victimisation in an accurate manner.

The routine activities theory was presented by criminologists Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson in 1979 (Peacock, 2013). It focusses on the direct–contact crimes. Routine activities refer to “what individuals do during the course of a day in terms of going to work, being at home, and heading out to the shops, and so forth” (Rae Grohe, 2006: 17).

These theorists believed that crime occurs in the presence of three elements which are (1) a motivated offender , (2) a suitable target and (3) lack of guardianship and if one of these elements is absent then chances for crime to occur is low (Argun & Dağlar, 2016). “The routine activities theory describes patterns of victimisation by connecting crime with victims’ proximity to offenders, exposure to criminal behaviour, and attractiveness levels, either through symbolic or economic value, or a lack of guardianship” (Pratt & Turanovic, 2016:22).

Routine activity theory proposed that if all three elements are available, then a crime is likely to occur, and if one of these elements is absent then chances for crime to occur is low (Argun & Daglar, 2016). It emphasises the fact that suitable targets are likely to follow a routine, and most crime happen daily as a result of the routine of people. Criminals observe these routines and then take the tempting opportunity to commit a certain crime (Makhaye, 2016).

Figure 3.1 shows the relevance of the routine activity theory in this study. Figure shows that within a correctional facility, for male sexual assault to occur they has to be a motivated offender (male offender who want to attain power over victim), suitable target (youth, physically weak first-time offenders) and absence of capable guardianship (correctional official). It can be argued that it is unlikely for sexual assault to occur without any of the three mentioned elements.

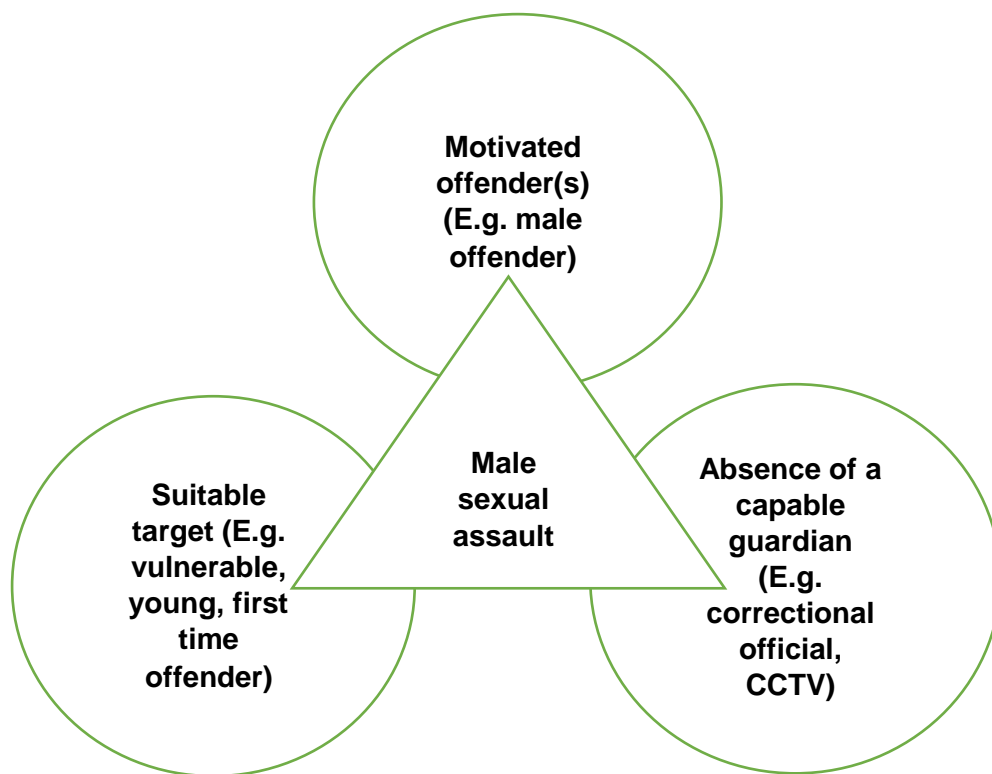


Figure 3.1: Routine activity theory: Own compilation

As part of the routine activity theory conceptualising crime victimisation, Cohen & Felson (1979) stress the importance of how victimisation possibly becomes a function of the social, even ecological, convergence between opportunistic potential offenders and inadequately guarded potential targets of crime. It is argued that structural changes in routine activity patterns can influence crime rates by affecting the combination of space and time of the three minimal elements of the direct-contact crime: (1) motivated offenders; (2) suitable targets; and

(3) the absence of a capable guardian (Makhaya, 2016). All three of these factors will be elaborated on in order to be able to explain male sexual assault in correctional centres.

This theory traditionally focuses on social activities and lifestyles of individuals and not on the criminal behaviour of the offender. It is generally regarded as a victimological theory (Booyens, 2008). In addition, routine activity theory places more emphases on criminal events and ignores the importance of criminal behaviour (Peacock, 2013).

However, according to Brown, Esbensen and Geis, (2007:217), “this theory is currently applied to explain the behaviour of offenders.” Cohen and Felson (1979) argued that criminal activities are not completely biological, psychological, economic, or social in origin and offences are tied to the everyday activities of victims and offenders (Murray, 2007). The notion of this theory therefore requires that all three contributing factors be activated for male sexual assault to occur in correctional centres. In addition, correctional facilities are potential locations for male sexual assault, they are expected to have relatively unguarded cells where motivated offenders and suitable target come into regular contact.

Felson (2002) limited the scope of the routine activity theory to direct contact predatory crimes. However, at a later stage the theory was extended and applied to four other types of crimes. Felson (2002:298), as cited in Booyens (2008:92), believes that at least four types of crime exist, namely:

- 1: The exploitative (predatory) crime entails at least one person exploiting another person or obtaining and/or damaging the property of another. For example, when applying this to male sexual assault it directly translates to the offender sexually exploiting the body of another inmate.
- 2: 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.
- 3: 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.
- 4: The individualistic crime is when one person engages in criminal behaviour, such as drug abuse.

3.2.1 Motivated offender

Routine activity theory examine crime from an offender's point of view. According to this theory, crime will only be committed if a likely motivated offender thinks that a target is suitable and a capable guardian is absent (Murray, 2007). It is the offender's evaluation of a situation that determines whether a crime will take place or not (Makhaye, 2016). "According to this theory offender are rational human beings and will commit a crime whenever an opportunity presents itself" (Walklate, 2003:39). The motivated offender weighs the costs and benefits of committing a crime. For perpetrators of crime, the costs are less than the benefits, given the fact that they are calculating professionals who will most probably not get caught and will gain something from their criminal act (Makhaye, 2016). According to Makhaye (2016), the motivated offender can be classified under opportunistic criminals because they always depend on the right opportunity to commit a crime, whether it is in public or a private location.

Correctional centres include a pool of motivated offenders and a lack of supervision, both of which place people at risk of sexual assault. In relation to this study, a motivated offender refers to offenders who are motivated to hurt, humiliate, dominate, control and degrade the victim (Eigenberg, 2000b). There is little existing research on perpetrator motivations in committing sexual assault in correctional settings. However, it can be argued that within a correctional facility such as Westville there are offenders who are power-hungry to get to a certain level of the gang rank, who commit sexual offences to attain power over the powerless offenders and make them their girlfriends.

3.2.2 Suitable target

The next element of the routine activities' theory is a suitable target. According to Argun and Dağlar (2016), anything can be referred to as a target, such as a person, an object or a place which can be attractive and fruitful for offenders. "The term target was selected to avoid the moral implications of the word victim and to treat persons and property exactly the same as objects with a position in time and space" (Walklate, 2003:39).

An object may be very attractive when it is noticeable, and it is of high value and easy to access. In other words, a suitable target is something which provides instant profit to the one committing the crime (Argun & Dağlar, 2016). Makhaye (2016: 34) refers to a "suitable target as a person who has been identified by the perpetrator of crime as the next victim." Criminals generally choose to commit a crime upon meeting an opportunity, rather than engaging in serious planning. So, it can be said that a suitability of target is important for a criminal offence

to occur (Argun & Dağlar, 2016). According to the Routine Activity Theory, crime only occurs when motivated offenders meet 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, Booyens (2008) postulate that vulnerable offenders should be separated from potential/motivated offenders. However, because of overcrowding of correctional centres in South Africa, this is not a feasible (Booyens, 2008).

Garofalo (1986) suggested that some individuals are more vulnerable to victimisation because they possess attributes that convey greater vulnerability to victimisation or because they are less capable of preventing victimisation. In a correctional centre context, a suitable target is sexually assaulted on the basis that they are defenceless and will not be able to stand up against the perpetrator. Suitable targets of male sexual assault are unable to protect themselves from the assault thus fall victims of this sexual act. For the purpose of this study, a suitable target refers to vulnerable, young, first-time offenders. These offenders are often viewed as attractive targets due to their physical appearance and/or lack of guardianship. Vulnerable offenders are never able to predict when a sexual assault incident might occur or when they might be at risk of victimisation, which makes it exceedingly difficult for them to prevent exposure to victimisation.

3.2.3 Lack of a suitable guardian

The final element of routine activity is lack of guardianship. Many people become victims of crime not because they attract the offender of crime, but because they are at a place where a criminal act is possible and where no guardianship is present (Makhaya, 2016). Correctional centres can be referred to as ‘hot spot’ locations, because they have a motivated offender, suitable targets, and a lack of guardianship (Makhaya, 2016). Therefore, resulting in sexual assault of male offenders.

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,” or an equipment such as closed-circuit television (CCTV) (Davis, 2005:40; Makhaya, 2006:29). The absent of the capable guardian is a significant element to this theory (Rae Grohe, 2006). Capable guardians can take any form, but for the purpose of this study the term refers to correctional officials (guardians), fellow inmates (witnesses) and CCTV. According to Hunter & Dantzker (2002: 32), some examples of capable guardians are shown in Figure 3.2.

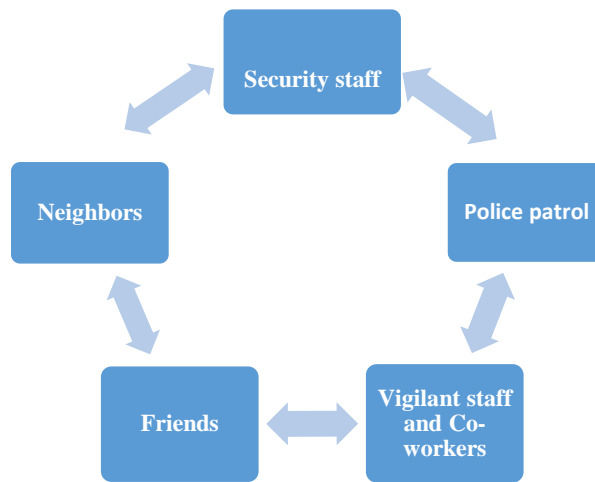


Figure 3.2: Examples of a capable guardian

It is also possible for a guardian to be present, but ineffective. For example, a CCTV camera is not a capable guardian if it is set up incorrectly or in the wrong place or is not monitored (Hunter & Dantzker, 2002). The Westville CCTV's in cells may be ineffective to deter the occurrence of male sexual assault, as the offenders may cover/block them.

According to Booyens (2008), when there is poor supervision in a correctional facility, male sexual assault is likely to occur. Booyens (2008) further assert that sexual assault occurs when point men keep guard to warn the perpetrator if a correctional official is approaching the scene, thus highlighting that male sexual assault occurs in the absence of correctional officials. Correctional officials are the main guardians of the correctional centre, but because of issues such as overcrowding, these officials are unable to effectively monitor cells visually. Consequently, resulting in male sexual assault of offenders.

3.3 OPPORTUNITY MODEL

Opportunity Model was developed by Cohen, Kleugel and Land (1981), to explain predatory victimisation (Peacock, 2013). This model incorporates both elements of the lifestyle and routine activities perspectives. It is based on the premise that the risk of criminal victimisation depends on the people's lifestyles and routines activates that bring them into direct contact with the potential offender in the absence of a capable guardian (Peacock, 2013:22). According to Peacock (2013), opportunity model shifts the emphasis from the characteristics of the offender to the characteristics of the situation.

According to this model, there are five factors that may increase a person's victimisation risk. These are exposure, proximity, guardianship, target attractiveness and properties of specific

offences (Peacock, 2013). These five features play a significant role in the understanding of the opportunity model. However, according to Booyens (2008) not all these elements can be applied to sexual assault within a correctional centre setting. However, some elements are of value to this study. The opportunity model was employed in this study to better explain why and how some male offenders become victims of sexual assault at Westville Correctional Centre.

3.3.1 Exposure

Exposure refers to physical visibility and accessibility of victims and objects at a certain time and place (Peacock, 2013). The potential victim must come into a direct contact with the perpetrator, the more this contact occurs the higher the opportunity for victimisation (Peacock, 2013). Fattah (2000:65) asserts that “exposure to potential offenders and high-risk situations and environments might increase the risk of personal victimisation.”

Correctional centres are known to be harsh inhuman environments with enforced sexual intercourse. Therefore, being a male offender often results in an increased exposure to the risk of male sexual assault. Due to the nature of the confined environment of the South African correctional centres, for example, Westville, it is usual that the offender’s movement is limited within the confines of the centre and are usually exposed to each other or to motivated/potential offenders. Potential victims of male sexual assault are physically visible and are in great exposure to the motivated offenders due to overcrowding in correctional settings such as Westville. In support of this, Booyens (2008) states that male offenders share cells and showers or be in direct contact with others during mealtimes. The more potential victims are exposed to motivated offenders, the greater is the probability of them being sexually assaulted. Potential victims of male sexual assault are sexually assaulted within the prisons, therefore highlighting that victims are easily accessible.

3.3.2 Proximity

According to the opportunity model, proximity refers to “the physical distance between areas where the potential target of crime is situated and areas where a large population of the potential offender may be found” (Peacock, 2013: 21; Booyens, 2008). This model assumes that the closer the residential area of the potential victim to that of the motivated offender, the higher the risk of victimisation (Peacock, 2013).

At Westville Correctional Centre, offenders reside in relatively small units i.e. cells, placing them in close physical proximity to one another. These cells contain 50 or more people who spend close to 18 hours each day near each other (Goyer & Gow, 2001). As a result, potential victims and offenders may be or are in proximity with each other. As a result of overcrowding sometimes there are more offenders in a cell than there are beds (Goyer & Gow, 2001). With beds next to each other and overcrowding in cells there is no significant physical distance between the potential victims and motivated offenders because they all share the same space and possibly the same bed. Consequently, increasing the male offenders' risk of becoming victims of male sexual assault.

In 2006 the Minister of Correctional Services, Ngconde Balfour, announced that privacy was going to be taken away from offenders in their cells, as a result of the things that were going on in the cells i.e. sexual assault (Booyens, 2008). This highlights that a correctional cell is one place that offenders are in proximity with each other, thus increasing their risk of being exposed or falling victims of sexual assault.

3.3.3 Guardianship

Guardianship refers to people (i.e. Correctional officers) or objects (alarms, close-circuit television [CCTV] and locks) that prevent crime by their presence or through direct or indirect action (Peacock, 2013:95). According to this model, perpetrators prefer targets that are less guarded to those that are guarded (Peacock, 2013). Thus, an increase in guardianship can thus lower the chances of a criminal victimisation from occurring (Peacock, 2013). The explanation of elements of the model is like the elements of the routine activity with lack of guardianship.

In correctional centres, there is minimal guardianship of offenders or else this offence would not occur. It can be argued that male offenders in general lack the capable guardianship and they are thus exposed to both potential and motivated offenders. Male offenders as perpetrators rely on correctional officials as guardians to protect them from this type of crime. Unfortunately, it has been proved from various studies that some correctional officials are also involved in the victimisation of male offenders (Booyens, 2008; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2006; Eigenberg, 1989:30; Eigenberg, 2000b; Cook & Lane, 2016). In support of this, Booyens (2008:39) alluded that "correctional officials tend to tolerate and turn a blind eye towards sexual behaviour between men since it contributes towards a non-violent and riot-free correctional centre".

As mentioned above in Section 3.3.3 guardians refer to the correctional officials or CCTV cameras in cells who are supposed to protect offenders. In correctional centres there is usually a shortage of staff and poor supervision of offenders especially at night, which is when offences such as sexual assault are likely to take place. This therefore, increases the risk of male offenders to be sexually assaulted. Absence or lack of supervision of correctional officials at Westville Correctional Centre may result in sexual assault of offenders. However, this type of crime may also occur in the presence of correctional officials who are supposed to prevent this type of crime from happening. The absence of correctional official as capable guardians is a major feature in the occurrence male sexual assault in correctional centres.

3.3.4 Target attractiveness

This element refers to two components, namely; the desirability of individuals or property as targets for potential offenders and ability or inability of the person to offer resistance (Peacock, 2013). Thus, the greater the attractiveness of the target, the greater the risk of criminal victimisation (Peacock, 2013; Davis & Syman, 2005). The application of this element to this study is like the application of the suitable target under the routine activity mentioned above.

Certain characteristics place offenders at greater risk of sexual assault in correctional facilities. Male offenders who are less masculine in appearance, young, physically weak and new in correctional centres are prone to be victims of this sexual offence as indicated in (paragraph of chapter two of this research study). The above-mentioned characteristics are what attract the motivated offender to the potential victim.

3.3.5 Properties of specific offences

This refers to the degree to which the properties of the offence constrain instrumental actions of the potential offender (Peacock, 2013:21; Davis & Syman, 2005). Therefore, the more difficult it is for the offender to commit a crime the less likely it is for the crime to occur (Booyens, 2008).

There is a high level of male sexual assault against male offenders. It is not difficult for people to victimise other male offenders; hence, this type of victimisation is at a disturbing rate. In support of the above statement, a study conducted by Booyens (2008) found that participants found it easy to commit a sexual offence as witnesses and victims are not likely to report the incidence and correctional officials are usually absent, especially at night.

The researcher agrees with the above application of the theory by Booyens (2008), male offenders find no difficulty in committing this sexual offence against other males. Due to poor supervision, overcrowding and underreporting of incidents of sexual assault.

3.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided two theories which guided this study which were relevant to explain the sexual assault of male offenders. These theories are the Routine Activity Theory and the opportunity model. These victimological theories explain that the victims of male sexual assault are targeted because of individual characteristics, such as attractiveness, exposure and lack of guardianship, viewed as favourable by the offender. Victimisation theory was also used to highlight how offenders fall victim of this offence and the interaction of correctional services officials, potential victims and motivated offenders.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the research methods employed by the researcher for the execution of this study. The adopted research methods form the backbone of any undertaken research study. These methods make fieldwork possible and provide a systematic guide for data collection procedures, in which the goals of the study can be met. To fulfil the aim and objectives of the study, it was imperative to select appropriate methodological procedures and techniques. The research design of a study provides the framework for aspects related to how the study is to be carried out in the field. In support of this statement, Bayens and Roberson (2011) provide that a good research design encompasses adherence to the rules of scientific investigation along with a level of creativity which allows the researcher to be flexible within the context of the study.

Considering the above, this chapter outlines the research design and methods along with the assessment instruments used in the study to fulfil the objectives outlined in Chapter 1 of this dissertation. This is followed by a presentation of the characteristics of the selected participants in order to provide a description of the sample of this study. Lastly, the analysis of the collected data is presented and explained in detail. Table 4.1 indicates the summary of the research methods map for this research study.

Table 4.1: Research Methods Map

Methodology Map	
Epistemological Assumption	Interpretive approach
Theoretical Method	Qualitative research approach
Sampling Technique	Non-probability sampling: Purposive sampling
Methods of Data Collection	Semi-structured interviews
Data Analysis	Thematic analysis

Source: Own compilation

4.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM

The following discussion dwells on the research paradigm underpinning this study.

4.2.1 Interpretive Social Science

This study employs the Interpretive Social Science (ISS) paradigm, “which refers to the systematic analysis of the social meaning of action of people in a natural setting. This paradigm enabled individuals to understand and interpret how people create and maintain their social worlds” (Crotty, 1998). The interpretive paradigm is concerned with understanding the world as it is from the subjective experiences of individuals (Neuman, 2011:26; Creswell, 2003). This theoretical perspective is different from the positivism approach which uses detached observation “rather than a close and intimate observation that interpretive employ in attempts to understand and explain human social reality” (Crotty, 1998: 66). Creswell (2003) and Babbie and Mouton (2006) also highlighted that interpretive researchers aim to discover reality through participants’ views and their own background and experiences. This is the philosophical basis of the study at hand. The researcher is interested in studying the perceptions and attitudes of correctional officials on male sexual assault in their natural setting, with the intention to enable them to provide their own understanding and experiences concerning the male sexual assault in correctional facilities. This dissertation is concerned with what informs these perceptions, and how correctional officials come to “make meaning” of the reality around them.

The ISS emphasises that the researcher must take into great consideration people’s reasons for their perceptions, as well as the social context in which these perceptions are shaped (Neuman, 2011; Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012). For the purpose of this research study, the subject matter will have looked at through this lens, with the aim of understanding the perceptions of correctional officials towards male sexual assault in correctional centres. ISS is located within qualitative methods of research, highlighting the notion of studying a phenomenon in detail in order to obtain a profound understanding (Neuman, 2011). Hence, the interpretive research method was in line with this requirement as this current undertaken research study used the qualitative approach.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

Bhattacharjee (2012) says that a research design is a blueprint for experimental research used to answer exact research questions or test definite hypotheses. In this study the researcher employed phenomenological methodology. Phenomenology is “an attempt to describe lived experiences without making previous assumptions about the objective reality of those experiences, the task is to investigate and describe all phenomena including human experiences in the way these appear” (Holloway & Wheeler 2002:117). The goal of phenomenological research is to describe experiences as they are lived; in other words, the lived experiences, in the present study, the researcher used exploratory design for this study. Exploratory research is defined by Burns and Groove (2001:374) “as research conducted to gain new insights, discover new ideas, and for increasing knowledge of the phenomenon.” Bless, Higson-Smith and Sithole. (2014), Zikmund (2003) and Cooper and Schinder (2006) allude that exploratory research is used when there is little research about a particular subject

An exploratory research design is not limited to one specific paradigm but may use either qualitative or quantitative approaches. Hence, using the exploratory design for this study helped the researcher to collect the qualitative data in order to develop an in-depth understanding of the perceptions of correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre on male sexual assault. Although various research has been conducted on male sexual assault in correctional facilities, little is known about the correctional officials’ opinion/views (Eigenberg, 2000b; Booyens, 2008). Little attention has been paid to study correctional official perceptions in Westville Durban hence the undertaken study was carried out. This research design selected by the researcher is appropriate for this study as it will provide in-depth data on the sexual assault taking place in Westville Correctional Centre from the correctional officials’ point of view.

4.4 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH APPROACH

The study employs a qualitative research approach which comes from the ISS paradigm. Denzin and Lincoln (2005), as cited in Sakarombe (2014:76), provide the following definition of qualitative research:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices transform

the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (Denzin and Lincoln 2005: 3).

Qualitative research explores a subject in the real world, context-specific settings (Golafshani, 2003). This method provides a deeper and richer understanding of social processes that would not be obtainable from methods employed in quantitative research (Punch, 2013). In addition, qualitative research acknowledges the existence of numerous realities in which knowledge varies amongst individuals and according to various contexts (Guba & Lincoln, 2005 as cited in Mbewe, 2017). “While quantitative research studies the quantity (e.g. how many people behave in a certain way), qualitative research studies how and why people behave in a certain way” (Hancock, Ockleford & Windridge, 2009 as cited in Mbewe 2017: 73). Qualitative method assisted the researcher to gather depth of understanding on the perceptions of correctional official’s concerning the eventuation of sexual assaults amongst inmates in the Westville Correctional Centre. According to Punch (2011), qualitative research concentrates on the study of social life in natural settings. The aim of this study is to explore correctional official’s views towards male sexual assaults, and a qualitative research method is thus particularly relevant for studying the lived, everyday realities of correctional officers’ beliefs and perceptions of male sexual assault, particularly in Westville Correctional Centre.

Qualitative research allows the researcher to see the phenomena being studied through the eyes and experiences of the participants, and thus provides an opportunity for the individual meanings ascribed by interviewees to emerge (Neuman, 2013). In other words, qualitative research allowed the researcher to understand the perceptions of the correctional officials regarding male sexual assault from their own perspective and in their natural work and lived environment. The use of a qualitative method was geared toward exploring the perceptions correctional officials on male sexual assault among inmate in Westville Correctional Centre. According to Wolcott (1994:9), the importance of this research method is that it allows the researcher time, space and the tools to “describe, analyse, interpret and clarify experience as it is lived and constituted in awareness as well as to assist researchers to understand participants’ perspectives, complex and under - researched areas.” The task of assessing knowledge and perceptions of correctional officers on male sexual assault, for example, seems to demand such

inductive, flexible and open-ended methods that give the researcher time, space and tools to interact with participants.

As proposed by qualitative research, the researcher in this study highlights the idea of understanding participant's views to male sexual assault in correctional centre. According to Bouma and Atkinson (1987) as cited in Nota (2015:73), "the importance of qualitative research is to view situations or events from the perspective of the people being studied: how do they view the world and what do they think?" In this case, correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre are studied in order to gain a deeper understanding of what their perception are towards male sexual assault in correctional settings. Moreover, studies by authors such as Graham (2006); Pretorius and Hull (2005); Eigenberg (2000); Booyens (2008) and Cook and Lane (2017) have mainly used a quantitative method in investigating the perceptions of male sexual assault in a correctional setting. Thus, the qualitative method was deemed suitable for this study.

The following discussion pertains to the limitations of using the qualitative research approach employed by this study

4.4.1 Limitations of Qualitative Research Approach

The main disadvantage of qualitative approaches to corpus analysis is that their findings cannot be extended to wider populations with the same degree of certainty that quantitative analyses can. This is because the findings of the research are not tested to discover whether they are statistically significant or due to chance (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). It should be noted that research methods in the social sciences are characterised by two basic philosophical traditions, that is phenomenological and positivist, which find expression in qualitative and quantitative methods. However, a qualitative approach reflects a historical, intuitive or observational approach that attempts to seek a deeper understanding of complex situations. It is often exploratory in nature, more holistic and 'emergent', with a specific focus, design, measurement instruments, and interpretations developing and possibly changing along the way. Qualitative researchers operate under the assumption that reality is not easily divided into discrete, measurable variables. Researchers are often described as the research instrument because the bulk of the data collection is dependent on their personal involvement (interviews and observation) in the natural setting (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

For this study, the researcher still maintains that the usage of the qualitative research approach was appropriate irrespective of its limitation, because it brought an understanding of the

research topic and solved the research problem by drawing from the participants' responses, to bring about a less complex and detailed understanding of the male sexual assault in Westville Correctional Centre.

4.5 STUDY AREA

The research was conducted at Westville Correctional Centre in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), Durban. KZN is the biggest province in South Africa which constitutes of eleven districts; Amajuba, eThekweni, uMgungundlovu, uMkhanyakude, uMzinyathi, Uthungulu, Uthukela, Ugu Zululand, Ilembe and Sisonke district (South African Local Government Association, 2011). This institution (Westville Correctional Centre) accommodates approximately 12,000 offenders, including sections for males, females and juveniles (Singh, 2008). Westville Correctional Centre is made up of five centres, which are referred to as Mediums. Medium A accommodates offenders awaiting trial, Medium B, male maximum-security offenders, Medium C, offenders with short-term sentences, Medium D, youth offenders, and Medium E houses female offenders (Singh, 2008).

Westville is a residential suburb close to Durban in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, which is situated 20 km inland from the Durban city centre (Singh, 2014). The Westville Correctional Centre (WCC) is one of the largest in the country and the province of KwaZulu-Natal. It is the only correctional centre located in the Durban, Westville area (Singh, 2014). There is a total of 39 correctional centres in KwaZulu-Natal. "Westville Correctional Centre was opened in 1985 but was preceded by two small correctional centres, named Central correctional centre and the Point Correctional centre, which were situated in the city centre of Durban" (Singh, 2014: 13).

The first offenders started occupying the Westville Correctional Centre in July of 1985 but by then gang-related problems were already a challenge for authorities (Singh, 2014). As an attempt to handle the widespread of gang-related activities among offenders, the 28" gang members were detained in the B-side and the 26" members in the C-side of the Correctional centre (Singh, 2014). "The B-side was a maximum security classified correctional centre and inmates detained there were mostly transferred from Point correctional centre. So, the gradual amalgamation into the Westville Correctional Centre of the said two small Durban correctional centres occurred in 1985" (Singh, 2014: 13).



Figure 4.1: Westville Correctional Centre, Durban. Located at Dawncliffe, Westville, 3629.

(Google Maps, 2018)

4.6 SAMPLE SIZE AND PROCEDURE

A sample consists of individuals selected from the target population being studied (Patton & Michael, 2002; Silverman, 2004), with an aim to be representative of the population about which the researcher aims to draw conclusions (Silverman, 2004). Fink (2003), as cited in Mbewe (2017), allude that the main purpose for sampling in research is to narrow down the population size so that it can be studied much quicker than large population groups. This is achieved through a selection of individuals that closely represent the features that are relevant to the phenomena being researched (Al-Busaidi, 2008). The purpose of sampling in qualitative research is to identify specific groups of individuals who have characteristics or live in circumstances relevant to the phenomena being researched (Mbewe, 2017). The sample is then examined in detail, and the findings then applied to understand much larger cases of a similar nature (Neuman, 2013). Sampling varies across every study. The sampling method is determined by the type of research to be conducted, not according to the researcher's preference (Neuman, 2013).

The participants in this research were selected according to a non-probabilistic sampling technique referred to as purposive sampling. According to Patton and Michael (2002:34)

“purposive sampling involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with the phenomenon of interest.” In addition to knowledge and experience, Bernard (2002) and Spradley (1979), as cited in (Mbewe, 2017), note the “importance of availability and willingness to participate, and the ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive, and reflective manner.” This form of sampling is non-probabilistic, which serves the purpose of gathering appropriate participants that meet the criteria for the study.

In contrast to other sampling methods that attempt to create a sample that is statistically representative of a population, purposive sampling enables the researcher to choose people or cases ‘with a purpose’ (Matthews & Ross, 2010). This sampling was deemed suitable as a few correctional officials with rich information on male sexual assault had to be selected to provide data on their unique perceptions that would give direction to this study.

According to Matthews and Ross (2010:167) “this approach is associated with small, in-depth studies with research designs that are based on the gathering of qualitative data and focused on the exploration and interpretation of experiences and perceptions.” This sampling method assisted the researcher in gathering qualitative data of correctional official’s perceptions of male sexual assault.

Rubin and Rubin (2005:66), as cited in Vukaphi (2015), indicated three strategies a researcher can apply for selecting participants using purposive sampling, “First, the participants must be knowledgeable about the cultural arena or situation or experience being studied. Secondly, the willingness to talk and lastly, participants must be representative of the range of points of view.” For this research participants were selected based on their ability to provide rich and relevant information that would be related to the phenomenon under study. This method was found to be suitable for the study because the researcher intended to select only correctional officials who had the ability to provide the researcher with information on the topic at hand.

The researcher purposefully selected the sample for this study based on the nature of the study objectives and research questions. Therefore, a total of 8 participants were selected; with 2 officials (male and female) from each medium. Participants who were deemed to have enough experienced as a correctional official from Westville Correctional Centre were selected. The sample selected provided rich and thick information that answered the objectives and research questions of this study.

According to the Office of the Human Resource Protection Program (2012), as cited in Mbewe (2017), various recruitment methods or strategies can be undertaken in qualitative research. In this study, one recruitment strategy was employed namely, referrals. Managers knew who in their mediums had enough years as a correctional official and will be able to provide the researcher with the appropriate information on male sexual assault. Thus, each manager in a medium connected the researcher with two correctional officials to participate in the current study. The researcher then used the inclusion and exclusion criteria to find out if the sampled participants were eligible to be part of the study.

4.6.1 Study population

The researcher purposefully selected the sample for this study based on her own knowledge of the study population, the nature of the study objectives and research questions. For this reason, a total of 8 correctional officials were selected which consist of males and females. This number was chosen based on a statement by Patton and Michel (2002) stating that a qualitative sample size may best be determined by the time allocated, resources available, and study objectives. The researcher sampled 2 officials in each medium, from medium A to D because these are the mediums that host male offenders.

4.6.2 Sampling criteria

To sample the participants, the researcher utilised an inclusion and exclusion criteria to ensure that appropriate participants were selected to participate in the study.

❖ Inclusion criteria:

- Correctional officials who work in Medium A, Medium B, Medium C, and Medium D
- Willing and able to provide informed consent to participate in the study
- 30 to 65-year-old female and male correctional official
- 06 or more years of experience in the field as correctional official
- Must be currently working at Westville Correctional Centre as of date of initiation of the study

❖ Exclusion criteria:

- Refusal by an individual to participate in the study
- Unable to provide necessary informed consent
- A correctional official who work in Medium E (Female ward)

The criteria above assisted the researcher in excluding participants that were not eligible to participate in the study. Participants from medium A-D with a work experience of 5 years and above and working in close contact with the male offenders were recruited. The reason for the selection criterion of 06 years and above working experience was to try and ensure that all participants had a sufficient number of years of experience which would allow them to offer an informed opinion, and also, they are presumed to have greater knowledge of the phenomenon. Eigenberg (2000b) found that younger male officials often held negative views regarding sexual assault, hence participant between the ages of 30 -65 were selected to get their perceptions on the phenomenon. The reason for selecting both male and female correctional officials was to explore how these differences in gender contribute to their perceptions of male sexual assault. This research study is exploratory study and Bless, Higson Smith and Sithole (2014) considered it helpful to use semi-structured interviews in such a study.

4.7 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

The following is the discussion pertaining to the data collection technique the researcher used to collect data.

4.7.1 Interviews

According to the Centre for Civil Society (2003: 73), an interview “refers to any person-to-person interaction between two or more individuals with a specific purpose in mind.” Interviews are the most commonly employed method to collect information from people. Semi-structured a means of collecting qualitative data. This was confined to the following types of interviewing methods in this study:

4.7.1.1 Key Informant Interviews (KII)

Data collection for this study was based on key informant interviews (KIIs) in which semi-structured interviews were conducted on an individual basis. It combined a set of pre-determined questions that enabled the interviewer to explore further particular themes and responses. The semi-structured interview was appropriate for this study because it allowed for a free and open dialogue with the interviewees (correctional services officials) and provided a unique opportunity to acquire in-depth information about the perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault in Westville Correctional Centre. This allowed for a great degree of flexibility and prompted participants to speak on issues that were relevant to this research.

In undertaking research, ethical considerations played an important role. This study ensured anonymity and confidentiality by using pseudonyms and obtained informed consent from the participants.

Semi-structured interviews were constructed in such a way that less-sensitive questions were asked at the beginning of the interview and more sensitive questions in the middle, once the research participant was comfortable to participate in the presence of the researcher. The advantage of a semi-structured interview technique was that it allowed participants the freedom to express their views in their own terms and discuss issues beyond the question's limits (May 2001, Struwig & Stead, 2013). This ensured that participants in this research were given the opportunity to express themselves in their own words on their perceptions of male sexual assault in correctional facilities. Semi-structured interviews also provide reliable, comparable qualitative data (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006:168). This type of interviews can also be used to gather data on a sensitive topic (Matthews & Ross, 2010). This study is based on a sensitive topic which is on the perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault. Hence, semi-structured interviews were deemed appropriate for this study. There was more depth of information; the selected participants enhanced the research topic, therefore unexpected themes emerged; and the researcher endeavoured to understand the perspectives and views of officials on male sexual assault in correctional centres.

This study adopted an interview schedule guide, which had a set of questions was developed at the beginning of the study (see appendix D). These questions are drawn from the study objectives and planned in line to answer the research questions. Key Informant Interviews were held in comfortable venues (an empty office within the medium) before each interview begun. Participants were informed about the purpose of the study, their role in the study and lastly their right. Each interview started with the introduction of the research study and the purpose of the interview. Participants had to each sign an informed consent that was written in the language of their choice either in IsiZulu or English (see appendix E and F). Each interview was conducted in the language of the participant's choice. The purpose for this was to allow the participants to be comfortable and to freely express themselves. Individual interview session ranged between 45 minutes to an hour, depending on how much information was given by the participant and ended with each participant being given the opportunity to ask any question he/she might have.

All interviews were recorded using a voice recorder; participants consent was requested to audio record the interviews. The advantage of using an electronic recorder is that “it allows the researcher the opportunity to listen to the flow of discussion and the exact vocabulary used by informants” (Activist Guide to Research and Advocacy, 2003:74). Given the sensitive nature of this study participants were given control over the recorder, for them to pause it if they did not wish to have their views recorded. This was to ensure that participants do not suffer from ongoing stress as a result of the interview (Matthews & Ross, 2010). Audio recording allowed the researcher to capture all the essential information that was relevant to this study. Once all the information was recorded, the researcher transcribed the completed interviews.

4.8 CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED DURING DATA COLLECTION

a). On the due date of data collection, the commissioner’s office did not have the study permit for the researcher ready, because the person who was responsible had not drafted it. Therefore, the researcher was not able to begin with data collection on the scheduled date.

b). The researcher had planned to use her cell phone to record the interviews, however she was not allowed to use it as it was part of the rule of the correctional centre that does not allow for the use of cell phones inside the mediums. As a result, she had to purchase a voice recorder.

c). In medium A (Awaiting trial) the researcher was assigned 2 correctional officials who work at C1, also known as the ‘box’, because it houses offenders who are waiting to go to court the next day. Consequently, these officials did not have much knowledge of male sexual assault because it was rare in this section. As the offenders hardly spent much time in this section. The researcher therefore, requested the head of correction centre (A) to assign her with other correctional officials to sample from other sections such as B4, as offenders in this section spent longer time in correctional centre and were part of 28s gang. Therefore, the researcher had to re-do the interviews the following day within the medium (A).

d). In Medium B (maximum) the head of correctional centre denied the researcher the opportunity to use the voice recorder. As a result, she was only able to take note from the participants. She later explained to the HR manager who was assigned to assist her with the participants why she needed to use the voice recorder and assured him that it would only be used to record voices. Due to this, she went back the following day to re-do the interviews using the voice recorder.

e). Some of the African/Zulu speaking participants agreed to be interviewed in English but would respond mixing both English and IsiZulu. This was a challenge for the researcher because she had to translate from Zulu to English.

4.9 THEMATIC DATA ANALYSIS

According to Hancock, Ockleford and Windridge (1998: 24), “data analysis in a research project involves summarising the mass of data collected and presenting the results in a way that communicates the most important features.” This study employed a thematic analysis approach. A thematic analysis is a method that “pays attention to describing both the implicit and explicit data, through a thorough process of identifying, analysing and reporting pattern (themes) within the data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 6). To analyse data, Braun and Clarke’s (2006) guide to thematic analysis was used, illustrated in Table 4.2.

Exploratory data of this study was generated through the semi-structured interview schedule, and this was presented in terms of a thematic analysis. The thematic analysis has six steps which the researcher followed to analyse collected data. Once the informant interviews (KIIs) were completed the researcher took 4 days to just listen to the interview’s recordings, listening carefully to what the participants were saying. The qualitative data was therefore transcribed and translated into English. The researcher listened to the voice recordings while writing down word-for-word, and later translating and transcribing them into English as some KIIs were conducted in IsiZulu. This was done 2-4 day after interviews to allow the researcher to recall any relevant information that was of relevance to the study. This step also included reading and re-reading the data, to ensure that the researcher was familiar with the data. During the second phase out of the raw data the researcher code the data, this was done by underlining interesting features that were relevant to the research questions of this study. The researcher then identified relevant themes to this study. According to Mbewe (2017), this is searching for themes entailed, identifying recurrent patterns of responses from the participants. The fifth step involved reviewing, defining and naming themes and reducing them to meaningful themes. Thereafter, the researcher analysed the data under the identified themes to present and discuss the findings of the data in an understandable way.

Table 4.2: Steps in thematic analysis

Phase	Description of process
1. Familiarising yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic ‘map’ of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	On-going analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

(Braun & Clarke, 2006: 87)

4.10 METHODS TO ENSURE TRUSTWORTHINESS

Streubert, Speziale and Carpenter. (2003: 364) describe trustworthiness as “establishing the validity and reliability of qualitative research.” However, researchers have argued that these terms are no longer applicable to measure the trustworthiness of a qualitative study (Babbie & Mouton, 2011:276-278; Marshall & Rossman, 2016:44-48). Qualitative research is trustworthy when it accurately represents the experiences of the study participants. For the purpose of this study, four elements were used to ensure trustworthiness of this study, credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability.

4.10.1 Credibility

Credibility defined as the confidence that can be placed in the truth of the research findings (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002) or “the participant opinions and the interpretation and representation of them by the researcher” (Streubert *et al.*, 2003:38).

To enhance the credibility of this study the researcher spent a considerable amount of time with the study participants in their natural setting – Westville Correctional Centre in order better

understand them and gain insight into their lives, to build trust and to minimise the distortions of information that might arise due to the presence of the researcher in the field (Anney, 2014). Data was also captured through verbatim as field notes and by using a voice recorder to allow validation later when out of the field. Moreover, the researcher returned to the study participants to check whether the transcribed data was a truthful version of their experiences (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002).

4.10.2 Transferability

Transferability refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be transferable to other situations or groups with other participants (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). Researchers should provide enough information on the informants and the research context to enable the reader to assess the findings capability of being “fit” or transferable (Streubert et al., 2003:39).

A dense or thick description of the participants’ experiences, regarding their interpretations and feelings of the phenomenon, was discussed sufficiently to allow comparison of applicability or transferability of the data to another context. The findings of this research can be applied to a similar situation, as the researcher used a purposive sampling method in order to maximise the range of specific information that could be obtained from the participants about the phenomenon. The researcher is of the view that the research findings of this study can be applied to similar context, as the data that was obtained from the participants constituted their expert views as they were all trained and qualified correctional officials who had considerable knowledge and experience of male sexual assault.

4.10.3 Dependability

Dependability refers to the “stability of research findings over time.” Dependability involves participants’ evaluation of the findings, interpretation and recommendations of the study such that all are supported by the data as received from participants of the study (Korstjens & Moser, 2018:3), dependability is related to consistency of findings (Holloway, 2005). This means that if the study were repeated in a similar context with the same participants, the findings would be consistent (Holloway, 2005). The researcher ensured dependability for this study by conforming to the following procedures:

- Conducted semi-structured interviews with the participants and asked mostly open-ended questions that could be answered openly and honestly;

- Asked the study participants the same interview questions to address the study objectives and research questions under investigation;
- Confidentiality of the participants was guaranteed and that their interviews were conducted in seclusion;
- Used relevant sources from the literature that intensified this study;
- Enough description of participants experiences and the methods used were aimed at enabling the reader who wishes to apply the findings to other settings transferability principle;
- The researcher also coded the same data twice over a period of one week between each coding, the result from the six coding were compared to see if the result were the same or different. Dependability was reached as the coding result were the same. Anney (2014:7) states that this “helps the researcher gain a deep understanding of data patterns and improves the presentation of participants’ narrations.”

4.10.4 Confirmability

The purpose of confirmability is to illustrate that the evidence and thought processes give another researcher the same conclusions as in the research context (Streubert *et al.*, 2003:38). Confirmability is “concerned with establishing that data and interpretations of the findings are not figments of the inquirer’s imagination but are clearly derived from the data” (Tobin & Begley, 2004:392). The researcher conducted the data analysis, and the supervisor did an audit trail of the verbatim descriptions, categories and themes.

4.11 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

“Since human beings are the objects of study in the social sciences, this brings its own unique ethical problems to the force which would never be relevant in the pure, clinical laboratory settings of the natural sciences.” (Strydom, 1998: 23).

4.11.1 Informed consent

To ensure the dignity, rights, safety and well-being of all potential participants were safeguarded. Ethical clearance was obtained from the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee, protocol reference number (HSS/1640/017M, see appendix C). Prior to submitting to the ethics committee, the researcher was required to present her research proposal to the colloquium of lecturers and fellow colleagues within the discipline of criminology and forensic studies. Afterwards, the researcher

made changes to the research proposal until it was suitable to submit for ethical clearance. Gatekeeper approval to conduct research in Westville correctional center was obtained from the Department of correctional services (see appendix B). The purpose of the study was explained prior to each one-on-one interview. Ethical considerations included providing each participant with an informed consent form to sign prior to the interview.

The consent forms were comprehensive, stating the nature, process and purpose of the research, what the data collected will be used for and what was expected from the participants. The form also clearly stated that participants were not compelled to be part of the research. If they chose to be part of the study and change their mind at a later stage during the interview, they were permitted to dropout from the study during the interview without any negative consequences. They were also not compelled to answer any question that they thought were sensitive or questions that may have caused them sadness. Participants were provided with the necessary information relating to their participation in the research process. "This information included their level of confidentiality, how much of their time was to be used for research purposes, what they could expect from the research, data storage and how the results were to be used" (Kumar, 1999) as cited in (Sakarombe, 2014:83).

4.11.2 Confidentiality and Anonymity

In order to protect the confidentiality of participants, each participant was assigned a pseudonym so that their names will not be linked to any of their personal data. Participants were assigned pseudonyms in the following way, the number 01 represented males, 02 represented females and the alphabet A to D will have represented the different mediums. For example, A01 A02, B01 B02, C01 C02 and D01 D02. All data that was gathered was treated with the strictest confidentiality. Given the sensitive nature of this study, the researcher did not share any study-related information to any person other than the study supervisor and participant.

4.11.3 Deception

To avoid deception, the researcher did not make up information or give participants information that is false. Relevant important information was not omitted in order to mislead the participants.

4.12 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In qualitative data extraction, i.e. in-depth interviews, participants can lie or fabricate the information given to the researcher, thus minimising the study's quality of data to be obtained in this study. To overcome this limitation, prior to data collection participants were ensured about confidentiality and autonomy of participation and were ensuring to answer the questions as honestly as possible. This study had 8 participants, and therefore limited the number of participants that could be involved in this study. In addition, the researcher used Westville Correctional Centre only and did not use other correctional centres, therefore limiting the diversity of information which could be obtained. Another limitation was that the ethics office was not able to grant the researcher the ethics approval in time because the researcher had not submitted the gatekeeper's letter from DCS, at the same time the DCS was not able to grant the researcher with the gatekeeper's letter in time without the ethical approval from the university. Gatekeeper's letter from the Department of correctional services delayed the researcher with data collection, because of the amount of time they took to response .However, this did not discourage the researcher she constantly followed up on DCS through emails and calls.

4.13 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this chapter highlights the methodology used in the study. The chapter described the research paradigm that was used and the reasons for preferring such an approach. It also described the sampling procedure, the data collection methods used, and ethical considerations. The methods ensure trustworthiness of the study were outlined. Finally, the chapter explained how data was coded, analysed and mentioned how the study ensures the trustworthiness. The following chapter will take an in- depth investigate the data interpretation and analysis.

CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the results and discussion of data obtained from semi-structured interviews conducted with participants (Correctional services officials) from Durban, Westville Correctional Centre. The study set out to explore the perceptions of Correctional official's male sexual assault in correctional centre. The aim was to uncover whether the correctional officials knew about the practice of sexual assault in the correctional centre. The research data is presented using a thematic analysis (TA). "TA is essentially a method for identifying and analysing and reporting patterns in qualitative data" (Clarke & Braun, 2013: 6).

For the purpose of effectively addressing the key questions and objectives of this study, a total of eight semi- structured interviews were conducted. These included two correctional officials' one male and one female from each medium (A, B, C and D). The reason for selecting both male and female correctional officials was to uncover if the differences of genders contribute to their perceptions towards male sexual assault. Correctional officials from medium E were not recruited in this study because the medium houses female's offenders and females were not the focus of this study, hence medium E was excluded. The researcher chose to explore Westville Correctional Centre because it is the largest correctional centre in KwaZulu-Natal. This is also one of the overcrowded correctional centres, with also a high prevent of gang activities which are contributing factors to male sexual assault.

According to Creswell (2007:125), "themes become the categories for analysis". Thematic analysis is performed through the process of coding in six phases to create established, meaningful patterns (see Section 4.9). The data that is presented and discussed below is related to the questions in the Interview guide (see appendix D).

When the researcher collected data, she adhered to all the ethical consideration as suggested by Royse (1991:240-243):

- All subjects involved in the research were volunteers.
- Enough information about the study was provided to ensure that risks and benefits are understood.
- Participants could withdraw at any time if they so wished.
- All participants signed an agreement stating that participation was voluntary.

To conceal the identity of the participants the researcher assigned pseudonym in the following way, the number 01 represent males, 02 will females and the alphabet A- D will represent the different mediums of the correctional centre. For example, A01 A02, B01 B02, C01 C02 and D01 D02.

Table 5.1 depicts the biographical data of correctional officials in Westville Correctional Centre. The study comprises of 4 males and 4 females who have between 06 to 40 years of experiences. Five of these participants are Africans, two of them are Afrikaner and comprises of one Indian, the researcher sampled 2 (male and female) participants from each medium (A, B.C and D).

Table 5.1: Biographical data of correctional officials in Westville Correctional Centre

Participants	Race	Gender	Experience
Medium A-A01	Afrikaner	Male	27-30
Medium A-A02	African	Female	06-10
Medium B-B01	Afrikaner	Male	32-40
Medium B-B02	African	Female	15-20
Medium C-C01	African	Male	24- 30
Medium C-C02	African	Female	18-20
Medium D-D01	Indian	Male	33-40
Medium D-D02	African	Female	06-10

This chapter aims to present data that will address the following research objectives:

1. To explore awareness of male sexual assault between offenders among correctional officials in Durban, Westville Correctional Centre, South Africa.
2. To explore the perceptions of correctional officials towards male sexual assault between male offenders in Westville Correctional Centre.
3. To identify the current strategies that are in place to address male sexual assault in Westville Correctional Centre.

To ensure authenticity, the participants' comments are presented verbatim. The researcher did not alter any participants' responses. Any language inaccuracies therefore remained unedited.

5.2 CORRECTIONAL OFFICIAL'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE TERM 'SEXUAL ASSAULT'

Participants were hesitant to answer when asked “**what is your understanding of the term sexual assault? [Elaborate on your answer]**”; it took some time for them to answer, the researcher could also see from their facial expression that they were struggling to respond to the question.

Learning how correctional officials comprehend sexual assault in a correctional centre is essential because they cannot react appropriately if they fail to understand what constitutes a sexual act as sexual assault. In addition, they will be unable to monitor and prevent it effectively. Their definition of the situation leads them to see behaviour as consensual or coercive sexual activity (Eigenberg, 2000a). Therefore, it is essential to unearth how correctional officials define the term sexual assault.

The findings of this study showed that correctional officials were not liberal in their understanding of sexual assault. The assumption could be that sodomy is a term that is commonly used in correctional centres to refer to sexual relations between male offenders, whether consensual or coercive. This is evident in the following excerpts which capture the verbatim expressed by the participants to divulge their own understanding of what sexual assault means:

“It’s like sexual, it’s like sexual assault. Like sex” (Participant, A01).

“I would say, it occurs when someone’s private parts are being touched without their permission or direct penetration” (Participant, A02).

“In the correctional centres what we know it happens mostly in two ways, it happens with the forced penetration in the anus or it happen with the thighs. Mostly with regards to the forced penetration between the tights from what we understand although these guys are gangsters they are also cautious of HIV and those things but I suppose sexual assault can be so many things I mean but if you ask me specifically about sex and sexual assault those are the two ways” (Participant, B01).

“I would say that it is similar to rape because there is no agreement involved between the two people. A person takes a chance on new and mentality disturbed offenders” (Participant, B02).

“Ay like said as old as I am with years of experience that I have I can’t really tell you exactly happens to qualify the act as sexual assault but when a person reports he explains what really happened. So maybe I would be speaking about something I don’t know maybe it when victims refuse to have something with the perpetrator, but the perpetrator do it against the victims will” (Participant, C01).

“Well though I don’t have... thing is I can’t differentiate between rape and sexual assault if it is the same thing am not sure but I believe that they take a person and penetrate behind because their males without his consent” (Participant, C02).

“From my understating, it starts from harassment and ends with sodomy” (Participant, D01).

“It’s to be victimised sexually ... it’s when a man has sleeps with another man by force without the consent it can also be oral however that rare here” (Participant, D02)

From the above verbatim, correctional officials defined male sexual assault as harassment; sodomy and a sexual offence that is like rape because there is no consent involved, coercive anal and thigh penetration; touching of private parts without consent. However, one participant alludes that with his years of experience he still did not have knowledge of what sexual assault was, till the victim explained what happened. One of the participant expressed the challenge of differentiating between rape and sexual assault. In addition, one participant understood the term to be having the same meaning as sodomy. From the above data, it is evident that the participants from all four mediums had a basic idea of what sexual assault means. However, there remain a proportion of participants who were not able to appropriately define the term.

The above data reiterate the discussion in Chapter 2 that officials who lack a clear understanding of sexual assault make it impossible for them to provide safety and security for offenders who are at an increased risk of sexual assault (Chapter 2, Section 2.9.1). Correctional officials working within correctional centres are situated to have a unique understanding of the context of sexual assault (Cook & Lane, 2017). However, the study data showed that correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre had a basic knowledge of the term, though they did not have a uniform definition of sexual assault. Thompson *et al.* (2008), as cited in (Rodriguez, 2011:19), argue that there is a need to educate correctional officials of a uniform definition of sexual victimisation with the context of an institution. Uniform understating of sexual assault in correctional centres will provide officials with a clear understanding of what sexual assault is and prevent officials from having their own definitions of what sexual assault is.

The above discussion revealed that the participants had a basic idea of the term sexual assault. Having attained the meaning of sexual assault from the perspective of correctional services officials, it is also important to uncover their awareness of the existence of male sexual assault.

5.2.1 Correctional officials' awareness of the existence and prevalence of male sexual assault

This data speaks directly to the first research objective of this study which is to explore awareness of male sexual assault between offenders among correctional officials in Durban, Westville Correctional Centre. Correctional centres are regarded as high-risk settings for sexual assault of offenders (Wyatt, 2006). Therefore, it is of great importance that correctional officials are aware of these occurrences so that they can provide the appropriate safety measures for the offenders. Correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre were aware of the existence of male sexual assault in their mediums. Consequently, when asked **“Do you believe that male sexual assault happens here in your medium? [Elaborate on your answer]”** participants were able to answer the question substantially on the occurrences of male sexual assault in their respective mediums. The following is the verbatim expressed by the participants to depict their awareness of the existence and prevalence of male sexual assault in Westville Correctional Centre:

“Yes, yes it happens, yeah because there are inmates that do report incidents. There have been inmates that have reported incidents like that were there have been you know” (Participant, A01).

“From time to time, I have had offender come up to me to report. What happens is that when it comes to our attention offenders are referred to hospital, they go to outside hospital to Addington hospital for a rape examination and ... to be done. But it happens... I can't even say once a month it happens maybe 2 or 3 times in a correctional centre like this in a year” (Participant, B01).

“Yes, it does happen, we have had cases reported by those who were sexually assaulted ... Not so long ago a mentally ill guy was sexually assaulted in the hospital section of this medium” (Participant, C01).

“Yes, it happens, we get cases like those. It very rare but it happens, maybe in a year we have 10% of reported cases” (Participant, D01).

“I agree because there are complaints that we receive from inmates, saying that something of this nature has happened” (Participant, A02).

“It’s even that I believe but I know that this happens here, in this medium am always dealing with cases of male sexual assault, offenders come to me and report that they were sexually assaulted at night and couldn’t report because so and so was threatening me. Offenders here report almost weekly” (Participant, B02).

“Yes, male offenders do get sexually assaulted in this medium even though it doesn’t happen frequently, but it happens, also as I mentioned before last month a guy was sexually assaulted at the hospital section, the victim was mentally disturbed. Apart from this recent case we have had other cases here” (Participant, C02).

“Yes, I have never seen it physically, but I have had people reporting to me that they have been sexually assaulted, we have experienced many cases” (Participant, D02).

From the above verbatim, it is evident that male sexual assault exists in WCC, and penetration is prevalent. These findings highlight that the most common form of male sexual assault in the correctional centre is coercive anal penetration. Participants reported that offenders as victims report sexual victimisation all the time. Participants reported that sexual assault is also committed to victims that are mentally disturbed and is happening during the night. Even though participants were not sure of the statistics of male sexual assault, from the above verbatim it is evident that male offender from Westville Correctional Centre are exposed to male sexual assault and its occurrence cannot be limited to a week or a month. Participants also expressed that though they have not physically witnessed the incident of male sexual assault, they were aware that it was happening because of reported cases. And also, victims of sexual assault are taken to hospital for an examination.

Furthermore, it has been revealed that medium A is where the sexual assault is prevalent. This was expressed by a participant from medium D. This was discussed further in the verbatim below:

“From my knowledge, I think it has only happened once, it hardly happens here at this place but were worked previously in medium A which deal with the waiting trail prisoners, it happens a lot there. Because the whole medium has the awaiting trail prisoners and it happens a lot with the waiting trail prisoners, I will tell you why it’s because there are not yet sentenced their do anything in prison you see, their commit a lot of crimes such as that sodomy and rape” (Participant, D01).

The occurrence and existence of male sexual assault in medium A is an interesting finding which came from a male participant that male sexual assault is more prevalent in Medium A. The participant revealed that offenders in medium A commit a lot of crimes i.e. sexual assault because they have not yet been sentenced. This is because offenders awaiting trial have not yet been convicted of any crimes committed. Therefore, if they commit crimes such as male sexual assault that will affect their charge or increase their sentence. The assumption is that it becomes easy for offenders who have not been convicted in correctional centres to proceed and commit further offences, and not even to the exclusion of these sexual offences. This study confirms the findings of a study conducted by Booyens (2008) on the sexual assault and rape of male offenders and awaiting-trial detainees. That male sexual assault is common in medium A (see section 2.2.3).

Evidence from research by Javaid (2014), Hensley and Tewksbury (2005), Cook (2009), Dennehy and Natel (2006), Cook (2009), Wyatt (2006) and Eigenberg (2000) informs us that correctional officials may ignore the existence of male sexual assault in correctional centres (Section 2.9.1). This is however in contradiction to the findings of this study, as the findings revealed that participants were very much aware of the occurrence of male sexual assault in their correctional centre. This therefore, highlights that male sexual assault does occur at Westville Correctional Centre. Participants acknowledged the occurrence of male sexual assault because of the reported cases, though they have not seen sexual assault physically. Gonsalves *et al.* (2012), Moster and Jeglic (2009) and Ghanotakis *et al.* (2007) also report similar findings (Section 2.9.1).

The above discussion on awareness of sexual assault is evident that participant from all four mediums of Westville Correctional Centre were aware of the existence of male sexual assault in their respective mediums, this therefore led to their awareness of the tactics used by perpetrators of sexual assault in correctional centre.

5.2.2 Methods used to lure victims to sexual victimisation and/or assault: The “Unknown debt” of accepting gifts.

Participant were asked, **“In your opinion, what do you think motivates an offender to commit sexual assault?”**

Being a first-time offender is amongst the factors that place individuals at risk of sexual assault in a correctional centre. In this study, correctional officials were aware of the existence of male sexual assault at Westville Correctional Centre. Participants were knowledgeable of the fact

that new admissions are vulnerable to sexual assault because experienced long-term offenders (perpetrators) provide them with gifts with the intention of having sex; but the new admission is not informed of this. If they do not comply, they are sexually assaulted. This therefore means in a correctional centre, offenders who accept favours from other offenders get themselves in an unknown debt that results in male sexual assault. This was discussed further in the comments below:

“Yes, there are big chances for male offenders to sexually assault. Let me make an example an offender is coming into prison when he gets to jail – he knows nothing about the jail right. So when he arrives number 1 his coming into people who are more advanced about the jail, the offenders his arriving into no longer know a woman therefore, they use him to their advantage when a person arrives in jail. They do things for him and give him gifts and they will use that person later because his new and knows nothing about the jail, so they would want to sleep with him that is when sexual assault begins. You find that a person knew nothing, he was just accepting gifts were else those gifts mean something at the end of the day, they use those gifts to create debt for accepting those gifts to the one that might be victimised and you pay for that debt sexually if you refuse that when now one will be sexually assaulted” (Participant, B02).

“Here the most common cases that have heard of are that when a person comes into the correctional centre, don’t know anything so what happens is that older offenders will take advantage of them in a way that they will pretend to be caring and be providing the person with things such cigarettes or food not knowing that in return the person will want to sleep with you and when you refuse he will force himself on you” (Participant, D02).

“You see when you come into a correctional centre for the first time you are clueless you don’t know anything that goes on, you don’t know how the correctional centre operate so now what happens is that those offenders who have been here longer will befriend the new offenders and providing thing for him and the other offender the new one he will accept these things not knowing that he will now have to sleep with this guy because he owes him for all the things he has been given him. If you refuse to sleep with the person that when he will sexually assault you, we even have guys are now committing sexual assault because there were also done this thing to” (Participant, A01).

“The non- gang members because they know nothing about the jail, those who have been in and out of jail and know it inside out take advantage of them. So you know that when you get to a place you not familiar with you become cowed, you don’t know where to go either to go

this side or that side. So now a person comes to you, pretending to help you, you find that you hungry and the person gives you food. You thinking that the person likes you and wants to be friends with you whereas in the end that person will ask you to pay back. You out of bath soap the person gives you, you out of toothpaste he says here brother you can use mine, you think the person he just kind not knowing that there will come a time when he will say payback time” (Participant, D01).

It is evident from the above data that first time offender becomes victims of sexual assault unknowingly. The participants revealed that all-time convicted offenders will use gifts such as food and toothpaste to lure the newly convicted offender (potential victim) for later sexual assault. They use these gifts to pretend to look after the new admission and later demand payback. The above data attest that experienced convicted offenders take advantage of new offenders by using tricks which eventually result in sexual assault. In addition, participants revealed that being clueless about the correctional centres makes a new offender vulnerable to male sexual assault because he does not know how coveted offenders operate. In addition, participants reported that newly convicted offenders are usually unaware that by receiving gifts, they are indebted to a sexual favour, which results in sexual assault. One correctional official further mentioned that victims of sexual assault end up committing this sexual offence because there were too sexually assaulted.

Apart from being a new offender in a correctional centre, not having visitation also places one at risk of being sexually assaulted. People with no visitation cannot get access to luxuries such as cigarettes, food and toothpaste. Even though the correctional centre does provide the basic necessities (such as food, bath soap, toothpaste) for offenders, it is not enough. Offenders then get assistance from the wrong people who have an intention of having sex with them as a result of providing for them. Refusal to do so result in a person being sexually assaulted.

The following verbatim expresses the notion of lack of visitors as a contributing factor to sexual assault:

“Offenders that don’t get visited here are in a problem because they do not get basic things like soap, roll on and cigarette, so now you find that there is someone in the cell that will now provide these things for him and at the end he will want to sleep with him if he refuses that when now he will get sexually assaulted” (Participant, D02).

This confirms findings of studies conducted by Cook & Lane (2017); Martynuik (2013); Booyens (2008) and Alberst (2007) (Section 2.5). Eigenberg, (1989, 2000b) also report similar finding that offenders are in debt for accepting gifts or favours are vulnerable to male sexual assault (Section 2.3).

5.2.3 Victim offenders as wives in correctional centre

The phenomenon of male sexual assault in single- gender mediums of the correctional centre is openly acknowledged by correctional officials. A “wyfie” or wife is referred to as a small boy, young man, madam or girlfriend (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002: 11). In correctional centre, once a male has been sexually assaulted, one of the various relationships may develop between him and the perpetrator. One of the relationships is being a girlfriend/wyfie to the perpetrator. Drawing from their experiences with male sexual assault, participants expressed that offender commit sexual assault to create wyfies out of the victims. Participants stated that the wyfie is expected to take up a wifely role, by taking care of the husband (perpetrator) and the husband is expected provide for the wife with luxuries such as food . However, participants further stated that this type of relationship is prominent amongst the 28 gang. The supposition is that the perpetrators place other males in the female role to dominate them. This is further discussed in the following verbatim:

“As I explained with the gang, if I’m a gang member and you come inside the prison not being a gang member but you are scared and I’m doing the deed on you, you must remember now I’m the one that going to look after you, so that is also what is happening. I’m giving you food, I’m giving you a bed, and I make sure nobody touches you. You understand? That what we call you are my wyfie ... there are gaining from the one that going to assault them “(Participant, A01).

“Yes, it is, it happens in our correctional centre from time to time especially amongst the 28s gangs that offenders take girlfriends we call them wyfietjie in Afrikaans and make them they wives its unfortunately happens, but it happens sometimes the rape has been ... new addition comes in small, tiny, intimidated. You put in a wrong cell with the wrong people it happens... you know this thing of sexual assault it linked to many things; an offender like that is seen as becoming your wife, its linked to somebody that washes your clothing for you, you provide food for that person because you basically. It a form of payment by providing food it’s just the way it is. It is linked to many things not just about sex, like I said it a form of power it’s about having somebody that washes your clothes that person really becomes a wife to you in a sense in prison

he looks after you more just in a sexual way and obviously as yourself who is seen as the husband, you look after that person ...the 28s are the ones that are sexually active that believe in having wives in correctional centres” (Participant, B01).

“Some agree to sleep with each other tell us that they are dating, a guy would say to the other guy that my girlfriend. But we separate such individuals because we are not here to create couples this is a correctional centre” (Participant, D01).

“You see what happens is that the older guys manipulate the younger guys..., because there are no women now they need the young guy to become the wife and they use certain kind of systems sometimes they say we will do something bad to you if you don't cooperate” (Participant,C01).

“Because he knows that he will get food ... so you find that the 28 gang, most of the time the 28 members don't eat they give the food to their girlfriends because they know that later it's getting down” (Participant, C02).

“Offenders sexually assault other offenders to make them wyfie. However other offenders like that because due to lack of visit from relatives the perpetrator provides for them and give them things like basic needs such as food, toothpaste etc.” (Participant, B02).

This data shows that participants from medium A to D perceived the desire to have a wyfie in a correctional centre as motivating factor for offenders as perpetrators to engage in male sexual assault and that those victims who cannot protect themselves in correctional centres consider this as a logical choice. This data also shows that participants viewed the victims of sexual assault as the one that benefit because they receive protection and other luxurious necessities from the perpetrator. This view may result in a misconception from correctional officials to assume that victims voluntarily engage in this type of relationship because of the benefits.

The participants further reported that it is mostly the gang members that have wyfies and are strategic in choosing victims; they target small, tiny, intimidated offenders. This could be because these types of offenders are not able to fight back or stand up against the perpetrator. In addition, one participant revealed that offenders engage in this type of relationship to show power to others. Furthermore, participants reported that victims became wives in the correctional centre because of intimidation from the perpetrator.

This finding coincide with the study findings of Booyens (2014), Donaldson (2001), Harvey (2002), Gear and Ngubane (2002), Trammell (2011), Gaes and Goldberg (2004) and Britton

(2003) that gang member commit male sexual assault to turn victims into wyfies and also some victims engage in this type of relationship for protection (Section 2.5.2). However, participants were not aware that some offender as victims submits to this type to being wyfies out of fear for their life's not consent. From the above data it emerges that especially in relation to those targeted to become the 'wyfies' of gang members, very direct coercion in, for example, sexual assault is not unusual.

From the discussion above, it is evident that male offenders are sexually assaulted to be made wives of the perpetrators in correctional centre. However, this type of relationship is prevalent amongst the gang specifically the 28 gang. Male sexual assault is not only perpetuated by the desire to create wives in correctional centre but the structural design of the cells also has an impact. The following discussion of finding dwells on the impact of the structural design of communal cells.

5.2.4 The impact of the structural designs of communal cells on male sexual assault

Participant were asked, **“In your view, what do you think perpetuates male sexual assault in this correctional centre?”**

According to the participants, the design of the correctional centre has an impact on male sexual assault. While permitting privacy for the offenders and reducing noise within the medium, the cell solid steel door (patrolling doors) may also provide the degree of privacy that permit sexual assault to occur (Kaufman, 2008). Participants explained that the solid steel door limits their visual observation when patrolling because when looking inside the cell through a small window, they are not able to observe all four corners of the cell. The assumption is that male sexual assault can take place in the spots that officials cannot see. Participants reported that because of the solid doors of the cells, they are not able to patrol effectively at night. This is expressed in the following verbatim:

“As you know, I mean once an inmate is locked up, it's beyond us now you understand, we are only there during the day to see I mean what happens. Beyond that ... because you must see these prisons have been designed in a communal holding cell, because of the design it difficult for us now to see what happens in the cells especially at night because we only look through a small window” (Participant, A01).

“You have got big communal cells with 50 /55 or 60 people in it, the night shift member comes up the steps he looks into the cell, and he's got a little window this big to look into. You cannot

see all corners of the cell, you have got beds that 3 or 4 beds on top of each other, so now this also contribute to sexual assault” (Participant, B01).

“Once we lock up we don’t see what goes on in cells which is why it’s difficult to know the truth but it clear that there are other factors that come into play beyond what we know” (Participant, C01).

“Ay I don’t have much to say, we can also do our level best to deal with male sexual assault but because the structure of the cells what happens in them is beyond our control since we don’t have a full view of the cell also we don’t have easy control to the master key, getting the key is not something that can happen fast which is why you get that by the time we open the assault has already taken place” (Participant, D01).

“The guard cannot see everything because it’s very easily, it is not like in a rape movie where a person will shout and scream, and it’s not like that. Even if I look through the window, I won’t even see it. The act may be taking place but I won’t even see it because it will be under the sheet, so you won’t even see it” (Participant, A02).

“The cell has a steel door with a little window we use to look inside the cell, offenders use the sides of the cell we cannot see to sexually assault other offenders” (Participant, B02).

“These prisons are designed big dormitories where like you get between 30 and 40 inmates in there so it beyond us now once it locked up there, I mean for ... curb this thing it impossible you understand with the design of the building” (Participant, C02).

Participants reported that having 50 to 60 offenders in a cell and unable to see clearly inside the cell contribute to male sexual assault. In addition, participants expressed that at night it is not easy to open the cells, as a result by the time the cell is opened the incident might have already occurred. Participants further stated that what happens inside the cells is beyond their control because of the way the cells are designed, even when they could be looking through the window on the door, the act may be taking place, but they will not see it. This is due to that fact that when looking through the window of the door, officials are unable to view all 4 corners of the cell therefore, offender’s as perpetrators use the side’s officials cannot see to commit sexual assault or the act maybe happening under the sheet. One participant mentioned that due to the structural design of the cell it is difficult to curb male sexual assault.

The findings of this study suggest that participants comprehend that although the solid steel door may act as a security mechanism in the correctional centre, it also contributes to male

sexual assault because officials are not able to patrol effectively. This finding suggests the solid steel door (patrolling door) hinders correctional officials to efficiently manage male sexual assault in correctional centre. This is an interesting point for future research as participants raised this point which was not anticipated by the researcher.

5.2.5 The darkest night produces victims of sexual assault

According to participants, most of the sexual assault occurred at night. This is due to the fact that the centre is under-staffed at night. Correctional officials are also not allowed to enter the cell without permission of the Head of the Centre. Accessing the master key for correctional officials at night is not easy because the key is kept at the arsenal (this refers to a place where all the security equipment is kept). Consequently, participants articulated that this sometimes results in them entering the cell when the incident has also occurred. The study findings demonstrated that participants were aware of the time of the sexual assault and therefore should be more vigilant at this time. However, because of issues such as being under-staffed with only half the officials working at night, correctional officials are compromised at this time. This is further discussed in the following excerpt, verbatim:

“yes, because it’s at night we don’t have keys and some of them, even if it was happening during the night it is not that they are not calling the guards to come and assist” (Participant, A01).

The researcher probed the participants with the question **“why male sexual assault is likely to happen at night.”** The participants further deliberated the following reason for sexual assault to take place at night and the comments were expressed in the following verbatim:

“Most probably it’s the safest time for them because it’s not that they would do this assault while everybody is awake too. Maybe it would be 2 or 3 o’clock in the morning while everyone is sleeping, one man would just climb to another man’s bed and he would do the thing. Like now nobody would do it now. They’d rather do it later because now there’s more man, everyone’s awake and somebody would see them but at night everything quiet although there is a guard he might not see because will be under the sheet, so you won’t even see it” (Participant, A01).

“We lock them up at night and anything can happen at night you see most of these offences happen during the night as I said very rarely it happens during the day it only happens during the day of the offenders are unguarded” (Participant, D01).

“In our correctional centre, we have 50 – 60 in a cell it tough and you normally don’t think a sexual assault can happen in a cell with 50 offender, if its 1 am in the morning and the 49 is sleeping and the one quietly gets into bed with the other it can happen. You don’t even need to be very vocal and very loud it will happen while people are sleeping ... we have heard it before that offenders don’t even do it in the cells because in the cells they know that there will get reported. During the day they will find a little corner somewhere in the medium for literately 1 or 2 min where they have intercourse, I promise you” (Participant, B01).

“And those who do it, I think they do it by chance, especially at night when everyone in their deep sleep” (Participant, A02).

“In this medium am always dealing with cases of male sexual assault, offenders come to me and report that they were sexually assaulted at night, and couldn’t report because so and so was threatening me. It happens at night when everyone is sleeping” (Participant, B02).

“Also for us, it had to see offenders in the act because this happens at night when we have locked them up in the cells and it is not easy for us to get inside the cells” (Participant, C02).

It is evident from the participants that sexual assault usually occurs during the night and early hours of the morning (i.e. 2 to 3 am). They attest that sexual assault is rarely occurring during the day because there are witnesses. Participants further expressed that most sexual assault cases reported to them are those that occurred during the night. This could be that at night a victim fears for his life. In addition, participants reported that perpetrators commit male sexual assault at night because it is the safest time for them with most offenders asleep. Two participants further reported that at night offenders are not vocal when engaging in the act. Thus, it maybe be difficult for correctional officials to detect if male sexual assault is occurring.

Contrary to the notion that male sexual assault happens at night, two participants articulated that male sexual assault also happens during the day when offenders are unguarded. In addition, one participant reported that during the day male sexual assault does not occur inside the cell. The perpetrator will find a little corner in the medium to do the act.

The researcher further asked the participants (C02) and (D02) the following question, **“Once you lock them up for the night, you patrol and does that help?”**

“It does help and it doesn’t help there is a time where we switch off the light, at 10 we switch them off so ... but just to check if there is anyone who is trying to escape, to hear out for sounds

if they not breaking any windows but patrolling doesn't 100% prevent males from being sexually assaulted ..." (Participant, C02).

"It happens when they are alone, while locked up at night in the cells. Without anyone around" (Participant, D02).

The above verbatim indicates that at night offenders are sometimes left alone without anyone patrolling. In addition, participants reported that patrolling of officials does not 100% prevent male sexual assault from happening.

These findings confirm the widely acknowledged notion that male sexual assault in correctional centres occurs at night, encompassed by the lack of guardianship (Wolff *et al.*, 2006; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Hensley, Koscheski & Tewksbury, 2005) (Section 2.3). The data suggest that participants are aware that male sexual assault occurs at night because they are short-staffed. Also, at this time patrolling doors come into play. Because it is at night when offenders are locked inside the cells, with only half of the officials working and have limited or obstructed view into the cell. Booyens (2008) conducted a study on male sexual assault in correctional centre, although the content of her study was different to the current study because she was looking at the sexual assault and rape of male offenders and awaiting-trial detainees our findings are similar that the time of sexual assault is at night.

Correctional centre is compromised at night because of issues such as being understaffed. The following discussion in on the understaffing of the correctional centre as a contributing factor to male sexual assault.

5.2.6 Understaffing as a contributing factor to sexual assault in correctional centres

In terms of awareness of male sexual assault in correctional centre, some participants were of the view that the correctional centre is inadequately staffed, and sexual assault occurs because correctional officials are simply not. The findings confirm that offenders are often left alone, especially at night as a result of understaffing. Therefore, resulting in male sexual assault of offenders.

The following verbatim show how being short- staffed in correctional centre impact male sexual assault:

"We have a night shift member that patrols a double wing you have there is two hundred and fifty offenders this side there is three hundred that side when am patrolling this side it means that side this am living it alone for half an hour via verse and because most of the offenders in

the cells belong to one of the other gangs. Even if it happens, they are unlikely to inform us. Being short-staffed in a correctional centre like this plays a huge role in male sexual assault and because we are short-staffed, we are regularly compromised at night which is when we should be more vigilant in regards to that” (Participant, B01).

“Factors such as shortage of staff makes it difficult for us to prevent this from happening” (Participant, D02).

“We understaffed ... you find that one guard patrols the cells randomly looking from one cell to other. I mean he has 8 cells to look his not going to look at one cell for the whole shift during the duration of the shift, he moves from one spot to another so when he moves it can happen when he’s not looking in that cell” (Participant, D01).

It is evident from the above comments that being short-staffed in a correctional centre plays a huge role in the occurrences of male sexual assault. Participants revealed that factors such as shortage of staff make it challenging to prevent male sexual assault. In addition, participants reported that 1 correctional official has 8 cells to patrol. During the duration of the shift he moves from one wing of the cells to another, therefore when he moves, he leaves one wing unattended. Participants expressed that as a concern because the centre is short-staffed at night, of which that when there should be more officials to be vigilant of any act such as sexual assault.

Offenders have been trusted in the care of correctional officials to protect them and safeguard from occurrences of male sexual assault. However, officials are failing to adhere to this responsibility because of being under-staffed especially at night when the occurrence of male sexual assault is likely to occur. The centre has only one correctional official that is responsible for more than 250 offenders, therefore this highlights the challenges correctional officials are currently facing in correctional centre. It was interesting to find out that the shortage of staff in a correctional centre play a significant role in male sexual assault. Gear (2001) stated understaffing in South Africa’s Correctional Centres hinders efficient and responsive management of male sexual assault by correctional officials. The study also confirms findings of a study conducted by (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2000), that male sexual assault in correctional centres is related understaffing and overcrowding.

5.2.7 Overcrowding in correctional centres

Overcrowding is the single most pressing problem facing South African correctional services, which could have an impact on male sexual assault. Overcrowding in correctional centres directly leads to male sexual assault, because it reduces the ability of officials to segregate and closely monitor dangerous and violent offenders (Wyatt, 2006). This study found that participants are aware that overcrowding perpetrates male sexual assault in the correctional centre.

The researcher selected the following verbatim to illustrate the impact of overcrowding on male sexual assault:

“Cells are supposed to occupy 3 people to avoid sexual assault and other kinds of assault for that matter. Here we have too many offenders, cells occupy more than 30 offenders therefore it is very difficult to prevent this from happening. We also have a storage of isolation cells because we have to remove the perpetrator from the victim” (Participant, A01).

“In general, I don’t believe it because outside of prison you on your own you very really come into with those people but in prison because there is so many of you in one cell it possible that it can happen. I would say the overcrowding promotes that, the overcrowding situation of correctional centres” (Participant, D01).

“Mmmh, definitely overcrowding is a huge factor when it comes to the situation of sexual assault in prisons. You have got three and half thousand offenders here in a prison that is built for two thousand. Overcrowding, and gangsterism. Those are the two big factors on sexual assault, the one is linked to the other” (Participant, B01).

“Male sexual assault happens in all environment more so in correctional centres because it’s a closed environment and they are many offenders in a cell” (Participant, C01).

“There is many of them in one cell so that’s why they might be able commits sexual offences, even the isolations are full so you get that 2 to 3 people will be sharing it” (Participant, B02).

“I think overcrowding may be the major cause. Correctional centres are overcrowded, and some inmates end up sharing a bed and that is more likely to lead to a sexual offence” (Participant, A02).

Because of overcrowding we end up have a high number of offenders in cells, increasing the chances of sexual to occur ((Participant, C02).

I would say the overcrowding promotes sexual assault of offenders, the overcrowding situation of correctional centres (Participant, D02).

Frustration about overcrowding in male correctional centres has been of much emphasis throughout the discussions amongst participants. The participants revealed that overcrowding makes it impossible for the effective curbing of sexual assault. They alluded that a cell which is designed to accommodate 3 individual offenders accommodate 30. As a result, there are no beds, and offenders end up sharing a bed subsequently leading to sexual assault. Participants expressed that overcrowding in cells increases the chance for sexual assault to occur. One participant further mentioned that even the isolation cells are crowded. From the above data, it is evident that overcrowding is rife in Westville Correctional Centre.

The above narratives on overcrowding demonstrated a strong need for prevention methods for male sexual assault. This finding is consistent with findings from other studies that overcrowding in correctional centre has an impact on the extent of sexual assault (Hensley, 2002; Dumond *et al.*, 2000; Booyens, 2008; Shayi, 2008; Singh, 2007) (Section 2.5.1). Correctional officials are aware that overcrowding in the correctional centre is a problem that potentially results in sexual assault of offenders.

From the above discussion, it is evident that overcrowding results in prevalent of gang activity in correctional centre; both these factors are interlinked to each other. With that in mind, the following discussion is on gang activity in correctional centre.

5.2.8 Gang activities in correctional centre

When the correctional officials were asked “**what they think perpetuates male sexual assault in correctional centres,**” most of them referred to gangs. “A gang is defined as a group of three or more offenders whose negative behaviour has an adverse impact on the correctional centre that holds them” (Wood, 2006:3). Gang activities have a major impact on the maintenance of a secure environment and safety and security of the correctional centre. Gangs control the daily lives of offenders, they threaten other offenders and correctional officials (Nel, 2017). The participants confirmed the widely acknowledged belief that gang involvement is another a major dimension of male sexual assault in correctional centres. They allude that most of the reported sexual interactions are linked to the 28 gang.

The researcher selected the following verbatim to demonstrate the impact of gangsterism on male sexual assault:

“You see in the prison, there are basically two gangs 26 or 28 and then there are offenders that do not belong to a gang, this sexual assault normally just happens under the 28 gang and it is not everybody that’s doing it” (Participant, A01).

You know gangsterism in our correctional centres is rife especially in KZN we got the 26s and 28s, the 28s are the ones that are sexually active that believe in having wives in correctional centres etc. So mostly when it happens, it happens with somebody or from somebody from those gangs but it doesn’t happen very often, it mostly the one gang of offenders because that is their modus operandi that how they operate (Participant, B01).

“Also peer pressure plays a role, when you are part of a gang there are certain things that you need or practice to do to prove yourself just like sexually assaulting other offenders. When an offender gets here the first the other ask him is who are you or uyilphi (which side are you in) are you 26/28 or someone’s wife etc.” (Participant, B02).

“Here in this correctional centre, we have a camp of 28s so you find that they sometimes don’t realise that this is wrong to do this because of its part of their culture to sexually assaulted other offenders... some offenders believe in the gang so much ... some were gang member even in the community. When they get here their become part of the gang that how much others believe in this thing of gangs, they believe in it so much especially if his a 28” (Participant, C01).

“You see with the gangs in correctional centres it very hard to avoid such issues because, with the gang like the 28s, there have a major impact on male sexual assault” (Participant, C02).

“In correctional centres, we know that gangs rule and its part of their mission to sleep with other men ... Those who have been sexually assaulted are those who have been forced and are scared of the perpetrator because in most cases they are part of the gang which are the 28s. And with the 28s it’s a must to sexually assault another male in order to be part of the gang” (Participant, D01).

“Some of the gangs do believe in engaging sexual activities you know so it like part of a culture or something like that” (Participant, D02).

The participants revealed that the 28 and 26 gangs are prominent in correctional centre, they alluded that the 28 gang is the one that commits sexual assault and believes in having wives (wyfies) in the correctional centre. One participant highlighted that gang activity is predominant in correctional centres in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). Participants expressed that peer

pressure from the gang member contributes to male offenders committing male sexual assault to prove themselves in the gang. One participant revealed that there are offenders who believe so much in gangsterism, especially the 28 members, who were even gang members in the community and got to the correctional centre continued to affiliate themselves with gangs. The participants allude that gang members do not perceive male sexual assault wrong because it is part of their culture.

Gangsterism is rife at Westville Correctional Centre, with the 28 gang which is famous for their use of coerced sex to create wyfies for the pleasure of designated males in the gang. The data in this research reiterate a study that gang activity is prevalent in correctional centre (Singh, 2007). The study findings show that the 28 gang is dominant, as a result the non-gang member are vulnerable to male sexual assault; the 28 gang is the one that commits male sexual with an intention to create a wyfie, this is part of their modus operandi, it is how the 28 gang operate (Booyens, 2014; Harvey, 2002; Trammell, 2011) (Section 2.5.2). Male offenders may also engage in male sexual assault to attain a certain position in the gang (Booyens, 2008). It can be argued that the architectural structure of most correctional centres and the staff shortages also create opportunities for gangs to operate without much resistance (Albert, 2007). Gang members offer commodities and luxuries such as cigarettes, dagga and soap to the new offender as a premise to care and fend for the unsuspecting newcomer. The receiver of these commodities and gestures of friendship is not aware that these actions are part of a ploy to create an indebtedness that can only be settled by way of sexual favours (Albert, 2007). These responses indicate that correctional officials at Westville Correctional Centre are aware of the delinquent of gang activities.

The above discussion show that participants were aware of the existence of sexual assault, factors that perpetuate the issues and who and why offenders commit sexual assault. With that in mind, it is equally as important to know how correctional officials feel about male sexual assault in correction centres. The following discussion seeks to unpack the perceptions of correctional services officials.

5.3 PERCEPTION OF CORRECTIONAL OFFICIALS ON MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT

This data speaks directly to the second research objective which is “**to explore the perceptions of correctional officials towards male sexual assault between male offenders in Westville Correctional Centre.**” Understanding the perceptions and attitudes of correctional officials on male sexual assault may be key to uncover how officials manage and respond to sexual assault in correctional centre. The researcher posed a question about the participants view on male sexual assault in order to shed light on the broader context of this study. In terms of perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault, participants believed there will always be an opportunity for male sexual assault to take place. Officials perceive that nothing can be done – they said, “If it is going happen, it will happen.” They articulated that if gangsterism exists in correctional centres, male sexual assault is always going to be there. In addition, they were of the view that offenders are at risk of HIV transmission. One of the major points that arose from two interviewees is that officials felt that they were not doing their job efficiently if male offenders were sexually assaulted while still under their care. Male sexual assault is therefore perceived as an act that affects the life of offenders in correctional centres. This was expressed by the participant in the following verbatim:

“Mmmhh, it is a concern but I don’t think it’s such a major concern because it doesn’t really happen so much. But it does happen if it happens steps are being taken, maybe on another factor also, from the health side of it, they are providing the people with condoms ... now if there’s 20 in a cell and an incident happens, out of that 20 maybe 15 belong to a gang now they are going to turn a blind eye but the other persons that not in the gang their also going to turn a blind eye so there is not anything that we can do if it’s going to happen, it’s going to happen” (Participant, A01).

“I’m mainly concerned about sexually transmitted diseases they may get because of this. I also know for the fact that this may have a negative impact on someone’s psychological well-being. Even I would get sexually assaulted I know it would have an impact on me psychologically” (Participant, A02).

“Yes, yes I am. You see it something that shouldn’t happens at all if you take this a is specifically a maximum-security centre ... There is always going to be an opportunity for it happen, the bottom line being if they want to have it they going to have it. It’s something that you can minimise but you can’t stop it all together ... you know some of those guys that become

wives to some offenders, it's a form of survival. It's a form of keeping yourself alive and keeping yourself out of trouble because of the nice thing about having a 'husband' you have got protection. As long as something is part of the operandi of how a gang operate it always going to be there it's like the other gang that operate with drugs and money, you always going to find drugs and money in a correctional centre because more than half of the belongs to that gang operate like that ... here we only have convicted offenders so when you think about it when you surrounded my three thousand or more convicted criminals all for different crimes and some for even sexually assaulting males outside it likely to happen and you can't hide those guys. You can't send them to kokstand forever ... they will come back surely but slowly they incorporate themselves and become part of the system, there is no way to hide them – there is no way to keep away from the prison population” (Participant, B01).

“How can I not be, as a mother and as a parent because when offenders arrive here there our kids. How can I not be worried that when offenders come into correctional centre their get assaulted sexually because I know that it is done against a person's will with no protection used. Therefore, offenders are at risk of getting HIV through sexual assault. My worry is also that as you can see even on the outside now we have this thing of gays and lesbians, most of these things start here in correctional centre. A person practices these things inside here and sleep with the same gender when he goes back in the communities he uses that, this ends up affecting the community far beyond” (Participant, B02).

I am very concerned about this as I have said that as we are here our aim is to guard and protect the offenders, the incarcerated offender has to be here and be safe up until he is released so if we get report of male sexual assault it means that our job fully done” (Participant,C01).

“I am concerned who wouldn't be, these people are under our care so it our responsibility to protect them from such and personally I think that for this to even happen to them it shows that we are not doing our job effectively. Offenders in correctional centres also have right, also we must be concerned because this really messes up the victim. So, this challenges we are facing, the department of correctional services has to try and come up with more effective ways to deal with this” (Participant, C02).

“Yes, it's worrying because you find that the perpetrator has HIV and therefore transmit the virus to the victim. Also, it's my job to prevent such from happening, the offender should not be victimised in any way while still incarcerated” (Participant, D01).

“Yes, I am because some of the offenders get assaulted without the use of condoms” (Participant, D02).

From the verbatim above, participants depicted that sexual assault contributes to STIs and HIV. They allude that offenders allow this to happen to them due to seeking a sense of belonging and a sense of security. Distribution of condoms makes the matter worse as it encourages the problem to escalate rather than to be curbed. Sexual assault contributes to psychological effect on the victim. Participants reported that it is their job to ensure the safe custody of offender, therefore offenders should not be sexually assaulted while still incarcerated. Two participants allude that failure to protect offenders against male sexual assault while incarcerated indicates that they are not doing their job efficiently as correctional services officials. One participant was of the view that the issue of gays and lesbians begins in correctional centres when a person is released back into the community he or she continues with this behaviour. One participant alludes that offenders in maximum security (Medium B) are convicted offenders in an overcrowded centre, surrounded by convicted criminals all different crimes including sexual assault of men in the community. As a result, male sexual assault is likely to occur in such environments. He further added that there is no way of hiding perpetrators of sexual assault, they cannot be excluded from the correctional population. One participant reported that as long as something is part of the modus operandi of a gang it will also be present in a correctional centre i.e. the 28 gang modus operandi is to sleep with other males.

Ashmont (2014) conducted a study on raped by the system: a comparison of prison rape in the United States and South Africa, although the content in which she conducted her study our findings are similar that male sexual assault has been normalised as part of life in correctional centre. Some of the participants in this study admitted to male sexual assault to be prison culture.

“It an old culture of correctional centres that doesn’t want to end” (Participant, C01).

“Listen like am saying this from the time I joined this department till to date it has, it’s like culture, and it’s like prison culture it’s always been there. So, it’s like a norm you know” (Participant, A01).

These two participants are of the opinion that sexual assault in correctional centres has been normalised and regarded as a culture. One participant alluded that male sexual assault in correctional centres is a habit that does not want to end.

The findings suggest that participants comprehend the severity of male sexual assault on male offenders. Contrary to study findings of Booyens (2008) and Eiegenberg (2000a), these findings further opine that correctional officials have no involvement on male sexual assault, nor use male sexual assault to control offenders in correctional centre. The assumption is that correctional officials from Westville correction centre do not use their power to abuse offenders. In contrast to the study conducted by Eigenberg (1989, 2000a, 2000b), participants in the current study did not express views of blaming offenders for being sexually assaulted nor do they hold careless attitude towards victims of male sexual assault (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson ,2000). However, some participants have accepted it as part life in correctional centre, this finding is similar with findings from (Ashmont, 2014; Wyatt, 2006).

Because of the notion that says a ‘man cannot be sexually assaulted,’ the researcher decided to open this theme by first finding out if the correctional officials believed in the above-mentioned notion or not.

According to Davis (2002), men cannot be sexually assaulted because of the perceptions that there are sexually aggressive, dominant, heterosexual and physically strong. Thus, the researcher conducted the current study to explore if correctional officials hold the same perception about the male offenders or not. When correctional officials were asked, **“In your view, do you believe it possible for a man to be sexually assaulted by another man?”** the majority of the correctional officials responded that they’re believed that it was indeed possible for a man to be sexually assaulted. This is expressed in the following verbatim:

“Yes, it’s possible because when they’re locked up some of them do the assault to pick up a number which means it’s in a gang, other people are being raped where it’s really sexual assaults” (Participant, A01).

“These things happen nowadays, we even see them on television, we see photos and we even read about it on newspapers that like this is happening. So that’s why I strongly believe that it’s something that’s possibly happening” (Participant, A02).

“Yes, it possible, gangsterism has an influence, to get to a certain level of the gang rank you have to sexually assault another offender. Even though am not A up to Z with gangsterism but through its male offenders do get sexually assaulted... victims who report we take them to the hospital section” (Participant, C01).

“Yes, it is, I know that it is known that only females get sexually assaulted because a man cannot be sexually assaulted, but man too get sexually assaulted, this is something that we cannot deny because it happens whether we like it or not. We even hear about it on T.V, news and radio” (Participant, C02).

“Yeah, it can happen. Because those are some of the incidents that sometimes happen here in correctional centre. Where an offender has been sexually assaulted by other offenders, it can happen consensual or against they will because in the correctional centre we have gangs (inombolo) also as we speak, we have people in correctional centres who have sexually assaulted other man” (Participant, D01).

“Yes, we can’t hide it. It happens in correctional centres and our communities. Peoples sexuality is not the same, some prefer sleeping with males and end up sexually assaulting them” (Participant, D02).

It is evident that the participants from all four mediums believed that it was possible for a man to be sexually assaulted. Participants alluded that through (inombolo) gangsterism in correctional centres males were sexually assaulted as a result of some offenders committing sexual assault to pick up a gang number. They further mentioned that in correctional centres male offenders were sexually assaulted. One participant further mentioned sexual assault that it can be consensual or forced. In addition, one participant expressed that male sexual assault cannot be hidden as it is occurring in our communities and correctional centres. She further mentioned that some men preferred sleeping with other men. Through this preference sexual assault can occur. Participants also mentioned that there were male offenders who were convicted for sexually assaulting a man in the community. Through the media coverage of male sexual assault, participants believed that it was possible for a man to be sexually assaulted. Nevertheless, it is commonly known that it is the women that are sexually assaulted, men too can be sexually assaulted. One participant mentioned that victims of male sexual assault are taken to the hospital section.

The above data suggest that correctional officials were of the view that a man can be sexually assaulted, their perceptions were influenced by the sexual assault in the correctional centre. This further highlights the awareness of male sexual assault in correctional centre. Contrary to the finding by Cook and Lane (2017) that officials who endorse the myth that men cannot be raped are less willing to support responding to sexual assault. This study found that correctional officials from the Westville Correctional Centre do not support the prison culture that men

cannot be sexually assaulted. Booyens (2008) stated that male victims of sexual assault do not receive medical attention due to the notion that in a correctional centre a “real man” cannot be raped and subsequently does not need medical care if the sex is “consensual.” As a result, this may be too much effort for some correctional officials to investigate such allegations and to escort the victim to the prison hospital. In opposition to the above mentioned, as stated by Booyens (2008) the study participant expressed that when an individual reports that he has been sexually assaulted they immediately take him to the hospital section. This further indicates that the participants do not believe in the notion that in a correctional centre a male offender cannot be sexually assaulted.

The following discussion is on the thought of correctional officials on the distribution of condoms in correctional centres.

5.3.1 Promotion of sexual behaviours in correctional centres

When asked about the views of condom use in correctional centres, participants had a difference of opinions about the distribution of condoms in correctional centres. Some participants expressed that due to the widespread of sexual assault, condom use would reduce the risk of HIV transmission, while others felt that the use of condoms in a correctional centre promotes coercive sexual relations because most sexual acts in correctional centres are coercive. In a study conducted by Yap, Butler, Richters, Kirkwood, Grant, Saxby, Ropp, and Donovan (2006) it was found that 4% of males in correctional centres believed that condom provision was unacceptable on the grounds that it would lead to an increase in sexual activity among offenders. Contrary to the above study, Butler, Richters, Yap and Donovan (2013) found that providing offenders with condoms is not associated with an increase in consensual or non-consensual sexual activity or even threats of sexual assault. This finding shows that condom distribution in Westville Correctional Centre remains controversial amongst correctional services officials. This is evident in the following verbatim:

“There are condoms in all the sections of the medium” (Participant, D01).

“There is not much that we can do but the hospital provides condoms, for if it happens people will be safe from infectious diseases, secondly what we do during orientation we teach offenders on how to behave. Providing offenders with condoms means that we are aware that there are offenders who have sexual relations here, even on the outside there are gays that practice these things to be safe” (Participant, B02).

“The government must continue providing correctional centres with condoms because male sexual is happening at least offenders can be protected from sexual transmission diseases” (Participant, D02).

“Look now the department comes in, the health medical department comes in and issues condoms for inmates so now what are you promoting? Every section comes in there have got a box there where they come and hand in condoms, there come in a put ton of condoms in there every unit that you go into, there give them condoms why? what are you promoting? What are you trying to say? the department; the government... the health department comes in here and brings in condoms, there issue tons of condoms to inmates, what is the use of condoms in a male facility? Are you implying that males should sleep with each other? The distribution of condoms in male facilities can promote sexual relationships among males which can be both consensual and forced. Like look now if I give you a condom, what does it mean? Practice safe sex, what now the department is now forgetting is that most of the sex that happens here forced” (Participant, A01).

“... that just the thing it's a bet because if this thing happening and maybe it happens to you, would you rather have it happening with a condom or without a condom? So if you provide a condom, then a person will turn around and say you are enhancing for it to happen and if you don't provide a condom people can turn around and say now I'm a victim. I got HIV, so what do you do?” (Participant, A02).

Participants reported that male offenders were provided with condoms, and therefore perceived them necessary for perpetrators and victims of male sexual assault to be protected against sexually transmitted diseases. One participant expressed that the distribution of condoms means that they are aware that offender engages in sexual interactions. One participant believed the supply of condoms in a correctional centre enhances male sexual assault. One participant was of the view that condom use in a correctional centre implies safe sex. However, most of the sexual interactions in correctional centres are coercive. The latter participant allude that the issue of condom use in correctional centres is a bate, because it is better that victims and perpetrators of sexual assault are protected from HIV, but at the same time it can be argued that the use of condoms enhances male sexual assault to happen.

These findings suggest that there remain debatable opinions on the use of condoms in correctional centres (Butler, Richters, Yap & Donovan, 2013). Thus, it can be argued that most participants perceived condoms as necessary in correctional centres for perpetrators and victim

of sexual assault to reduce HIV transmission. However, some participants were of the view that the distribution of condoms is enhancing male sexual assault as most of the sexual interaction in correctional centre are coercive.

In South African correctional centres different kinds of sexual interactions and relationships occur between victims and perpetrators of a sexual offence. Most of these sexual interactions are abusive, exploitative, involves rape and various degrees of coercion (Dolan, Kite, Black, Aceijas & Stimson, 2007). In the general community where people consent to sexual interaction, there are still high infection rates of HIV due to the inability to use available HIV prevention methods i.e. condoms (Coates, Richter & Caceres, 2008). In communities normally males do not use condoms constantly. Before an offender is incarcerated, he is a member of a community. Thus, failure to use a condom constantly in the general community can equally result to the inconstancy of condom use in correctional centre.

From the discussion above participants understood the seriousness of male sexual assault in correctional centres. They held different views on the distribution of condoms in correctional centre. The following discussion is on the comfortability of offenders in correctional centre.

5.3.2 Comfortability of offenders in Correctional centres

Contrary to the assumption that male sexual assault is caused by gangs, overcrowding, understaffed correctional centres and corruption of officials, it was interesting to note that comfortability of offenders in correctional centres plays an immense role on sexual assault.

The participants expressed this notion on the following verbatim:

“Others have got no future on the outside there have been rejected by their families, so in order to survive in jail this is how there survive. A person does another crime so that there can be sentenced longer so that they can continue to stay in correctional centre. Some people are comfortable here, you see those who sleep in the street. especially in winter we receive a lot of offenders because they know that in winter the street is cold they come into the prison, others even say that it’s better to be in jail because you have three meals a day, a bed, a tv rather than outside There are struggling outside so they will decide to come into the prison in order to have a comfortable life” (Participant, B02).

“Offenders don’t care because you have nothing to look forward to outside of the correctional centre, therefore some of them end up committing male sexual assault so that they can stay

longer inside because they know that they have food, place to sleep and warm water” (Participant, D01).

The above data suggest that offenders who have nothing to look forward to after imprisonment are potential perpetrators of sexual assault. Participants reported that offenders are comfortable in correctional centres because they receive three meals a day, warm water, bed and T.V. As a result, participants allude that offenders as perpetrators commit other offences i.e. sexual assault to prolong their sentences. In addition, the participants reported that offenders who were struggling in the community consider life in a correctional centre comfortable.

In a study conducted by Laub and Sampson (2003) as cited in Crank (2010) on persistent offenders using narrative data, it was found that some long-term offenders perceived life in correctional centre being easier than life on the street. Akrstrom (1985:23) reported similar findings in her qualitative study of 150 male offenders, “as many participants in the study reported that that the idea of living a conventional life was more terrifying than doing time.” This is an interesting point for future research as participants raised this point which was not anticipated by the researcher.

From the above discussion, it is evident that offenders who feel comfortable in a correctional centre are potential perpetrators of sexual assault. The following finding is on the underreporting of sexual assault in the correctional centre.

5.3.3 Underreporting of sexual assault by the victim offenders

The study participants were asked, **“In your opinion, why do you think victims of sexual assault do not report?”**

Similar views ensued regarding the underreporting of male sexual assault victims in this study. Participants expressed concerns that male victim offenders do not report because they fear the perpetrator more than anything. Victims still must share a cell with the perpetrator, if not his gang members. This therefore, hinders victims from reporting. This data suggest that correctional officials are aware that as much as some victims’ report, there is also a dark figure (is a term employed by criminologists and sociologists to describe the amount of unreported and undiscovered crime, Kamruzzaman, 2016:36). Some victims do not report due to fear, intimidation, or are benefiting from the offender and other factors.

The following verbatim expresses the notion of the underreporting in correctional centre:

“You must also remember in the cell there are gang members and in the very same cell, there is also other offenders that do not belong to the gang, so that becomes very difficult for that one person to complain because at night he would fear for his life ... once you’re fearing for your life it’s not easy just to come to one of us. Because should you come to me complaining, the other gang member will come to you when I am not there. Now you are by yourself and they ask you why did you go tell baba? (Correctional official) why did you complain about this? So it’s about fear, it’s about not being strong, something like that” (Participant, A01).

“I don’t think there’s someone who wouldn’t report if something like this happens to them” (Participant, A02).

“I think it takes part on a much smaller scale now and obviously not reported that the problem. Victims feel intimidated to report, you see if you were locked up from 3pm in the afternoon till 8am the next morning and you are known that you have reported that this man is sexually assaulting you it’s a problem because tonight you must be locked up for 10 – 15 hours with the same person or with his friends that also belong to the same gang so it very hard. Even if you separate the perpetrator from the victim and put him in another sections/unit of the medium, we have got the B side and the C side. They have got cell phones they communicate with each other, there are prisoners running through the jail. They have got a very technical communication that works amongst them, I tell you we have got prisoners communicating from different provinces with each other. It is what it is, this place is a world on its own I promise you it’s not..., it shouldn’t be like that but there are cell phones...” (Participant, B01).

“Victims don’t report because maybe his depended on the other guy for money, cigarette including food” (Participant, B02).

“Those who don’t report sexual assault is because they scared that if they report maybe at the end of the day there will still be with the perpetrator and he will pay back” (Participant, C01).

“Those that don’t report it’s because someone has scared them, he doesn’t know the correctional centre right. Even though we give them orientation upon admission, but offenders are offenders, there are offenders from a long time so they scare them about big things that he also knows that there not real or true. They tell them that if go report there they won’t give you attention and we I know that you have reported course my guys will tell me that you have reported you will see what I will do to you” (Participant,C02).

“We encourage them to report anything that happens to them because without reporting we won’t know about and they won’t be assisted. offenders that don’t report cases of male sexual assault are fearful for they live, in correctional centre offenders can chop off your head if need be, in correctional centres if you report something against the perpetrator to the correctional services officials, the perpetrator also takes steps against you” (Participant, D01).

“Those that don’t report sexual assault could be because he is scared of the perpetrator or don’t report to use because we female feel ashamed to come to us” (Participant, D02).

The above data suggest that most victim offenders tend not to report their sexual assault to the officials, only a few manage to report. Amongst those who do not report, they are fearing for their life. Participants expressed that offenders who fear for their live usually do not report. Also, the non-gang member is outnumbered in a cell therefore that makes it difficult for offenders to report. In addition, one participant reported that due to the amount of time offenders spend inside the cells, victims may be scared to report because after reporting he must still go back into the same cell with the person he reported or his friends. He further, allude that even if you separate the victim and the perpetrator, the perpetrator will find a way to communicate with his friends usually to get back at the victim for reporting, in correctional centre perpetrators take steps against the victim for reporting. Therefore, this could be another barrier for victims not to report. In addition, it was also expressed that victims may be ashamed to report to female correctional services officials. Participant alludes they are unable to assist offenders who do not report. An interesting finding was that the latter participant reported that she did not think that a victim of sexual assault would not report.

The researcher further probed participant (C02) to ask, **“Is it possible for officials to mistreat victim offenders that report sexual assault?”** Participant maintained that they do not mistreat the victim offenders, they express compassion and provide necessary help and attention. This is expressed in the following verbatim:

“No, here we give victims of sexual assault our at most attention, it not true that we don’t give them attention because we do” (Participant, C02).

The fear of perpetrators of male sexual assault is associated with the underreporting of this incident in correctional centres. This finding suggests that correctional officials are aware that male sexual assault is one of the crimes that is underreported in correctional centres. Furthermore, various studies show that victims fear other offenders discovering their victimisation (Man & Cronan, 2001; Sykes & Messinger, 1960; Booyens, 2008; Levan Miller,

2010) (Section 2.12). Researchers also mention that victims do not report because they are embarrassed to discuss their experiences; may be hindered by the convict code; fear of being labelled as less masculine (Man & Cronan, 2001; Levan Miller, 2010). Thus, the above-mentioned reasons (embarrassment, fear of labelling and convict code) were some of the reasons for underreporting that were not mentioned by the participants. This shows that correctional officials have limited knowledge of the reasons of underreporting of male sexual assault in a correctional centre. This finding is like findings of Eigenberg, (1989), Hensley and Tewksbury (2005a) that correctional officials recognise that male sexual assault is an underreported event in correctional centres.

Underreporting of male victims of sexual assault is an issue that is both prevalent in the community and the correctional centres. The following discussion dwells on the preventative measures of sexual assault.

5.4 PREVENTION OF SEXUAL ASSAULT IN CORRECTIONAL CENTRES

The study data suggest that male sexual assault in correctional centres is difficult to prevent due to factors such as gang activities, overcrowding and the shortage of staff. However, there should be strategies implemented to reduce it. Booyens (2008) recommended that a protocol aimed at addressing the correctional official's awareness of sexual assault and rape, the reduction of sexual assault and rape, and intervention after a rape has taken place be implemented in South African correctional centres. However, it is evident that 10 years since the recommendation was made no implementation has taken place. The study findings show that in the Westville Correctional Centre there is still a lack of tangible and effective strategies. Narratives demonstrated a strong need for reduction methods at Westville Correctional Centre.

The following verbatim capture the participant responses when asked, **“What protective measures are offered to protect male offenders against sexual assault in this correctional centre? [Elaborate on your answer].”**

“Not really because as I said when they're locked up there are alone so if I lock the people up now at night we don't get the keys only the in-charge got the key because of safety and security, so even if I look through the window and see the act happens, I cannot get them immediately” (Participant, A01).

“Ay no, there is even though there break it. They know that if you sexually assault someone, he can open a case against you” (Participant, C01).

“There are no protective measure, like I said there all sleep together in a cell maybe time ago we would have done the issues about the gangs, by separating them from the correctional population but with this overcrowding it not easy we have to mix. Maybe in other correctional centres, they do separate them because there have space. Also am not sure but what we do is that we isolate those offenders whom we feel they might be vulnerable such as the gays, look young, look weak and move them to other cells because we don’t have an isolation in this medium” (Participant, C02).

“We make sure that the lights in the cells are working. As I said earlier, we also encourage them to report and how to” (Participant, A02).

“There is many, over and above the orientation. We do identify offenders in our unit, we profile offenders that are known for that , we know they participate in that so we try to keep them in unit or cells were its less likely to happen and when we get new admissions that are more vulnerable to something like that we also identify they needs and look at the sentence and place them accordingly taking into consideration things like that promotion of gangsterism od sexual assault etc so it’s not one specific thing that we do it’s a lot of things we every day that you try to avoid it. We have also got people in the cells in every unit you have got people, offenders in the cell that you trust. They will come to you with information and say this happened last night” (Participant, B01).

“We make sure that offender do activities like playing soccer to keep them busy all the time. If you keep the offenders busy you minimise the assault and you minimise gangsterism inside the prison. So once you keep them busy there are focusing on that activity given to them” (Participant, B02).

“Ay so far I have never been exposed to one” (Participant, D02).

From the data above curbing the sexual assault in correctional centers poses a challenge. However, participants reported that preventing sexual assault could amount to finding offenders who are potential perpetrators of sexual assault and placing them in a cell where he is unlikely to commit male sexual assault. Participants alludes that they identify, profile and isolate vulnerable offenders i.e. gays have their own cell (G5). One participant mentioned that they make sure that the lights in the cells are working. Offenders are also encouraged to report and are made aware of the reporting mechanisms. In addition, a participant allude that offenders are encouraged to do activities i.e. playing soccer to keep them busy. This reduces assaults and gangsterism within the correctional center because offenders have less time in their hands. The

latter participant reported that she has not been exposed to any preventative measure in Westville correctional center.

The data provides a foundation on which to build an intervention to reduce male sexual assault in correctional centers. Also confirming the study findings, some participants admitted to the identification and segregation of vulnerable offenders (Cotton & Groth, 1982; Booyens, 2008). Therefore, this finding shows that correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre are doing something in aiding the reduction of male sexual assault; such as identifying and isolating vulnerable offenders, ensuring that the lights are working within the cells and identifying potential offenders or offenders who are known to be perpetrators of male sexual assault to place them in cells where they will not be able to commit sexual assault, have offenders whom they trust in cells that be able to report any unacceptable behaviour that might have occurred in the cells especially at night to the correctional services officials. Nevertheless, these findings therefore support the widely acknowledged need for male sexual assault reduction strategies.

From the discussion above Westville Correctional Centre still lacks effective strategies to prevent male sexual assault i.e. training of correctional services officials. However, there are strategies implemented to curb it.

5.4.1 INCAPACITATION OF CORRECTIONAL OFFICIALS

In terms of training of correctional officials on male sexual assault, the majority of participants believed they do not receive any training on male sexual assault. They alluded that they were never trained on how to deal with the cases of sexual assaults in the correctional centre, yet they are expected to take up different roles i.e. social workers and psychologist. It is difficult for correctional officials to deal with male sexual assault in correctional centres because the induction/training they undergo does not make provisions for training on such offences.

Correctional officials are basically trained on how to safeguard offenders and how to prevent escapes only. The data suggest that officials in correctional centres are expected to use their experience and common sense to handle male sexual assault. The data shows that correctional officials in Westville Correctional Centre are not trained on how to prevent, respond and monitor sexual assault. This is evident in the following verbatim:

“No we never received any training but I think it’s just basic common sense. We never receive training on about a particular thing. Our basic training was complaints and requests, now complaints and requests can be a lot” (Participant, A01).

“No, unfortunately, we don’t receive any training” (Participant, A02).

“Not really, what we do is that we apply the policy as we know it. We know it wrong, we know how to report, we know who to report it to, we know the victim and the perpetrator need to go to the hospital, we know how to deal with the perpetrator. However, I am unaware of any training provided to us by the department and I have been here forever” (Participant, B01).

“No I don’t want to agree to something that I don’t know but we do provide training for offenders” (Participant, B02).

“No there is no training specific to male sexual assault like I said we refer him to the hospital and we take complaint and request every morning” (Participant, C01).

“Ay no, there is no training I would be lying. You use your thinking and experience on how to deal with these cases otherwise there is no training I don’t want to lie my sister” (Participant, C02).

“Not really, we not trained but we do it as part of our job as we work here .We gain experience we deal with male sexual assault. Our colleges are not suited to train us like that but here in correctional centre there want us to take up the role of social workers and psychologist everybody as correctional officials it’s very difficult because in that training that we undergo it doesn’t have provisions for such offences. They basically teach us how to safeguard the prisoner and how to prevent escapes basically they concentrate on the security part more than sexual offences” (Participant, D01).

“Ah not in so much details, they just tell us that sexual assault is not allowed” (Participant, D02).

Participant mention that there have not received any training on male sexual assault, one participant reported that they colleges are not suited to train them. They allude that they are only trained to safeguard offenders and prevent escapes, they use the experience and common sense to deal with cases of sexual assault. In addition, participant reported that they that male sexual assault is wrong; how to report and to whom, know that the victim and the perpetrator need to go to the hospital, and know how to deal with the perpetrator.

This corroborates findings by Booyens *et al.* (2004:10) that South African correctional officials are not adequately trained on how to handle, manage, reduce and respond male sexual assault in the correctional centre. The current data suggest that correctional officials are expected to safeguard offenders from offences such as sexual assault. However, the study participants expressed that they are not sufficiently trained in this regard. Booyens (2008) assumed that the reason is that most correctional officials received their training during the military era (pre-1994). However, it is evident that 24 years after the military era correctional officials are still not provided with training on male sexual assault. Training of correctional officials can lead to further awareness of the problem and its causes, helping officials understand how to protect offenders. Nevertheless, the study findings show that correctional officials are doing something to aid in the reduction of sexual assault at Westville Correctional Centre (see above finding). In addition, it is evident that the department of correctional services complaints and request mechanism for offenders has also been shown to be ineffective for serious and sensitive complaints (Law Society of South Africa, 2004 as cited in Nel, 2017).

5.5 SUMMARY

The collected data was analysed using the thematic analysis and the main findings were presented in relation to the objectives of this study. Themes were created with reference to the major topics that emerged from the data. Based on the findings, correctional officials were aware of the existence of sexual assault occurring in their respective mediums, with a major finding that it is prevalent in medium A of the correctional centre. Officials were aware of contributing factors of sexual assault such as being short-staffed and overcrowding. The participants expressed mixed feelings about the condom use in the correctional centre.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This study was conducted to explore the perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault in correctional centre. The themes that emerged from the data in the previous chapter will be presented and discussed in relation to the objectives and research questions of this study.

This study was informed by the Routine Activity theory (RAT) (Felson & Clarke, 1998) and the Opportunity Model (Cohen *et al.*, 1981). The (RAT) is employed in this study to explain why crime, i.e. sexual assault, occurs under certain specific circumstances in a correctional facility. Opportunity model is employed in this study to examine factors that may increase the male offender victimisation of sexual assault while incarcerated. These theories therefore, assisted in examining the perceptions of correctional officials' on male sexual assault.

The researcher conducted face-to-face semi-structured interviews with correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre. The participants were sampled by means of purposive sampling, interviews were conducted with 8 participants. The data was analysed through thematic analysis, which involved re-reading the data and searching for recurrent themes and thereafter discussing the data under the identified themes. In the next section of this chapter, the discussion will be systematically presented under each of the study's objectives below:

1) To explore awareness of male sexual assault between offenders among correctional officials in Durban, Westville Correctional Centre, South Africa; 2) To explore the perceptions of correctional officers towards male sexual assault between male offenders;3) To identify the current strategies that are in place to address male sexual assault in Westville Correctional Centre.

The following objectives have been achieved by means of collected data. This chapter will discuss the findings, integrate them with literature and theoretical frame to depict and provide a holistic discussion on the perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault in correctional centre of Durban Westville.

6.2 OBJECTIVE 1: TO EXPLORE AWARENESS OF MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT BETWEEN OFFENDERS AMONG CORRECTIONAL OFFICIALS IN DURBAN, WESTVILLE CORRECTIONAL CENTRE, SOUTH AFRICA.

The study began by unpacking the understanding of the term “sexual assault” from the perspective of the correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre. It was important for this to ascertain if the officials had an understanding of term sexual assault. According to Sexual Offences Act, as cited in Gear and Heather (2011), sexual assault is defined as “full range of forced sexual acts; including forced touching of the body part; verbally coerced intercourse; oral and anal penetration.” The study participants’ understanding of the term was that it was harassment; sodomy and a sexual offence that is like rape because no consent was given by the victim, coercive anal and thigh penetration; touching of private parts without consent. From the above-mentioned explanations are it clear that the participants understood coercive sexual acts as sexual assault. Contrary to the findings of Eigenberg (2000a), the participants demonstrated knowledge of the use of coercion to accomplish sexual assault.

Although the participant had their own understanding of the term, the study found that participants had a basic understanding of the term. In correctional centres, correctional officials carry their own meanings of sexual assault. This may potentially result in correctional officials not dealing with cases of sexual assault effectively because the act does not fall under their definition of sexual assault. Therefore, the study found that having a uniform definition of the term sexual assault in correctional centres will ensure that all the correctional officials have a standardised term and have a clear understanding of sexual assault. Rodriguez (2011:36) argued that “without a clear understanding of what constitutes sexual assault, it is impossible to expect correctional officials to provide safety and security for confined offenders who are at an increased risk of victimisation due to the secured environment.”

This objective was comprehensively addressed to uncover the awareness of correctional officials on the existence of male sexual assault in correctional centre. Most of the participants were aware of the existence of male sexual assault in their respective mediums, mainly due to the reported cases that come to their attention. The awareness of correctional officials from Westville on male sexual assault is solely based on the reported cases by victims. This was illustrated in how they all referred to reported cases when asked about the awareness of male sexual assault in their individual mediums. Consequently, this highlights that correctional officials would not be aware of male sexual assault if victims were not to report. Thus, officials

end up responding only to those assaults that are reported by victims, and many offenders may fail to report their assault (Eigenberg, 2000). An interesting response was that male sexual assault was more prevalent in Medium A (awaiting trial) of the correctional centre; awaiting trial refers to an inmate who has not been convicted or sentenced, yet. The researcher shares the same sentiment with a study by Booyens (2008) that anal sex (coerced or consensual) takes place the most in medium A of a correctional centre. Further, according to Mothibi, Pengpid and Peltzer (2011) stated that offenders who are awaiting trial are held in the same cells as convicted offenders, and are sexually assaulted by other offenders before they are even officially charged.

Study participants explained that inmates in this medium commit offences such as male sexual assault because they are not convicted or sentenced. To validate this, Mothibi *et al.* (2011) stated that inmates awaiting trial, many of whom are held in the same cells as convicted offenders, are sexually assaulted by other offenders before they are officially charged. Contrary to the research findings of Javaid (2014); Hensley and Tewksbury (2005); Dennehy and Natel (2006); Cook (2009); Wyatt (2006) and Eigenberg (2000) that correctional officials reject and ignore the occurrence of male sexual assault in correctional centre for fear of appearing unable to manage the institution effectively. Correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre were aware and acknowledged the occurrence of male sexual assault, though their awareness is limited only to reported cases. This awareness was further shown in their knowledge of the methods used by perpetrators to lure the victims of sexual assault.

Participants mentioned that first-time offenders are more vulnerable to male sexual assault because they do not know how convicted offenders or the correctional centre operate. The study found that perpetrators offer first-time offenders' commodities such as cigarettes, protection and friendships with the intention of making them pay later. However, the potential victim is usually unaware that these gifts (cigarettes) are used to create an unknown debt which is usually paid by sex. Thus, being a first-time offender in a correctional centre has placed offenders in a vulnerable position of being sexually assaulted. This affirms studies by Martynuik (2013); Booyens (2008); Eigenberg (2000); Alberst (2007) and Cook and Lane (2017) that in correctional centres, gifts, protection and friendships are used to lure naïve new offenders into sexual assault. Correctional officials further mentioned that offenders who do not receive visitations are vulnerable to male sexual assault because they cannot obtain luxuries necessities such as additional food and cigarette.

The study participants revealed that perpetrators use this as an opportunity to provide for the potential victim with an intention to ask him to pay back. Those who do not honour the transaction is sexually assaulted. This corroborates findings from Booyens (2008) who stated that offenders who are not visited and thus do not receive cigarettes, extra clothes or food from the outside, will engage in survival sex which can be both consensual and coercive. Within a correctional facility, for male sexual assault to occur there must be a motivated offender (male offender who wants to attain power over victim), suitable targets (youthful, physically weak first-time offenders) and absence of capable guardianship (correctional official). It can be argued that it is unlikely for sexual assault to occur without any of the three mentioned elements. From the study finding it is evident that in Westville Correctional Centre, suitable targets are first time offenders and offenders without visitations. Although the Westville Correctional Centre provides offenders with necessities such as food, soap and toothpaste. The lack of luxuries i.e. cigarette places them at risk of being sexually assaulted. During orientation, correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre need to keep the new offenders abreast of the consequences of accepting hand-outs inside the correctional centre. This will enlighten the offenders of what to expect should he accepts favours or gifts from other offenders.

Correctional officials from Westville further discussed the type of relationship that occurs between the victims and perpetrators. The participants revealed that once an offender has been sexually assaulted, he is likely to become a wyfie or girlfriend to the perpetrator. Officials from Westville Correctional Centre mentioned that victims who cannot protect themselves in correctional centres consider this as a logical choice because it prevents them from being sexually assaulted multiple times by different perpetrators. The study finding concurs with Alberste (2007) who said that perpetrators initially employs a strategy of soft approach and friendship but as soon as the victim refuses to accede to the sexual demands in lieu of the debt, the relationship is no longer friendly but turns aggressive and abusive in order to make up for the debt. The participants further described that male offenders are sexually assaulted by a gang member commonly a 28 member to convert the victim into a wyfie. The results are consistent with those of other studies by Parker Lewis (2003:170) and Gear and Ngubeni (2002: 11) in which “the 28 gang is known for their use of coerced sex to create wyfies (wives or sex slaves) for the pleasure of designated males in the gang, by misleading the victim with supposed generosity and protection.” The participants further described the role of the wyfie and the “husband” in a relationship, wyfies are expected to clean the cells, do laundry and to look after

husband sexually. Conversely, the husband is expected to provide the necessities for his wife i.e. cigarette. This affirms a study by Booyens (2014), that a husband provides luxuries such as dagga and food while the “wives” must do the domestic chores such as cleaning the cell and washing the “husbands” clothes. Correctional officials from Westville also mentioned that victims of sexual assault are the ones that benefit from the relationship because they receive protection and other luxurious necessities from the perpetrator. Thus, correctional officials from Westville are not aware that some victims submit to this kind of relationship because of fear, not consent. To validate this, Harvey (2002) and Trammell (2011) stated that correctional officials fail to see the hidden coercion that lies within this relationship. According to Gear and Ngubeni (2002), victims who subjected to be wifies have been coerced into their roles, and unsurprisingly then, tend to be drawn from a pool of people who are vulnerable within the correctional centre. In a correctional centre, a suitable target is sexually assaulted on the basis that they are defenceless and will not be able to stand up against the perpetrator.

Friedman and Fleder (2012) and Albertse (2007) stated that in correctional centres victims of sexual assault feel justified committing further acts of sexual assault to regain a sense of manhood, thus feeding into a cycle of violence. To illustrate the above-mentioned point by Friedman and Fleder (2014) and Albertse (2007), one participant stated that victims of sexual assault recommit the offence themselves. Scacco (1982) as cited in Knowles (1999:274) explains the cycle of abuse, which the participants unintentionally mention by arguing that the most serious cost of prison rape to society is that it takes non-violent offenders and turns them into people with high potential for violence, full of rage and eager to take vengeance on a society which they hold responsible for their humiliation and loss of manhood.

Correctional officials from Westville further discussed the impact of the solid steel doors (Patrolling door) on male sexual assault. This type of door (solid steel door) is claimed to provide a degree of privacy that permit male sexual assault to occur (Kaufman, 2008). For instance, the study participants explained that the door limits their observation when patrolling, they described that when looking through the small window on the door they are not able to observe all four corners of the cell and male sexual assault occurs in the corners they cannot see. The solid steel door act as a security mechanism for both offenders and correctional services officials, nevertheless this type of door hinders correctional officials from efficiently managing male sexual assaulted in a correctional centre. Cells in South African Correctional Centres have no devices such as buzzers to summon the officials in the case of an emergency, therefore offenders must yell if they need an official

(<https://www.hrw.org/reports/1994/southafrica/10.htm>). Consequently, because of the structural design of the cells, officials may not be able to hear the offender if he screams for help when being sexually assaulted. To validate this point, the article (<https://www.hrw.org/reports/1994/southafrica/10.htm>) states that it is unlikely that an official could hear anybody in the cell calling for help.

Officials from Westville Correctional Centre awareness of male sexual assault was also seen in their responses regarding the time of male sexual assault. They explained that in the correctional setting male sexual assault occurs during the night and early hours of the morning (i.e. 2 to 3am) in correctional centres. The opportunity model states that crime is committed when/if an opportunity arises. The study found that the opportunity for perpetrators in Westville Correctional Centre is at night or during the early hours of the morning. The results are consistent with those of other studies that state that most forced sexual acts occurred at night when offenders have been locked up in the cells (Hensley et al., 2005; Booyens & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Wolff et al., 2006). The final element of routine activity is lack of guardianship. People become victims of crime because factors such as being present in a place where a criminal act is possible and where no guardianship is present (Makhaye, 2016). In Westville Correctional Centre once offenders have been locked up, they are left unsupervised or minimally supervised. This indicates that during the night there is a lack of guardianship which potentially results in male sexual assault.

Correctional officials from Westville shared the following reasons for male sexual assault to be prevalent at night when compared to the day: It is the safest time for them, with most of the offenders asleep; officials patrolling are not able to see the act under the sheets, accessing the master key of the cell is a challenge for correctional officials who work a night shift. Participants articulated that the challenge of the keys sometimes results in them arriving in the cell where the sexual assault has already occurred. At night offenders who engage in sexual assault are not vocal, and as a result, officials are not able to detect incidence at night. Correctional officials shared that incidents of sexual assault that happen at night are only reported in the morning. This is because victims may be afraid or intimidated of the perpetrator. They shared that because non-gang members are usually outnumbered in the cells that hinder victims from reporting. To validate this, Levan Miller (2010), Smith and Batiuk (1989), Struckman-Johnson et al. (1996) and Lees (1997) revealed that victims of sexual assault may avoid officially reporting sexual assault due to feelings of shame or embarrassment or fear of being stigmatised. Victims of male sexual assault usually do not report because they fear for

their lives. In correctional centres, perpetrators also take steps against the victims for reporting. It was interesting to find out that one correctional official from Westville felt that it was impossible for a victim not to report.

According to the routine activity theory, crime will occur when a motivated offender encounters a suitable target in the absence of capable guardianship. The findings suggest that, in a correctional centre, perpetrators come into contact with potential victims at night because there is a lack of capable guardianship (correctional services officials/offenders). The element of the theory (absence of capable guardianship) is like that of the opportunity model which states that offenders prefer targets that are less guarded to those that are guarded. Even though male sexual assault happens at night, the study found that male sexual assault also happens during the day when offenders are unguarded.

Correctional officials from Westville correctional centre are not able to effectively adhere to responsibility of safeguarding offenders, as a result of being understaffing. Participants from all four mediums raised concerns such as that only one official is responsible for 200 offenders, which could result in problems of male sexual assault occurring. Due to understaffing correctional officials are regularly compromised at night and are not able to patrol effectively. (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 2000; Wyatt, 2006; Gear, 2001; Booyens, 2008), stated that male sexual assault in correctional centres is directly related to the lack of appropriate supervision by correctional officials.

Correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre spoke of the challenge of overcrowding in correctional centre. They were of the view that overcrowding in correctional centres make it difficult for them to curb male sexual assault due to the fact a cell which is designed to accommodate 3 individual offenders accommodate 30. This result in offenders ending up sharing a bed, potentially leading to sexual assault due to the physical closeness of the offenders. To illustrate this point, Shayi (2008) mentioned that overcrowding in correctional centres is perceived to be a contributing factor of male offenders seeking sexual gratification with other males. Correctional official from Westville mentioned that the isolation cells are crowded too, therefore offenders end up sharing. Isolations cells were created to accommodate only 1 offender, but the study found that in Westville Correctional Centre that is not the case. According to the opportunity model, proximity refers to the physical distance between potential victim and perpetrator. Overcrowding of cells in Westville Correctional Centre results in an unavoidable proximity of the offenders, which may potentially lead to male sexual assault

(Goyer & Gow, 2001). In a correctional centre that is understaffed and overcrowded, it is difficult to address issues of male sexual assault.

On the awareness of male sexual assault, correctional officials further expressed that gang activity is rife in correctional centres in KwaZulu- Natal (KZN). Correctional officials from Westville spoke about how the 28 gang members are the ones that commit sexual assault because they believe in having wyfies (wives) in a correctional centre. According to Albertse (2007), the 28 gang is known for coercing young men and first-time offenders to becoming sex slaves or 'wyfies' by misleading them with supposed generosity and protection. Officials from Westville attributed the difficulty of addressing male sexual assault because of the gang activity in correctional centre. A correctional official alluded that there are offenders who are very loyal to gangsterism, who were gang members in the community and continued to affiliate themselves with gangs in correctional centres. Like the study findings of Booyens (2008) where male sexual assault occurs in correctional centre because of gang involvement, 28 gang engage in sexual activities with both gang members and non-gang members. Much emphasis by the participants was placed upon the fact that gang members do not perceive nor talk ill about the wrongs of male sexual assault because it is part of their culture. Thus, to validate this, the study Albertse (2007:1) states that "the gang culture in correctional centre has brought with it the disproportionate rise in male sexual assault, as gangs increasingly employ sexual assault as an initiation ritual of choice." It was acknowledged by the correctional officials that 28 gang is dominant, as a result the non-gang member is vulnerable to male sexual assault.

From the above discussion, it is evident that correctional officials are aware of the occurrences of male sexual assault in Westville Correctional Centre. With that in mind, the following discussion is on the perceptions of correctional officials on male sexual assault.

6.3 OBJECTIVE 2: TO EXPLORE THE PERCEPTIONS OF CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS TOWARDS MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT BETWEEN MALE OFFENDERS.

In exploring the perceptions of male sexual assault, the study found general views and attitudes towards from the correctional officials on male sexual assault. A large proposition of correctional officials from Westville expressed different concerns about the male sexual assault happening in the different mediums and shared they did not believe in the notion that in correctional centre men cannot be sexually assaulted because it was possible. It is encouraging

therefore, to note that participants comprehend the severity of male sexual assault, especially on the victims.

Dennehy and Natel (2006); Cook (2009); Wyatt (2006) and Eigenberg (2000) stated that correctional officials may not want to recognise the occurrence of male sexual assault in their correctional centres for fear of appearing unable to manage the institution effectively. Contrary to this statement, some correctional officials from Westville acknowledged that failure to safeguard offenders against male sexual assault indicated that they are not doing their job efficiently as correctional services officials. Participants comprehended the brutality of male sexual assault on their male offenders, some participants spoke about how sexual assault contributes to STIs and HIV and effect the victims psychologically. Like a study conducted by Tewksbury (2007), it was found that male victims of sexual assault are more likely to experience psychological distress.

UNAIDS (2016) has identified offenders as a key population group in South African HIV prevention and treatment. To validate this, Goyer (2003) asserted HIV transmission in correctional centres is characterised by overcrowding, violence, sexual assault and gang activities which as a result contribute to the risk for HIV transmission. Furthermore, correctional officials from Westville expressed different views on the use of condoms in correctional centres. Some allude that distribution of condoms will help prevent HIV transmission amongst the victims and perpetrators of sexual assault. On the other hand, some participants were of the view that the use of condoms encouraged the problem to escalate than to be curbed. However, Butler et al. (2013) found that providing offenders with condoms is not associated with an increase in consensual or non-consensual sexual activity or even threats of sexual assault. In Westville Correctional Centre there remain controversial opinions amongst correctional officials on condom use.

Upon unpacking the perception of correctional services officials, participants shared the same view that it was possible for a man to be sexually assaulted in a correctional centre. Cook & Lane (2017) uncovered that correctional official's views on the victims of sexual assault are influenced by the factors that impact their beliefs about their jobs or overseeing offenders within correctional settings. Like their study, the current study also found that the perceptions of correctional officials from Westville on the misconception that in correctional centre a man cannot be sexually assault was influenced by the sexual assault occurring in their mediums. They alluded that because of the gang activities in a correctional centre, it was indeed possible

for a man to be sexually assaulted. Booyens (2008) stated that each gang has its own aim, mission, vision and set of rules. Part of the modus operandi of the 28 gang is to sleep with other man which can be both consensual and coercive. Nevertheless, in correctional centres most sexual interactions are coercive. Correctional officials from Westville are of the view that male sexual assault cannot be hidden or denied. It is something that is happening both in our communities and correctional centre. As a result, there are male offenders who are convicted for sexually assaulting a man in the general community. One of the elements of the opportunity model is exposure. Due to the nature of the confined environment of the South African correctional centres, it is usual that the offender's movement is limited within the confined and are usually exposed to each other or to motivated/potential offenders.

Correctional officials mentioned that offenders who are comfortable in correctional centres and have nothing to look forward to in the general community are potential perpetrators of sexual assault. Correctional officials reported that because offender receive three meals a day, bed, warm water and TV some committed offences i.e. sexual assault to prolong their sentence. Even though the assumption that male sexual assault is caused by gangs, overcrowding, understaffed in correctional centre and corruption of officials it was interesting to find out that comfortability certain offenders enjoy from the correctional centre play an immense role on sexual assault.

Some correctional officials from Westville were of the view that male sexual assault was part of life in correctional centre. It can be deduced that such a notion can result in correctional official developing an unconcerned attitude (such as lack of paying attention) towards male sexual assault in correctional centre. For instance, a study participant mentioned that offenders allow sexual assault to happen to them due to seeking a sense of belonging and a sense of security. In addition, some officials from Westville believed there will always be an opportunity for male sexual assault to take place in a correctional centre. Officials are of the view that nothing can be done to prevent it from happening. They mentioned that "if it is going to happen, it will happen." For instance, offenders do not even use the cells only to commit male sexual assault. One correctional official expressed that during the day offenders will find a little corner in the medium to commit this sexual offence.

6.4 OBJECTIVE 3: TO IDENTIFY THE CURRENT STRATEGIES THAT ARE IN PLACE TO ADDRESS MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT IN WESTVILLE CORRECTIONAL CENTRE

Correctional officials from Westville expressed the difficulties to prevent male sexual assault in correctional centre due to factors such as gang activities, overcrowding and understaffing, however, it could be reduced. In Westville Correctional Centre there still remains a lack of tangible and effective strategies, however correctional officials had strategies that they adopted in aiding the reduction of male sexual assault such as identifying and profiling offenders that are known to be perpetrators to be moved into cells they are less likely to overpower anyone; identifying and isolating vulnerable offenders i.e. gays in medium B are moved into a cell named G5. Thus, to validate this, the study by Cotton & Groth (1982:53) stated that “offenders who are potentially vulnerable to male sexual assault should be identified and segregated from the general correctional population upon admission. The study by Zweig *et al.* (2006:21) identified that inmates should be made aware of how to report incidents of sexual assault and rape and to recognise unacceptable behaviours displayed by inmates and staff. Considering this, correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre mentioned that offenders are made aware of male sexual assault and the reporting mechanisms in correctional centre. Like the study finding by Lockwood (1980) and Wooden & Parker (1982) that different tactics such as providing vocational, educational, psychological, and athletic programs should be used in correctional centres to combat male sexual assault. In view of this study, correctional officials alluded that they should encourage offenders to do activities i.e. playing soccer to keep them busy as this reduced assault and gangsterism within the correctional centre because offenders have less time in their hands. A correctional official also mentioned they have offenders whom they trust in cells to report back on any unacceptable behaviour in the cells especially at night.

According to Knowles (1999), as cited in Booyens (2008), stated that male sexual assault can be reduced by implementing mechanisms such as training of correctional officials. Correctional officials from Westville shared that they were not trained on how to deal with the cases of sexual assaults in correctional centre. Hence, if correctional officials were already trained, challenges to address male sexual assault would be limited. A correctional official from Westville mentioned that their training colleges are not suited to train them in this area of sexual assault. Correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre mentioned that they used their experience and basic common sense to deal with cases of sexual assault as it is part of their job. In addition, one study participant expressed concern that the department of

correctional services expected them to fulfil the roles of a psychologist and social worker. He further mentioned that this becomes challenging for correctional officials because the training they attended did not make provision for sexual offences. Correctional officials from Westville are trained on how to safeguard offenders and prevent escapes. The training provided by the DCS is more focused on the security aspect in the correctional centre. Hesselink-Louw, Booyens and Mashabela (2004) mentioned that South African correctional officials are not adequately trained on how to prevent, respond and monitor male sexual assault in correctional centre or to treat victims of sexual assault. It is valid to deduce that correctional officials who have not been formally trained on how to reduce male sexual assault in correctional centres may not know how to adequately deal with incidents of sexual assault, treat victims and handle perpetrators.

6.5 CONCLUSION

Chapter 6 discussed the findings of the study according to the themes that emanated from the data. Participant's views were considered during the discussion. The findings indicated that the correctional officials had considerable amount of knowledge on male sexual assault in the correctional centres. Officials were aware of the existence of male sexual assault in the correctional centre. Correctional official's perceptions were related to their concern which were mainly directed at the gang activity in correctional centres; HIV transmission; psychological effect and underreporting.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

This study sought to explore the perceptions of correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre on sexual assault of male offenders. This study was based on the premises of the problem statement (see Chapter 1). This study employed the qualitative approach. The study participants were able to provide detailed views on male sexual assault. The findings of this study were obtained by means of semi-structured interviews from 8 correctional officials from medium A to D of the Westville Correctional Centre which were sampled using purposive sampling. This study found that correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre are aware of the occurrence of male sexual assault in their respective mediums. Correctional officials have an immense amount of knowledge on male sexual assault i.e. types of vulnerable victims; methods used to lure victims; the impact of overcrowding and effect of understaffing on male sexual assault. Gang activity in correctional centres has an immense role on male sexual assault. In addition, it was found that correctional officials have no impact on the underreporting of male sexual in Westville. The study also found that in Westville Correctional Centre there still remain effective strategies implemented to curb male sexual assault.

This study has answered the research questions based on the findings of the study, the answers are as following.

7.2 RESEARCH QUESTION 1: WHAT IS THE LEVEL OF AWARENESS OF MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT AMONG CORRECTIONAL OFFICIALS IN WESTVILLE CORRECTIONAL CENTRE IN DURBAN?

Correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centres are aware that first- time offenders and offenders without visitations are vulnerable to male sexual assault in correctional centre. Officials have knowledge of the methods used by perpetrators to lure victims of sexual assault and that the 28 gang is the one gang that commonly commit offences of sexual assault. They are aware that male sexual assault is generally committed to create wifies in correctional centres. In addition, correctional officials from Westville are knowledgeable of factors that contribute to male sexual assault in correctional centres such as overcrowding, shortage of staff and structural factors such as the solid steel doors in the cells. Furthermore, they have knowledge that male sexual assault in correctional centres occurs at night.

7.3 RESEARCH QUESTION 2: WHAT ARE THE PERCEPTIONS OF CORRECTIONAL OFFICIALS TOWARD MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT?

The perceptions of correctional officials from Westville Correctional Centre on male sexual assault is that the existence of gangsterism in correctional centres perpetuates male sexual assault. They are of the view that male sexual assault is a contributing factor of HIV transmission in the correctional centre and that male sexual assault has a psychological effect on the victim. They perceived themselves as failures to efficiently safeguard offenders if male offenders are sexually assaulted while incarcerated. Correctional officials expressed that in correctional centres offenders will also find an opportunity to commit male sexual assault. Some correctional officials are of the view that male sexual assault is part of life in correctional centre. In Westville Correctional Centre there still remain a proportion of correctional officials that are against the distribution of condoms while others feel that the distribution of condoms will help prevent HIV transmission. They are of the view that male victims of sexual assault do not report. Furthermore, some officials expressed that offenders who are comfortable in correctional centres and have nothing to look forward to when released are potential perpetrators of male sexual assault.

7.4 RESEARCH QUESTION 3: WHAT PREVENTATIVE MEASURES ARE IN PLACE TO CURB MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT IN WESTVILLE CORRECTIONAL CENTRE?

Westville Correctional Centre still lacks tangible and effective strategies to curb male sexual assault. Nevertheless, correctional officials have adopted the following strategies to aid in the reduction of male sexual assault in correctional centre. These strategies include: identifying and profiling of unknown perpetrators to be moved into cells where they are less likely to commit male sexual assault; identifying vulnerable offenders to be isolated i.e. gays are placed in a cell called G5; ensuring that the lights are working in the cells; encouraging offenders to report and also informing them of the reporting mechanisms; and also encouraging offender to do activities such as playing sport i.e. soccer.

7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

After considering the findings of this study, the following recommendations are offered:

7.5.1 Recommendations to the Department of Correctional Services.

- Correctional officials need to be provided with a uniform definition of sexual assault in correctional centres. A uniform definition will provide them with a clear understanding of what constitutes a sexual offence as sexual assault.
- Training of correctional services officials. It is imperative that correctional officials are trained on how to recognise the physical, behavioural, and emotional symptoms of sexual assault in correctional centre.
- New admissions should be provided with information on male sexual assault, the consequences of accepting gifts or favours from other offenders.
- Offenders should be provided with different reporting mechanisms, such as having a box in each section of the medium where the offender can write the report and put it inside the box. This will allow the offender to be able to report anonymously.
- Correctional centres should have posters around, especially in the cells about the awareness of male sexual assault.
- The Department of correctional services needs to consider hiring more staff as one of the major factors of sexual assault is understaffing in correctional centre.
- The department of correctional services needs to implement the Offender Sexual Assault Protocol which was developed by Booyens (2008) in South African correctional centre.

7.5.2 Recommendation for future research

This study reveals the following avenues for future research: future research needs to survey male offenders about the willingness to report and tolerance of male sexual assault. In addition, this type of study should also be replicated at a larger scale, including both the private and public correctional centres. This type of research would establish if the nature and extent of male sexual assault is different in private correctional centres as compared to the public correctional centres. In addition, future research on comfortability of offenders as a motivating factor to commit male sexual assault in correctional centre needs to be conducted.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LETTER REQUESTING PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT WESTVILLE CORRECTIONAL CENTRE



UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

Name of the supervisor: Ephraim Kevin Sibanyoni

Cell: 0632276887; E-mail address: SibanyoniE@ukzn.ac.za

Department: Criminology and Forensic Discipline Studies

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This serves to confirm and assert that student Nomathamsanqa Mthethwa is a registered Master candidate in the Department of Criminology and Forensic Discipline Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus. Her research proposal was accepted and approved by the Department of Criminology and Forensic discipline studies and Higher Degree Committee of the University. Her research title is: *Correctional official's perceptions of male sexual assault in Westville Correctional Centre: An exploratory study.*

The following are the objectives of the study:

- a. To explore awareness of male sexual assault between offenders among correctional officials in Durban, Westville Correctional Centre, South Africa.
- b. To explore the perceptions of correctional officers towards male sexual assault between male offenders.
- c. To identify the current strategies that are in place to address male sexual assault in Westville Correctional Centre.

For the purpose of this study Nomathamsanqa is required to interview 2 correctional officers from 3 mediums (A, B, C and D) of the Westville Correctional Centre. I recommend that this student to be granted permission as the study aim to address the gaps in knowledge identified by the researcher and contribute will significantly to the Department of Correctional services. This study will benefit greatly the Department of correctional services in addressing and curbing a male sexual assault. The recommendations from the study can be used to that effect.

Kindest Regards

E.K Sibanyoni (Supervisor)

APPENDIX B: DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES APPROVAL LETTER



correctional services

Department
Correctional Services
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Private Bag X136, PRETORIA, 0031 Poyiso Building, C/O W.F. Nkomo and Sophie De Bruyn Street, PRETORIA
Tel: (0) 21 307 2770, Fax: 086 638 2693

Ms N Mthethwa
P.O. Box 263
Winklespruit
4126

Dear Ms N Mthethwa

RE: FEEDBACK ON THE APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES ON: "CORRECTIONAL OFFICIAL'S PERCEPTIONS OF MALE SEXUAL ASSAULT IN WESTVILLE PRISON: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY"

It is with pleasure to inform you that your request to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services on the above topic has been approved.

Your attention is drawn to the following:

- The Regional Commissioner and Area Commissioner where the research will be conducted will be informed of your proposed research project.
- Your internal guide will be **Ms N Mkhize: Regional Head Corrections, KwaZulu-Natal Region.**
- You are requested to contact her at telephone number: **(031) 355 7304** before the commencement of your research.
- It is your responsibility to make arrangements for your interviewing times.
- Your identity documents and this approval letter should be in your possession when visiting.
- You are required to use the terminology used in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (February 2005) e.g. "Offenders" not "Prisoners" and "Correctional Centres" not "Prisons".
- You are not allowed to use photographic or video equipment during your visits. However, the audio recorder is allowed.
- You are required to submit your final report to the Department for approval by the Commissioner of Correctional Services before publication (including presentation at workshops, conferences, seminars, etc) of the report.
- Should you have any enquiries regarding this process, please contact the Directorate Research for assistance at telephone number (012) 307 2770.

Thank you for your application and interest to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services.

Yours faithfully

ND SIHLEZANA
DC: POLICY COORDINATION & RESEARCH

DATE: 25/6/2018

APPENDIX C: UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL APPROVAL LETTER



5 November 2017

Ms Nomathamsanqa Mthethwa 211535116
School of Applied Human Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Mthethwa

Protocol reference number: HSS/1640/017M

Project title: Correctional officer's perceptions on male rape in Westville prison: An exploratory study.

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 1 September 2017, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shamila Majidoo (Deputy Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Mr EK Sibanyoni
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr Ivan Sleyrn
cc School Administrator: Ms Ayanda Ntuli

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shanuka Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag 204001 Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 200 3957/3956/4007 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4606 Email: shsingh@ukzn.ac.za / sleyrn@ukzn.ac.za / ntulisa@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Inhlabathini School Pietermaritzburg Westville

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE GUIDE



Interview Guide

Research Topic: Correctional Officials' perceptions on male sexual assault in Westville Correctional Centre: An exploratory study.

Dear Participant

Thank you for taking part in this research study. Your participation will add significant value to the research project titled: Correctional services officials' perceptions on male sexual assault in Westville Correctional Centre: An exploratory study.

This study aims to investigate the perceptions of correctional officials toward male sexual assault in the correctional settings. This research is conducted by Nomathamsaqa Mthethwa (Student No: 211535116) under the supervision of Mr Sibanyoni from the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

You are invited to participate in this research project because we believe you may have important information about male sexual assault in correctional centre. We would like to know what correctional officials think and know about male sexual assault in correctional centre and we hope you can assist us with regards to this.

Please be advised that that you may choose not to participate in this research study and would you wish to withdraw at any stage, you have the full right to do so and your action will not be of any disadvantage to you in any way. This interview will be audio recorded and will take a duration of 1 hour. If you join the study, we hope that you will answer the questions truthfully and to the best of your ability. We want to reassure you that your personal data and the information you will provide to us will not be shared with anyone outside the study.

If you wish to continue with the study, please sign below:

YES/NO I give consent for the researcher to interview me.

YES/NO I give consent for the researcher to audio record me during the interview.

Volunteer Volunteer Date
(Name) (Signature)

Research Topic: Correctional Officials' perceptions on male sexual assault at Westville Correctional Centre: An exploratory study.

Section A: demographical background of the respondents

1. How many years have you been working here?
2. What are your responsibilities as a correctional official?

Section B: questions pertain to correctional official's awareness on male inmate sexual assault occurring at Westville Correctional Centre.

3. In your view, do you believe that it is possible for a man to be sexually assaulted by another man?
4. Do you believe that male sexual assault happens in correctional centres?
5. Do you believe that male sexual assault happens here in your medium? [Elaborate on your answer]
6. In your opinion, what do you think motivates a male offender to commit sexual assault?
7. How would you describe someone who can be a potential victim of sexual assault in your medium? [Elaborate on your answer]

Section C: questions pertain to the perceptions of correctional officials towards male sexual assault between inmates in Westville Correctional Centre, South Africa.

8. In your view, what is your understanding of the term male sexual assault? [Elaborate on your answer]
9. Are you concerned about the sexual assault that occurs within this correctional centre?
10. In your opinion, do you think that male offenders find it easy to commit sexual assault in your medium?
11. In your view, what do you think perpetuate sexual assault in this correctional centre?

Section D: questions pertain to preventative measures at Westville Correctional Centre.

12. On a daily basis do offenders report offences that happen to them? Can you please explain further?
13. How do offenders get protected from general offences against each other?

14. In this correctional centre do you encourage offenders to report offences that happen to them?
15. What is your immediate response when a male offender reports an incident of sexual assault?
16. Are you trained on how to deal with incidents of male sexual assault in this correctional centre? [Elaborate on your answer]
17. What protective measures are offered to protect male offenders against sexual assault in this correctional centre? [Elaborate on your answer]
18. Any other comments regarding male sexual in correctional centres?

The End

Thank you for your time and participation. Do you have any questions that you would like to ask me?

APPENDIX E: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH)



RESEARCH TOPIC: Correctional Officials' perceptions on male sexual assault in Westville correctional center: An exploratory study.

CONSENT FORMS FOR VOLUNTEER PARTICIPANTS

INTRODUCTION

Greetings, my name is Nomathamsanqa Mthethwa, I am a student at University of Kwa-Zulu Natal studying Criminology and Forensic Studies.

BACKGROUND

You are being invited to participate in a research study that seeks to understand the perceptions, awareness of correctional officials on male sexual assault in Westville correctional center, so that we better understand the views of officials on male sexual assault in correctional center. Knowing more about male sexual assault and the views of the correctional officials will assist the department of correctional services to improve programmes of preventing and dealing with male sexual assault in correctional centers.

The study is expected to enroll individuals from medium A-D

- 2 correctional officials from medium A
- 2 correctional officials from medium B
- 2 correctional officials from medium C
- 2 correctional officials from medium D

AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of this research study is to investigate the perceptions of correctional officials toward male sexual assault in Westville correctional center.

YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY IS VOLUNTARY

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you should not hesitate to ask about anything you are not clear about. Please read this Consent Form in the language of your choice (English or Isizulu) in order to make sure that you are given enough information about taking part in this study. If you agree to be part of this study, you will be asked to sign this consent form. When you join the study, we hope that you answer the questions truthfully and to the best of your ability. We want to reassure you that none of the information you will provide to us will be shared with anyone outside the study.

PROCEDURE

Data will be collected using semi-structured interviews. It is further requested that these interviews be audio recorded provided you agree to this.

RIGHT TO REFUSE STUDY PARTICIPATION

It is your choice to be part of the study. You are required to inform the researcher if you decide not to take part in this study. Your participation in this study will not disrupt or affect your duties at work in any way. If you choose to be part of the study and change your mind at a later stage, you will be permitted to dropout from the study. Your participation is completely voluntary.

THREATS OF PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY

There are no threats that are foreseen for participating in this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY

In order to maintain confidentiality, you will be assigned with a pseudo name so that your name will not be linked to any of your personal data and any data gathered will be treated with the strictest confidentiality. Given the sensitive nature of this study, the researcher will not share any study related information to any person other than the study supervisor.

PERSONS TO CONTACT

In the event of any problems / concerns / questions you may contact the numbers below:

Nomathamsanqa Mthethwa on 0641170552

Email: 211535116@ukzn.stu.ac.za / manyambose0@gmail.com or

The supervisor Mr Sibanyoni on 0632276887 /Email: eksibanyoni@gmail.com

**STATEMENT OF AGREEMENT AND SIGNATURE TO VOLUNTARILY TAKE
PART IN THE RESEARCH**

- I was provided with enough details and information with regards to the research, and I had an opportunity to ask questions with regards to the research study.
- I swear that I voluntarily chose to be part of this research and I know I can dropout if I want and that will not disrupt my work scheduled.
- I consent to be honest to give the information.
- I was informed about the procedure and threats.
- I understand that an audio recorder will be used during the research proceedings.

Volunteer Volunteer Date
(Name) (Signature)

Researcher who Researcher Date
Administered consent (print) Signature

The researcher will be happy to answer any question or concerns.

Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX F: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (IsiZulu)



Isihloko socwaningo: Correctional Officials' perceptions on male sexual assault in Westville correctional center: An exploratory study.

IFOMU LESIVUMELWANO LAMAVOLONTIYA

Isingeniso

Sawubona, igama lami ngingu Nomathamsanqa Mthethwa. Ngingu mfundi wase nyuvesi yakwa-Zulu Natali, ngenza izifundo ze-Criminology ne Forensic Studies.

Imuva lo ncwaningo

Uyacelwa ukuba ube yingxenywe yocwaningo oluhlose ukuqonda imibono yojele mayelana nokuhlukunyezwa ngokocansi kwabantu besilisa, behlukunyezwa abanye abantu besilisa kwizikhungo zokuhlumelelisa isimilo. Ngalolu cwano sihlase ukusiza umcwano ukuze aqonde kabanzi imibono yojele mayelana nokuhlukunyezwa ngokocansi kwabantu besilisa kwizikhungo zokuhlumelelisa isimilo. Imibono yojele kanye nokwazi kabanzi mayelana nokuhlukunyezwa ngokocansi kwabantu besilisa kwizikhungo zokuhlumelelisa isimilo kuzosiza umnyango wezokuhlunyelelisa kwezimilo ukuba wenze ngcono izinhlelo zokuvikela nokumelana nalesi sikhava.

Ucwaningo lulindeleke ukuba luthinte ojele kusukela egumbini A kuze kufike egumbini D.

- Ojele ababili egumbini A
- Ojele ababili egumbini B
- Ojele ababili egumbini C
- Ojele ababili egumbini D

Inhloso Yocwaningo

Inhloso yalolu cwano ukuzwa nokuqonda kabanzi imibono yojele mayelana nokuhlukunyezwa ngokocansi kwabantu besilisa kwizikhungo zokuhlumelelisa isimilo

Ukuba yingxenywe yalolu cwano, kungokuthanda kwakho, awuphoqelekile

Ungabuza nanoma yini ongayiqondisisi kahle mayelana nalolu ncwaningo. Uyacelwa ukuba ufunde lencwandi yesivumelwano ngolimi oluthandyo (okungaba IsiZulu noma isiNgisi) ukuze uzoqinisekisa ukuthi unalo lonke ulwazi mayelana nokuba yingxenye yalolu cwano. Uma uvuma kubamba iqhaza kulolu cwano, uzocelwa ukuba usayinde lencwadi yesivumelwano. Uyacelwa ukuba uphendule imibuzo oyobuzwa yona ngeqiniso nanokuthembeka uma uvuma ukuba yingxenye yalolu cwano. Siyakuqinisekisa ukuthi yonke into oyishoyo ngeke inikezwe okanye itshelwe omunye umuntu ongeyona ingxenye yalolu cwano.

Indlela ucwaningo oluzohamba ngayo

Ulwazi luzotholakala ngokuthi kubuzwe mibuzo evulelekile. Kuyacelwa ukuthi ukubuzwa kwemibuzo kuqoshwe ngomshini, inqoba uma wena uvuma.

Ilungelo lokunqaba ukuba yingxenye yalolu cwano

Ukuba yingxenye yocwano kusuka othandweni lwkho. Uyacelwa ukuba wazise umcwano uma kwenzeka ukhetha ukungazibandakanyi nalolu cwano. Ukuzibandakanya kwakho nalolu cwano ngeke nakancane kuphazamise umsebenzi wakho. Uma uba yingxenye yalolu cwano kodwa bese ukhetha ukuhoxa ngokuhamba kwesikhathi, uzovunyelwa ukuba wenze njalo. Ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwano kungokuthanda kwakho, awuphoqelekile.

Ububi bokuba yingxenye yalolu cwano

Abukho ububi noma ubunzima ekubeni yingxenye yalolu cwano.

Ukugcinwa kwemininingane yakho kuyimfihlo

Igama lakho langempela ngeke lisetshenziswe, ukuze siqinisekise ukwethembeka kwethu kuwena, ukugcina izinto ositshlela zona ziyimfihlo kanye nokuvikeleka kwakho.

Abantu Ongaxhumana Nabo

Uma kwenzeka kuba nezingqinamba, ubunzima noma imibuzo ethile mayelana nalolu cwano, ungaxhumana no:

Nomathamsanqa Mthethwa kule nombolo kamakhalekhukhwini: 0641170552

Email: 211535116@ukzn.stu.ac.za noma manyambose0@gmail.com

Ungakwazi nokuthinta uMnumzane Sibanyoni kule nombolo kamakhalekhukhwini:
06332276887

Email: eksibanyoni@gmail.com

Isivumelwano sokuba yingxenye yalolu cwaningo

- Ngichazeleke kabanzi mayelana nocwaningo, ngaphinde ngathola ithuba elanele lokubuza imibuzo.
- Ngiyaqinisekisa ukuthi ngokuthanda kwami ngiyakhetha ukuba yingxenye yalolu cwaningo kanti ngiyazi ukuthi ngingahoxa uma ngikhetha ukwenza njalo, nomsebenzi wami ngeke uphazamiseke nakancane.
- Ngiyethembisa ukuhlinzeka ulwazi oluyiqiniso ngokwethembeka.
- Ngichazeleke kabanzi mayelana nendlela ucwaningo oluzoqhubeka ngayo.
- Ngiyaqonda ukuthi kuzosetshenziswa isiqopha mazwi ngesikhathi kwenziwa ucwaningo.

Ivolontiya
(igama)

Ivolontiya
(Signature)

Usuku

Umcwaningi

Umncaningi
Signature

Usuku

Umcwaningi angakujabulela ukuphendula nanoma yimuphi umbuzo ongaba nawo.

Siyabonga kakhulu ngesikhathi sakho.