



Situational Analysis of Boksburg Youth Centre

Sexual Violence in Prison Pilot Project

(Dec 2004 - Jan 2005)

SURVEY REPORT 2006

Centre for the Study of Violence & Reconciliation (CSV)

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Note: Less detailed accounts of some of the survey's key findings are also available in:

Gear, S (2007) *Doing Time in a Gauteng Juvenile Correctional Centre for Males*. Briefing Report No 1. CSV.

Gear, S (2007) *Fear, Violence and Sexual Violence in a Gauteng Juvenile Correctional Centre for Males*. Briefing Report No 2. CSV.

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Introduction

This report details the results of a piece of research or “situational analysis” that aimed to gather information mainly on issues related to violence, sex and sexual violence as experienced by the young men held at Boksburg Youth Centre (BYC). It also touched on some of their characteristics and experiences in the institution more broadly. This information will be used to direct a project to address sexual violence happening in BYC that the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV) is embarking on with the youth centre. Down the line, it will also assist in assessing the progress and impact of the project.

Background

In 2001 the CSV's Criminal Justice Programme began research to look at the nature and circumstances of sex and sexual violence taking place in South African men's prisons. The project grew out of concerns about the violence happening behind bars, HIV transmission, and the implications for the people involved. The findings are reported in, Gear, S. & Ngubeni, K. 2002. *Daai Ding: sex, sexual violence & coercion in men's prisons* and have also been publicised through shorter articles and presentations to a variety of stakeholders. This initial research gave rise to our continued work on the issue and the second phase of the CSV's Sexual Violence in Prison Project. A key component of this is a pilot project with Bokburg Youth Centre (BYC) of which this report forms a part.

The Sexual Violence in Prison Project

The CSV's project on coercive and violent sex in prison is focused on male institutions of imprisonment and aims to contribute to strategies for the prevention of sexual violence behind bars. The apparent widespread occurrence of sexual violence and abuse in our prisons is part of what makes these institutions intensely unsafe both for incarcerated individuals and for society, where the consequences are lived out. Existing evidence points to some of the common consequences: the brutalisation of inmates, the perpetuation of further violence, the exacerbation of destructive gender identities and ways of relating, and the transmission of the HIV.

Pilot project at Boksburg Youth Centre (BYC)

The goal of the pilot project is to develop and test management strategies for the prevention of sexual violence and destructive sexual practices in Boksburg Youth Centre (BYC).

The main objectives are:

- To develop an understanding of the nature and extent of sexual violence and destructive sexual practices in Boksburg Youth Centre (Boksburg Correctional Centre B).
- To identify issues and challenges which contribute to the problem.
- To raise awareness about sexual violence, destructive sexual practices and related issues amongst personnel and inmates.
- To develop and test management strategies for the prevention of, and appropriate responses, to sexual violence and destructive sexual practices in BYC.

Process

Largely on the basis of this study known as the “Situational Analysis”, CSV will facilitate and coordinate a process whereby staff (primarily, but also inmates) plan, develop and begin to implement strategies to prevent and respond to sexual violence. This facilitation will be flexible and responsive. It is nevertheless envisaged that a range of relevant expertise and service providers well-placed to assist in relation to the multi-dimensional issues the problem throws up will be brought on board (such as in the areas of health and HIV/AIDS, gender and sexuality, law and policy etc.). The monitoring and documentation of the nature and progress of the project will be central for capturing the process and its lessons so that these may be built on in the future.

Getting to this point

A proposal for the pilot project was first submitted to the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) in September 2003, and again in March and April 2004 following discussions with the DCS’s Anti-Rape Strategy Task Team. The DCS granted approval for the pilot project in July 2004 when the regional and local offices (Boksburg) were also brought on board. Boksburg management was keen for the project to begin, and the first phase kicked off in July 2004. This included introductions and initial meetings with members of the Boksburg Youth Centre, and information gathering through interviews with some staff members. However, the project was then substantially held up at the point where we were due to begin collection of base-line information through a survey process (the Situational Analysis). This arose from delays on the part of DCS in granting permission for the research component specifically, the result of which was that we were only finally allowed to start data collection in December 2004.

The Survey

How we did the research

We designed a survey questionnaire which drew on our existing research, consultations with relevant individuals and organisations, and initial meetings and information sessions with selected staff of BYC. Eight fieldworkers - black, mainly young, men - were trained to administer the questionnaire with the youth via face to face, one-on-one interviews. Fieldwork was done during 6 days in the period 29 November and 8 December, 2004, and 14 days in the period 12 January - 31 January 2005. (Because of the security tightening over the festive season interviewing had to stop soon after it began, and be resumed in January 2005.)

Arrangements were made with the prison for between 3 and 5 fieldworkers to visit each morning and conduct interviews with offenders (this depended on how many rooms were available). We provided the prison with a list of the names of offenders we wanted to interview on each day - usually doing this the day before. The list was given to the official who had been tasked with fetching the inmates from their sections and bringing them to the interviews. Interviews were held in offices or rooms either in the administration or visiting area. The exception was when fieldworkers were required to go to J3 (the section accommodating inmates with further charges and those being disciplined) to interview offenders who were not allowed to move from there without additional security which was not available.

Sample

A random sample was selected from the BYC population. As we were trying to attain as representative a survey as possible, we aimed to interview as many people as possible within the scope of the allotted budget and time-frame. The sampling method ensured that each person within the prison population had an equal chance of being selected for the study.

In total, 311 inmates of BYC were interviewed. This figure was derived by selecting a sample size from the population at the time of the study (462 inmates) that would provide findings accurate to a 99% confidence interval and with a margin of error of slightly greater than 4%. The fluctuation in BYC's population saw the margin of error reduce from 4.1% at the outset of the fieldwork (when the population was at 462) to 3.9% by the end (when it was at 438), equating to an average of approximately 4%. In essence the 99% confidence interval and 4% margin of error means that if we conducted the same study 100 times, we could be certain within 4 percentage points, that our data would be representative of the population average. To put it slightly differently, this means that if you asked a question from this survey 100 times, 99 times out of 100, the percentage of people giving a particular answer would be within 4 points of the percentage who gave that same answer in this survey.

Shortly before the start of the fieldwork, we randomly selected 310 names from the list of the inmate population. Towards the end of the fieldwork additional random selections were made to cater for the loss of originally selected inmates by release or transfer. This was done from the original list until it became necessary to generate new lists of newer arrivals in order to secure respondents.

Ethical concerns and strategies

Interviews with inmates were grounded in the principle of informed consent. Fieldworkers introduced themselves, the CSV, and the project at the outset, clearly explaining, amongst other things, that it was up to the inmate whether he wanted to participate or not, that he was free to withdraw at any point, and the measures taken to protect anonymity. They also prepared the (potential) interviewee for much of the interview being about sex and sexual violence, working to establish a context of ease and reduce discomfort that might be caused by discussing these issues.

In an attempt to ensure the clear and contained communication of the research to respondents and potential respondents, the officers tasked with collecting inmates from their sections were not told of the content and were requested to simply communicate to offenders that some people from the CSV were doing research, would like to talk to them, and that, "They'll explain what it's all about". This was also done in attempt to guard the confidentiality of respondents, as well as avoid possible embarrassment or destructive dynamics that could conceivably develop (staff - inmates or inmate - inmate) because of the research topic. On a couple of occasions this system was not adhered to. We were concerned that in certain cases, the staff member fetching the offenders was telling them that it was a "CSV programme" that they were being called for - likely the result of a confusion with the project and other CSV interventions that had recently taken place at the youth centre. Another officer who'd been put in charge just for the day, appointed an inmate to call respondents - a very problematic situation that caused discomfort for at least one of the affected respondents. Both of these situations were stopped as soon as our fieldwork supervisor learnt of them (within a day).

Respondents were interviewed in language/s in which they felt comfortable¹ and in private although interruptions sometimes disrupted the flow and likely also the extent of ease felt by respondents.² At one point, for example, interviewing had to stop mid-session because prison staff were suddenly required at a meeting.

Because of the potential for the subject to evoke difficult, traumatic and uncomfortable feelings or memories for respondents, we arranged for debriefing sessions to be held on a weekly basis for the periods of fieldwork. Staff from CSV's Victim Empowerment Programme conducted these sessions.

Similarly, psycho-social support debriefings and pre-briefing proved an important resource for fieldworkers both to help prepare them for what they could encounter, and to process some of the demanding and evocative situations that they found themselves in. Moreover, an additional day-long workshop on "talking about sex" conducted by Themba HIVAIDS proved invaluable for fieldworkers and improved the quality of interviewing. This took place after the first period of fieldwork when the particular challenges they were facing became apparent.

Limitations

The key limitation to this research is arguably its subject - that so much of it is about sex and sexual violence, both subjects typically surrounded by taboo and awkwardness. Discomfort multiplies when it comes to looking at men as victims of sexual violence. Moreover attempting to engage with these issues in

¹ Although the questionnaire was in English only, training sessions included translations of questions and parts of prison-slang fieldworkers were likely to encounter. When, during the process, language, slang and expression issues arose these were discussed and clarified in the field and in additional research meetings.

² On one occasion, due to the shortage of rooms, two interviewers were put in a visiting area together. Although the room was longer than most, and respondents apparently seemed fairly relaxed the problematic set-up was rectified after two interviews.

the context of prison complicates the challenges further. Prison environments are defined by their enforced closedness - you can't get away from them or the other people inside them - an immensely threatening environment for many. Mistrust of others and their intentions is a norm. The combination of these factors together with a range of others including traumatic responses related to exposure to sexual and other forms of violence, for example, is likely to have hindered the open and easy participation of respondents. The impact of logistical challenges that go with working in the prison environment and glitches experienced in the fieldwork (touched on in the ethics section) undoubtedly further compromised some participants ease with the process.

Respondents were being asked to talk about intensely personal experiences and issues with people whom they had never met before (bar the exception of one fieldworker-supervisor). Field researchers felt sometimes that respondents were not ready to talk to them about themselves in the first person, but would have been willing to share their experiences through telling of their "friends". Field researchers also got the feeling in some cases, that fear was preventing certain respondents from opening up to them.

Fundamentally too, field researchers noted their own improvement and sense of mastery in taking respondents through the questionnaire as the process unfolded. At the same time they acknowledged the judgements, fears and shyness which the work evoked in them, which especially in the early stages had compromised their interviewing techniques. Although most had had previous fieldwork experience (some in HIV/AIDS and some in prison) their skills were uneven and the unusual and loaded subject and context of the research made substantial and unusual demands on them. Through their openness we could address these problems during the process, and at the same time, acknowledge that despite our efforts to ensure they were well-prepared for the task, we had underestimated the demands that would be made on them and the extent of preparation necessary.

In addition, the research carries the limitation of its survey methodology and its closed questions that are not well suited to depth of understanding. A field-researcher noted his frustration with the methodology in his comment that there was a, "difference between answers in the questionnaires and what seemed to be coming out of their mouths." Interviewers were encouraged to make notes of any additional relevant comments which emerged at each question. These notes have been collated and analysed and where relevant, have been used to supplement the quantitative data in this report. They are referenced as: "Additional Comments".

Furthermore, even from a quantitative point of view, while the questionnaire was relatively long and touched on many issues, it did so only briefly. Certain findings and apparent contradictions point to particular areas that would especially benefit from further investigation through qualitative methodologies.

Report Outline

The findings of the survey are reported in four main parts:

Findings: Part 1 - Some features of the research population

This section outlines some demographic features of the research population and looks at their situations before coming to prison (living circumstances, relationship status etc.). It then goes on to their sentence and previous prison experience and some general facets of their lives in BYC (where they're housed, visits received and involvement in prison activities).

Findings: Part 2 - Personal connections and sense of self

Certain questions attempted to get some initial insight on more intimate areas of respondents' lives. Responses to questions on their coping strategies and gendered sense of themselves are followed by those on aspects of informal prison life such as gang membership and drug usage in prison.

Findings: Part 3 - General sexual experience and attitudes

This section aims to give a broad idea of respondents' understandings of sex and sexual violence, related attitudes and HIV/AIDS awareness as well as some information on their sexual experience - both first experiences and those in BYC.

Findings: Part 4 - Fear, Violence, Sexual Violence and Coercion

Respondents' perceptions of safety and danger in the prison are reported in this section as are their experiences of assault in BYC. This is followed by some of their understandings of prisoners' rights in relation to sex and sexual violence in BYC as well as how they perceive staff attitudes and behaviours in cases of assault and sexual violence.

Findings: Part 5 - Respondents' advice on making BYC safer

Finally, this section provides an overview of respondents' advice for DCS on how BYC could be made safer and sexual violence prevented.

Note:

Please note that any differences reported to have been found in the dataset are indicative of likely trends and are not necessarily statistically significant.

Percentages reported are rounded to the nearest whole number and as a result table columns may not always sum to exactly 100 percent. In the tables the symbol '-' represents any values of less than 0.5 percent.

Findings: Part 1

Some features of the research population

Demographics

Nationality

Nearly all of the BYC inmates interviewed were South African citizens (98%). The remaining 2% (7 people) were from other SADC countries.

Population group

The vast majority - 91% - of respondents were African, 7% were Coloured, less than 1% were Asian and, 1% was White³.

Age

Age of respondents ranged from 15 to 29 years and the average age was 20.

Table 1: Age of respondents

Age of respondents		
	N	%
Less than 18 years	28	9%
18-21 yrs	242	78%
22 yrs or more	41	13%
Total N	311	

Most respondents (78%) were aged between 18-21. Nine percent were younger than 18, and 13% were 22 years or older.

Although the Youth Centre should house only youths between the ages of 16 - 21, a few of the interviewees were 15, and just over 1 in 10 were 22 or older. While our enquiries in relation to official records of inmates ages were outdated by the time the field-work was conducted, and Centre staff may have known of certain older inmates, the proportion of over-21s seems very high. Both respondents and staff members interviewed

³ Population group was coded by the interviewer through observation.

previously, pointed out that it is not uncommon for an offender to lie about his age in the hopes of a more lenient sentence, bail, or so as not to land in the adult prison.

Language

The most common home languages of respondents were isiZulu (51%), Sesotho (17%), isiXhosa (9%) and Afrikaans (7 %).

Education

The largest proportion of respondents - 43%- had completed either Grade 9 or 10; but only 14% had a Grade 11 or higher. Twenty percent had completed Grade 8; and the same proportion accounted for those who had completed from Grade 3 up to Grade 7. Three percent was comprised of those with no formal schooling or who had not completed a higher level of formal education than Grade 2. Overall, almost 1 in 4 respondents (23%) had a Grade 7 or less.

Table 2: Highest level of education achieved

What is the highest level of education that you have completed?				
	N	%		
No formal schooling, Grade 1/Sub A -- Grade 2/ Sub B	9	3%		
Std 1/ Grade 3 -- Std 5/ Grade 7	63	20%		
Std 6/ Grade 8	61	20%		
Std 7/ Grade 9 -- Std 8/ NTC 1/ Grade 10	134	43%		
Std 9/ NTC 2/ Grade 11 - Std 10/matric/NTC 3/ Grade 12	44	14%		
Total N	311			
			% for Gauteng males 18-21 yrs	% for R's in prison 18 - 21 yrs
			3%	2%
			11%	20%
			7%	20%
			24%	44%
			54%	14%
			98% ⁴	100%

Although a precise comparison with Gauteng data for education amongst male youth is complicated by the uneven age representation, the figures for young men in Gauteng aged between 18-21 years (Statistics South Africa, 2003) point to likely lower levels of education that have been achieved by the young inmates. This is most visible in the category Grade 11- Grade 12, where only 14% of the young offenders aged 18-21 reported having achieved this level as opposed to 54% of young males in the province aged 18-21 (although the population of BYC does not necessarily reflect other demographic features of the Gauteng or national context.)

⁴ The remaining percentage is made up of those with bachelor's degrees and higher, in addition to 0.87 of "Certificate/Diploma of less than grade 12" -unclear into which category they would best fit.

Pre-prison home & relationship situations

Some of the questions aimed to get an idea of the social circumstances in which the respondents had been living before coming to prison, as well as the extent to which they were involved in intimate relationships.

Table 3: Who respondents were living with before coming to prison

Before coming to prison, who were you mainly living with?		
	N	%
Mother and father (with/without siblings, extended family, friends)	74	24%
Mother (with/without siblings, extended family)	98	32%
Mother & stepfather (with/without siblings, extended family)	6	2%
Father (with/without siblings, extended family)	9	3%
Father & stepmother (with/without siblings, extended family)	3	1%
Siblings only (no adult / parent generation figure)	17	6%
Extended family (with/without siblings but without parent, without own family)	65	21%
Friends (without parent &/or siblings, extended family or own family)	6	2%
Live alone	8	3%
Live with partner only	5	2%
Live with partner & others (Including own children, friends, extended family etc.)	2	1%
Orphanage / children's home	1	-
Other	17	5%
Total N	311	

Before their incarceration, the greatest proportion of respondents (32%) - almost a third - had been living mainly with their mother (this being with or without extended family). Twenty-four percent or 1 in 4 respondents said they had lived with both their mother and father, and 3% had been living with a parent and a step-parent.

Almost the same proportion, 21% - or 1 in 5 - said they had resided with their extended family but without a parent. Six percent (or just over one in twenty) said they had been living with siblings only and without an adult or someone of a parent generation.

Pre-prison relationships

The vast majority of respondents, 95%, said they were in a relationship before they came to prison.

Table 4: Pre-prison relationships

If yes, what was the nature of the relationship?			
	N	% of those with a relationship	% of all respondents
Had serious girlfriend	147	50%	47%
Had serious boyfriend	1	-	-
Had girlfriend but not serious	57	19%	18%
Had boyfriend but not serious	2	1%	1%
Had more than one girlfriend (2 had 2 serious girlfriends)	88	30%	28%
Was married	1	-	-
Total	296	100%	95%

Of these people, the greatest proportion (50%) said they had had a serious girlfriend and 30% said that they had had more than one girlfriend. (This included those who had one serious girlfriend as well as other “not serious” girlfriends). One in five said they had a girlfriend, but the relationship was not ‘serious’, and less than 1% said they were married. One percent said they had been in a relationship with a boy. In one of these cases the relationship was serious and in two, it was not serious.

Fatherhood

Sixteen percent of respondents said that they had biological children (either living or deceased). Of these, 92% (15% of total respondents) said they’d had one child, and 6% (1% of total respondents) have 2.

Close to the same proportion of inmates under the age of 18 had children as those aged between 18 and 21.

Sentence & previous prison experience

Convictions and sentence

While each respondent may have been convicted on more than one crime, reports of convictions for crimes of an aggressive nature slightly outweighed those of an economic nature when including sexual crimes (but excluding possession of firearms, ammunition).

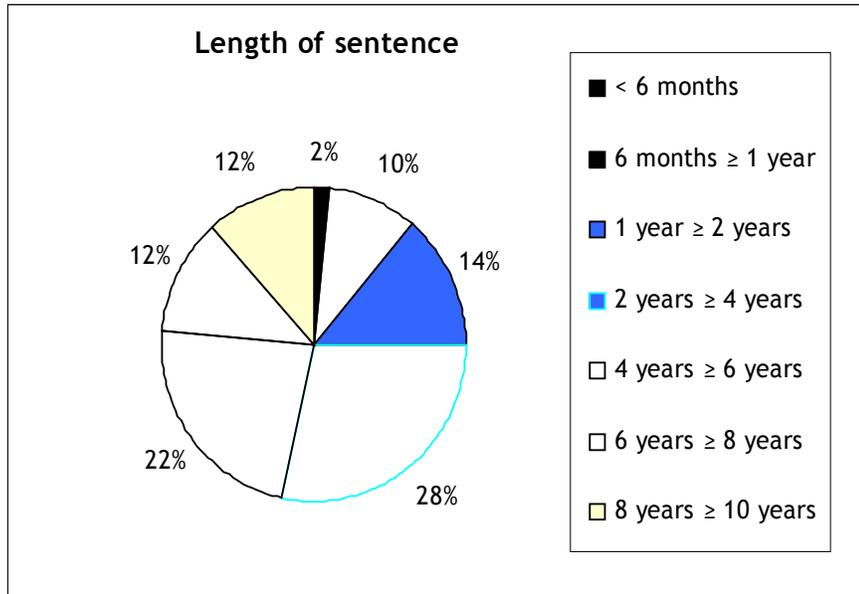
Table 5: Crimes for which respondents are currently serving time.

What are you serving your current sentence for?		
	Count (multiple response)	% of respondents
ECONOMIC CRIME	169	54%
<i>Fraud</i>	1	-
<i>Theft, shoplifting</i>	63	20%
<i>Burglary (attempted)</i>	105	34%
AGGRESSIVE CRIME	182	59%
<i>Assault (includes intent to do grievous bodily harm)</i>	19	6%
<i>Robbery, bank robbery, hijacking of car/truck/cash-in-transit.</i>	129	42%
<i>Murder, attempted murder,</i>	18	6%
SEXUAL CRIMES: rape, indecent assault, sexual violation	16	5%
OTHER CRIMES	70	23%
<i>Possession of firearms, ammunition</i>	50	16%
<i>Drug-related crimes</i>	3	1%
<i>Other crime</i>	17	5%
TOTAL N	311	

The greatest proportion - 42% - of respondents reported serving time for the aggressive offence/s of robbery, bank robbery, hijacking of car/truck/cash-in-transit, and 59% were serving their sentence for aggressive crimes in general. Thirty-four percent of convictions were for burglary/attempted burglary, and 1 in 5 (20%) for theft or shoplifting. Six percent of convictions were for crimes of murder or attempted murder and 1 in 20 (5%) for sexual crimes.

The length of the sentences that respondents were serving is informed by the fact that BYC is a medium security institution. If offenders classed as 'maximum' security are housed there, it is only for a short time until they can be transferred to a maximum facility.

Figure 1: Length of sentence



The greatest proportion of respondents (28%) is serving sentences of between 2 and 4 years. This is followed by those serving sentences ranging from 4 to 6 years, who constitute 23% (slightly less than one in four). Eleven percent of respondents are serving sentences of a year or less. The average (mean) sentence is 4 years and 6 months.

While their sentences tended to be relatively short anyway, at the time of the interview, respondents had mostly served fairly short periods of current sentences.

Table 6: Length of sentence served

How much of your sentence have you served? (years)		
	N	%
0 years	171	55%
1 year	77	25%
2 years	48	15%
3 years	7	2%
4 years	6	2%
5 years or more	2	1%
Total N	311	

More than half respondents (55%) had not yet served one year of their sentence. Twenty-five percent, or 1 in 4 had served between 1 and 2 years and 15%, or 1 in 6 had served between 2 and 3 years.

Respondents were asked how long they had spent in Boksburg specifically. These periods also tended to be short, a result that was likely influenced by there not being an awaiting trial facility for young people at BYC, as well as because of their ages. As inmates reach 21 years they are generally transferred to the adult prison. As such BYC has a fairly transient population.

Table 7: Length of time spent in Boksburg Youth Centre (BYC)

How long have you been here in Boksburg Youth Centre? (years)		
	N	%
0 < 1 years	193	62%
1 < 2 years	80	26%
2 < 3 years	28	9%
3 < 4 years	5	2%
4 years or more	5	2%
Total N	311	

Sixty-two percent of respondents had been in BYC for less than one year and 26% had been there for between one and two years.

Prior convictions and experience of secure care

The majority were serving time for their first conviction.

Eighty percent had no prior conviction. However, 68% (two-thirds) had previously spent time in a prison or other type of secure or safe-care institution on one or more separate occasions i.e. not as part of their current sentence or its awaiting trial period. (Safe-care institutions catering for young people rather than those in trouble with the law accounted for only 2% of these). Additional comments noted by interviewers suggested that many of these respondents had been in Modderbee and Nigel prisons, and had also frequently been moved between facilities.

As such the majority of respondents had already to some extent been exposed to life inside - a factor which can influence prison experiences by providing a degree of familiarity with how things work and prison culture. People there for the first time, for example, are generally regarded to be at greater risk of danger and exploitation in prison (Gear & Ngubeni 2002).

Table 8: Institution types where respondents had previously spent time

Institutions that respondents had previously spent time in... <u>not</u> as part of current sentence or its awaiting trial period		
	Count (multiple response)	% of sample (N=258)
Police holding cell	120	47%
Previously in awaiting trial section of a prison	79	31%
Prison - including juvenile sections, excluding awaiting trial sections.	31	12%
Institution for children / young people in trouble with the law - <i>stout school</i> etc.	42	16%
Orphanage, children’s home, safety facility (excluding institutions for those in trouble with the law) ⁵	6	2%
Never spent time in another institution	98	38%
Total N	258 ⁶	

The most-reported place of previous incarceration was ‘police holding cell’ where 47% of respondents who answered the question said they had been held. Almost one third had spent time in an awaiting trial section of a prison, and 16% had been in an institution for young people in trouble with the law.

Of the 160 inmates who we know had spent time in another institution, the majority (43%) has spent time in two different types of institution, 41% had spent time in one institution and 17% had spent time in three institutions or more.

Some aspects of life in BYC

⁵ We included a category of “Orphanage, safety facility...” (not for those in trouble with the law) because we thought that living in such an environment may in some respects have similar socializing effects as living in secure institutions.

⁶ Due to interviewers having difficulties with this question near the beginning of field work, answers were not coded on this question for 53 respondents.

Accommodation

Most inmates were housed in the two biggest sections of the prison, 'J1' and 'J2' - both of which comprise a mix of communal cells and single cells.

Table 9: Section of the prison in which respondent was housed at time of interview

What section of the prison are you currently housed in?		
	N	%
J1 Generally accommodates those who do not attend school or work. Informally known as “ <i>eet en le</i> ” or “eat and lie”. It is also known as “Iraq” because of being regarded as so dangerous.	105	34%
J2 (ordinary) Generally accommodates those who attend school.	99	32%
J2 observation All new admissions are put here, usually for 2-3 weeks; some considered at risk/struggling to adapt may be there for a few months.	14	5%
J3 (further charges + maximum+ disciplinary) In addition to inmates facing further charges or being disciplined, maximum-classified offenders reside here until transfer to maximum institution.	25	8%
J4 (ordinary) Overflow of J2	26	8%
J5 (ordinary) Overflow of J2 and “kiddies” (under 18 yrs)	27	9%
J4 hospital Ill inmates	2	1%
J5 (reception cell) Small section houses those who perform work duties in the prison. Informally known as “Paradise” apparently for its superior facilities and the relative absence of correctional officers.	10	3%
Other	3	1%
Total N	311	

Two-thirds of respondents are housed in either J1 or regular J2 (as opposed to J2 Observation) section of the facility. J4 and J5, also comprising a mix of single and communal cells, reportedly take the overflow of J2. Together these sections housed 17% of respondents. J3, is the only section comprised solely of single cells and is where maximum security offenders as well as those facing further charges or being disciplined are held - usually 3 or 2 in a cell. Eight percent of respondents were living here.⁷

⁷ The spread of respondents by section very closely matched the spread of inmates by section at BYC as at 1 January 2005. The greatest deviation from these proportions was 2% in one case only - reflecting the representivity of our sample.

Respondents were asked how many people lived in their cells. (It is possible that respondents may have estimated the occupancy especially for some of the cells with higher occupancy).

Table 10: Approximate number of people in cell including respondent

How many people - including yourself - occupied your cell last night?		
	N	%
1 - 2	28	9%
3 - 5	30	10%
6 - 10	10	3%
11 - 20	27	8%
21 - 25	24	8%
26 - 30	66	21%
31 - 35	107	35%
35 - 40	14	5%
More than 41	4	1%
Total N	310	

Whilst occupancy of cells ranged from 1 to more than 40 people per cell, the greatest proportion of respondents (35%) said they share a cell with between 31-35 other people. The next greatest proportion (21%) of respondents were in cells with between 26 and 30 people.

According to official recommended capacity of the prison, BYC was actually not filled to capacity on the 1 Jan 2005 - a point in time between the 2 fieldwork periods, and when the inmate population was at 453. The recommended capacity as provided by our internal guide is 515. The maximum cell occupancy rate however is 38 for the communal cells suggesting that 4 respondents may have been living in over-occupied cells, although it is also possible that their estimates were incorrect. More insight into conditions could have been achieved with a question such as whether each respondent had their own bed.

‘Outside’ connections and visits

Some sense of respondents’ links to certain aspects of their outside lives, as well as their access to outside support networks was provided through questions on visits and outside relationships.

Of the 92% of respondents who said they were in a romantic relationship before they came to prison, 58% were still involved with the person (or some of the people) when they were interviewed. This was nearly 6 in 10 people. It’s noteworthy however, that the majority of respondents had only served relatively short

periods by this time. Of those who were still in these relationships, 67% had not yet served a year of their sentences (although they would likely often have been incarcerated for longer than this period due to the time spent awaiting trial).

Table 11: Whether still involved in pre-prison relationships by years of sentence served

	0 years		1 year		2 years		3 or more years		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, still in one or some relationships.	102	67%	35	48%	16	36%	11	73%	164	58%
No, no longer in a relationship.	28	18%	29	40%	25	56%	4	27%	86	30%
Unclear situation.	22	15%	9	12%	4	9%	0	-	35	13%
Total N	152		73		45		15		285	

It seems from the data that the youth who had served less than 2 years of their sentence were more likely to have remained in their relationship - or some of their relationship(s) - than not. For example, of the 152 respondents, who had served less than one year, 67% said they were still involved with one (or some) of their relationships. Fifteen percent were unclear on the status of their relationship and 18% said they were no longer involved.

The youth who had served more than 2 years but less than 3 years of their sentence seemed less likely to remain in their relationship - or some of their relationships. Of these 45 respondents, 25 were no longer involved. Beyond the 3 year point no correlation was registered between time served and the status of relationship; however this was likely related to the very small numbers in these categories. Ninety-five percent of respondents had served less than 3 years.

Visits

Most respondents were receiving visits of some kind although 55 respondents (18% of total sample) were not receiving any visits.

The number of visits allowed is determined by how the inmate is categorised in the privilege system. Arriving prisoners are classified under B-Group, where they are allowed 3 visits / month or 36 / year. These are ‘non-contact’ visits, take place through a window, and can be up to 45 minutes each. Promotion to A Group entitles one to 4 to 5 one-hour visits each month. These are contact visits and visitors may purchase

food at the tuck-shop for the inmate to eat during the hour (information session with HOP and senior managers, 21 July 2004).⁸

Table 12: Visits received by inmates

Do you receive any visits from the following?		
	N	%
Parent(s)	199	64%
Sibling(s)	164	53%
Other relative(s)	93	30%
Girlfriend(s)	91	29%
Other friend(s)	66	21%
Religious worker(s)	36	12%
Child(ren)	18	6%
Other	4	1%
Legal representative	3	1%
Wife	1	-
Boyfriend (romantic/sexual)	0	-
Total N	256	

Immediate family members such as parents and siblings were the most common groupings of visitors. Sixty-four percent of respondents indicated that they get visited by a parent(s), and 53% by sibling(s). Visits from ‘other relative(s)’ and girlfriends were reported in similar proportions (30% and 29% respectively), followed by visits from other friends (21%) and religious workers (12%).

Table 13: How often inmates receive visits

How often do you receive visits?								
	Parents		Siblings		Other relatives		Girlfriend(s) or wife	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than once a month.	53	27%	52	32%	40	43%	29	32%

⁸ Although BYC rarely has inmates classified in C group (a punishment category) this status entitles offenders to 24 visits / year.

More than once a month.	146	73%	112	68%	53	57%	63	68%
Total N	199		164		93		92	
% of all respondents	64%		53%		30%		30%	

Overall, respondents who did receive visits were more likely to receive them more than once a month than less than once a month. This applied to all the categories of most frequent visits.

While 164 of the young men had indicated that they were still involved with the girlfriend/some of the girlfriends with whom they were involved when they came to prison only 92 reported getting visits from girlfriends or, in one case, wife. This may be influenced by the relatively short periods of time that many respondents had spent in BYC at the time they were interviewed. We did not collect information on other forms of communication such as phone-calls and letters which may well be playing an important role in keeping connections alive. More generally, it is possible that because the majority of respondents have been inside for a relatively short period of time (less than a year) they had not yet received visits from people who would be visiting in the near future.

Goods received

Because of the lack of basic resources and perhaps more importantly, their problematic distribution that accompanies the context of overcrowding, together with the centrality in prison life of the informal economy, visitors regularly represent a key source of both basic necessities and luxuries for offenders. Access to such goods, is also an important facet of inmate power structures: those without access tend to be vulnerable to these structures (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002).

Sixty-seven respondents (21.5%) said that they do not receive anything from the outside. This is a slightly greater proportion than said that they did not receive any visits, and represents 1 in 5 offenders.

Table 14: Goods received by inmates from outside

Do you receive any of the following from anybody outside prison?								
	Cigarettes		Money		Toiletries		Other goods	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than once a month.	3	27%	57	26%	52	24%	76	54%
More than once a month.	8	73%	166	74%	168	76%	66	47%
Total N	11		223		220		142	

% of all respondents	4%	72%	71%	46%
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Money⁹ and toiletries were the two listed items most likely to be received by prisoners from outside the prison, and for the most part, were being received once a month or more. The minimal reporting of cigarettes being received likely relates to their recent banning in BYC, which has no doubt reduced the flow of cigarettes as well as respondents’ willingness to report on them.

Items of clothing were the most common items entered in the “Other” category. In addition, some respondents had received radios, phone cards, kettles, reading materials, religious items, and there was one mention of dagga.

Involvement in activities in BYC

Respondents were asked about activities they’d been involved in from a pre-defined list. Sixty-seven people said that they had not participated in any activity in the last 6 months in BYC (note: it would be important to factor in the length of time these respondents had spent in Boksburg before drawing any conclusion here.)

Seventy-eight percent of the research population however, had been involved in one or more activities. Because it was not possible to include a detailed list, some of the activities mentioned were quite vague and could be open to various interpretations. For example, ‘recreation / fitness programmes’ could include both formal, organised activities, and informal or self-driven activities. In addition, because duration was not specified, responses could have included both very brief and once-off activities along with more lengthy interventions.

Table 15: Activities in which inmates have participated in BYC

During the last 6 months have you participated in any of the following activities in Boksburg Youth Centre?		
	N	%

⁹ Inmates are not allowed to be in possession of cash but receive money which is managed by the prison staff so that they can purchase in the prison shop. The amount of money they are entitled to receive each month is determined by their status. A Group is allowed R400/month, and B Group, R300.00/month.

Psychological services offered by DCS	11	4%
Morning Star project	19	6%
Any other programme offered by an NGO / CBO	30	10%
Health programmes (HIV awareness, nutrition, etc)	77	25%
Work teams eg, - laundry, gardening, kitchen, cleaning,	85	27%
Social work services or programmes offered by DCS	126	41%
School	143	46%
Recreation / fitness programmes	164	53%
Reading in the library	190	61%
Religious Services	244	78%
Other activity	32	10%
Total N	244	

Respondents were more likely to have participated in religious services and taken themselves to read in the library than to have participated in other activities. They were least likely to have been involved in activities such as psychological services and CBO/NGO programmes. Even so, as far as psychological services are concerned, considering that there was for a period of seven months, no psychologist at either the youth centre or the adult prison, this figure (4%) could be viewed as quite high in the circumstances. However figures provided by the prison suggest that they could also be the result of misunderstanding - such as confusion between psychological and social-work services.¹⁰

Forty-six percent of respondents had attended school at BYC in the last 6 months and 41% had accessed DCS social work services or programmes. Twenty-seven percent had done work around the prison on one of the work teams, and 25% had been involved in a health programme.

¹⁰ Between May 2004 and January 2005, when there was no psychologist at either the youth centre or the adult prison, only 4 inmates were apparently referred to a psychologist at Leeuwkop prison.

Findings: Part 2

Personal connections and sense of self

Certain questions attempted to get some initial insight into more intimate areas of respondents' lives including whether and where they draw support for personal issues; coping strategies and some of the ways in which they understand themselves, specifically as men - issues that fundamentally impact on all aspects of their lives including ways of relating and negotiating conflict and violence.

Confidantes

Respondents were asked whether they have anyone in their lives with whom they can share “personal stuff that [they] would not tell other people, things like feeling scared, anxious, depressed, ... or having a problem that [they]’re embarrassed about?”

While the vast majority (83%) of respondents said they did have someone they could confide in, just over 1 in 6 (17%) said there was no-one they talked to about personal stuff. One respondent said that he never feels scared, anxious, depressed, embarrassed etc.

Table 16: Whether confidante is inside prison, outside prison or both

Is this person / people inside or outside of prison or do you have people both inside and outside prison that you can talk to?		
	N	%
Inside prison	48	18%
Outside prison	153	59%
Both inside and outside prison	60	23%
Total N	261	

For nearly 6 in 10 of those who did have someone, this confidant was outside prison. One in five said their confidant was in prison, and nearly 1 in 4 said they had people both inside and outside prison.

Sense of manhood

Because of the ways in which sexual violence, and violence generally, are wrapped up with ideas of what it means to be a ‘man’ or ‘woman’, and the central role of these ideas in behaviour, attitudes and experiences, respondents were asked about their sense of themselves as men. In addition, questions sought

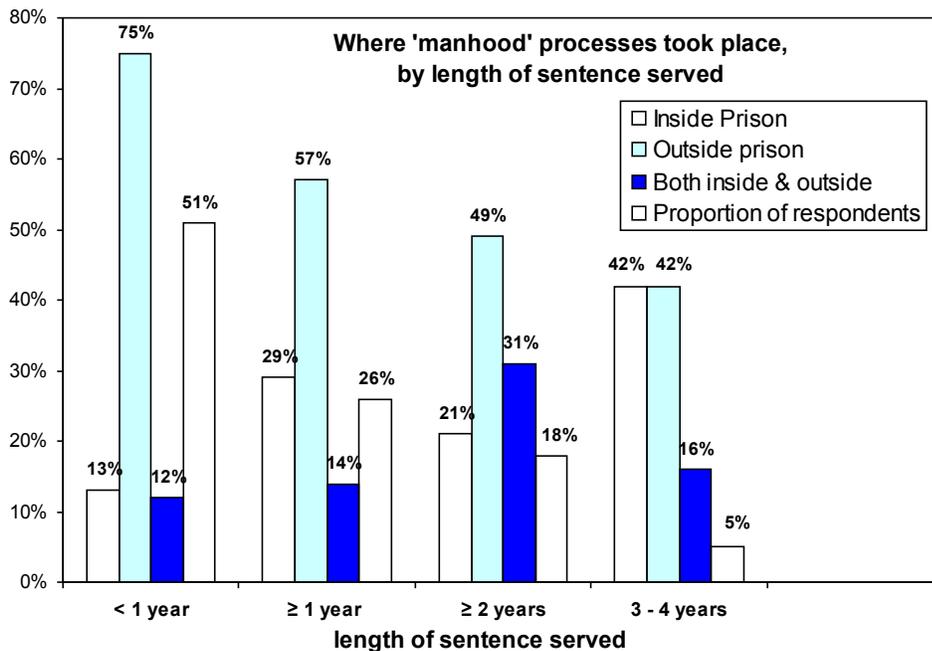
to take into account the changing nature of these things, and the influence of being in a prison environment.

Respondents were asked if they'd been through any processes, rituals or ceremonies that they felt had made them "from a boy into a man". The emphasis was on their feelings, and they were asked to include formal and informal processes as well socially acceptable and socially unacceptable processes where relevant.

Seven in ten respondents (71%) said that they had gone through some process/ceremony that they thought had made them into a man. Many of those who said they had not participated in such a process commented that they feel they are still boys (Ref: Additional Comments). Of the 71% who said they had gone through such processes, 64% said that this had taken place outside of prison, 20% said inside of prison, and the remaining 16% said that they'd been through processes both inside and outside of prison.

Thirty six percent of respondents who had been through "man-making" rituals therefore said that it was processes occurring inside prison that had contributed to their sense of themselves as 'men'. This constitutes just over one quarter of the entire research population.

Figure 2: Did 'manhood' processes take place Inside prison, Outside prison or Both by length of sentence served



Looking at this question in relation to length of sentences that respondents had served, the striped columns represent the percentage of all respondents who had achieved manhood within in each length-of-sentence group. So 51% of those who considered themselves 'men' had not yet served a year of their sentence.

Slightly more than half of the respondents who said they had been through rituals or processes that they felt made them from a boy into a man, had served less than one year of their sentence. Most of the other

respondents who had been through such rituals had served between one and two years (26%) of their sentence or between two and three years (18%). This closely resembles the general spread of respondents over time served.

Those who had served less than a year had participated in more “manhood rituals” outside of prison (75%) than inside of prison (13%).

When looking at these 3 biggest groups in relation to time-served (<1 year, ≥1 year, ≥ 2 years, 3-4 year) it is clear that as respondents had served more of their sentences, the influence of the Outside processes diminished. At the same time, there was a growth in the impact of processes happening Inside Prison. This increase was represented in the combined growth of categories “Inside” and “Inside and Outside”. In the group who had served between 2 and 3 years these processes amounted to 52% of the processes reported - a considerable increase on the 25% amongst those who’d served less than a year. In these trends we see the increasing significance of things that have happened in prison on respondents’ sense of themselves, the longer they have spent inside.

Reports of manhood rituals that had happened only Inside grew from 13% to 29%, and although it then dropped slightly to 21% in the 2-3 year group, there was at the same time, a steep increase in the “Both Inside and Outside” grouping.

Note: The categories 3 through to 5 years of sentence served constitute an insufficient number of people to draw meaningful observation.

In addition, 25% of these respondents who had served less than a year of their sentences reported having participated in processes inside of prison and this suggests that these processes are often happening soon after arrival in prison. Certainly too, most will have served awaiting-trial periods in secure institutions prior to conviction, and some such spells would not have ended in conviction. Sixty-six percent of the total research population had spent varying periods of time in secure-care facilities not as part of their current sentences or the attached awaiting trial period. While these periods of incarceration (not as part of time served) may have been lengthy in some cases, it appears that prison is impacting as an important socialising force even after relatively short periods of incarceration.

Rituals of manhood

While more in-depth qualitative research methodologies would be best suited to uncovering understandings of self, respondent accounts of what these manhood-bringing processes involved nevertheless provide useful insight into their gendered identities.

Relevant respondents were asked, “**What were the ritual(s)/ceremony(s)/process(es) that you feel made you from a boy into a man,**” and to limit their answers to no more than 3 processes they considered most important. Responses ranged from 1-3 per respondent. In general these were divided between those that had taken place outside and those that had taken place in prison. While for the most part they are reported in these categories, in some instances it was not clear where the process had taken place. In addition there are clear overlaps and themes that cut across these categories. The following table summarises the main categories of rituals that emerged and the number of times each theme category was mentioned. In the text following the table, the numbers of mentions appear in brackets next to themes.

Table 17: Rituals of manhood - themes

Rituals of Manhood - Themes		
	Count (multiple response)	% of respondents (N=311)

SELF SUFFICIENCY (OUTSIDE)	76	24%
<i>Economic responsibility</i>	55	
<i>Decision making and problem solving</i>	13	
<i>Living circumstances</i>	9	
GROWING AND CHANGING	54	17%
<i>Helping and advising others</i>	24	
<i>Changing of ways from wrong to right</i>	21	
<i>Respecting others, communicating effectively</i>	9	
MISCHIEF, CRIME AND VIOLENCE (OUTSIDE)	47	15%
<i>Other</i>	44	
<i>Sexual violence</i>	3	
DRUGS AND SMOKING	43	14%
<i>Doing drugs or smoking cigarettes</i>	41	
<i>Quitting drugs or cigarettes</i>	2	
SEXUALITY / INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS	39	13%
COMING OF AGE TRADITIONS / CEREMONIES	32	10%
FATHERHOOD	24	8%
CONVICTION / COMING TO PRISON	20	6%
PARTICIPATION IN RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY	19	6%
MISCHIEF, CRIME AND VIOLENCE (INSIDE)	11	4%
<i>Sexual violence</i>	6	
<i>Bullying/assault</i>	5	
SELF SUFFICIENCY (INSIDE)	16	5%
<i>Economic independence</i>	8	
<i>Physical self-sufficiency, self-defence</i>	8	
ACADEMIC, SPORTING OR CREATIVE ACHIEVMENT	15	5%
DO NOT BELIEVE THEY ARE YET MEN	9	3%
GANG STATUS (inside)	7	2%
REFUSED TO ANSWER	3	1%

Coming of Age Traditions / Ceremonies: Circumcisions (19), slaughtering ceremonies (6), birthdays (7)

The traditional “coming of age” processes of circumcision and initiation school, and feasts involving the slaughtering of an animal to mark a young males move into adulthood, as well as 16th, 18th and 21st birthdays were meaningful points for some respondents.

**Slaughtering of goat, having its skin tied round your hand.
When I went to the circumcision school.**

Drugs / smoking (+-41)

A large proportion of responses related to drinking alcohol, smoking and using illegal drugs (dagga and mandrax were the ones mentioned) - or the point at which they had first used these substances. (Some respondents indicated that they'd continued to do this inside prison.)

**Smoking cigarettes and taking drugs outside.
Taking drugs and drinking alcohol inside and outside.
Misbehaving and drinking alcohol at home.**

Conversely, two respondents cited the achievement of having quit drugs or cigarettes after lengthy periods of addiction, as significant moments in their development. (One quit while being inside, the other before arriving in prison).

Self-sufficiency outside of prison

A large proportion of responses were about achieving a sense of self sufficiency. Different respondents identified different aspects of this.

Decision making and problem solving (outside) (13)

For some respondents, this sense came from making their own decisions, and various degrees of responsibility for ‘managing’ their own lives.

**I can make my own decisions, not relying to anybody anymore.
Being able to solve my problems.
It was hard for me because I was on my own. I became strong and faced the challenges in life.**

Living circumstances (8)

Several had lived on their own and/or away from their families before arriving in prison.

**When I got independent, staying alone, looking out for myself.
Being able to build my own shelter.
Moving around, staying without parents, and spending time away from home.
By the time I left my country, coming into South Africa, I knew that I'm no longer a boy but a man. Owning my own place.**

Economic self-sufficiency / responsibility (55)

Respondents spoke about having their own money and financial responsibilities, or fully maintaining themselves, as significant in their paths to “manhood”. What they say suggests that in many cases they’d taken on considerable financial responsibility at a fairly early age.

**When I started to maintain myself like dressing and paying school fees at the age of 15.
I was responsible for my school fees and also ... that we had support at home.
When I started to be independent to buy myself some clothes.
Earning my own money my own ways.**

Working, job hunting and starting a small business were specifically noted by a number of respondents (19).

**To look for a job and find it, to get a job.
When I started to work in garden service.
Register with employer or as a citizen.
It’s when I open my own salon.**

Others put their emphasis not so much on the work, as on being financial providers (16). While some mentioned contributions towards family expenses or special occasions, others seemed to be more-or-less fully supporting themselves and their families, or other members of their families.

**Organised party for my younger sister and paid everything for the party.
Bought TV and video for my grandmother.
Paying my younger brother’s school fees and bought some clothes for him.
Left school to work and support family.**

Sometimes this was part of taking on a primary care-giver role.

**When my mother left us I took care of my sister and granny.
I was like a father at home, I had to do whatever it takes to support my sisters and grandma.**

When talking about being providers or being economically independent, respondents did not necessarily mention how they financed this role, but a few indicated that they had this had been as a result of doing crime.

**Committed crime just to provide for my family.
My step-dad did not provide for me so I had to make means and get money by robbing people.**

The loss of close family members was particularly significant for two respondents. In one case he had lost his father and grandmother; in another the loss of the father combined with not being able to attend the funeral because of being incarcerated gave the respondent a sense of adulthood.

Mischief, crime and violence outside (47) (excludes drug use)

Getting involved in mischief and crime was a common response. Along with doing things without their parents permission and bullying other people, respondents more often included crimes such as stealing, robbery, housebreaking and hijacking in their explanations.

**Committing my first crime and not being convicted made me feel I am a man.
Bullying people, mugging people.**

**Stealing cellphones from cars stopped at robots using what I call a 'bomb' - I would throw it at the car window.
I'm here because we robbed a shopowner so that I could buy expensive clothes.
When I got involved in gangsterism.**

A few mentioned that they had done these things as part of a gang and/or that it was joining a gang that made them feel like men.

Violence outside

While many of the crimes outlined would have involved various forms of physical violence, certain responses were focussed specifically on committing violence.

**Throwing a teacher with a chair.
Shot many people outside.**

Three respondents said "raping girls" had made them feel like men.

Possessing firearms, while clearly tied to many of the crimes mentioned, was separately noted by a few respondents who said owning or carrying firearms led them to think of themselves as men. (One said that he had killed a friend by mistake while handling a firearm).

Mention was also made of fighting and being able to physically protect oneself and in one case, his family.

I can fight back. Even outside I didn't negotiate, I was always fighting. I can protect myself.

Coming to prison, being convicted (20)

Being arrested, convicted, and/or imprisoned (or the first time this happened) gave a number of respondents a sense of having achieved manhood.

**Coming to prison has made me a man; I am stronger now than I was before.
By the time I was arrested and sentenced I felt no longer a boy but a man.**

Part of this is the type of independence and being away from supportive networks that life in prison demands.

**I've been growing up here in prison so I think I am a man.
I'm away from my family and friends.
When I came to prison I did not know the next person but since I got to jail I learnt a lot.**

Self sufficiency in prison

Economic independence in prison (8)

Like outside, being able to secure necessary resources is important inside, and tied to respondents' gendered identities. (Indeed, having money and other commodities in prison is, in the dominant prisoner culture, very wrapped up with being a 'man', while a lack of access is linked to the potential of being identified by other inmates as 'women' [Gear & Ngubeni, 2002]). Because visitors are a key source of money and commodities, managing to be economically self sufficient when you don't get visits is seen as a

particular achievement. This can be done through participation in smuggling networks - viewed itself as a 'manly' activity.

Being able to move around, working in prison.
Being able to take care of myself in prison without any visits.
Smuggling, standing up for myself, not bothering people for stuff, having my own stuff.

Self protection and/or aggression in prison (8)

Physically defending and protecting oneself from other inmates (sometimes gang members) in prison, and being able to fight or being involved in fights in prison, was important for a number of respondents.

Being able to protect myself from other inmates inside.
Not letting any inmate manipulate me in any way.
Being able to fight for myself when they tried to make me a wife.
Fighting against the prison gangs members.

Gang status in prison (7)

A few respondents said that becoming a member of a prison gang, or in one case a gang leader, had led them to think of themselves as men. Another referred to being a cell boss, and how he gave cell-mates instructions to clear their cells.

Bullying /assault in prison (5)

Other respondents also spoke about aggression but in relation to having bullied and assaulted other inmates rather than self-defence. They mentioned particular acts of violence that they had perpetrated.

Assaulted another prisoner with a globe light bulb.
Stabbed a person inside.

Sexual violence inside (6)

Having perpetrated sexual violence in particular, and/or the related act of taking a prison 'wife', brought a sense of 'manhood' to several respondents.

It's when I started to sodomise other guys, and smuggling inside prison.
I have a wife inside.
Fucking boys inside, being a gang leader inside prison.

Noteworthy here however, is that because of a frequent confusion in the language applied to sexual practices in prison (where for eg. "sodomised" is usually used to refer to rape) in some instances, it is assumed that they're talking about sexual violence or coercion. Although, this looks most likely, it is not possible to be sure that they're not referring to consensual sex.

In responses to later questions, 5 offenders said they had forced someone to have sex in prison, and 17 that they had tricked/ manipulated/threatened another inmate into having sex during their time in BYC. On this basis, it would correlate that five people had viewed having forced an inmate into sex, as a manhood

producing process, which in turn points to the likelihood that those respondents who admitted to having raped in prison, experienced this as a status-achieving action.

Rape outside

Similarly, 3 respondents said that raping a girl(s) or women before their incarcerations, had made them men.

Changing of ways (21)

One broad grouping of responses dealt with an ability to tell “right from wrong”, recognition of respondents’ own wrong doing, and taking steps to change criminal ways by, for example, stopping certain behaviours, reassessing friendships that supported their wrongdoings, or mapping an alternative life they could lead when released. Explanations were drawn from both inside and outside experiences.

Since I came to jail I’ve become a man. I grew mentally. I would no longer point a gun at anyone.
I write songs about crime and how bad it is.
To choose right friends out of bad friends.

Respect, constructive communication and taking advice (9)

Related to this theme, a number of respondents spoke of learning to tolerate and respect other people and their viewpoints, and taking advice from their parents, as important points of growth. An ability to communicate effectively and verbally rather than impulsively or violently was also noted.

Listening to my parents outside.
I can manage to listen to other peoples ideas/views inside.
I’m able to restrain myself from fighting because I can think of the next person not to hurt him.

Helping / advising / counselling (inside10 , outside14)

Playing a positive supportive role to other inmates in prison had been a factor in certain respondents’ sense of themselves. Several mentioned counselling in HIV/AIDS or drug abuse, as well as keeping others from getting into further trouble. A similar number spoke about how they’d offered advice and encouragement to people when they were still on the outside.

Counselling on HIV and AIDS inside.
When I stopped two inmates fighting by just telling that what they were doing is not right.
Encouraging my sibling to do good.

In a couple of cases, it was not clear whether the ‘convincing’ skills and trust placed in the respondent by other inmates was mobilised to positive or negative ends.

Sexuality/ intimate relationships

Three of the people interviewed referred to some of the changes of puberty - having an erection, and a deepening of voice - as causing their understanding of themselves as men.

Eleven explained that their first intimate relationships with girls, and having girlfriends - or “many” girlfriends - had been a central milestone

**Having my first relationship outside.
Proposing love to girls outside.**

Sex outside (23)

Having sex signalled for a number of respondents, their adulthood. Most specified that this had been with girls/women.

**First time I had sex with my first girlfriend.
Is when I started to have girls: jolling.
Outside I like sleeping with older women so that makes me feel like a man.**

Sex inside (2)

Regarding sex happening inside prison, there were very few mentions other than of violent forms of sex. This was with the exception of two respondents who said that masturbating in prison had made them consider themselves as men and one other whose response that it was, “Sex with girlfriend inside”. It is assumed that this means that sex was with an outside girlfriend rather than another male prisoner who had been ‘turned’ into a prison ‘woman’ - the accuracy of which is uncertain.

Fatherhood (24)

Having a child or being a father to their child was a significant process for 24 respondents while one stated that, “I cannot say having children turned me into a man; sometimes you have children by mistake”. Together, this accounts for all respondents who said that they were fathers in the earlier part of the questionnaire. So all except one of the respondents who said they were fathers considered this a central part of becoming men.

**Being a father to my son outside.
To have a baby makes me a man.**

Participation in religious community (19)

Religious conviction or joining and being involved in a religious community had constituted an important step for some respondents who spoke about religious events and processes both inside and outside of prison.

**Attending church services was an adult decision, talking with other guys to prepare for life.
Being able to go to church and being converted to being a Christian.
Preaching in prison.**

Learning and excelling at formal academic, creative or sporting activities (15)

Participating and excelling in various skills development programmes and activities had contributed to some respondents’ sense of themselves as men. Some of these respondents talked about their involvement and success in school and sports before arriving in prison, while others talked about school, and NGO life-skills

programmes, or using their abilities and expressing themselves in things like reading, art and dance that they had done while being in prison, or continued while in prison.

Since I started school I never failed.
When I played volleyball and was nominated to be part of Gauteng Province.
When I joined the programme under CSV and delivering the speech in front of many people.
Dancing, even here in prison I'm still doing it.

In contrast, for a couple of respondents, prematurely leaving school signaled their transition into manhood and rejection of childhood.

No longer taking care of studies feeling that I am a man, no longer child.
Leaving school thinking that I am old enough.

Physical appearance and presentation had also been important to two respondents - one spoke of his "clean" look, and another of the way he walked on the outside.

Not yet a man (9)

A number stated that they did not think of themselves as men. One respondent indicated that this was despite his having been through circumcision. Answers in this category pointed to what they consider the components of manhood to be. These included, not being "naughty" and learning to respect other people, gaining independence from parents, having an identity document and employment, and having their own house and family.

Refused to answer

Three declined to answer this question saying that it was not something they were willing to discuss. This can also be considered a reminder of the sensitive and illegal nature of some of the 'manhood' processes in which some respondents may have been involved, and the accompanying difficulty they could have had in sharing this during the interview. Some may, as a result, have not spoken on certain issues, only sharing those they felt comfortable talking about.

Informal prison life

Much of what goes on in prison is not officially endorsed but has a profound impact on offenders' stays there. Corruption and smuggling networks, for example, contribute to making certain inmates vulnerable and at the mercy of others who are powerful. Similarly, unwritten rules that are often a feature of inmate culture, to different degrees govern how inmates relate to each other and staff. Certain questions attempted to engage with some of these issues.

Prison economy

Table 18: Goods paid for in the last 6 months in BYC

During the last 6 months have had to pay with money or anything else for...?		
	N	% of respondents
For a bed or bedding that you should have received for free	10	3%
For food that you should have received for free	11	4%
To move around the prison to access DCS services like going to school or seeing a social worker / medical officer	1	-
For toiletries that you should have received for free	16	5%
To lodge a complaint	3	-
For protection	2	1%

A small percentage of all respondents said they had to pay for one or more of the above services or items in the last 6 months in BYC. Respondents were also asked who it was that they had to pay. When payment was made, it was predominantly made to other prisoners. The exception was 2 respondents saying they had to pay a DCS official to lodge a complaint. Toiletries (that are supposed to be distributed for free) were the most reported items that (5% of) interviewees said they had had to pay for. This was followed by food and bedding.

Although relatively few reported having to pay for items or services, in response to other questions there was a very strong emphasis on the manipulation of food and the implications of the related informal economy in abusive behaviour, violence and sexual violence happening, pointing to a need to explore the issue further in a qualitative context. (See below Findings: Part 5).

Gang membership

Fifteen percent of all respondents (48 out of 311 people) said they were a gang member in BYC. All of the Numbers gangs were mentioned except for the 27s, which no respondent reported being a member of.

Table 19: Gang membership

Are you willing to tell me which one?			
	N	% of gang members	% of respondents

28s	8	17%	3%
26s	26	54%	8%
24s (Airforce 4),	5	10%	2%
23s (Airforce 3),	4	8%	1%
Big 5s	4	8%	1%
Other (specify)	1	2%	-
Total N	48	100%	15%

The greatest proportion of gang members - more than one in two - 54% - belonged to the 26's gang. The next most reported gang membership was to the 28s.

Looking at gang membership in relation to the sections in which respondents were housed revealed that membership was spread throughout the prison. The exception was the Observation section where offenders are housed when they first arrive. Here, as well as in the hospital section, no respondents reported belonging to a gang.

In contrast, in J3 Disciplinary 50% of respondents reported gang membership. (In all these specified sections the numbers of interviewees was notably small, although representative of spread of inmates by accommodation.)

Drug usage

Table 20: Drug usage

In this prison have you ever taken any alcohol, drugs, mind altering or prohibited (banned) substances like dagga, mandrax, crack etc? We're also interested if you've done things like sniffing glue? If yes, how often?

	N	% of (ex) users	% of respondents
Once or twice	30	25%	10%
Monthly	18	15%	6%
Weekly	14	12%	5%
Almost daily	26	22%	8%
Used to use in this prison, but have stopped / no longer use	33	27%	11%
Total	121	100%	39%

Almost two in five respondents (39%) said they had taken alcohol or drugs while in BYC and 61% said they had not.

- Of these, the greatest proportion said they had only used drugs infrequently (once or twice) or that while they have used drugs in this prison, they don't any longer. However, 1 in 5 said that they use drugs 'almost daily'. This grouping constitutes 8% of the research population.

Gang members were more likely to have taken drugs or alcohol than non-gang members: 68% reporting drug use in BYC as compared to 30% of non-gang members.

When the data on drug usage/former usage was viewed in relation to the sections in which respondents were accommodated, the proportion of respondents who use/had used substances in each section generally correlated with the proportion of population housed in that section, with the average being 36% of a section using or having used substances. However, the percentages of respondents who use or had used substances was slightly higher in J2 Observation (43%), J1 (43%), and J4 Ordinary (42%), than in other sections. In contrast, in J5 Ordinary and J5 Reception the percentage of the respondent population who reported using or having used was 15% and 10% respectively, showing considerably less drug usage than average. The lower reported drug usage and gang membership in reception could be related the privileged nature of the section known as "Paradise". The relative comfort that these inmates apparently enjoy may militate against reporting (which may be feared to potentially jeopardise their privilege). Alternatively their lack of such activities could be one of the reasons that they are housed there in the first place.

Findings: Part 3

General sexual experience & attitudes

Respondents were asked a series of questions aimed at getting a broad idea of their experiences and understandings of sex and sexual violence, attitudes on gender and sexuality, and levels of HIV/AIDS awareness, as well as what the key sources of information had been for them.

Prison as place of sexual learning

Regarding sexual knowledge, the vast majority of respondents (81.7%) said they had learnt most of what they know about sex outside of prison rather than inside. The emphasis on outside learning was no doubt influenced by the fact that 55% had not yet served one year of their sentences (although awaiting trial periods will have varied, with some may have been lengthy).

Indeed, of the majority of respondents who said they had learnt most of what they know about sex outside prison, 62% had served less than a year. But just over a third of them 34.3 % had served between 1 and 3 years of their sentences.

Table 21: How much of your sentence have you served by whether learned about sex inside or outside of prison

How much of your sentence have you served? (years) Of those who learned about sex INSIDE or OUTSIDE prison				
Time served	Learned Inside		Learned Outside	
	N	%	N	%
0 - < 1 yr	13	27%	157	62%
1 yr - < 2 yrs	20	42%	55	22%
2 yrs - < 3yrs	10	21%	32	13%
3 yrs - < 4yrs	3	6%	4	2%
4 yrs - < 5 yrs	2	4%	4	2%
5 yrs +	0	-	2	1%
Total	48	100%	254	100%

While the greatest proportion (42%) of those who learned about sex inside of prison had served 1 year or more, but less than 2, the next largest group (27 %) had served less than a year. Slightly more than one-quarter then, of respondents who had learnt most of what they know about sex inside prison, had apparently been exposed to this sexual information while serving their first year. This constitutes 8% of those who had spent less than a year in prison. (This does not include those who estimated that they'd got equal amounts of their information on sex from inside as outside.) Considering that the question asked where respondents had learnt 'most' of what they know, these proportions are substantial.

Note: to get a clearer understanding of where respondents might be receiving their sexual information, awaiting trial periods and previous prison experiences would need to be taken into account.

HIV/AIDS awareness and information in BYC

Nearly all respondents (99%) said they had heard of HIV/AIDS.¹¹ The vast majority had also received some form of HIV/AIDS information while in BYC. Six percent said they had not received any such information. The question included a wide variety of sources of information ranging for example from having seen a poster, to getting information over the radio or participating in a workshop. The information received by respondents was likely to have varied considerably both in terms of quality and intensity.

Table 22: Sources of HIV/AIDS information in BYC

In this prison, I have received HIV/AIDS information from the following sources.		
	N	% of respondents
Have not received any info on HIV/AIDS in this prison	18	6%
Telephone Helpline	44	14%
Workshop / training programme/ counselling/ from NGO/ CBO	79	25%
Information or counselling from a visitor or religious worker figure.	121	39%
Classes/social work programme. Counselling from DCS member/ nurse.	136	44%
Information or counselling from another prisoner	163	52%
Leaflets, posters, signs or murals	204	66%
Plays or drama	205	66%
TV &/or radio	234	75%
Newspapers &/or magazines	239	77%

Newspapers and magazines, and TV and/or radio were the two sources respondents were most likely to have received HIV/AIDS information from. It appears that media from ‘outside’ is therefore a key source of inmates’ information.

With 52% of respondents having said that another offender had given them information, the role that inmates seem to be playing in educating each other about HIV/AIDS is noteworthy, as well as their use of telephone help-lines to access information - especially in a context where telephone calls are such a precious resource. According to prison staff, inmates are only allowed one call per week - regardless of whether it is toll free or not. Special requests can be made and granted in certain circumstances. We were

¹¹ Of the 3 respondents who said they’d not heard of HIV/AIDS, one was aged 16, one 19, and the third person, 20. This 1% is on a par with national data on male youth who said they’d not heard of HIV/AIDS (Health Systems Trust, 2004)

told that there are only about two such requests each month. It is also possible - if less likely - that staff members may be assisting offenders with additional calls to help-lines outside of the telephone quota system.

A sizeable 66% of respondents reported having learnt about HIV/AIDS through drama performances they'd seen or been involved in in BYC. This should be viewed in light of the recent work in the prison of the organisation Themba HIV/AIDS, which works through interactive theatre. In the 6 months prior to fieldwork two plays were performed as a result of Themba's involvement (one by Themba staff and one by young inmates).

Forty-three percent had gotten HIV/AIDS information via a programme or counselling service offered by a DCS member.

Table 23: Understandings of HIV/AIDS - related statements

Please tell us whether you think the following statements are true or false				
	True	Don't know	False	N
HIV can be transmitted by sharing utensils such as spoons & forks	7%	1%	92%	309
HIV can be transmitted by sharing tattoo needles.	97%	1%	2%	308
Vaseline damages condoms	35%	40%	25%	309

While the vast majority of respondents could give a definitive response as to whether HIV could be transmitted through eating utensils or tattoo needles, they were less certain about the effect of Vaseline on condoms, with the greatest proportion of them not knowing that Vaseline would damage a condom. This is concerning given the pertinence of the information to prison practices.

Attitudes on gender, sexuality & sexual violence

Table 24: Attitudes on statements relating to gender, sexuality and sexual violence

	Strongly agree+ Agree	Don't know	Disagree+ Strongly disagree	N
If a woman wears revealing clothing, then it's her own fault if a man forces her to have sex with him.	26%	1%	74%	311
Gay people are sick.	41%	12%	47%	311
If I buy somebody a drink or take them on a date, then it is my right to have sex with them.	10%	2%	88%	310
When a young man gets an erection, it is a sign that he has a right to have sex with someone else.	29%	4%	67%	311

It is perfectly natural to masturbate.	63%	4%	34%	311
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In these questions more interviewees than not provided more progressive responses regarding sexual issues. However the proportions of those reporting attitudes to the contrary are sizeable: over 1 in 4 (26%) express agreement, for example, with the statement, “If a woman wears revealing clothing, then it’s her own fault if a man forces her to have sex with him”, and 3 in 10 (29%) with, “When a young man gets an erection, it is a sign that he has a right to have sex with someone else.”

In contrast to the other questions there was a polarity in response to the statement, “Gay people are sick”. Similar proportions of respondents agreed and disagreed with the statement, which also elicited the largest ‘Don’t Know’ category.

When we looked at these attitudes in relation to education levels, no pattern emerged. This was with the exception of the statement, “When a young man gets an erection, it is a sign that he has a right to have sex with someone else”, where those with a higher education were marginally more likely to disagree/strongly disagree with this statement than those with lower education levels.

Respondents were also asked for their opinions on two statements about life in prison:

Table 25: Opinions on statements about prison life

Please tell us whether you Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree or Strongly Disagree with the following statements:				
	Strongly agree + Agree	Don't know	Disagree + Strongly disagree	N
I would be willing to help care for another inmate with AIDS.	91%	1%	7%	311
If I give another prisoner, things like cigarettes or food, then it is my right to have sex with them.	11%	1%	89%	311

Slightly more than two-thirds (68%) of respondents said that they strongly agreed and a high 91% strongly agreed or agreed that they would be willing to help care for another inmate who has AIDS. This question can, to some extent be compared to information gathered from youth outside of prison, where 86% percent said they’d remain friends with a friend who was discovered to be HIV positive, and a higher 96% said they’d be willing to care for their family members if they became sick with HIV/AIDS. Although the data was collected via slightly different questions, and the study on out-of prison youth could conceivably have implied a stronger bond (in asking about ‘friend’ and ‘family member’) it nevertheless suggests that these in-prison youth share similar attitudes in this regard (Pettifor et al. 2004: p58).

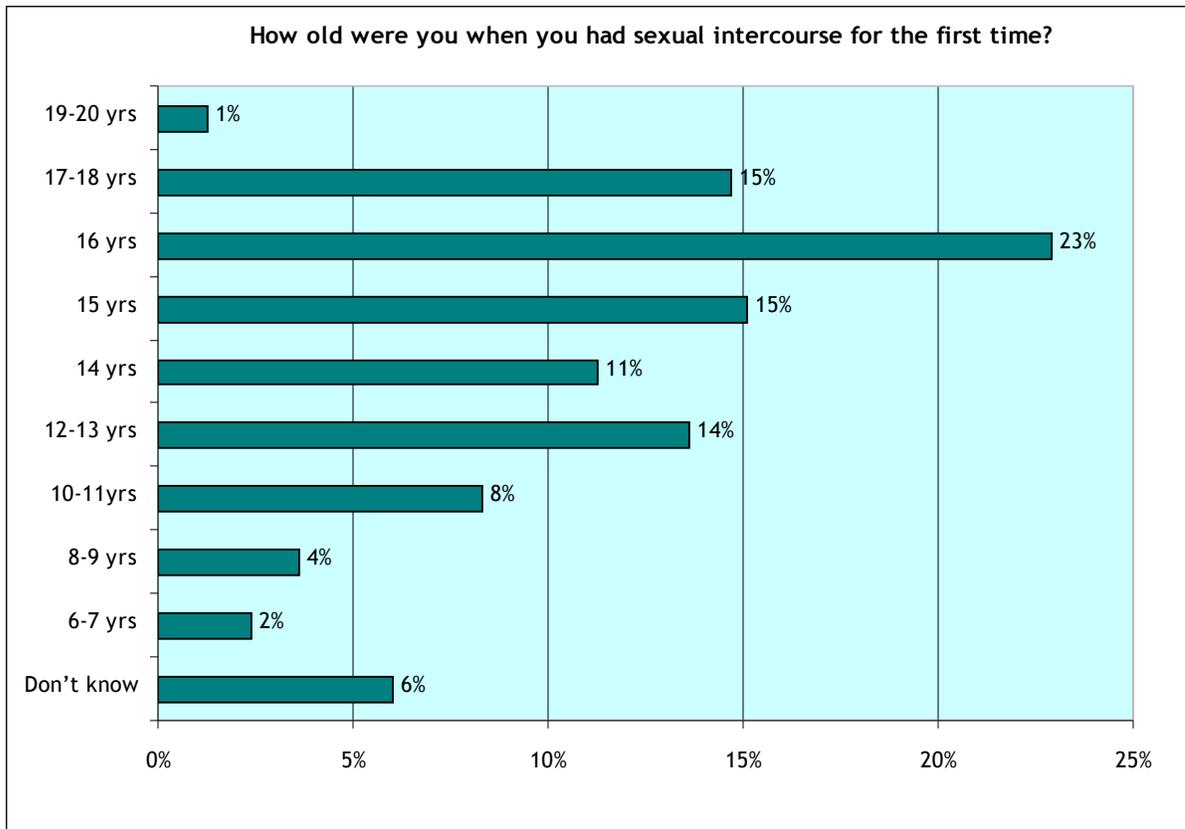
Just more than 11% of respondents (or 1 in 10) agreed or strongly agreed that if they give another prisoner things like cigarettes or food, then it is their right to have sex with them.

Sexual experience

First sexual intercourse

The vast majority of respondents (97%) said they'd had sexual intercourse before. 'Sexual intercourse' was defined as anal or vaginal penetration. The youngest age of first sexual intercourse recorded was 6 years old, and 6% of respondents who'd had intercourse were 9 years old or younger the first time they had it. Twenty-seven percent were 14 or 15 their first time, and 23% were 16.

Figure 3: How old were you when you had sexual intercourse for the first time?



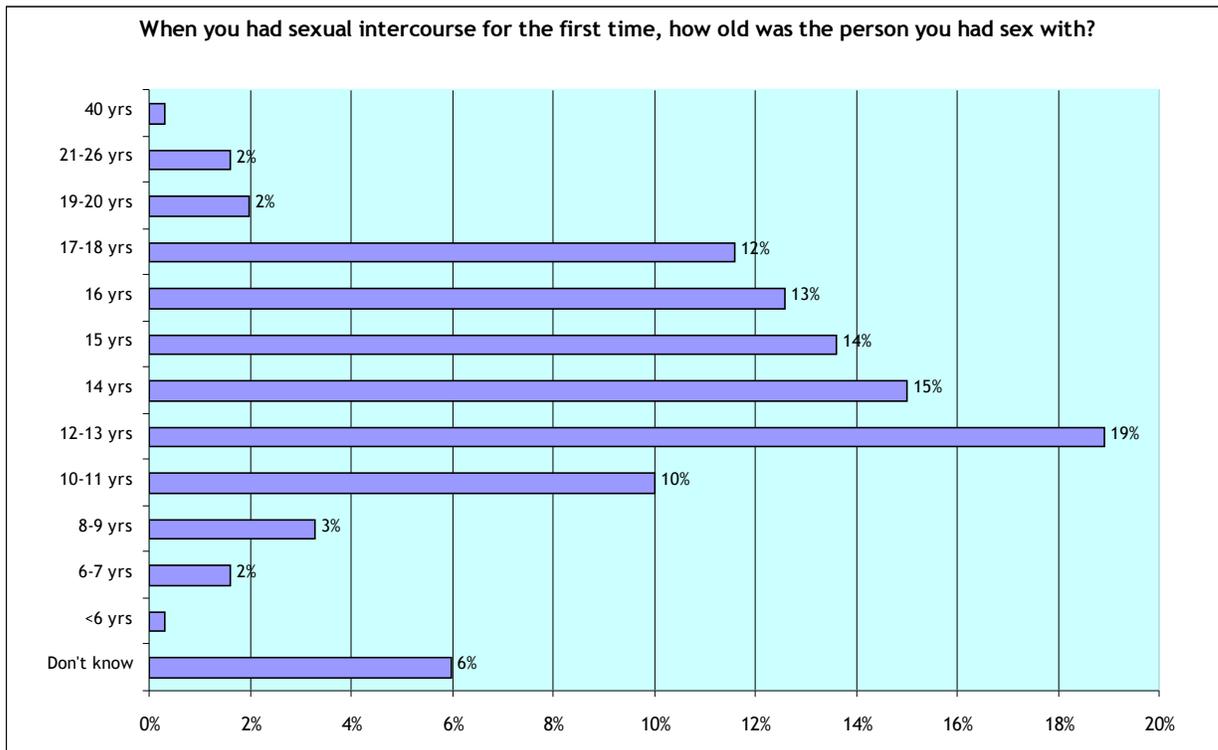
The average age of respondents at first sexual intercourse as well as that of their first sexual partner was 14 years old. This is younger than for young men nationally - where the average was found to be 16 (Pettifor et al, 2004; Shisana & Simbayi, 2002; Shisana, Rehle et al.¹²). In the latter study this was derived from only those youth who were currently sexually active.

¹² The mean average is not reported in the publication but was calculated from the study Data supplied by authors (personal communication, Warren Parker & Cathy Connolly).

This is much higher than the 12% or 19% found amongst 15 - 24 year old males outside found nationally 2003 and 2005 respectively (Pettifor et al, 2004; Shisana, Rehle et al, 2005). Although the BYC sample is comprised of slightly different age groups the dramatically increased percentage regarding BYC youth remains pertinent.

In addition, national surveys conducted with 15-24 year-olds in in 2003 and 2005 (Pettifor et al, 2004; Shisana, Rehle et al¹³) found 12% and 19% respectively of males had had their first sexual intercourse at less than 15 years. Although the BYC sample is comprised of slightly different age groups, a dramatic shift can nevertheless be seen. Thirty-nine percent of these youth said that their first sexual experience was when they were aged less than 15 years.

Figure 4: Age of the person with whom respondents first had sexual intercourse



In 6% of cases respondents' first sexual partner was aged 9 or younger. (In 6 cases the respondents' partner had been 7 years or younger).

In 10%, first partners were aged between 10 and 11 years (inclusive); and 46.9% of their first sexual partners had been between 12 and 15 (inclusive). In one case, the partner was 40 years old (this was a case of child-abuse Ref: Additional Comments). Six percent of respondents who'd had sexual intercourse did not know how old their first partner was at the time.

¹³ This measure is not reported in the publication but was calculated from the study Data supplied by authors (personal communication, Warren Parker & Cathy Connolly).

Table 26: Age difference at first sexual intercourse

Age difference in years at respondent's first sexual intercourse	
	%
-25	-
-10 to -11	1 %
-7	1 %
-5 to -6	1 %
-3 to -4	4 %
-1 to -2	14 %
0	16 %
1 to 2	50 %
3	3 %
5 to 6	1 %
Don't Know	9 %
Total N	299

Sixteen percent of respondents who'd had sexual intercourse had been the same age as their first partner. Others were more likely to be older than their first sexual partner - with this being the case for 54 % where the age difference was mainly 1 or 2 years. A total of 21% were younger than their first partner: 18% had been 1 to 4 years younger, 3% were 5 to 11 years younger than their first partner, and in one case the age difference was 25 years.

Condom usage

Sixty-three percent or almost 2 in 3 respondents who said they had had sexual intercourse, said that they had used a condom before. Just more than 1 in 3 (37%) said they had never used a condom during sexual intercourse.

Table 27: Whether used a condom last time respondent had sexual intercourse

Did you use a condom the last time you had sexual intercourse?			
	N	%	% of sample who had ever had sex (n= 294)
Yes	104	56%	35%
No	78	42%	27%
Can't remember / Don't know	3	2%	1%
Total	185		100%

Of young offenders who reported ever having used a condom, slightly more than 1 in 2 respondents (56%) who said they had used a condom before, used one the last time they had sex. This constituted 1/3 (35%) of respondents who reported ever having had sexual intercourse before. Again, this is lower than the national data for young males' condom usage at last sex which puts usage at 57% of those reporting ever having had sex (Pettifor et al, 2004, p44) as well as of those who'd had sex in the last year (Shisana & Simbayi, 2002, p72) .

Recent sexual experience

The majority of respondents (85%) said they had not had sexual intercourse in the last six months. Twenty three people (7%) said they had had sex with one other person in the last six months, and 11 people (4 %) said they had had sex with 2 other people in the last six months. Four percent said they had had sex with 3, 4, 5 or 6 people in the last 6 months.

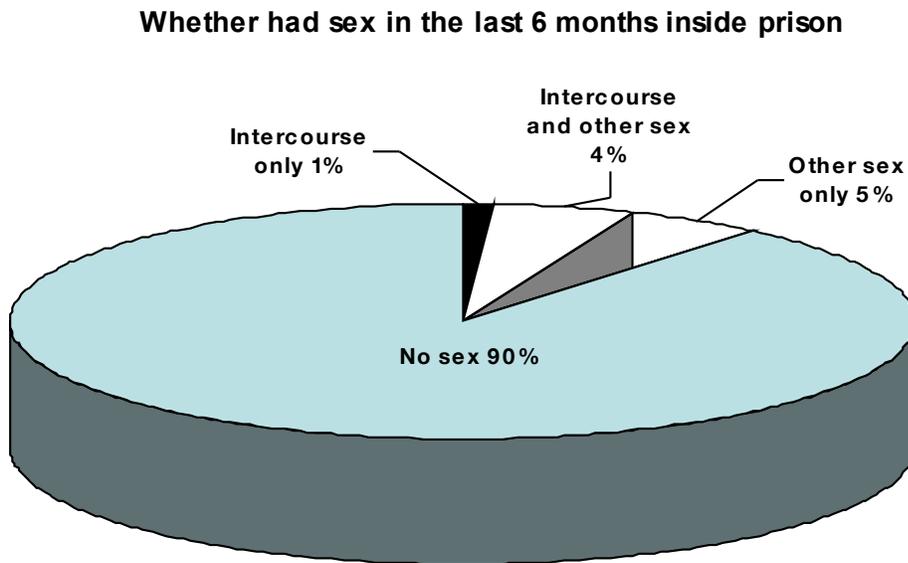
Of those who had had sex in the last 6 months, two-thirds (33 people) said this had been exclusively outside of prison while one third said they had it exclusively inside prison. This constitutes 6% of the research population that said they had had sexual intercourse in prison¹⁴ in the last 6 months.

In BYC specifically, 28 respondents (9%) said that during the last 6 months they had had other types of sex (with another person) such as thigh sex, oral sex or mutual masturbation.

The following graph shows the proportion of the respondent population who had had sex in prison in the last 6 months, as well as whether they had had sexual intercourse, or other kinds of sex or both.

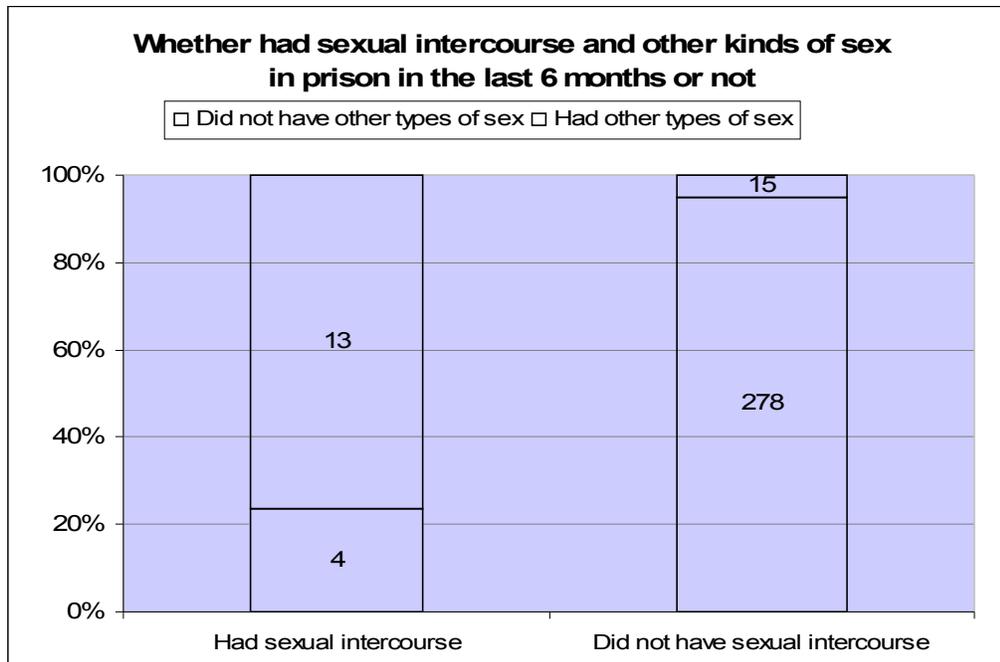
¹⁴ This was not necessarily in BYC, but may have been in another prison.

Figure 5: Whether had sex in prison the last 6 months



Very few respondents (1%) had only sexual intercourse in prison. Most of those who had sex in prison had either just other types of sex (5%) or sexual intercourse and other types of sex (4%). As shown in Fig.6, inmates who had had sexual intercourse in prison in the last 6 months were more likely to also have had other types of sex than those who had not.

Figure 6: Whether had sexual intercourse or other types of sex inside prison in the last 6 months



Casual sex and consensual relationships in BYC

Certain questions aimed at establishing the circumstances of sexual interactions in BYC. These asked about casual sex and mutually agreed relationships.

“Casual sex” was defined as “sex with someone once or a few times without paying or being paid anything, and without forcing or being forced to have it”. Six percent of respondents (19) said that they had had casual sex during their time in BYC. In all but one of these cases of casual sex where it had been with a warder, sex took place with another inmate(s).

Five percent of respondents said they had been in a mutually agreed sexual relationship during their time in Boksburg. A “mutually agreed sexual relationship” was defined as where “neither one of you was being forced or paid to be in this relationship”. Of those who said they were in such a relationship, this was with another inmate(s) except in one case where it had been with both staff member and inmates(s).

Note: These findings are importantly qualified by certain respondents’ potentially wrongly defining sex gained through trickery, manipulation or threat as either casual or mutually agreed. See section below, ‘Participation in both consensual & coerced sex &/or definitional confusions’.

Perceptions of most common types of sex

Table 28: Most common forms of sex in prison reported by inmates

From what you know about sex happening in this prison, which would you say are the 2 most common types of sex that people are having with each other? (Read out)

	N of responses	% of respondents
Anal sex is most common	243	78%
Oral sex is most common	23	7%
Thigh sex is most common	245	79%
Mutual masturbation is most common	58	19%
Other form of sex is most common	10	3%
Total N	311	

Anal sex and thigh sex were identified as the two most common types of sex happening in prison (involving more than one person) comprising the majority of all types of sex identified by respondents.

Condom access

Nearly one in three respondents (32%) said they had, at some point, tried to get a condom whilst in BYC. Of these, 89% said they had managed to get a condom the last time that they tried. Eleven percent had not succeeded in getting the condom.

Of those who had succeeded 79 % said it had been ‘very easy/easy’ to get the condom, while a combined total of nearly 1 in 5 (17%) said it was ‘difficult/very difficult’ to get.

Table 29: Where inmates got condoms from

Where did you get the condom(s) from?		
	N	%

A correctional officer / warden	7	8%
A medical member of staff	21	24%
Another member of DCS staff	7	8%
An NGO/ CBO representative	2	2%
A condom dispenser	14	16%
Another prisoner	24	28%
Other (specify)	12	14%
Total	87	

The greatest proportion of respondents (28%) who had accessed a condom the last time they had tried said they got it from another prisoner, while 1 in 4 said they received it from a member of the medical staff. Sixteen percent said they'd got it from a dispenser.

Many more respondents said they had looked for condoms than said they were having sex. Certainly, in prison condoms have multiple uses. Inmates are apparently using condoms for masturbation (Ref: Additional comments), as well as for smuggling and storage. On the other hand, because of the numerous uses of condoms, it may be easier to admit to getting condoms than to having sex even when condoms are intact being obtained for sex.

That the greatest proportion of respondents who accessed condoms got the most recent condom from another inmate raises questions about the circumstances of this. Is condom distribution through inmates part of a formal/official arrangement? Are condoms freely distributed in these circumstances or are inmates having to pay fellow inmates for them? What are the key initial sources of condoms? And are condoms received new or have they been used before?

In addition, although the vast majority of these respondents stated that they found it 'easy/very easy' to get the condom our other experiences at BYC suggest that condom availability is erratic. Following a recent HIV/AIDS educational performance by an NGO in BYC, inmates were vocal in their complaint that they did not have access to condoms.

Findings: Part 4

Fear, Violence, Sexual Violence & Coercion

Perceptions of safety

Certain questions aimed to gauge inmates' sense of safety and danger in BYC.

Table 30: Feelings of safety in BYC

How safe would you say that YOU generally FEEL in this prison?

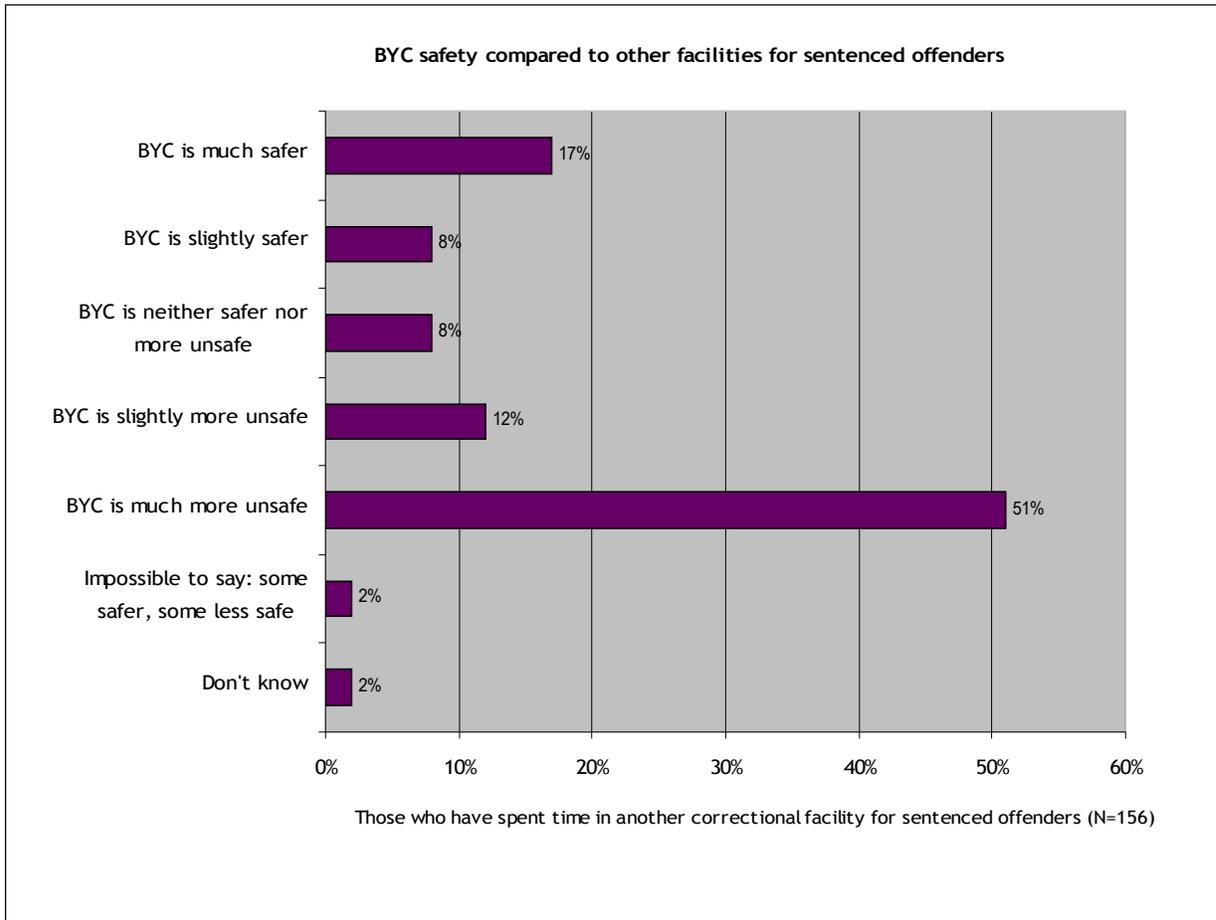
	N	%
Very safe	62	20%
Somewhat safe	67	22%
Indifferent/ no opinion	29	9%
Generally unsafe	87	28%
Very unsafe, I fear for my life	64	21%
Total	309	

Overall, respondents were marginally more likely to feel unsafe/very unsafe (49%) than safe/very safe (42%) in BYC. There was no difference in how safe gang members felt relative to non gang members - interesting in light of the fact that gang members emerged as more likely to have perpetrated violence than non-gang members.

Perceived safety and danger as compared to other institutions

Almost half of the respondents had never spent time in another correctional facility for sentenced offenders (as opposed to awaiting trial facilities) and so were not in a position to compare their feelings of safety in BYC to that in other institutions for sentenced offenders. Amongst the 156 respondents who could compare however, the majority considered Boksburg less safe than other facilities.

Figure 7: BYC safety compared to other facilities for sentenced offenders

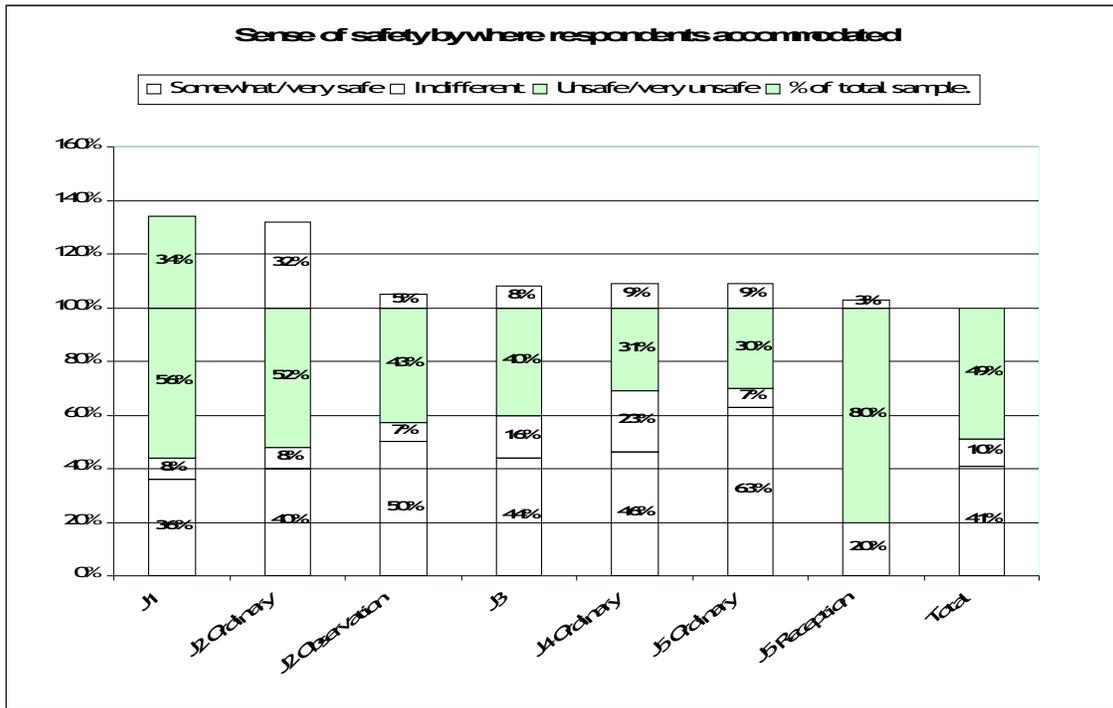


Just over half of these respondents said that BYC was “much more unsafe” than the other correctional institutions for sentenced offenders that they’d experienced. More broadly 63% regarded BYC as less safe than other institutions (either slightly more unsafe or much more unsafe) and 25% regarded it as safer (either slightly more or much safer).

Perceived safety/danger by section accommodated

We considered respondents’ general sense of safety or danger in relation to where they were housed at the time of the interview.

Figure 8: Sense of safety by where respondent is accommodated



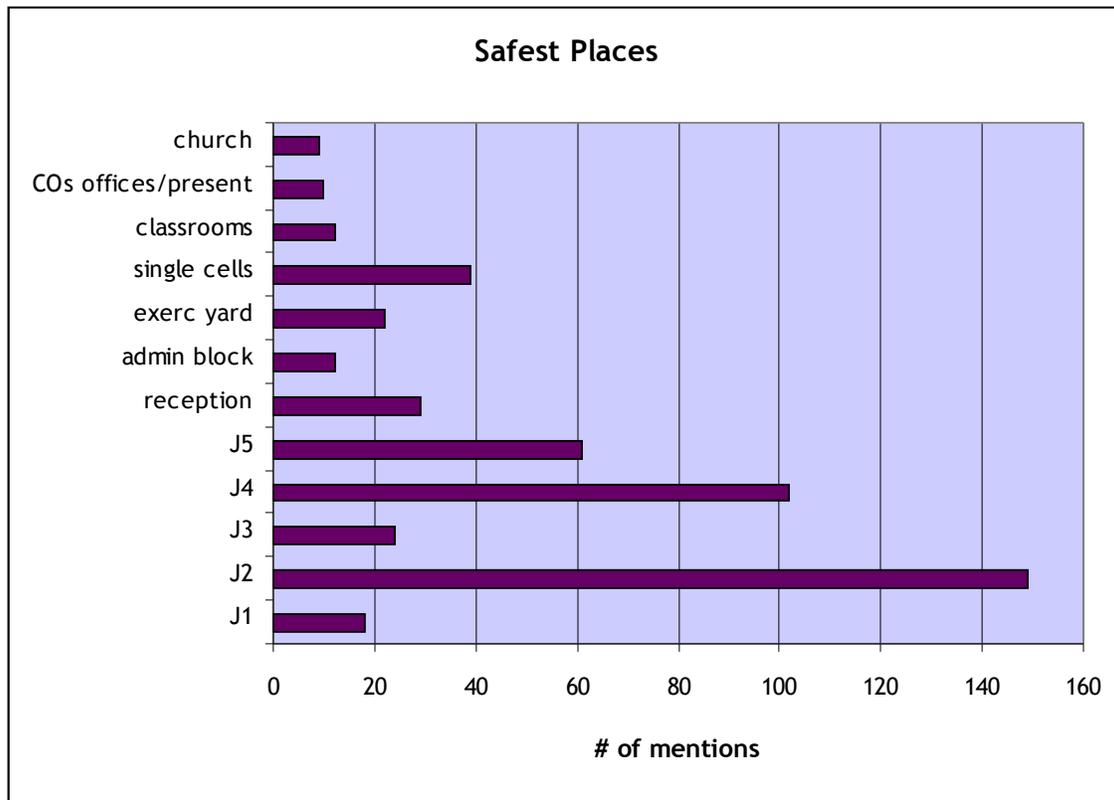
Most inmates are housed in J1 (34%) and J2 (32%) combined, and more than half of the respondents housed in both these sections felt unsafe/very unsafe. In J1 this was more-so with slightly less than 3 in 5 (56%) respondents feeling unsafe/very unsafe. Also, a number of respondents referred to J1 as “Iraq” - known as such because it is regarded as so unsafe (Ref: Additional comments). Of the 10 respondents housed in Reception, 8 said that they feel unsafe or very unsafe. In contrast, inmates housed in J3 and J4 were slightly more likely to feel safe than unsafe, while in ‘J5 ordinary’ this tendency was stronger.

Although respondents themselves were not asked to provide reasons for their answers regarding the high level of feelings of insecurity expressed in J5 reception, a field-researcher/ community facilitator who regularly works in the prison noted that inmates refer to the section as “Paradise” because of its relative comfort e.g. they have their own TVs and access to more facilities than other sections. This privilege apparently comes to those who are somehow employed in the prison or tasked by staff to perform certain duties. On the other hand, he was told that there are no warders in that section - presumably a double edged sword. And, potentially related to this, that the inmate hierarchy is particularly strong there. Both of these could have been factors in respondents’ feelings of insecurity. However it is not known what they were afraid of, or how long they had spent in the section. Certainly, in general, respondents may have spent only very short periods in the section where they were accommodated at that time, and, perhaps most significantly, the question asked for a general sense of safety, not how safe they felt in the section where they lived. Fears may not relate to how they feel in their section. Further investigation would be needed to better understand the dynamics there.

Most safe and unsafe places

Respondents were also asked in an open-ended question to provide up to two places in BYC that they regarded as most safe and up to two places that they regarded as most unsafe. The majority of respondents answered in relation to the different sections, although some gave more detail, specifying particular types of place like “single cells”, or “in warders’ presence”.

Figure 9: Safest places in BYC



Almost half of the respondents identified J2 (either “ordinary” or “Observation”) as the safest place, some saying that this was because it was a “school” section, and some specifying the “single cells” in J2. The J2 Observation section was also specified. This is where newcomers are housed and monitored before being transferred to one of the main sections. J4 was the next most common response. Again “single cells” were specified by some respondents. Other conditions cited were “in the class” or “when there are warders”, and J5 followed.

While some responses indicated that it was the “single cells” in particular sections that they considered safe, a number of respondents referred generally to “single cells” or “solitary confinement”.

J5 Reception was considered by 29 respondents to be the safest. (This section is the area viewed as “Paradise” and is where certain inmates who have work in the prison are housed.) This is more than the number of respondents who said they were staying there and is interesting when compared with the responses to another question where, of the 10 people living in “Paradise”, 8 said that they generally felt unsafe/very unsafe (see previous section). Importantly however, that question was asking about a general safety feeling in the prison rather than in “Reception” specifically.

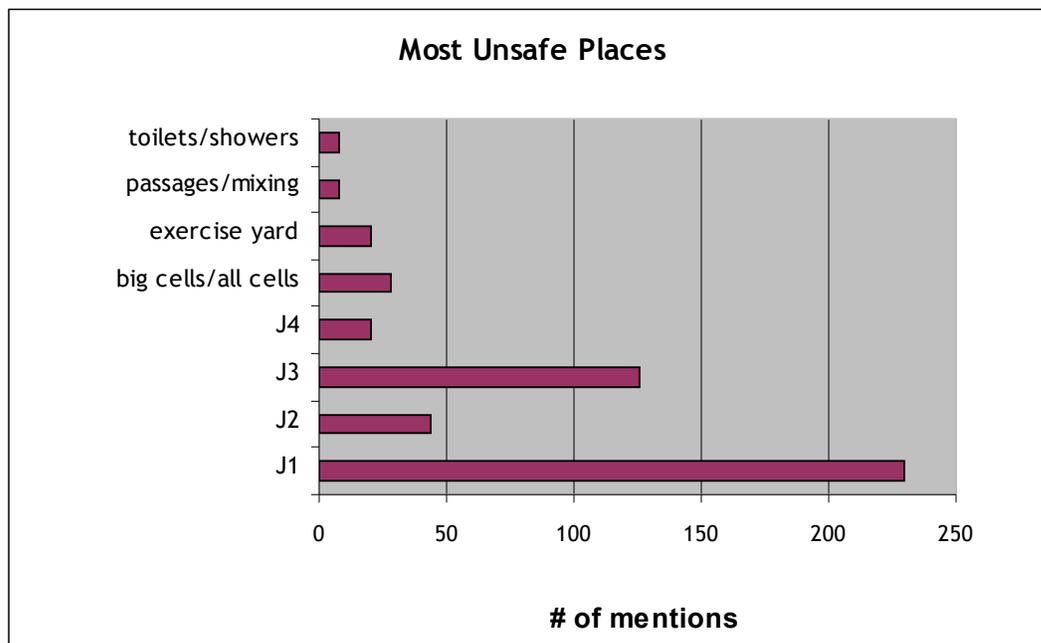
J3, the section accommodating offenders facing further charges, and temporarily, maximum offenders, as well as those separated for disciplinary reasons was also noted as being safe. Two specified the courtyard area in this section.

Generally the *courtyard area(s)* referred to as “*exercise yard*” and “*binneplaats*”, where inmates exercise or hang around during “unlock” was noted as safe by a similar number as was J1- also known as “*eet en le*” because it houses inmates who do not attend school or work (some specified “cell 48” and “single cell”). The “*Administration Block*”, “*School / Classrooms*”, “*Church*” and “*Warders’ Offices*” or the offices in the section all drew similar comment. The last category included responses on the offices, being “*next to the warders window*” and others where respondents said they felt safe when they were near “warders” or in the view of correctional officers- where-ever this may be.

Less mentioned places were “*Corridors*”, “*Kitchen*”, “*Hospital*”, and “*Visiting Areas*”. *Toilets/showers* and *library* were noted by one respondent each. Four simply said “*There is no safe place here*”.

Most unsafe places

Figure 10: Most unsafe places in BYC



Almost three quarters of respondents identified J1 as one of the most unsafe places. J3 followed, some respondents commenting that it is “people from j1” that land up there (one specified “single cell” in J3). Regarding, J2, a few identified specific cells there - and another said it was unsafe “at night”.

Twenty-eight respondents considered “*all cells*”/”*big cells*”/ “*inside cells*” to be unsafe. An additional 3 said “the whole jail is unsafe”. The “*Exercise Ground*”/ “*Binneplaats*”/ *Courtyard* was also a fairly common response. In one case this was time-linked to “roll-call”. A similar number identified J4. Some of the respondents who noted “*Toilets*” said it was because of the lack of hygiene. This concern was echoed in a number of additional notes by interviewers on comments made by respondents (Ref: Additional comments). “*Passages*” together with “when we mix with other inmates” got the same number of mentions. Other answers were: “*Cooker’s cells*”, “*dining hall*” and “*kitchen*” (interestingly, all presumably tied to the control of food) as well as “solitary confinement room”.

Protective information

When asked about whether, on arriving in BYC, they'd received from prison staff any information in formal ways such as booklets, pamphlets on regulations, rights, complaint procedures, or organised information sessions/workshops to assist them in keeping themselves safe from physical harm or being hurt, the majority of respondents (88%) said they did not receive any such information.

Table 31: Helpfulness of written information and organised information received

Received booklets/pamphlets on regulations, rights, complaint procedures etc, organised information sessions/workshops.			
How helpful were these booklets / pamphlets etc. ?			
	N	%	% of total sample
Mostly helpful	27	71%	9%
Somewhat helpful	8	21%	3%
Mostly unhelpful	3	8%	1%
Total - who received 'formal information' booklets, pamphlets, etc	38	100%	12%

Those who did receive such information had generally found it helpful - with 71% saying it was “mostly helpful” and 21% saying it was “somewhat helpful”.

The question also enquired about any verbal advice respondents may have received from prison staff.

Table 32: Helpfulness of verbal information received

How helpful was this verbal advice?			
	N	%	% of total sample
Mostly helpful	177	79%	57%
Somewhat helpful	26	12%	8%
Mostly unhelpful	20	9%	6%
Total - who received verbal advice	223	100%	71%

A much larger group of 223 had received some verbal advice on their arrival at BYC. This constituted 71% of the research population. Of these people, nearly 8 in 10 said they found it to be “mostly helpful” and 2 in 10 “somewhat helpful”. Nine percent had found it mostly unhelpful.

Clearly there are some efforts being made by staff to assist inmates to protect themselves. The greater tendency is to provide verbal information to inmates. However, 25% of inmates had not received any such information.

Experiences of assault

When asked whether they'd been "assaulted/attacked/physically hurt in any way while in BYC", nearly 3 in 10 respondents (29%) said they had been.¹⁵

Note: Potentially, an additional 11 respondents have been assaulted. This is because a later question that enquired specifically about "punishment" assaults by warders yielded a greater number of responses in this category than the initial question. However, not enough information on these 11 cases is available.

We looked at this data on assault in relation to where inmates were housed, and in relation to how long they had been in the centre.

Assault by section accommodated

Table 33: Number of people assaulted by section accommodation

Have you ever been assaulted / attacked / physically hurt in ANY WAY while in Boksburg Youth Centre?			
Section	No. of people assaulted	% of assaultees per section	% of sample / section
J1	25	24%	34%
J2 Ordinary	29	29%	32%
J5 Ordinary	10	37%	9%
J4 Ordinary	8	31%	8%
J3	9	36%	8%
J5 Reception	5	50%	3%
J2 Observation	2	14%	5%
Total	88	29%	100%

¹⁵ The question went on, "We're talking about by inmates and staff, and any kind of physical assault, so even if you've been beaten by warders as 'punishment' or by other inmates as 'punishment'".

People who had experienced assault were spread throughout the sections - ranging from 1 in 4 to 1 in 2 respondents in each section except one (J2 Observation) where there were fewer. The percentage of respondents who had been assaulted in each section was highest in J3, J4 and J5 (Ordinary and Reception).

In J1, where one third of the respondent population was held, 1 in 4 (24%) respondents said they'd been a victim of assault. In J2 Ordinary, a slightly greater proportion - almost 1 in 3 (29%) - of respondents had been assaulted. In the much smaller sections of J3, J4 and J5 Ordinary, close to - or just more than 1 in 3 respondents housed in each also said they had been assaulted. In (the also small) J5 Reception ("Paradise") half of the respondents reported being assaulted - making the likelihood of having been assaulted as high as 1 in 2 for the people who were staying there. J5 Reception therefore had the greatest proportion of people assaulted within a section.

People accommodated in J2 Observation seemed less likely to be assaulted than those housed elsewhere in the prison - although a relatively small number of people are housed in this section. This is likely related to the fact that the Observation section is where newly arriving offenders are temporarily being accommodated, before being allocated to one of the main sections (on the basis of how they are assessed in Observation). Amongst other possible factors, that newcomers are "assessed" likely means that the section is monitored more closely by staff, which conceivably leads to it being a more protected environment.

Note: This information does not tell us where the assaults happen, and we do not know how long offenders have been housed in these sections.

Assault in relation to length of stay at BYC

We also looked at the general information on assault according to how long inmates had been in BYC.

Table 34: Assault by length of stay in BYC

	Less than 1 month		Less than 1 year		More than one year		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, been assaulted in BYC.	6	17%	42	22%	48	41%	90	29%
No, not been assaulted in BYC.	29	83%	151	78%	70	59%	211	71%
Total	35		193		118		311	

Amongst those who had been in less than a year the reports of having been assaulted (22%) were slightly lower than the general figure of 29%. At the same it was clear that inmates are becoming victims of assault relatively early on in their sentences. Indeed, of inmates who had been in less than one month, 17% had already experienced assault in the prison.

In those who had been there more than a year, there was a rise in reports of having been assaulted to 41%. This is considerably higher than the average figure of 29%.

The higher proportion of assault experience in those who had been in longer than one year makes sense in that the longer you're in prison the more likely you are to experienced assault. It also suggests that the general data on assault is influenced by the relatively short time that most of the respondents have been in the prison. The vast majority however will be spending longer than one year behind bars.

Nature of assault

The majority of assaults that respondents reported (68%) having ever been a victim of during their time in BYC fell into the category that included beatings, being pushed, stamped-on or thrown up and dropped. Twenty-three respondents said that they had been stabbed while in BYC, which accounted for 21% of all assaults recorded. Seven percent of assaults were sexual assaults.

Assailants

Table 35: Who respondents have been assaulted by

Who have you been assaulted by while in Boksburg prison?		
	N	%
Non-gang member/s	24	25 %
Gang member/s	49	51 %
Warders / correctional officers	22	23 %
Section head/ unit manager/ Other DCS official	0	-
Other person	2	2 %
Total N	97	

Half of the respondents who said they had been assaulted said that gang members were responsible for this, while on quarter said it had been at the hands of a non-gang member(s). Just under one quarter said they had been assaulted by correctional officers.

When respondents were asked specifically about being assaulted by authorities as a form of punishment, a higher number (55) was recorded than in the general assault question. This was despite the inclusion in this question of the clause, "by inmates and staff ... so even if you've been beaten by warders as punishment". While it is possible that interviewers in instances omitted this part of the question, the discrepancy likely results from perceptions that corporal punishment by staff does not constitute assault.

Eighteen percent of all respondents indicated that they had been assaulted by staff as a form of punishment.

One in six (16%) of those respondents who had reported having been assaulted, said they currently share a cell with someone who has assaulted or attacked them during the last six months.

There was no difference between gang members and non-gang members in relation to whether they'd been assaulted in BYC or not.

Recent assaults

Respondents who had been assaulted were asked, how many times approximately, they had been assaulted in the last two-month period.

The greatest proportion (45%) of those who had experienced attack in BYC had not been assaulted in the last 2 months. However, 40% said had been assaulted once in the last 2 months, and 11% said this had happened to them 2 to 3 times in the preceding 2 months.

Most recent assault: timing and reporting

Sixty-seven percent of those who had been attacked in BYC said that this last happened more than a month before the interviews were conducted. Nearly 1 in 5 (19%) of these assaults apparently took place within the 2 weeks prior to the interview.

Almost 6 in 10 (58%) of these most recent assaults went unreported, while 42% percent had been reported.

Table 36: Who respondents reported assault to

Who did you report the assault to?		
	N	%
to correctional officer / warden	39	76%
to section head	7	14%
to head of prison	2	4%
to priest/religious figure	1	2%
to lawyer/legal counsel	1	2%
to my friends in the prison	1	2%
put a complaint in the complaint box	0	-
to Independent Prison Visitor (IPV)	0	-
to representative from NGO	0	-
called a toll-free assistance hotline	0	-
to other person	0	-
Total N	51	

Of those who had reported their assault, the majority of 76% had done so to a correctional officer. Fourteen percent said they had reported to the section head.

Table 37: Reasons for non-reporting of assaults

What was the MAIN reason you did NOT report the assault to anyone?

	N	%
Because I didn't know who to complain to	1	2%
Because I was afraid of telling anyone/of being victimised /	9	20%
Because I didn't think it would make a difference	11	24%
Because I just didn't think about it	1	2%
It didn't seem serious enough to report.	2	4%
Other	22	48%
Total N	46	

When respondents who had not reported having been assaulted were asked why, almost half of their reasons were listed as “other”. These included that warders had witnessed the incident anyway; that respondents were themselves at fault; that they had wanted to sort the issue out amongst themselves or that they had wanted to get revenge. Being afraid to implicate themselves, as well as the fact that reporting would go against gang codes were also cited as reasons for not reporting.

That the next most common response - one quarter of respondents (24%) - was that they did not think it would make any difference. This suggests serious problems with structures and processes for addressing assaults. In addition, highlighting the sense of lack of security, almost 1 in 5 said that they had been afraid of reporting the assault and/or being victimised.

Table 38: Whether assailants were disciplined or punished

Were the people who assaulted you disciplined or punished by the prison authorities?

	N	%
Yes, The person/s who assaulted me was punished	21	24%
No, The person/s who assaulted me was not punished	47	53%
Still waiting for an answer	3	3%
Other	10	11%
Don't know	8	9%
Total N	89	

More than half (53%) of the people who had committed the assaults on respondents were apparently not punished. Just under one quarter of respondents who had been assaulted said that their assailants had been punished. The “Other” category indicated not all respondents regarded it necessary or desirable that their assailants be punished, 3 explaining that the issue was resolved and punishment not therefore necessary (one saying that he resolved it with the perpetrator).

Additional “Other” responses included that they had been told by the official to resolve it themselves. One stated that authorities did not take the report seriously, and 2, that the offenders “just got warnings”. In another case the perpetrator was moved out of the victim’s cell. And in another, the assailant was an official, who, according to the respondent, “they won’t punish”.

Perpetration of assault

While 73% of respondents said they had never assaulted or hurt another inmate while in BYC, 27% said that they had (10 % of whom said they had done this more than once).

Table 39: Whether respondent has them-self been punished

Did you receive any punishment for this from the authorities?		
	N	%
Yes	25	31%
Yes, on all occasions	13	16%
Only on some occasions	8	10%
No	36	44%
Total N	82	

In contrast to the number of assailants who respondents said received punishment for assaulting them, 56% of respondents who had hurt another said they had been punished for this, at least some of the time.

Note: It could be that they were more likely to admit having committed an assault when they had received punishment from authorities, perhaps knowing that it would likely be in their files anyway.

Sexual violence & coercion

Perpetration

Slightly less than one in three respondents (31%) claimed they have had sex with someone despite knowing that this person did not want to have sex with them.

Table 40: Whether having had sex with unwanted partner(s) happened in prison, outside prison or both

Was this inside prison - outside prison- or both?

	N	%
Inside prison	2	2%
Outside prison	90	95%
Both inside and outside prison	3	3%
Total N	95	

While further investigation into these results - specifically in relation to the circumstances of the sex - is necessary to draw any definitive conclusions, they are likely suggestive of widespread sexual violence and coercion. Only 16 people reported that they were serving time for sexual offences while 90 indicated that they had sex with someone knowing that that person did not want to have sex with them. Certainly, some of these 90 may have previously been apprehended for certain acts, and/or some of the acts to which they refer could be of a nature that would not actually fall within definitions of sexual violence (eg. as client of sex-worker). Notwithstanding these possibilities, it is suggested that the majority of respondents could well have been referring to incidents of forced sex.¹⁶

Regarding the incidence inside prison, it is also noteworthy that while only 5 said they had had sex in these circumstances, when asked whether they had ever tricked/ manipulated/threatened another prisoner into having sex, 17 respondents (5.5%) said that they had.

Note: In addition, because this question was phrased regarding prison experience in general (and not only in relation to BYC, it could be reasonably be assumed that it would have drawn a greater number of positive responses than the one that asked about having tricked/manipulated/ threatened another prisoner into sex - which was asked only regarding their time in BYC.

Table 41: Whether respondents had ever tricked or manipulated another prisoner into having sex with them.

In this prison have you ever tricked or manipulated or threatened another prisoner into having sex with you?		
	N	%
Yes	17	6%
No	292	95%
Total	309	

The discrepancy between the number of people who said that inside prison they had had sex when they knew the other person did not want it, and the larger number of people who said that they had tricked/manipulated/threatened another prisoner into having sex could be related to how trickery and manipulation can be understood to legitimise forced sex - so that the sex it achieves is not considered to be forceful.

¹⁶ In a national survey, youth (aged 15-24) outside prison were asked to agree or disagree with slightly different, but a possibly comparable statement : Do you sometimes have sex with your partner even though your partner does not want to?'. Nine percent of sexually experienced youth agreed with the statement (Pettifor et al, 2004, p59). A CIETinternational study (2002) found a much larger proportion of young men reporting perpetrating sexual violence - by the age of 18 one out of every four male youths said they had forced sex with someone (p4. sourced at http://www.ciet.org/www/image/country/safrica_victims.html).

Related to this, it may also be easier to own up to manipulation because of meanings sometimes attached to trickery and manipulation: when an ability to be devious and manipulate people is believed by some to be a desirable quality, and one that gives status to the person displaying it. Alternatively, or, in addition, there may have been confusion regarding the meaning of the question. While the question was designed to ask about situations where sex did actually happen as a result of the manipulation, this may not always have been made clear to the respondents.

Gang members were more likely to have done this: 13% reported tricking/manipulating another into having sex as opposed to 4% of non-gang members. (They were however no difference between gang members and non-gang members in relation to whether they said they had had forced sex

Participation in both consensual and coerced sex and/or definitional confusions

Respondents who had had “casual sex” in BYC as well as those who’d been in “mutually agreed” sexual relationships were more likely to also have tricked, manipulated or threatened another prisoner into having sex than respondents who had not participated in “casual sex” or “mutually agreed” relationships.

Although the numbers are relatively small of those who had had casual sex (N=18), 44% said they had “tricked ... or threatened” another inmate into have sex in BYC, while of those who said they had not had casual sex, only 3% had done this. Similarly, 55% of those who said they’d had a “mutually agreed” relationship said they had “tricked, ... threatened” another inmate into having sex, whilst of those who had not had such a relationship this applied to only 4%.

This overlap between those involved in ostensibly consensual sexual situations with those admitting to tricking, manipulating or threatening others into sex is suggestive of two main possibilities. Possibly respondents who had coerced sex were more likely to also have been involved in consensual interactions. And/or, some respondents defined sex gained through trickery or manipulation as “consensual” or “mutually agreed” (i.e. not differentiating coerced from consensual situations). The likelihood of the latter scenario increases when considering data concerning those who had been victims of manipulation and trickery as well as their participation in “casual sex”. Here, there was not the overlap that occurred in relation to perpetrators of tricked/manipulated sex. Apparently, while those who had been victimized did not define the coerced sex as “casual sex”, those who had perpetrated did. This further suggests that it is definitional confusion at play rather than that the circumstances of the sex are situated in a murky area somewhere between ‘coercion’ and ‘consent’, which would make it difficult to attach either of these labels.

		Had tricked, manipulated or threatened another prisoner into having sex in BYC.		
		Yes	No	
Had casual sex in BYC	Yes	44%	56%	100%
	No	3%	96%	100%
Total		5%	95%	100%

		Had tricked, manipulated or threatened another prisoner into having sex in BYC.		
		Yes	No	
Had been in mutually agreed sexual relationship in BYC	Yes	55%	46%	100%
	No	4%	96%	100%
Total		5%	95%	100%

Victimisation

Two percent of respondents stated that in BYC they had been given cigarettes, drugs, food or protection in exchange for sex. Out of these 8 respondents only 1 said that he had been aware that he would be expected to give sex in return when he took the cigarettes/drugs/food.

Three people (1%) said that in another secure institution, they had experienced being coerced into sex in exchange for being given drugs/cigarettes etc.

Table 42: Whether respondents had been sexually victimised

In this prison, do you or have you ever had sex when you don't/didn't want to because you are/were afraid of what the other person/s may do to you if you don't/didn't?

	N	%
Yes, and it still happens	1	-
Yes, it has happened, but does not happen anymore	5	2%
No	305	98%
Total N	311	

Six people (2%) said they had had sex out of fear during their time in BYC. Four people said they had been pressurized into having a long-term relationship with someone against their will. All 4 said that the person who pressurized them was another prisoner.

Understandings of the official status of sex and rape in prison

Certain questions sought to test respondents' understandings on the status of sex and sexual violence in prison and their related rights.

Table 43: Respondents understanding of DCS rules regarding forced sex in prison

Does the Dept. of Correctional Services (DCS) think it is a disciplinary offence for a prisoner to force another prisoner to have sex against his will?		
	N	%
Yes	267	86%
No	31	10%
Don't know	13	4%
Total	311	

One in ten respondents thought that the DCS did not consider it a disciplinary offence for a prisoner to force another prisoner to have sex against his will. While it is possible that some respondents may have understood the question to be about how sexual violence is or is not dealt with by the Department rather than its policy status, this is a concerning high proportion of people who potentially did not know that forcing sex is against regulations.

Table 44: Respondents understanding of DCS rules regarding sex in prisons

	Strongly agree + Agree	Don't know	Disagree + Strongly disagree	N
There is NO DCS rule that says that prisoners are not allowed to have sex with each other.	22%	4%	75%	311

Three quarters of respondents (75%) disagreed or strongly disagreed that there is no DCS rule that says that prisoners are not allowed to have sex with each other. In other words, 75% thought there is a rule forbidding sex between inmates. Twenty-two percent thought there was no such rule and 4% were unsure.

Table 45: Understanding of DCS rules regarding the reporting of sexual assault in prisons

According to the prisons policy, if somebody forces me to have sex without my permission, then:				
	True	Don't know	False	N
If I lodge a complaint of the incident, the DCS is obliged to investigate it.	97%	1%	2%	311
I have a right to press charges with SAPS against the person who forced me	96%	1%	3%	311

to have sex.				
If I don't report the incident within 24 hours, then I've missed my chance and there's nothing I can do.	37%	14%	49%	311

The vast majority (97%) of respondents agreed with the statement that the DCS is obliged to investigate a charge of non-consenting sex between prisoners, and that prisoners have a right to press charges with the SAPS against the perpetrator. However 2% and 3% respectively did not believe that DCS was obliged to investigate, or that they have a right to press charges with SAPS.

Respondents were less unanimous regarding the time period allowed in which to report an incident. Over one third (37%) believed that if they did not report a rape within 24 hours, then there is nothing they can do.

Perceptions of staff attitudes and response to sexual violence

Table 46: Perceptions of staff attitudes in response to sexual violence

	Strongly agree + Agree	Don't know	Disagree + Strongly disagree	N
Most officials will take action to stop prisoners being assaulted if they know about it.	87%	1%	12%	311
Most prison officials won't do anything to stop it if they know about a prisoner being forced to have sex against his will.	21%	5%	75%	311
With most of the correctional officers (warders), if you report that you've been raped they are likely to joke about it and say something like such things are part of prison life.	15%	7%	79%	311

Most respondents (87%) agreed or strongly agreed that most officials will take action to stop prisoners being assaulted if they know about it. Twelve percent (or more than 1 in 10) disagreed or strongly disagreed. A number of additional notes made by interviewers on respondent comments said that it depends upon the warder (Ref: Additional comments).

One in five respondents (21%) agreed or strongly agreed that most prison officials will not do anything to stop it if they know about a prisoner being forced to have sex against his will.

Fifteen percent, or 1 in 7 respondents agreed or strongly agreed that warders would joke about, or be dismissive of a report of rape, whereas 79% percent of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed.¹⁷

Respondents expressed greater pessimism about how staff respond to sexual violence as well as greater uncertainty on these questions. While they were more likely to appraise staff behaviour more favourably, a significant proportion (20%) did not believe staff would take action to stop sexual violence happening.

Beyond these general findings we looked at respondent appraisals of the statements in relation to whether, firstly, having experienced assault had an impact on how respondents viewed things, and secondly, the length of their stays in Boksburg.

Perceptions of correctional staff behaviour in relation to experience of assault.

Table 47: Perceptions of correctional staff behaviour in relation to experience of assault

“Most officials will take action to stop prisoners being assaulted...”		Has been assaulted in BYC		Has not been assaulted in BYC		All	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Strongly Agree / Agree		72	80%	198	90%	271	87%
Don't know		1	1%	2	1%	3	1%
Disagree / Strongly Disagree		17	19%	21	10%	38	12%
Total N		90		221		311	

While overall, amongst respondents who report having been assaulted, the majority still view staff as likely to take action, the percentage of those who disagreed with the statement is increased to 19%. In contrast, of those who have not been assaulted, 10% disagreed with the statement - slightly lower than the general figure. This would suggest that perceptions of staff action are influenced by a lack of action displayed by staff in actual incidents where respondents have experienced assault. On the other hand, those who have not experienced assault are more likely to expect staff to take action in such situations.

¹⁷ The data suggests that sexual violence could be regarded as distinct from “assault”. That some respondents do not include it in their general appraisal of how ‘assault’ is handled could be indicative of it being viewed as ‘less violent’ or not violent or not a form of “assault”. However, subtleties such as conditions that respondents may have given or had in mind when answering questions are not captured.

Perceptions of correctional staff behaviour in relation to respondent length of stay in BYC.

Table 48: Perceptions of correctional staff behaviour re assault in BYC by respondent length of stay in BYC

“Most officials will take action to stop prisoners being assaulted if they know about it”								
	Less than 1 month		1 month or more		Less than 1 year		1 year or more	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Strongly agree / agree	33	94%	237	86%	172	89%	98	83%
Don't know	1	3%	2	1%	2	1%	1	1%
Disagree / Strongly disagree	1	3%	37	13%	19	10%	19	16%
Total N	35		276		193		118	

Respondents who had spent longer in BYC were more likely to have less faith in the authorities. Thirteen percent of those who had been in BYC for more than a month disagreed that officials would act to stop assaults, while only 3% of those who'd been there for less than a month disagreed.

Similarly, amongst those who had been in for a year or more, just more than 1 in 6 (16%) disagreed that officials would take action - as opposed to approximately 1 in 10 of those who had been in for less than a year.

Table 49: Perceptions of correctional staff behaviour re coerced sex by respondent length of stay in BYC

“Most prison officials won't do anything to stop it if they know about a prisoner being forced to have sex against his will”								
	Less than 1 month		1 month or more		Less than 1 year		1 year or more	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Strongly agree / agree	6	17%	58	21%	33	17%	31	26%
Don't know	4	11%	11	4%	11	6%	4	3%
Disagree / Strongly disagree	25	71%	207	75%	149	77%	83	70%
Total N	35		276		193		118	

There was also indication of a correlation between time spent in BYC and appraisals of authorities attitudes towards sexual assault. It appeared that as people have spent longer there, they become more pessimistic.

- Amongst those who had been there 1 month or more there was a slight increase in the percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed that most prison officials would not do anything to stop sexual assaults (as compared to those who had been in less than a month). However, this increase was not restricted

to the Agree category; there was also an increase in the percentage of those who disagreed with the statement, accounted for by a reduction in the percentage of respondents who answered ‘don’t know’. This indicates that in the first few months inmates become more opinionated regarding this statement but not markedly more in one direction than the other.

- There was a greater difference in the numbers who agreed with this statement when we examined the responses of those who had been in for less than a year compared with inmates who had spent longer. Of those who had been there more than a year there was an increase of almost 10% in pessimism about officials’ responses to rape and coercion. Just more than 1 in 4 (26%) of those who had been in a year or more believed that, “Most prison officials won’t do anything to stop it if they know about a prisoner being forced to have sex against his will.” This is in comparison with 17% of those who had been in BYC for less than a year. There was also a reduction of 7% in those who disagreed with the statement.

Table 50: Perception of correctional staff behaviour re rape by respondent length of stay in BYC

With most of the correctional officers (warders), if you report that you’ve been raped they are likely to joke about it and say something like such things are part of prison life								
	Less than 1 month		1 month or more		Less than 1 year		1 year or more	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Strongly agree / agree	2	6%	43	16%	21	11%	24	20%
Don't know	7	20%	14	5%	15	8%	6	5%
Disagree / Strongly disagree	26	74%	219	79%	157	81%	88	75%
Total	35		276		193		118	

Respondents who had been there longer were more likely to have negative views of staff behaviour when it came to the question of dismissive and joking attitudes about rape amongst correctional officers.

- While 6% of the respondents of less than a month agreed that officials are likely to joke about or dismiss rape, 16% of those who had been there more a month were in agreement.
- The data also suggested that over time, people are more likely to have formulated definitive opinion on these issues, with the “Don’t know” category having reduced from 1 in 5 amongst those who had been in less than 1 month, to 1 in 20 amongst those who had been there longer.
- Of offenders who had been in for longer than a year, the proportion of those who strongly agree/agree with this statement is 20% (or 1 in 5) - almost double the 11% (1 in 10) in those who had been in for less time.

Findings: Part 5

Respondents’ advice on making BYC safer

The questionnaire closed with two open-ended questions asking respondents for their advice to DCS. The first asked for the “most important piece of advice you would want to give to DCS about how they could make prison safer for inmates”, and the second one for, “the most important piece of advice on how they could help to prevent people being forced to have sex when they don’t want to have it?”.

As is to be expected, there was considerable overlap in the issues they raised in response to the two questions. In these cases of overlap responses to the two questions have been combined in the analysis (where appropriate, and possible, showing different weighting of response for the separate questions).

The following table summarises the main themes that emerged from the respondents answers. In addition, in the text, numbers of responses in each of the categories are given in brackets with responses to the general question (GQ) first and the specific sexual violence question (SVQ) afterwards in the following format; (GQ:SVQ).

Table 51: Thematic depiction of respondents advice on making BYC safer

Respondents advice on making BYC safer - Themes			
	GQ	SVQ	Total count
Access to resources	50	97	147
Keeping busy, education and development opportunities	110	7	117
Punishment, justice and follow-up	39	77	116
Accommodation and organization of space	37	48	85
Security and patrols	57	21	78
Staff attitude, capacity and behaviour	57	20	77
No advice responses and hopelessness	22	43	65
Searches and the problem of weapons	32	-	32
Raising awareness	-	25	25
Sexuality, sexual prohibition and allowances	-	20	20
Health and hygiene (excludes sexual health education, condom provision etc.)	4	-	4

“No advice” responses and hopelessness (22:43)

While two interviewees said in response to the general question that they felt safe and nothing needed to be done, a larger number answered both questions in either a helpless, resigned or hopeless manner: that they didn't know what could be done, or that there was nothing that could be done. Some conveyed a context of impunity informed by the malfunctioning of existing systems and contrary behaviour of some of the staff. One said only God had any power over the situation.

I don't believe they could make it safe because even in front of an official they still hurt each other and nothing can be done.

No idea: this prison is corrupt.

The sexual violence question evoked some particularly resigned and hopeless responses about sexual violence in the Youth Centre, and indeed in prison life generally, and throughout time.

This thing has been happening for a long time, it's difficult to stop. Sometimes the warders do call us and tell us that it's wrong.

There is no way they can stop it since it looks like part of prison life.

I have no advice, it happens everyday.

Security and patrols (57:21)

Numerous respondents called for “tightening” of what they see as the current “laxed” nature of security, monitoring and protection of inmates.

They envisaged this as happening through increased availability and capacity of correctional officers. They want to see more officers in the prison and constant patrols taking place (including after lock-up and in the more ‘problematic’ sections). The lack of staff, or ways to alert staff during the night and at weekends were specifically highlighted.

There must be a correctional officer close to the place where we are sleeping so that we can report an incident with an immediate effect.

There must always be a warder in the sections at all times patrolling and stationing in the section.

Warders must work during the night so that they can hear when a person screams for help.

Several respondents suggested arrangements that would allow inmates to raise alarms when something goes wrong including surveillance systems such as intercoms and cameras. One suggested having particular inmates officially responsible for dealing with problems during the night.

Put intercoms inside the cell so that it could be easy to alert the chief when there are problems like fighting or rape.

While they emphasised that the “lock-up” periods are especially dangerous - more-so regarding sexual violence - because of the almost complete lack of staff presence, it is clear that the problems are not restricted to these times. Some inmates feel particularly fearful when they are moving around the prison, and requested escorts for when they are required to move between sections. Others called for greater ‘police official visibility during

exercise'. It is clear that inmates want to be kept "a close eye" on, and more care to be taken regarding their safety.

Officials should always be around sections and cells and keep a close eye on inmates. They should walk around the cell and take care of our safety.

Searches and Dealing with the Problem of Weapons (32:0)

The general question also elicited inputs on the need for thorough and regular searches of cells and inmates, with respondents' particularly concerned that some inmates have weapons in their possession. Respondents variously suggested regular cell searches (including at weekends), strip searches, searches of visitors, and searches of inmates before being let back into their sections. Their expressions of anxiety about weapons being in circulation also highlighted how certain materials in the environment are easily used as weapons, and they request the replacement of these materials. The glass used in windows is clearly dangerous and frequently used as weapons, as are light bulbs. There was also mention of metal eating utensils being problematic.

Thorough searches of inmates and cells every 3 days; search all visitors for drugs, dagga and guns.

Get rid of glass windows they use for stabbing. Members must not bring metal eating utensils; they must do strip search on weekends.

Staff attitude, capacity and behaviour (57:20)

Many responses focused on the quality and nature of staffing. They pointed to the nature of staffing they see as necessary in relation to skills and attitude - how they expect staff to behave when they are around and on duty. Primarily they want staff to be more available to inmates. They gave much attention to the ways in which offenders' complaints are or are not dealt with, stating that complaints need to be taken seriously and acted upon timeously.

Correctional officers must always be doing their work, not reading newspapers or visiting each other.

Warders must take complaints seriously because inmates usually complain and warders do nothing about it for 3 months.

Related to this, they want more pro-active engagement from staff - where staff take steps to collect complaints from inmates. Staff, they said, should make an effort to find out what is happening with them and to protect them. They emphasised that in order to prevent sexual violence there needs to be a shift in the way staff engage with it. They want to see a commitment to uncovering it and then appropriately responding to the issues. Actively finding out where it is happening, and taking complaints seriously are seen as crucial components in this, and to creating an environment more conducive to reporting. (While the emphasis was on staff behaviour, a few respondents said that more of the offenders who are victimised should report the incidents.)

Members should monitor new prisoners and ask them about how they cope with prison life so that they can trace any violence. They must work 24 hours to monitor what is taking place at night.

Officers must ask prisoners each and every morning about anything that happened.

Sections should have boxes where they can put complaints. Head of Prison to investigate the matter since the warders are part of the problem.

Corruption fundamentally undermines the professional handling of incidents, some respondents pointed out, and regarding sexual violence specifically, contributes to a lack of concern for rape victims. Anxiety emerged, for

instance about the confidentiality (or lack thereof) of matters reported, and inappropriate and illegal relationships between officials and inmates, that put other inmates at risk.

Corrupt officials: they must keep the complaint to themselves.

If warders can stop appointing other prisoners to look after prisoners. That is where corruption is.

Warders are the ones who are corrupting J1 so it's not easy to give advice.

The involvement of some staff in smuggling, drug dealing or furthering gang activities was also noted by several respondents as a general problem.

Respondents desire a good relationship with staff, and one in which there is mutual respect and dignity. Their responses highlighted their wish to be treated as "human beings", and also to see in staff qualities and behaviour that would make them good role models. They want to feel listened to, to be treated with dignity i.e. in ways that inspire their respect for staff, and also to know that staff are accountable for the ways they treat offenders.

Staff members should address inmates in a rightful manner because we feel criticised and then you feel angry, like being provoked.

DCS must try to respect us and in return we will respect them and the prison will be sober.

Hire more officers who are patient and respectful and who are able to listen and help with your complaints.

DCS should monitor warders in their ways of doing things because they do things that suit them, not prisoners.

Favouritism of inmates by officers must stop because it causes prisoners to fight a lot.

Warders must not give preferential treatment to inmates in terms of where they come from. Sowetans are not treated well here. Stop the policy of *beste bandiet*.

Negative behaviours such as favouritism or discrimination (on the basis for example, of place of origin or gang membership), corruption and smuggling are all cited as reasons that certain staff should be required to leave, and are seen as contributing to a dangerous environment.

Warders must follow the rules and regulations. If they can be strict things would be fine, the rest of the members are corrupt.

If they can stop corruption done by warders. They must change the correctional officers here.

At the same time there was recognition that staff have not been provided with the necessary skills to both handle cases of rape and sexual abuse, and to equip them to achieve the development and rehabilitative goals of the DCS.

Give them training in rehabilitating inmates, not just to be guards or warders.

DCS must receive training in handling the rape cases.

They also pointed to the import of social and counselling services for inmates and want to see specific structures and programmes to support victims of sexual violence.

Strong counselling for the victim.

Provide educational programme for a healing process, to heal from their wylie experiences.

A mention of people raping out of “revenge” also suggested the sometime cyclical nature of the violence, and implied the need for victim support.

Punishment, justice and follow-up (39:77)

The sense amongst many inmates that abuse takes place with relative impunity, and that disciplinary systems are inadequate or inadequately implemented was very apparent. Numerous statements, for example, were on the need for measures to be implemented against perpetrators, to make them “think twice” before wrong-doing. Respondents frequently complained of the general lack of disciplinary measures. On the issue of rape, they conveyed an even greater feeling of an environment of impunity and a severe lack of faith in DCS disciplinary procedures when it comes to sexual violence.

Any crime committed here should be handled by outside courts so that inmates thinks twice before doing something wrong including rapes.

Inmates are unruly because they are not punished here. They need to be.

They argued both for stronger connections with outside criminal justice processes in the form of police investigation and court trials, and, in response to the general question, mainly for stronger internal DCS processes.

To implement tough discipline unlike the 15 days you spent at j3 (disciplinary section).

However, in relation to sexual violence specifically, the emphasis was on the need for the involvement of the ‘outside’ agencies of criminal justice to deal with perpetrators.

Perpetrator must be ... handled by outside authorities, and sentence should be that of outside.

Rape must be settled in court outside of prison, not as a normal punishment in prison procedure.

When measures are taken by the Youth Centre to deal with perpetrators of sexual violence these are regarded as wholly inadequate, or half-hearted and not addressing the problem.

Do not know how to advise them since the culprits are not well punished.

The case must be followed to its completion and feedback be given to the victim.

Some gave the example of how perpetrators may be removed to the “punishment section” for a relatively short time (periods of both 30 days and 6 months were mentioned) only to return a while later.

Don’t know since those who commit rapes are taken to J3 to stay for 6 months and then after that they let them back to their sections.

Amongst a range of punishments suggested, several respondents emphasised that they want perpetrators to be housed separately from other inmates.

Prisoners who rape other prisoners should be taken away from our sections.

The harsh, punitive, and physical (corporally-orientated) nature of many of the recommendations for internal measures elicited by both questions is suggestive of the levels of fear present in a context where there is currently little come-back for wrong-doers. In addition it indicates a mindset or framework that sees violence as

an effective means to resolving conflict and deterring wrong doing - one that is likely related to an unfamiliarity with other possibilities.

In Leeuwkop if you do wrong as an inmate, they punish you physically; so BYC should do the same because inmates here are stubborn.

Electrocute offenders so that they can confess their crime.

They are spoiling us. If they beat us we will be okay and will be safe.

A few were of opposing opinions calling for more effective disciplinary measures, but specifically not of a physical nature. The following respondent wanted a change in the nature of punishment - away from beating - but also to see disciplinary attention given to issues which seem often to be over-looked.

They must punish prisoners reasonably rather than beating them. They must interfere in sodomising of prisoners so that we can be safe.

Another referred to the role of due process and that inmates should not be beaten without there first being a clear understanding of what transpired, i.e. that the offender is guilty, and of what.

Accommodation and the organisation of space (37:48)

Respondents also reported that the way in which offenders are housed has an impact on violence. They view the mixing up of certain categories of inmates as particularly inappropriate and want those with a greater tendency to violence to be kept away from those considered more vulnerable.

All the gang bosses or lawmakers be in one cell.

The call to separate gang members from non-gang members, or gang leaders from the rest of the prison population was relatively common, and one facet of a more general concern about gangsterism in prison. Age is another key category in relation to which respondents feel offenders should be housed so as to make BYC safer. There were complaints of some who are being held at BYC in fact being too old to qualify to be held in a juvenile institution, and should be housed in an adult section. More generally too, respondents would like to see separation of younger and older inmates.

Some inmates don't belong here. They are older than the required age so they need to be taken out because they are the ones who victimise the young offenders.

There were also requests for the separation along crime categories, particularly violent crime from non-violent crime.

There are those who are more dangerous and they attack the ones with less serious crimes. You cannot mix burglary with murder.

Some respondents advised more generally that troublesome, bullying or violent offenders be removed to their own, or another section. This was also related to requests dealing with how violent incidents are (or are not) dealt with in the Centre, several stating that they want to see inmates who are guilty of assaults being removed to other sections. Again, this points to the inadequacy of follow-up, disciplinary and justice systems operating.

Gangsterism must be stopped. If members get an inmate with a weapon they must get him charged and removed from other inmates.

One respondent asked for halting the reported practice whereby inmates are housed according to where they come from, saying that this in fact contributed to conflict and discriminatory practices.

In addition, the sexual violence question, got responses that emphasised the need to separate perpetrators and victims of sexual victimisation in prison, as well as to accommodate offenders who do not receive visits separately (for an explanation on the significance of receiving visits, see below section on the “economy”). Younger inmates, those without visits, non-gang members, and those convicted for non-violent crimes are all considered particularly vulnerable to sexual violence. To be physically more delicate or of “feminine” appearance should also be grounds for protective separation according to some respondents, as should being quiet and timid - as opposed to prison-wise.

Clever people should not be mixed with quiet ones in cells.

The tiny and “ntofontofo”, soft-touch ones should be locked separately.

The context of overcrowding (that negatively impacts on opportunities to separate offenders, and a host of other factors) was highlighted by respondents who noted that overcrowding fuels fights between inmates. One recommended a speeding up of parole processes as a way to address the situation where there are “many more people coming in than there are going out”.

More space - ideally with inmates having their own cells - and resources like beds and ablution facilities are needed, said respondents

Each inmate must have his own bed, more showers in a cell.

Put each inmates in single cells because the moment we are in group we fight for nothing.

It is noteworthy that official records of inmate population at 2 points in the field-work revealed that BYC was not actually filled to “recommended capacity”. At the same time respondent inputs pointed to a lack of basic resources (like beds) - usually a result of overcrowding. Further investigation is required here.

Access to resources (50:97)

Respondents emphasised the link between being a “have” or a “have-not” and vulnerability in prison focussing on access to resources as a crucial part in safety. The centrality of the economy of consumables and commodities - especially food and cigarettes - in sex and sexual violence happening in prison was highlighted in respondents’ advice. Indeed, this was where respondents targeted the bulk of their advice concerning the sexual violence question.

Food and other resources supplied by the DCS (bedding, clothing), and goods brought by visitors (eg. toiletries), as well as banned goods smuggled into and around the Centre make up the prison economy, around which key power dynamics in prison revolve. Those who have less access or no access to these things are generally vulnerable and appear often to be the ones who are raped and coerced into sex. They are vulnerable to getting caught in transactional or exploitative relationships where commodities are regularly used as tools in rape, coercion, sexual exploitation, and are exchanged for sex.

They must take care of inmates who are not getting visits because they end up being susceptible to forced sex since “into yesiboshwa iyakhuluma” meaning that whatever you borrow from another inmate, you end up paying by sex or otherwise.

Prisoners are clever. They will always give you things you don't have like goods or cigarette so that you sleep with them.

Respondents stressed the importance of ensuring that prisoners are getting full and adequate food rations to prevent exploitation and vulnerability.

They must give inmates enough ration so that we do not rape each other because of hunger.

If they can add another meal ... Some inmates keep their food and eat later when almost everyone is hungry. They give the food to other inmates with the aim of having sex.

Not only is the food provision insufficient putting hungry inmates on the look-out for any opportunities for extra food, but food provided by the DCS does not reach inmates as it should. The dishing out of food is a key problem in the process of food distribution. Certain inmates are given the task of dishing up, and as such have enormous power over fellow inmates - power that can also be bought by those who have the means. One respondent also noted inequality between sections in terms of food provision. Respondents made suggestions as to how this could be improved, for example, that either outside contractors or staff (some being of the view that these should be female members) should be the ones doing the dishing up.

They must give enough food. Eating times need to happen at each cell. Kitchen staff must control rationing of food. Correctional officers to be in charge of kitchen.

The chefs give food to those they want to have sex with. These boys must get enough food. People do not get enough visits they end up being victims.

Employ people from outside to do the dishing and cooking. This way there will be less rape.

Other things - some of which are provided by visitors, some by DCS - like cigarettes, toiletries and clothing - are also used in power dynamics that put people who do not have access to goods in greater danger. Responses indicated a desire for greater equity amongst inmates to reduce power dynamics related to these resources.

Toiletries must be enough because otherwise you are forced to get from others.

In addition to DCS providing greater resources and better controlling these, respondents suggested more regular visits or organised "DCS visits" for those without their own visitors - because of the crucial source of resources that this contact with outsiders represents. One suggested that inmates not getting visits should receive greater food rations. The transfer of offenders incarcerated far from home was also seen as necessary so as to better place them to receive visits.

A visit is very important because you always have your own things (I'm not stranded).

Increased opportunities for inmates to work in BYC was also seen as important to increase access to such goods for inmates not supported by visits, and to creating greater economic equity amongst inmates.

Give jobs to those who don't get visits, they do not get enough food. If they worked they could buy from the shop and wouldn't have to take other peoples things. A prisoner's things speak.

One complained that stock in the tuck shop is not always adequate for the demand, which contributes to the problem and adds generally to frustration levels, and in turn, violence. The desire for the more equal distribution of wealth is also apparent in some respondents wanting to see the reduction/banning of certain things coming into prison.

Money must be banned because others, like me, don't get any visitors, then we became victims.

While, for these reasons, certain respondents wanted the smoking ban that had (very) recently been introduced, to be carried through more effectively, others were perplexed by how the banning had not reduced the problem. Several pointed out that the recent prohibition of cigarettes at BYC had exacerbated violence as smokers were left addicted, in withdrawal, bored and frustrated. Fundamentally, it had also 'upped' the prison value of cigarettes.

Some are raped because of cigarette craving and they become vulnerable.

See to it that cigarettes are not smuggled in because it causes fights. Otherwise they must make cigarettes available and people won't have to fight for it. Outside you used to smoke anytime you wanted.

Food and other consumables are used in different ways in relation to sex happening in prison and feature in different types of sexual relationships. For instance, they are used to trick people into being raped, and provided to people (known as *wyffies*) caught up in ongoing abusive sexual relationships. Alternatively they may be knowingly and relatively freely sold for sex by the prisoners - sometimes by those referred to as "prostitutes".

The transactional value of sex, as well as the power of the informal economy in which "nothing comes free", was highlighted by those respondents who blamed certain prisoners for "putting themselves" at risk by accepting or asking for other peoples' things. Several said that the solution is simply not to ask or accept anything from another prisoner. While this response may be appropriate in some situations, it is clearly not to all. The range of different circumstances in which the transactional value of sex is employed - some involving much higher degrees of consent than others, likely provides partial explanation for these views. The problem however, can come when the whole range of circumstances and transactions (some highly coercive) get lumped together. Such views are likely also linked to particular notions of 'force' and 'consent' whereby if some kind of exchange has taken place, "force" is not considered to have featured. Related to this, certain statements from respondents suggest a conceptual merging of a particular need, desire or transaction with sexual consent; so for example, an inmate who "likes" food is understood to obviously "like" sex.

Guys must know they must not take food or cigarette because they can't replace it. You cannot vomit the food so you have to bend down and give them what they want.

There's nothing I can say, also because prisoners like what is happening on them and they enjoy it. Rape is scarce here; inmates are in love with those people cooking food so you don't have to be worried.

[Some] can't resist themselves from liking other inmates' things, so they end up being forced to pay through sex for those things.

They must just control themselves. If you do not have a thing ... sit still and no one will want sex from you.

The manipulative "rules" of the informal economy and role of sex in this is one of several issues on which respondents would like to see educational intervention for prisoners. According to these respondents, newcomers particularly could be protected from being tricked into unwanted sex were they to receive orientating information on the nature of the economy.

Tell prisoners that no-one is allowed to use other prisoners' equipment, especially newcomers.

Newcomers are scared, they do not know what's happening in jail and fall victim to rape.

Also concerned about the newly arrived, another wanted a focus on preventing inmates awaiting trial becoming involved in gangsterism.

Keeping busy, education and developmental opportunities (110:7)

By far the most common piece of advice that respondents had for DCS on the question of general safety regarded being kept busy with activities, learning, work or recreational opportunities. Very long periods of being locked up, and time that many of them spend idle even during 'unlock' times, are fundamental feeders of conflict and violence they say.

Try to keep everyone busy because if there is nothing to do, others think of sex or violence.

Budget-wise, back recreation. A proportion of budget should be spent on keeping us busy.

If all prisoners could work and others attend school this place can be safe

Their ideas cover a wide range of possibilities including for example, sport, music, schooling, wood-work, furniture making, drama, cleaning work around the prison and competitions with other facilities. Participation in the existing programmes in BYC is very uneven with entire sections of the Centre being largely excluded from these. The importance of keeping occupied was stressed as a crucial general need, but respondents were particularly concerned about especially 'idle' sections of the Centre where inmates are not involved in any activities.

At J1 section we do not have any educational programmes, we do nothing all day long. This results in fighting. We want school or anything related to skills so that we can be kept busy. There's nothing constructive that we do, we bask in the sun.

Develop workshop eg. hardware, tailoring in J1 and J5. Issue more duties. All inmates must do something from morning till lock-up time to avoid idling.

Since we are not smoking DCS should provide sports facility so that we can keep busy.

As already discussed, wanting work opportunities also relates to the factor of economic self-sufficiency which is an important protector against vulnerability.

Televisions (and to a lesser degree - radios and videos) were in great demand for entertainment and "to open [their] minds" during the lengthy lock-up times. Apparently they are currently provided in some cells but not in others.

If the DCS could supply inmates with televisions in their cells, prison can be safe.

Raising awareness (0:25)

On the question of reducing sexual violence, while the general call to be kept busy was endorsed, respondents focused on offering specific content areas that they wanted dealt with in educational interventions. In addition to the requests for orientating information to be provided for newcomers and suggestive of the extent of impunity, respondents expressed a need to educate offenders on the basic fact that rape is an offence, and to publicise (when there are) consequences for perpetrators so as to make this fact a reality. A few also suggested special treatment and education programmes for perpetrators.

Rape must be regarded as charge. Since we've been told that it's a charge many stopped it because they will end up going to maximum.

Place posters saying if you rape an inmate you will be charged for that.

Those who rape other prisoners must be sentenced and we must be given the result of the court so that everybody understands the consequences of rape.

There was also a fairly strong call for general information and education on the issues of sexual health, HIV/AIDS, and life-skills.

If they give prisoners chances to attend programs to learn about life skills thoughts of engaging in sexual activities will be minimised.

Get people to come tell inmates about sexually transmitted infections and what could happen to a person who likes to rape.

Identify NGOS who deal with sex and HIV/AIDS.

To give more information about sex, especially rape.

Sexuality, sex prohibition and allowances (0:20)

A few respondents considered sexual arousal to be behind the problem of sexual violence. Seeing nakedness (in other prisoners or on TV) was therefore viewed as precipitating sexual violence.

I don't know because some guys walk naked from the shower and that's where it starts. Guys must always be dressed.

Condoms were also a concern to one respondent who believed them to encourage sex and wanted to see them barred from prisons. Several respondents requested medication to be put in their food to douse their sexual urges or, in one case, the eradication from their diet of salt, thought by the respondent to lead to arousal.

They must put pills in the food that make the penis not be erect, to take away some feelings.

This issue - where sexual urges are understood to be the cause of sexual violence also raises that of the confusing, in some of their comments, of sexual violence and sex. Related to this, are notions of sex-drive as unstoppable and all-powerful, and that arousal must culminate in sex. A lumping together of sex and sexual violence was also implicit in recommendations provided by some respondents that all sex should be prohibited, or alternatively that other opportunities for sex should be provided or encouraged. Suggestions included allowing women offenders into the prison and sexual contact visits with partners or prostitutes from outside. Sometimes this seemed to be viewed as a route to stamping out sexual violence, other-times that the respondents were not really differentiating sex and coercive or violent sex.

Encourage masturbation rather than raping sodomy.

Difficult to say as some inmates behave like gays.

Prisoners who engage in sexual activities should be beaten or severely punished. Discourage those selling their anuses to other inmates, they should be punished.

DCS can't do anything to stop unwanted sex except bring women to this prison.

In contrast to a comment provided by one respondent who clearly delineated the differing ways he thought sex and sexual violence should be treated, denials by others that there is in fact any rape happening is likely also linked, at least in part, to a confusion of sex with sexual violence. In addition, it is no doubt informed by the ways in which it is tied into the prison economy - where sex is sold for other commodities (discussed above) - together with a potential discomfort on behalf of inmates with male on male sex. However, it is noteworthy that

it appears often not to be “sold” with much degree of choice or agreement. Rather, much of the time, inmates are tricked into the “exchange”. In addition, particular ideas about gender were clearly at play in some respondents’ understandings of what constitutes forced sex - so “behaving like a girl” was in one case seen to justify rape.

There is no forced sex here, people do it willingly.

It’s difficult because most the time those who got raped behave like girls and it’s the profession of the prison prostitute.

Notwithstanding how sexual abuse can be wrongly justified under the guise of ‘agreement’, respondents’ comments suggest just how difficult it can be to draw boundaries between coercion and consent in certain interactions. At the same time, some interactions will involve a far greater degree of mutual agreement. Clearly also, consensual sex is happening and apparently common in prison (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002).

Health and hygiene (4:0)

In response to the general question, and in contrast to the majority, a few respondents advised on safety from health hazards, saying that the food they are served makes them sick because it is unhealthy and unhygienically prepared. There were also complaints that toilets do not flush. One respondent wanted HIV positive inmates to be housed separately.

Concluding remarks

A central aim of this “Situational Analysis” was to start to build an understanding of violence - particularly sexual violence and coercion - happening in BYC, together with an understanding of life in the prison, the context in which violence takes place. At the same time we were keenly aware that statistics gathered on sexual violence are, for a host of reasons, typically beset with problems of severe under-reporting, and research on the issues is up against the barriers of the fear, stigma and taboo that surround them. Indeed, in prison the risks associated with reporting are particularly intense and compounded by destructive myths about male rape. This said, the study was envisaged as an important initial step in providing a basis from which to work towards preventing sexual violence in BYC, and one that could be built on and interrogated in the process. In addition, the information could be useful as a tool to measure changes in the environment at BYC and progress of the Sexual Violence Project (with the likely ‘incompleteness’ of data even being drawn on as a strength in this regard).

Despite the limitations, substantial and useful information has emerged, and further questions begged.

On one of the central questions of the extent of rape and sexual coercion, 2 % of the young men we spoke to reported having been tricked into having sex in BYC or having had it out of fear. This constitutes ten times the rate at which women reported rape to SAPS in the year April 2004 - April 2005) (SAPS statistics). Certainly the actual rate of rape for women is much higher, often for similar reasons that no doubt prevent young men from reporting rape in prison. Another sobering comparison is with findings of a national survey on young people where 2% of males responded “yes” to the question; “have you ever had sex because someone used physical force to make you”. In the prison sample therefore, where most respondents had not even spent a year in BYC, the same percentage reported being forced to have sex as the proportion of young males sampled nationally who reported *ever* in their lives having been forced to have sex (Pettifor et al, 2004).

That in our survey a larger proportion (5.5%) of respondents admitted to having manipulated or threatened another prisoner is just one of the other findings suggesting a higher prevalence of sexual violence at the same time as it throws up additional issues. But the value of the survey is arguably not so much in the prevalence statistics as in what it tells us about conditions and factors that support the perpetration of violence and direly inadequate responses to it. As such it provides a framework for beginning to address these.

These include:

A current context of impunity is informed by inappropriate, malfunctioning systems and the contrary behaviour of some staff. While there is regularly no action taken in relation to abuses, when it is, these are regarded as wholly inadequate and half-hearted. In relation to sexual violence particularly the lack of faith in internal systems and justice results in strong calls for the involvement of the ‘outside’ Criminal Justice System as well as the overhaul of internal measures.

Many inmates live in a state of fear and, perhaps contrary to common belief, express the strong desire to be patrolled, monitored and secured. They want staff members to be committed to keeping them safe and better equipped to do so in a proactive and professional manner.

They highlight certain features of the physical environment that contribute to the dangerous conditions and suggest ways in which these could be addressed: for example, how the glass used in windows should be replaced with other materials which could not so easily be used as weapons, or attention paid to how inmates are housed and mixed or separated.

Manipulation of resources and corruption clearly play a large role in prisoner maltreatment and abuse. The problematic distribution of resources (including basics such as food and beds) that is so emphasised in responses to the open-ended questions, is dramatically underscored by the fact that BYC was not even filled to capacity during the fieldwork.

Fundamentally, in relation to sexual violence and sexual health their inputs show up the need to establish clear reference points and definitions, and to correct misunderstandings, mythful understandings and the dangerous muddlings that surround sex, sexual violence and coercion.

A focus on educational and developmental activities is crucial not only to address the common manifestation of boredom and frustration in violent behaviour, but also to address destructive coping mechanisms and ways to seek a sense of personal power. It is also vital to convey information essential to safeguarding sexual health, as well as to provide opportunities for shifting dangerous beliefs.

The information that emerges from the survey makes it clear that a large proportion of inmates' understanding of sex, sexuality and themselves as men is drawn from their prison experience. In conclusion this makes it impossible to ignore the significance of what happens in prison for the development of prisoners, and in turn, for broader society.

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