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The demographic profile and psychosocial history of a group of convicted perpetrators of the rape of children under the age of three years.

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APPENDIX A

SUBJECT INFORMATION SHEET: ORIENTATION STUDY WITH CONVICTED PAEDOPHILES

(Date)

Dear Sir

RESEARCH PROJECT

My name is Amelia Kleijn and I am a Masters[1] Social Work student currently registered with the University of the Witwatersrand. My research concerns the psychosocial understanding of perpetrators and I am sending you this letter to find out if you would be kind enough to assist me by participating in the research. At the outset, I would like to explain that only your social worker at [organization] is aware of this research study and I have asked him/her to hand you this letter, in confidence, for your consideration. I do not know your identity.

The main aim of the research is to identify and describe the demographic profile and psychosocial history of convicted sexual perpetrators. Before I commence the research with incarcerated perpetrators, I need to conduct an orientation study and respectfully request your voluntary assistance to help me do this. The orientation study consists of two to three interviews with a person who is currently involved with the [organization] programme, and is reasonably proficient in spoken English. Your involvement in the research requires your agreement to participate in two to three semi-structured interviews, which would take a total of about five hours. I would conduct the interviews with you and no one else would be present during the interviews.

There is no financial or any other reward for your participation in and assistance with the research. **Your identity will be kept confidential and your statements anonymous.** No identifying information would appear in the research about you, your family, your friends, your school or church, any jobs you may have held, or any other distinguishing details. You have the right not to answer a question if you so choose and you have the right to withdraw from the research at any time.

I will tape record the interviews so that I can transcribe them for detailed analysis. If by chance you mention a name or an identifying detail during the interview, I will not type it in the transcript, as I am the only person who will hear the tapes after the interviews. The tapes will be destroyed after the transcripts have been done, and the transcripts destroyed after the research has been published.

If you are comfortable with the above arrangements and are willing to assist with the research study, I will ask you to sign a consent form to participate in the research, and a consent form to agree to the tape-recording of the interviews.

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[1] At the time of the orientation process and during most of the data collection during the main study, the researcher was a Masters student. In July 2006, the study was upgraded to a PhD. Some of the interviews with incarcerated respondents were therefore conducted when the researcher was registered as a PhD student.

I realize that the nature of this research has the potential to be emotionally upsetting. Therefore, at the beginning of the first interview, we will discuss options for post interview counselling, should the need arise, which would be done with your social worker at [organization].

Before you make your decision, I have included information about the interview, which will be divided into five sections:

- Introduction, which includes signing the two consent forms referred to above.
- Personal information, which concerns your childhood, adolescent and adult experiences.
- Discussion about why you are attending the [organization] programme.
- Offending, which focuses on the events leading up to (and if you feel comfortable) the actual incident/s.
- Termination which will also cover if you have a need for counselling.

The interviews will encourage you to speak freely about your life, your experiences and your feelings. I realize that some of the questions could be sensitive and the interview process will be conducted with the utmost discretion, respect and empathy – I too am a social worker.

I would be most grateful to you for your assistance and input to this research study.

Any queries you may have about the research can be obtained from my research supervisor, Professor Sandra Drower, Head of Social Work at the University of the Witwatersrand, on telephone (011) 717-4472 or fax (011) 403-1668.

Should you decide to participate in this research study, I thought the most convenient way for us to make contact is via your social worker at [organization]. You would need to inform him/her of your decision and assuming you are comfortable with this suggestion, for your social worker to give me your contact details. I will then discreetly contact you and we can set up a convenient interview time. I thought the most convenient venue for the interviews is at the [organization's] offices. I am also happy to discuss any queries you may have before you make your decision, and again, could do so through your social worker at [organization].

Yours faithfully

AMELIA KLEIJN

APPENDIX B

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE: ORIENTATION STUDY WITH CONVICTED PAEDOPHILES

SECTION A: INTRODUCTION

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the research concerning the psychosocial understanding of perpetrators of crimes involving children, which is being conducted by Amelia Kleijn, a Masters Social Work student registered with the University of the Witwatersrand. The main aim of the research is to identify and describe the demographic profile and psychosocial history of perpetrators convicted of the sexual penetration of children under the age of thirty-six months.[2] Before we start with the interview, I need to inform you that this interview will only focus on crimes that have appeared before the courts, which have resulted in your conviction and/or court ordered rehabilitation. I would like to caution you against discussing any possibly illegal acts or crimes that may not have been heard in the courts, as my registration as a social worker requires me to report these possibly illegal acts or crimes. Do you understand this caution?

I would also like to assure you that all the information you give me will be kept anonymous and your identity confidential. When I type up this interview, no identifying details concerning you, your family, your friends or your actions will appear in the document as they will be deleted. As soon as I have typed up the interview, the tapes will be destroyed. Do you understand this?

As discussed in my letter to you, before we can begin with the interview, I would like your signed consent to participate in this research and your signed consent that the interview can be tape-recorded. Please can you read both the consent forms and sign them, as a signal of your understanding of the items set out in them. Are there any questions you have? Does anything in these forms need clarification? Is there anything you would like to ask me?

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. I realize that parts of the interview may be difficult for you and I assure you that I will conduct the interview with respect and empathy. Should you have a need for counselling after the interview, arrangements have been made with your [organization] social worker. At the end of the interview, we will discuss how you feel and whether or not you would like to discuss some of the issues we have discussed with a counsellor. I will now switch on the tape recorder.

[2] The research study was initially called, "The demographic profile and psychosocial history of a group of convicted perpetrators of the sexual penetration of children under the age of thirty-six months". During 2009, the researcher changed the title to, "The demographic profile and psychosocial history of a group of convicted perpetrators of the rape of children under the age of three years" as the respondents in the main study were convicted of "rape" not "sexual penetration".

SECTION B: PERSONAL INFORMATION

Childhood (birth to age 12)
I'd like to hear about your childhood – your parents, your brothers and sisters, other relatives and your friends, what your life was like as a growing boy. Would you tell me, in as much detail as you can remember and are comfortable with?

POINTS (IDEALLY) TO BE COVERED. USE AS PROMPT QUESTIONS, IF NECESSARY:

- Your age? Ages of your parents when you were born? What did they do (work, recreational activities)?
- Were both your parents at home? Older/younger brothers and sisters? Who else lived with you?
- Who took care of you? Tell me about him/her/them.
- Did you have any pets at home? Tell me about them.
- Did you go to school? (If yes). What can you remember about your early days at school? (If no). What did you do when everybody else went to school/work?
- Could you tell me about your childhood friends? Games played together?
- Did your family go to church?
- Did you go to church? Can you remember what your religious beliefs were as a child?
- What did you do over weekends?
- Tell me about your neighbours and other people living in the area.
- Did you have a lot of contact with them?
- Were you ever sick as a child?
- Who took care of you?
- How would you describe your family?
- Who would discipline you if you had misbehaved?
- How would you be disciplined if you had misbehaved?
- Did you ever experience a traumatic incident as a child, such as the death of a close family member, or possibly having to move home suddenly?
- Did you ever witness any sort of violence as a child?
- When you think back on your childhood, say up to about age 12, what are your feelings?
- What do you remember most?

Adolescence (ages 12 to 19)
I'd like us to focus on your life from the ages of, say, 12 to 19 years. I'd like to hear about your memories of school.

POINTS TO BE (IDEALLY) COVERED. USE AS PROMPT QUESTIONS, IF NECESSARY:

- What can you remember about school?
- (If yes). What standard did you finish?
- How old were you when you left school?
- Did you enjoy school?
- (Yes or no). Why?
- Did you have any friends at school?
- Can you tell me about them?
- What sort of things would you do together, say at break time?

- Are there any teachers that you can remember?
- Why?
- Were you hit at school?
- (If yes). For what reasons?
- Who would hit you?

Thank you. May we focus on what your life was like at home during this time? I'd like you to remember who was living in the family home, what your relationships were like with these people?

POINTS TO BE (IDEALLY) COVERED. USE AS PROMPT QUESTIONS IF NECESSARY:

- Who was living at home at this stage?
- How did you get on with these people?
- Tell me about your neighbours.
- What was your community life like?
- Did you have any hobbies or interests?
- Did you go to church?

Thank you. I thought we could move into some more detail about your family. Obviously, at this period of your life as a developing young person, your body would have undergone physical changes and you would have experienced physical sensations as well. I was wondering who told you about these changes and what they meant. How did your family approach the issue of sex? Could you tell me, in as much detail as you feel comfortable with, about your family's attitude towards sex? Who explained the facts of life to you?

POINTS TO BE (IDEALLY) COVERED. PROMPT QUESTIONS IF NECESSARY:

- (If yes). How old were you when this happened?
- (If no). So how did you find out about sex and babies?
- Did you have any girlfriends? Or boyfriends?
- How old were you when you had your first girlfriend?
- What did you think a girlfriend was for?
- What sort of things would you do together?
- How old were you when you had sex for the first time?
- Can you remember how you felt?
- Think back on this time of your life – what feelings are raised for you?
- What are your strongest memories of this time of your life?

Early adulthood (age 19 onwards)

Thank you. How are you feeling? Can we continue? (If yes). May we focus on your life say from about age 19 onwards? Can you remember what you were doing with yourself at that time of your life? Working? Relationships with family and friends? Intimate relationships?

POINTS TO BE (IDEALLY) COVERED. PROMPT QUESTIONS IF NECESSARY:

- Did you ever leave home?
- Why?
- (If yes). How old were you?
- Where were you living?

- What was it like?
- Did anyone else live with you?
- Can you describe what your home life was like?
- Did you have any friends?
- Can you describe them?
- What would you do for recreation?
- Did you have any jobs?
- (If yes). Can you tell me about your work history?
- Did you ever experience a traumatic incident during this time of your life?
- Can you describe it to me and your feelings?
- Have you ever used alcohol?
- Have you ever used drugs?
- How did they make you feel?
- What is your attitude towards women?
- What is your attitude towards children?
- Did you have girlfriends?
- What things would you do together?
- What was your sexual relationship like with your girlfriend/s?
- What is your attitude towards sex?
- When you think back on this time of your life, what can you remember the most?
- What feelings are raised for you?

SECTION C: INCARCERATION

Thank you. I appreciate your input. As you know, one of the things this research is trying to do is to understand your life history and your experiences. I would find it very helpful if you could tell me in as much detail as you are comfortable with, why you are attending the [organization] programme.

(IF RESPONDENT DISCLOSES HAS SERVED PRISON TIME FOR A SEXUAL OFFENCE, PROMPT QUESTIONS IF NECESSARY):

- How long was your sentence? Why were you sentenced?
- Did you have any privileges, such as a television set?
- Could you have visitors?
- Did you? Who?
- Can you describe a prison day to me?
- What were your feelings about being in prison?
- (If no prison time). Could you discuss why you are attending this programme at [organization]?

SECTION D: OFFENDING

Thank you. I realize that these questions are difficult, but they are offering valuable and important information. Given what you have shared with me earlier on, I was wondering if you would feel comfortable in discussing the incident/s which led to your conviction/attending the [organization] programme. Can you tell me in as much detail as you feel comfortable with, about what happened?

(PROMPT QUESTIONS IF NECESSARY):

- What were you doing before the incident?
- Had you been using alcohol or drugs?
- Was anybody with you?
- Did you know the child's mother?
- How did you find the infant/toddler/child?
- What was your motivation for this incident with the infant/toddler/child?
- What were you feeling as you did so?
- What did you feel afterwards?
- How do you feel now about what happened?

SECTION E: TERMINATION

Thank you for sharing the information that you have – I know that this is a difficult subject to talk about. We are nearly at the end of the interview/s and I was wondering:

- Is there anything else you would like to tell me?
- How are you feeling now?
- Do you have a need for counselling? (If yes, discuss referrals).

Thank you for your time and your participation. I know that this may have been very difficult for you and I appreciate your honesty. As was discussed with you at the beginning of the interview, any identifying details that may have been mentioned today will not appear in the transcript, so your identity will remain confidential and your statements anonymous.

I thank you once again for your participation.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED WITH CONVICTED PAEDOPHILES: ORIENTATION STUDY

Orientation study respondents	**Length of interviews**
A and B	Two interviews conducted with orientation study respondents A and B. The interviews lasted a total of eight hours, excluding the introduction to the research, ending each interview and finally, terminating with the research respondents at the conclusion of the interviews.

The four interviews were conducted during the last quarter of 2003.

APPENDIX D

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE RESEARCH

I am a volunteer participant in the research study aimed at psychosocially understanding perpetrators conducted by Amelia Kleijn, a Masters Social Work student currently registered with the University of the Witwatersrand.

I understand that the research will take the form of semi-structured in-depth interviews that could involve up to 5 hours of my time, over two to three sessions.

I understand that I will receive no financial or any other form of reward or compensation for my participation in the research.

I understand that my identity will be kept anonymous and that the typed transcripts and published research will contain no identifying information that can be linked to me, my family, my educational background, my places of employment or any other distinguishing details.

I also understand that I have the right not to answer a question if I so choose and that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any time.

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____

SIGNED: _____
AMELIA KLEIJN

DATE: _____

APPENDIX E

CONSENT FORM FOR THE AUDIO-RECORDING OF THE INTERVIEWS

I agree to the audio-taping of the interviews between Amelia Kleijn and myself and understand that the tapes will be kept in a secure place during the research process to secure my identity, and destroyed after they have been transcribed. I also understand that the tapes will be transcribed for detailed analysis and that any identifying details that may arise during the interview will be omitted from the verbatim transcripts to protect my identity.

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____

SIGNED: _____
AMELIA KLEIJN

DATE: _____

APPENDIX F

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PROFESSIONALS WHO RENDER DIRECT AND/OR INDIRECT SERVICES TO CHILDREN WHO HAVE BEEN SEXUALLY ABUSED: ORIENTATION STUDY

SECTION A: INTRODUCTION

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the research "A psychosocial understanding of convicted sexual perpetrators", which is being conducted by Amelia Kleijn, a Social Work Masters student registered with the University of the Witwatersrand. The main aim of the research is to identify and describe the demographic profile of convicted perpetrators of the sexual penetration of children less than thirty-six months of age. The purpose of the interview is to compare your experiences, perceptions and understanding about sexual offenders generally, and rapists of children under the age of thee years specifically. Please note that the interview will focus on your general experiences, not individual cases.

Before we can commence with the interview, I require your signed consent to participate in this research and your signed consent that the interview can be audio-recorded. Please can you read both consent forms and sign them, as a signal of your understanding of the items set out in them. I would also like to assure you that all the information you give me will be kept anonymous and your identity confidential. When I type up this interview, no identifying details concerning you, your place of work, or any other potentially identifying details will appear in the document.

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. I will now switch on the tape recorder.

SECTION B: PROFESSIONAL INVOLVEMENT WITH SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN LESS THAN THREE YEARS OLD

The purpose of this interview is to try to gain an understanding of why these sexual acts involving children less than thirty-six months old are happening. In your professional opinion, why do you think they are happening?

(PROMPT QUESTIONS IF NECESSARY):

- Could you broadly discuss your professional career as it pertains to child sexual abuse?
- What experiences have you had with sexually abused children less than thirty-six months of age?
- What was the background of these children generally?
- How did the perpetrators access them?
- Was alcohol or drugs involved?
- Do you have any knowledge about the family background and demographic profile of perpetrators generally?
- Did you speak with any of them?
- (If yes). What are your impressions of them?
- Why do you think the sexual penetration of children less than thirty-six months of age happens?

- Is it preventable? (If yes, how?)
- What do you think could be done to reduce these incidents?
- Any other information you would like to add?

SECTION C: TERMINATION OF INTERVIEW

Thank you for your time and your participation. As was discussed with you at the beginning of the interview, any identifying details that may have been mentioned today about you, or a perpetrator, or a particular case, will not appear in the transcript, so that your identity will remain confidential, your statements anonymous, and the identity of any child or perpetrator anonymous.

I thank you once again for your participation.

APPENDIX G

INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED WITH PROFESSIONALS WHO HAVE INTERVENED DIRECTLY AND/OR INDIRECTLY WITH CHILDREN WHO HAVE BEEN SEXUALLY ABUSED: ORIENTATION STUDY

Professional respondents	**Length of interviews**
Two senior members from the Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences Unit (FCS) of the South African Police Service (SAPS)	1 hr 45 min 2 hrs
One social worker from the FCS of the SAPS	2 hrs 30 min
One trauma surgeon	1 hr 30 min
One paediatric surgeon	1 hr 45 min
One prosecutor specializing in prosecuting offenders of sexual crimes against children	1 hr 15 min
Two child rights' activists	1 hr 45 min 1 hr 15 min

These eight interviews were conducted during the last quarter of 2003.

APPENDIX H

SUBJECT INFORMATION SHEET: CONVICTED PERPETRATORS

(Date)

Dear Sir

RESEARCH PROJECT

My name is Amelia Kleijn and I am a Masters Social Work student currently registered with the University of the Witwatersrand. My research concerns the psychosocial understanding of perpetrators – in other words, your life history. At the outset, I would like to explain that your social worker at the Department of Correctional Services is aware of this study and I have asked him/her to hand you this letter, in confidence, for your consideration. I do not know your name.

I am sending you this letter to find out if you would be kind enough to assist me by voluntarily participating in and helping me with this research. The main aim of the research is to identify and describe the demographic profile and psychosocial history of convicted sexual perpetrators and I respectfully request your assistance to help me do this. Your involvement in the research requires your agreement to participate in two to three semi-structured interviews, which would take a total of about five hours of your time.

There is no financial or any other reward for your participation in and assistance with the research. **Your identity will be kept confidential and your statements anonymous.** No identifying information would appear in the research about you, your family, your friends, your school or church, any jobs you may have held, or your crime and conviction, and location of the prison. You have the right not to answer a question if you so choose and you have the right to withdraw from the research at any time.

I will tape-record our interviews. This is so that I can then transcribe (type out) what was said during the interviews, and analyze what you and other people who are participating in the research, have said. I would like to assure you that **no identifying details about you or your family or friends, or your crime and conviction will appear in the transcripts, so your identity will remain anonymous.** I am the only person who will listen to the tapes after the interview and type them out, if you speak in English. If, however, you would feel more comfortable in saying certain phrases in your mother tongue, I would have only that portion of the tape translated by a social worker who can speak your mother tongue. The social worker would not know your identity and would only listen to the part of the tape where you speak in your mother tongue. The tapes will be destroyed after the transcripts have been done, and the transcripts destroyed after the research has been published. Alternatively, and if you are comfortable with the suggestion, arrangements can be made to have a DCS social worker present who speaks the same mother tongue as yourself, and the interview can be conducted in your mother tongue.

If you are comfortable with the above arrangements and are willing to assist with the research study, I will ask you to sign a consent form to participate in the research, and a consent form to agree to the audio-recording of the interviews. This would be done before

we started the interview. Please note that the interviews will only focus on crimes that have been heard in court. I must inform you that I am a registered social worker and I have to report even the suspicion of child abuse or any other crime, so we can only talk about your acts that have been reported to the police and heard in court.

I realize that the nature of this research has the potential to be emotionally upsetting. Therefore, at the beginning of the first interview, we will discuss options for post interview counselling, should you feel such a need.

Before you make your decision, I have included information about the interview, which will be divided into five sections:

- Introduction, which includes signing the two consent forms referred to above.
- Personal information, which is about your childhood, adolescent, and adult experiences.
- Incarceration, which is about your life in prison.
- Conviction, which discusses why you are serving prison time.
- Termination, which will also cover if you have a need for counselling.

The interviews will encourage you to speak freely about your life, your experiences, and your feelings. I realize that some of the questions could be sensitive and the interview process will be conducted with the utmost discretion, respect, and empathy – I too am a social worker.

I would be most grateful for your assistance and input in this research study and it would go a long way towards helping people understand why these crimes are happening, and what could be done to try and reduce them from happening.

Any queries you may have about the research can be obtained from my research supervisor, Professor Sandra Drower, Head of Social Work at the University of the Witwatersrand, on telephone (011) 717-4472 or fax (011) 403-1668.

Should you decide to participate in this research study, I thought the most convenient way for us to make contact is through your social worker at the Department of Correctional Services. You would need to inform him/her of your decision, and assuming you are comfortable with this suggestion, for the social worker to set up a suitable interview time. I am also happy to discuss any queries you may have before you make your decision, and again, this could be done through your DCS social worker.

Thank you for your assistance.

Yours faithfully

AMELIA KLEIJN

APPENDIX I

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE RESEARCH: INCARCERATED RESPONDENTS

I am a volunteer participant in the research study aimed at psychosocially understanding perpetrators conducted by Amelia Kleijn, a Masters Social Work student currently registered with the University of the Witwatersrand.

I understand that the research will take the form of semi-structured in-depth interviews that could involve up to 5 hours of my time, over two to three sessions.

I understand that I will receive no financial or any other form of reward or compensation for my participation in the research.

I understand that my identity will be kept anonymous and that the typed transcripts and published research will contain no identifying information that can be linked to me, my family, my educational background, my places of employment or any other distinguishing details.

I also understand that I have the right not to answer a question if I so choose and that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any time.

I understand that the interviews will only focus on crimes that have been reported to the police. I understand that should I mention any crime or illegal activity that has not been reported to the police that Amelia Kleijn has a legal duty as a registered social worker to report even the suspicion of a crime, and will do so, as required by law.

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____

SIGNED: _____
AMELIA KLEIJN

DATE: _____

APPENDIX J

INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED WITH INCARCERATED RESPONDENTS

Incarcerated respondent	**Number of interviews conducted**	**Total length of interviews**	**Language of interviews/ translator**
A	4	7 hrs	English
B	4	7 hrs 30 min	English
C	3 3	3 hrs 45 min 6 hrs	Afrikaans without translator present Afrikaans with female senior DCS social worker as translator
D	4	8 hrs	Afrikaans with male senior DCS social worker as translator
E	4	6 hrs	Afrikaans with male senior DCS social worker as translator
F	4	8 hrs 30 min	Zulu with senior female DCS guard as translator
G	5	10 hrs 30 min	English
H	4	7 hrs 30 min	Xhosa with senior DCS social worker as translator
I	4	7 hrs	English
J	2	6 hrs 30 min	English

The interviews with the incarcerated respondents were conducted between 2004 and 2006. The researcher conducted 41 interviews, lasting almost 78 hours. This time excluded the introduction to the research, ending each interview, and terminating with the respondents at the close of the series of the interviews. Research sites and the exact dates that interviews were conducted have been omitted, to preserve the anonymity of the incarcerated respondents.

APPENDIX K

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE: CONVICTED PERPETRATORS

SECTION A: INTRODUCTION

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the research about understanding convicted sexual perpetrators, which is being conducted by Amelia Kleijn, a Social Work Masters student registered with the University of the Witwatersrand. The main aim of the research is to identify and describe the demographic profile and psychosocial history of convicted perpetrators of the sexual penetration of children under the age of thirty-six months. Before we start with the interview, I need to inform you that this interview will only focus on crimes that have appeared before the courts, which have resulted in your conviction and prison sentence. I must caution you against discussing any possibly illegal acts or crimes that may not have been heard in the courts, as my registration as a social worker requires me to report these possibly illegal acts or crimes. Do you understand this caution?

I would also like to assure you that all the information you give me will be kept anonymous and your identity confidential. When I type up this interview, no identifying details concerning you, your family, your friends, or your crime will appear in the document. As soon as I have typed up the interviews and analyzed them, the tapes will be destroyed. Do you understand this?

I would like to mention that you may find it easier to say certain statements in English and/or your mother tongue. Should this occur, I will need to have **only** that part of our interview translated. The person who would translate would be a social worker who speaks the same home language. He or she will only be allowed to listen to the part of the tape where you speak in your mother tongue and will not know your identity or location. As you can see on my tape recorder, it has a counter so I can play just those parts that need to be translated. Do you understand this? Is this arrangement acceptable to you?

As discussed in my letter to you, before we can begin with the interview, I would like your signed consent to participate in this research and your signed consent that the interview can be audio-recorded. Please can you read both the consent forms and sign them, as a signal of your understanding of the items set out in them. Are there any questions you have? Does anything in these forms need clarification? Is there anything you would like to ask me?

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. I realize that parts of the interview may be difficult for you and I assure you that I will conduct the interview with respect and empathy. At the end of all the interviews, we will discuss how you feel and whether or not you would like to talk about some of the issues we have raised with a counsellor. I will now switch on the tape recorder.

SECTION B: PERSONAL INFORMATION

Childhood (birth to age 12)

I'd like to hear about your childhood – your parents, your brothers and sisters, other relatives and your friends, what your life was like as a growing boy. Would you tell me, in as much detail as you can remember and are comfortable with?

POINTS (IDEALLY) TO BE COVERED. USE AS PROMPT QUESTIONS IF NECESSARY:

- Your age? Ages of your parents when you were born? What did they do (work, recreational activities)?
- Were both your parents at home? Older/younger brothers and sisters? Who else lived with you?
- Who took care of you? Tell me about him/her/them.
- Did you have any pets at home? Tell me about them.
- Did you go to school? (If yes). What can you remember about your early days at school? (If no). What did you do when everybody else went to school/work?
- Could you tell me about your childhood friends? Games played together?
- Did your family go to church?
- Did you go to church? Can you remember what your religious beliefs were as a child?
- What did you do over weekends?
- Tell me about your neighbours and other people living in the area.
- Did you have a lot of contact with them?
- Were you ever sick as a child?
- Who took care of you?
- How would you describe your family?
- Who would discipline you if you had misbehaved?
- How would you be disciplined if you had misbehaved?
- Did you ever experience a traumatic incident as a child, such as the death of a close family member, or possibly having to move home suddenly?
- Did you ever witness any sort of violence as a child?
- When you think back on your childhood, say up to about age 12, what are your feelings?
- What do you remember most?

Adolescence (ages 12 to 19)

I'd like us to focus on your life from the ages of, say, 12 to 19 years. I'd like to hear about your memories of school.

POINTS TO BE (IDEALLY) COVERED. USE AS PROMPT QUESTIONS IF NECESSARY:

- What can you remember about school?
- (If yes). What standard did you finish?
- How old were you when you left school?
- Did you enjoy school?
- (Yes or no). Why?
- Did you have any friends at school?
- Can you tell me about them?
- What sort of things would you do together, say at break time?

- Are there any teachers that you can remember?
- Why?
- Were you hit at school?
- (If yes). For what reasons?
- Who would hit you?

Thank you. May we focus on what your life was like at home during this time? I'd like you to remember who was living in the family home, what were your relationships like with these people?

POINTS TO BE (IDEALLY) COVERED. USE AS PROMPT QUESTIONS IF NECESSARY.

- Who was living at home at this stage?
- How did you get on with these people?
- Tell me about your neighbours.
- What was your community life like?
- Did you have any hobbies or interests?
- Did you go to church?

Thank you. I thought we could move into greater detail about your family. Obviously, at this period of your life as a developing young person, your body would have undergone physical changes and you would have experienced physical sensations as well. I was wondering who told you about these changes and what they meant. How did your family approach the issue of sex? Could you tell me, in as much detail as you feel comfortable with, about your family's attitude towards sex? Who explained the facts of life to you?

POINTS TO BE (IDEALLY) COVERED. PROMPT QUESTIONS IF NECESSARY:

- (If yes). How old were you when this happened?
- (If no). So how did you find out about sex and babies?
- Did you have any girlfriends? Or boyfriends?
- How old were you when you had your first girlfriend?
- What did you think a girlfriend was for?
- What sort of things would you do together?
- How old were you when you had sex for the first time?
- Can you remember how you felt?
- Did you ever use pornographic material?
- Think back on this time of your life – what feelings are raised for you?
- What are your strongest memories of this time of your life?

Early adulthood (age 19 onwards)

Thank you. How are you feeling? Can we continue? (If yes). May we focus on your life say from about age 19 onwards? Can you remember what you were doing with yourself at that time of your life? Working? Relationships with family and friends? Intimate relationships?

POINTS TO BE (IDEALLY) COVERED. PROMPT QUESTIONS IF NECESSARY:

- Did you ever leave home?
- Why?
- (If yes). How old were you?

- Where were you living?
- What was it like?
- Did anyone else live with you?
- Can you describe what your home life was like?
- Did you have any friends?
- Can you describe them?
- What would you do for recreation?
- Did you have any jobs?
- (If yes). Can you tell me about your work history?
- Did you ever experience a traumatic incident during this time of your life?
- Can you describe it to me and your feelings?
- Have you ever used alcohol?
- Have you ever used drugs?
- How did they make you feel?
- What is your attitude towards women?
- What is your attitude towards children?
- Did you have girlfriends?
- What things would you do together?
- What was your sexual relationship like with your girlfriend/s?
- What is your attitude towards sex?
- When you think back on this time of your life, what can you remember the most?
- What feelings are raised for you?

SECTION C: INCARCERATION

Thank you. I appreciate your input. As you know, one of the things this research is trying to do is to understand your life history and your experiences and this would also include your experience of life in prison. I'd therefore find it very helpful if you could tell me, in as much detail as you feel comfortable with, about your life in prison. What does your day consist of?

(PROMPT QUESTIONS IF NECESSARY):

- How long is your sentence? Why were you sentenced?
- Did you have any privileges, such as a television set?
- Can you have visitors? (If yes, who?)
- What are your feelings about being in prison?

SECTION D: OFFENDING

Thank you. I realize that these questions are difficult but they are offering valuable and important information. Given what you have shared with me earlier on, I was wondering if you would feel comfortable in discussing the incident/s that led to your conviction and prison sentence. Can you tell me in as much detail as you feel comfortable with, about what happened that has resulted in your being in prison?

(IDEALLY TO COVER FOLLOWING POINTS – PROMPTS IF NECESSARY):

- What were you doing before the incident?

- Had you been using alcohol or drugs?
- Was anybody with you?
- Did you know the child's mother?
- How did you find the infant/toddler/child?
- What was your motivation for this incident with the infant/toddler/child? Bearing in mind the caution we discussed at the beginning of the interview about only discussing crimes that have appeared before the courts, is this the only such incident involving a child?
- What were you feeling as you did so?
- What did you feel afterwards?
- How do you feel now about what happened?

Thank you. One of the things this research hopes to achieve is to devise an intervention model to try and stop these things from happening. (Ask the following as direct questions, if necessary):

- What would you like to do to "make things better"?
- How do you think we could prevent such acts involving children?
- How could you have been assisted?
- Why do you think you did what you did and what could have stopped you from doing so?
- What else do you think could be done to try and stop these things from happening?

SECTION E: TERMINATION

Thank you for your time and your participation. I know that this may have been very difficult for you and I appreciate your honesty. Before we end the interview, I was wondering:

- Is there anything else you would like to tell me?
- We have spent a lot of time together and you have told me many things. I realize that many feelings have been raised for you. How are you feeling now that we have finished the interviews compared to when we started?
- Do you have a need for counselling? (If yes, discuss referrals).

Thank you for your time and your participation. I know that this may have been very difficult for you and I appreciate your honesty. As was discussed with you at the beginning of the interview, any identifying details that may have been mentioned today will not appear in the transcript, so your identity will remain confidential and your statements anonymous.

I thank you once again for your participation.

APPENDIX L

SEQUENTIAL LIFE HISTORY: INCARCERATED RESPONDENT A

Background information

A DCS social worker identified respondent A from the information reflected on his warrant, issued by the court, when he received his prison sentence. This warrant stated that respondent A served a prison sentence of ten years for the rape of his 18-month-old cousin. The respondent committed this crime when he was aged 26,[3] about eight years before the researcher conducted these interviews. The same DCS social worker approached him on behalf of the researcher to ascertain if he was willing to participate in this research, and respondent A agreed. The DCS social worker relayed this information to the researcher. At the same time, the DCS social worker informed the researcher that the respondent wanted her (the DCS social worker) present during the interviews, to act as the translator, due to his extremely limited English. The researcher and the DCS social worker agreed to the respondent's request.

The researcher went to the prison and met respondent A, then aged 34. The DCS social worker was present at this meeting, during which the researcher explained the aims and data collection methods of the research to the respondent, and his rights as a research respondent. Thereafter, respondent A said he did not want the DCS social worker present during the interviews to act as the translator, to which the researcher and DCS social worker agreed. The researcher commenced the first interview immediately. Four interviews were conducted with the respondent lasting a total of seven hours. This time excluded the introduction to the research, addressing the respondent's questions before each interview commenced, and de-briefing time after interviews.

The researcher conducted these four interviews in a DCS social worker's office. This office was at the end of a row of offices. Each office had large viewing windows, about 2,5 m by 2 m, on two sides, so that all the offices were visible. A DCS guard sat in the adjacent office when the researcher conducted these interviews. As the office that the researcher used to conduct these interviews was at the end of the row, the office had one viewing window. The researcher positioned the respondent so that his back faced the

[3] The respondent reported that his case was remanded three times over a period of two years. He was in prison during this time as an awaiting trial detainee.

viewing window and he could not see the guard. In addition to the viewing window in the office where the researcher conducted the interviews, the door in this office had a viewing window. A second DCS guard was outside this door during the interviews. The door was closed throughout the interviews.

Early childhood

Respondent A is a black, Sotho, male, aged 34 at the time that the researcher conducted these interviews. The respondent was born in the early 1970s on a vegetable farm, in a predominantly agricultural region. During the respondent's childhood, his parents lived on the farm. The respondent's paternal and maternal grandparents had lived on this farm for over forty years with their children - the respondent's two maternal uncles, one paternal uncle and four paternal aunts.

Having three generations from the same family, all living and working on the same farm, was a common occurrence at the time the respondent was born. However, black farm workers were amongst the most oppressed workers in South Africa (Christie and Gaganakis, 1989:78). Oppressive regulations under the apartheid government meant that black labour was "bound" to farmers and ensured their virtual exclusion from the open employment market (Christie and Gaganakis, 1989:79). The result, for farm workers, was increasing proletarianization,[4] limited access to land, and a constant deterioration in real wages and working conditions (Christie and Gaganakis, 1989:79).

The researcher asked the respondent if he knew how old his parents were when he was born. He gave their birth years. According to the respondent, his father and mother were aged 27 and 12,[5] respectively, at the time of his birth. The researcher notes that respondent A's ability to give dates and ages was limited. She was informed that DCS records reflect he attended school for six years.

Respondent A reported that he is an only child. He said his father had "terrible epilepsy" and his mother "had a problem with her leg. … She is a cripple". The respondent also said

[4] Marshall (1994:421) explains that the term "proletarianization" is the process whereby sections of the middle class are absorbed into the working class.

[5] During interview three, the respondent said that his grandfather was "sixty-something" which means the respondent's grandfather was born during the 1940s. It is therefore possible that the respondent's mother was 12 years old when the respondent was born.

that his mother's hands and feet were "not working". The researcher asked the respondent, "Did your parents work?" The respondent shook his head and said, "No". When asked how his parents got money to live, the respondent explained that his maternal grandfather and his two maternal uncles lived and worked on the same farm that he lived with his parents. These two uncles supported the respondent and his parents financially. Later, the respondent said that his paternal grandparents also lived and worked on the same farm.

Respondent A had few recollections about his early childhood (before age seven) but he could remember that he lived in a metal shack with his biological parents, his two maternal uncles (who supported the respondent and his parents financially) and a "little girl" from one of the maternal uncles. The metal shack consisted of one room. It had no bathroom or electricity. The respondent said, "I don't want to go there [to the shack] again. It was not a nice house!" When A was seven, he reported that he witnessed a fight between his biological parents. "My father hit my mother". His parents separated and the respondent's father lived about 70 km away from the respondent. In a later interview, the respondent reported that both of his parents hit him when they were fighting, which suggests that the fight between the respondent's parents that ended in their separation was not their first fight.

The respondent can remember that after his parents separated he lived in another shack for three years, on the same farm, with his mother, his mother's boyfriend (a man the respondent referred to as "my uncle"), one of his two maternal uncles, and this uncle's daughter. The three adults and two children lived, cooked, and slept in one room, with no electricity, running water, or sanitation. His mother's boyfriend worked on the farm as a driver. Respondent A assisted with household tasks, from ages seven to ten years, which his mother was not able to fulfil due to her physical disability. "I go to the shop and I buy the food". The respondent reported that he collected water in four 25-litre drums, using a wheelbarrow, from a river about one km away from the shack.

The respondent reported that his mother and her boyfriend always fought around payday. He explained that his mother needed money but his "uncle" would play "dice" (a form of gambling) and lose his wages. The respondent could remember his mother standing at the gate, waiting for her boyfriend to return. He said that other mothers would also wait for money from their partners at month end. Sometimes, the respondent said, his mother and

other women would approach the supervisor at the farm for money, and the supervisor would say, "We are finished here. You will get money in a few days". The respondent reported that his mother never received money from her boyfriend's supervisor. His "uncle" (i.e. his mother's boyfriend) would frequently borrow money for drinking with his *chommies* (friends). The family's possessions were taken for the loans the "uncle" had incurred and this family unit split up when respondent A was aged about ten.

The respondent's second maternal uncle, a person that the respondent always referred to as "my little father" when he spoke about him, took respondent A, aged about ten, to live with him. These living arrangements were also in a shack, on the same farm. The respondent thought his little father was about 17 years old when he went to live with him. The researcher asked the respondent about his use of the term "little father". The respondent said, "My little father came with my mother. We say it is a young father, if he is a boy. He is not a man".

The researcher asked the respondent if he ever got sick as a little boy. He replied, "No".

Home and punishment

Respondent A said that his parents fought, and they hit him. The respondent said, "My mother smacked me … not to make the play with some children". (The researcher has understood this statement as either that the respondent was playing with some children whom his mother thought undesirable, or the respondent was bullying some children). The respondent reported that his mother hit his face using her hand. His mother withheld food as a form of punishment when the respondent did not attend school, with food being given as a reward for attendance at school.

The respondent reported that his mother's boyfriend smacked him "a lot" but never explained to the respondent why he did so.

A said his little father was aggressive and beat him, which left him feeling cross, and too scared to discuss his problems with him. He said, "My little father would hit me with a big belt all over the body … when I am making a mistake".

School and childhood friends

Respondent A attended a school on the farm, until he was aged ten. He walked to this school. He reported that all the parents, who lived and worked on the farm, paid for the school. He explained that there was a river he had to cross when he went to school. There was no bridge. On one occasion, when the water was very high, the respondent fell into the river. "I was perhaps five years, six years or seven years old". He could not swim. A passer-by helped the respondent from certain drowning.

The respondent spent his weekends playing soccer with the other children who lived on the farm.

The respondent said that he often did not attend school as there was no money to pay school fees. His school attendance was erratic for this reason.

From the age of ten, when the respondent was living with his little father, the respondent reported he attended a school in the local town. He travelled to this school by bus. The respondent said he loved Maths at school. "I was really clever … I was a friendly boy". He had three friends at school who were his close friends. The respondent reported that when he spent his weekends with his paternal grandfather, who lived and worked on the same farm, he worked alongside his grandfather, as a gardener, to try and pay his school fees. "When I want the school fees, I've got to pay them".

The respondent could not attend school between the ages of 14 and 16 when he nursed his bedridden paternal grandmother until her death. He never returned to school thereafter. A DCS social worker confirmed that DCS records reflected that the respondent completed six years of school.

School and punishment

During the time that the respondent attended the farm school, he said he was *klapped* (smacked) for not listening in class, missing school, or arriving late. The respondent reported that both his teacher and the school principal hit him about three times a week. His teacher administered "three or five *klaps* (smacks) … using a piece of broomstick" (about 40 cm in length), on his hands. Sometimes, the teacher used a blackboard duster. The teacher hit the respondent in front of the other children in his class. The principal

administered approximately three beatings a week using a *sjambok* (a whip made from animal hide), or a car fan belt. Two or three "hits" would be given on the respondent's buttocks whilst he lay, face down, on a bench. He said spontaneously, "The principal and the teacher … they are treating people the wrong way". He also said, "The principal he was punishing me there without justice".

The researcher asked the respondent how he felt when he was hit with a fan belt. He replied, "You are going to feel the pain but there is no other way". The researcher asked if it made him cry. He replied, "Um but we are not crying. Because it's the school on the farm, there is no law there. There is no inspector there to check the school or to see what was happening there by the school". The researcher clarified that the school had no inspector. The respondent exclaimed, "Yes! [The farm I lived on] and the other farms, we are taking the money there then we make the school there. There were a lot of teachers there, people who were working there by the [vegetable] farm". The respondent thought that the school had "two thousand two hundred" children attending it, as children came by bus from "a lot of farms there".

Respondent A said, "I smacked other children at school and other children hit me".

Middle childhood and adolescence

Respondent A explained that his little father was aggressive. The researcher asked the respondent what he meant. The respondent replied, "There was no understanding from my little father … he didn't like me … he was cross with me … everyday". The respondent said, "I was cross with my little father". He reported that his little father beat him. The respondent said he was too scared of his little father to discuss his problems. He reported that as a form of punishment, food was denied to him. Often there was no food. The respondent reported that he had to collect water in four 20-litre drums. On one occasion, he borrowed a wheelbarrow from the neighbour to make the task easier. His little father shouted at him. On another occasion, when A was about 12, he borrowed a metal brazier from the neighbours. His little father hit him with the brazier, saying it was unacceptable to borrow such things. The respondent was "cross" after this incident.

During the week, the respondent lived with his little father and went to school in the local town. The respondent said, "I looked after my little father's sheep, chickens and garden.

… We've got the garden with flowers". The respondent's paternal grandparents also lived on the farm. During the weekends, he stayed with them.

His grandfather had cows, which respondent A had to look after in the afternoons, after school. He gave salt blocks and water to the cows. The neighbours brought their cows to A's grandfather, so that A could tend to these animals as well. The respondent's payment for this was cold drink or *takkies* (running shoes). A said that his grandfather had dogs, which the respondent said he taught not to bite people, explaining that if the dogs did bite someone, it was the result of him being careless. He said he never hit the dogs. He liked the dogs and the cows.

Respondent A frequently ran errands for his grandfather, such as buying *mielie meal* (crushed maize), cabbage and potatoes, from a shop "not too far" away. The shop delivered the food, using a *bakkie* (an open delivery vehicle). The respondent recalled, "My grandfather had more, more, more *chommies* (friends) who came to him, from six or seven o'clock. They joked with my grandfather and perhaps they are going out to drink Sotho beer … and enjoy parties".

At age 14, the respondent reported that his paternal grandfather took the respondent from his little father permanently. He said his grandfather needed him to work full time and look after the cattle. The respondent reported that, by this stage, his father, paternal uncle and four paternal aunts, all lived in the local town, and would visit the respondent's grandparents once a month. The respondent reported that he also cared for his grandmother, who was permanently bed ridden. "No people helped my grandmother. It's me alone". He cared for his grandmother for two years until her death. The respondent said his care giver tasks included helping his grandmother to the toilet, wiping her private parts, preparing food for her and changing her blankets. He reported that as he sat next to his grandmother's bed, she would say to him, "I am going forever. I am not coming back again". The respondent witnessed the death of his grandmother and reported that he was alone with her at the time of her passing. He said he had been sitting next to her bed and realized that she had died. The respondent did not know what had ailed his grandmother or caused her death. After she had died, the respondent reported that he went to the local hospital and called an ambulance. He had to tell his grandfather what had happened. The

respondent reported that his paternal uncle, who asked for details about the grandmother's passing, harassed A, and family members accused him of killing his grandmother.

Thereafter, at age 16, the respondent returned to live with his little father (then aged about 23) for the next ten years. By the time respondent A was aged 26, shortly before he committed his sexual crime, his little father was married and had four children. The respondent reported that his little father was cross with his wife and children too.

Sex and girlfriends

Discussing sex at home was a taboo and respondent A said he could not ask his mother. In another interview, the researcher asked the respondent if someone had told him about sex. The respondent exclaimed, "No!" The researcher's next question was, "So where did you learn where babies came from?" The respondent said he learnt from his girlfriend, whom he met when she was about 16. She was still at school when they met. The respondent said that his first sexual experience was at the age of 19 (in the very late 1980s). He reported that this girlfriend was his first and only sexual partner for six to seven years, until his arrest. The researcher notes that the respondent giggled a lot as she clarified the respondent's sexual history. The respondent and his girlfriend, in response to the researcher's question as to what they did together, watched television "soapies". He said he lived with his girlfriend for two or three years in his room in his little father's shack. The respondent wanted to marry his girlfriend but did not have the money to do so. He frequently referred to his girlfriend as "my wife". The respondent said he had a son. This girlfriend is the mother of this child, whom the respondent said was aged six or seven at the time of the interviews. The son was born after the respondent's arrest for rape. The respondent has never seen his son.

The researcher asked the respondent what he thought of children. He replied, "I like children. The children are the future. If you don't have children, then you are not a man". The respondent said he masturbated about three times a week before he engaged in a sexual relationship. "It depends on the feeling there". When the researcher asked the respondent what he thought about whilst masturbating, he replied, "The mind was too cross". He had wet dreams frequently and can remember that he dreamt about sex. (However, the respondent said he experienced these dreams about sex before he experienced sexual intercourse himself. The researcher therefore believes that the respondent witnessed his

parents and/or his mother and her boyfriend and/or other members of the family engaging in sexual intercourse whilst living in the one-room shack). When the respondent was older, "I go to my girlfriend … twice a week" rather than masturbate.

Respondent A was hesitant when asked questions about pornography, as he did "not know that pornography". The respondent repeated the word "pornography" with garbled pronunciation. He did not understand the word. The researcher explained that it was "magazines with pictures in it of people with no clothes on, maybe having sex or showing their private parts or their breasts". The respondent said, "Ummmmm, I understand you now. No".

Employment and alcohol history

The researcher asked the respondent if he had ever had a job, as an adult. He replied that he had "piece jobs" (part-time work) as a gardener and a handy man. "I was working there by the gardens … there are no jobs". The researcher asked the respondent how many piece jobs he had. He replied, "Five". The researcher asked if the respondent would ever have a beer when he finished working. He said, "No". The researcher asked, "No alcohol"? The respondent replied, "No". She then asked, "Do you drink alcohol"? He exclaimed, "No! I don't like it". The next reference that the respondent made to alcohol was after the researcher confirmed that he had said, "It was not my fault I was here" [in prison]. The researcher asked why it was not the respondent's fault. He replied, "I was a drunk man".

The respondent said he was a care giver to his little father's four children. He reported that he took the children to preschool in the morning. Then he went to his piece job. Thereafter, he collected the children from preschool, at one or two o'clock, and took them home. He looked after them until half past four, when the children's father, the man the respondent called his little father, came home. The respondent said, "I sat with the children when my little father went out".

During one of the interviews, the respondent commented, "I am working here by the jail. We've got lots of jobs here".

Religious beliefs

The respondent has been a member of the Zionist Christian Church (ZCC) [6] since a young child and said, "It was good there at ZCC". He can remember attending the ZCC every Sunday with his mother, her boyfriend, his uncle and his uncle's daughter. He follows his religious beliefs in prison and attends the religious services available. He said that he had copies of the Bible in seven languages. The languages were English, Afrikaans and five indigenous languages.

Crime and incarceration

The respondent said he had no previous convictions or prison sentences, prior to receiving his current sentence of ten years for rape. A DCS social worker confirmed this information.

At the time of the rape, the respondent, aged 26, was living with his little father, aged about 33, the little father's wife, and their four children. The respondent's pregnant girlfriend lived about one km away.

The researcher asked the respondent what happened that he was in jail. He replied, "I made problems on the outside and that's why I come now in the jail". The researcher asked what the respondent's problem was on the outside. He replied, "It's a rape". The researcher asked, "So who did you rape?" The respondent stuttered when he answered this question. What was clear in his reply was the phrase, "I'm not hurting that one". Respondent A admitted to the researcher that his crime was the rape of one of the four children of his little father. When asked for the age of the child, he replied, "Eighteen months".

On the night of the rape, A had been drinking in a shebeen (an informal tavern) celebrating the birthday of a friend. (However, when the researcher asked the respondent earlier on in the interviews about alcohol, he said that he did not drink alcohol). The respondent said they had a party, and "There were lots of things there. There was beer there, food … cakes, buns". The respondent said his pregnant girlfriend was not at the party. "But me, I was alone that time". He returned, on his own, at about midnight to the two-room shack. The

[6] According to Byrnes (1996:1), the ZCC respects traditional African belief systems, particularly those concerning the power of the ancestors to intercede on behalf of humans. ZCC beliefs are eclectic. Practices are often strict, with the condemnation of sexual promiscuity and violence. However, the ZCC proscribes alcoholic beverages, smoking and eating pork.

little father and his wife slept in one room of the shack. Respondent A slept with their four children in the second room. The respondent said, "Me, I'm the guard for the children". He explained that the children cried when he left them at the preschool. He then said, "The children liked me. Then that's why I make it that one but I was drunk". The researcher asked, "What are you saying, you make it that one?" The respondent replied, "My mind was not there. I was very cross. But I was drunk that time. … I was make it that one but we have one place to sleep. That's why I make it the rape". The researcher asked, "So what happened"? The respondent paused, and then replied, "Then my mind was so (paused) when you are cross. I [thought] it was my wife" (his girlfriend). He said that it was too late for him to visit his girlfriend, who lived one km away.

The toddler's screams attracted her father (the respondent's little father/uncle) who rushed into the room whereupon the respondent stopped "making" (his phrase) the toddler. The researcher asked why the respondent went for the toddler. He explained that the toddler was the last child in the row of four children, and she was closest to the door.

The respondent ran to a friend's house, after his little father shouted that he would kill him for raping the toddler. He was arrested the same day.

Respondent A was not sure if he ejaculated and then said later that he had not. He said that he did feel pain after the rape, as the child was a young girl.

At the time of the rape, the respondent said that, "My mind was very cross" after a fight with his little father. This was after the respondent had said to his little father that he wanted to go and live with his biological father, and his little father had said no. Respondent A reported that his little father threatened him with being "thrown out". The respondent explained that he was "cross" with his little father and that this was the reason he had raped the toddler. The researcher asked the respondent why he was cross. He replied that he was afraid of his little father and he could not talk to him when he had a problem, as he would say to the respondent that he was not his father.

Respondent A was denied bail and remained in jail for two years whilst awaiting trial. During this time, the respondent's case was remanded three times. His family was not

present during the trial. The respondent was convicted on DNA evidence. He received a prison sentence of ten years for his crime.

The researcher asked the respondent what could have stopped him from doing what he did to the toddler. He replied, "If your mind … is not working all right, perhaps you are going to do it". The researcher clarified this by asking, "So what are you saying? If your mind is not working properly, then you will do it?" "Yes", he replied. "There are lots of things before you rape … you must think first. If people are working … they are not making problems. If they are not working, then they are making problems, you see. I've asked other prisoners, 'how to make it this one' [why they raped] and they are telling you different things here. They … tell you, 'I was drinking there and I make it [rape] this one and this one'".

The researcher asked respondent A if people could come and see him in prison. Respondent A replied, "All of them, all of them, they are not coming here by the jail. … They've got no money". The respondent reported that he has written 15 letters to various friends and family members but, "They are not writing back to me. … They do not answer me". He said, without prompting, that he "felt pain" as his letters were unanswered. The researcher suggested that, "Sometimes when people don't talk to us, it can mean they are cross". The researcher asked the respondent what he thought. He replied, "No. I think it's perhaps there are a lot of problems outside". He said he would continue with his letters to his family.

The researcher asked the DCS social worker if the respondent received any visitors in prison. She verified that the respondent had no visitors, including his family members, in six years. The DCS social worker advised that she had contacted respondent A's family, prior to the researcher conducting these interviews, to see if they would be willing to visit him. The family members promised the social worker that they would visit the respondent but had not done so at the time of the interviews. However, the DCS social worker thought the respondent's family had not visited him in prison as they were angry with him. Given the respondent's statement that his family has no money, it is also possible they cannot afford to travel 250 km to the prison to see him.

Some members of the respondent's family continue to live and work on the same farm.

The respondent informed the researcher that both of his parents died during the first 18 months of his incarceration. The respondent and the DCS social worker did not know the parents' ages at the time of their deaths, or the causes thereof.

APPENDIX M

SEQUENTIAL LIFE HISTORY: INCARCERATED RESPONDENT B

Background information

A DCS social worker identified respondent B from the warrant issued by the court when he received his sentence of imprisonment. The warrant stated that respondent B served a 15-year prison sentence for the rape of a three-year-old girl. He committed this crime about seven years before the researcher conducted these interviews. The toddler was the daughter of a married woman with whom the respondent had a sexual relationship. Respondent B knew the toddler from the time of her birth.

The respondent requested two face-to-face meetings with the researcher whilst he decided on participating in the research. When the researcher met with the respondent for the third time, he agreed to participate in the study. Interviews commenced immediately. The researcher conducted four interviews totalling seven hours. This excluded the time taken to inform the respondent of his research rights, answer his questions before interviews commenced, and de-brief him after each interview.

No translator was required during the interviews, which the researcher conducted in a social worker's office in the maximum-security section of the prison. The office was rectangular and had a small viewing window in the single door of the office. Due to the shape of the office, the respondent and researcher were not visible to DCS guards through the viewing window. Consequently, guards made frequent, and unannounced, security checks.

Respondent B is a black, Zulu, male. During the first interview, the respondent said that he thought his age was 34. He explained that his mother had never told him his exact birth date or anything about his biological father. Seven years previously, he had "a quarrel" with his mother. He had no contact with her since. Seven years previously, the police arrested the respondent for the rape of the toddler. Before the third interview between the researcher and the respondent, he met with his mother. This was after the intervention of a DCS social worker, who had facilitated this meeting. The respondent said, three times, "I cry a lot" during this meeting. The respondent's mother informed him of his exact birth

date - two years later than he had presumed. He was therefore aged 32 when the researcher conducted these interviews.

Respondent B gave many contradictory statements during the interviews. The researcher has noted some of them, where appropriate, in this summary.

Childhood and teenage years

Respondent B was born in the early 1970s. He lived in a township created by the apartheid state as was it illegal, during the apartheid era, for blacks to live where they chose. The apartheid state created townships near cities to ensure a plentiful supply of cheap black labour. For respondent B, and the residents of this township, the nearest city was about 35 km away. Historical records reflect high rates of deprivation and unemployment during the time that the respondent lived in this township. The township, as did many other townships in the country, experienced political turbulence and violence, most notably during the 1980s and 1990s. Respondent B lived in this township for the first 17 years of his life.

At the beginning of the first interview, the researcher asked the respondent the ages of his parents. He replied, "Even now, I don't know how old my mother is". After the respondent met with his mother for the first time in seven years, he confirmed that his mother worked as a cleaner at a provincial hospital. When the respondent was about ten years old, he thought that his mother started working at this hospital in the early 1980s. The respondent said that, "I think now she is a supervisor". During this same meeting, the respondent's mother informed him of her birth date. She was aged 25 when B was born.

Also at the beginning of the first interview, the researcher asked B, "And the age of your father?" The respondent replied, "To tell the truth, I don't know my really [biological] father". The researcher asked, "So you've never met your father?" The respondent paused, sighed and then said, "I never met my really father because I (sighed, paused) I grow up at another family (paused) and then that father, I think it was my father, yes (paused), but at a certain stage, I discovered he's not my father". The respondent reported that he still knew nothing about his biological father, even after meeting with his mother for the first time in seven years.

B is the middle child of an older half-brother and younger half-sister. "I don't know my brother, what his age is". This brother is deceased and the respondent gave no further information about him. The respondent's biological father is different from that of his older half-brother and younger half-sister. He explained that his older brother's parents separated after the birth of his half-brother. The respondent reported that his mother then had a relationship with another man. She fell pregnant with the respondent. Thereafter, his mother and brother's father "got back together" and the respondent's half-sister was born about a year after the respondent's birth. The respondent spontaneously said, "My oldest brother has passed away". The researcher paused and then said, "I am sorry to hear that". The respondent said, "Um and then we are only three with my mother". This would suggest that the father of B's half- brother and half-sister were not part of this family unit.

The respondent reported that, "At a certain stage, another man came to my mother. He was always coming to my mother. At that time, I was really, really, young. And then, he's always coming to fetch me (paused) like weekends. I go to stay with them, that family. Then at a certain stage, he decided to take me". The respondent gave two dates that would have made him seven or eight when he was "taken". B explained, "That family that I call now ….is my family because I grow up in that family". "That family" consisted of "another man" - whom B always referred to as "my father" who was "a priest" and worked for the church, his wife - a woman the respondent always referred to as "my stepmother", and their five children. The respondent said his father was, "A nice (paused), a nice man, a nice man". The respondent reported that he was very close to one of the children, whom he referred to as his "stepsister" or "sister". The respondent said, "I became part of the family". He said they referred to him as their lastborn child of six children. The respondent said, "I never met my really father … and then that father (i.e. from his second or other[7] family), I think it was my father but at a certain stage, I discovered it's not my father". The respondent reported that he made this "discovery" when he was 25 years old.

When the researcher clarified the "other family" information with the respondent, he explained that his two half siblings lived with their, and the respondent's, biological mother

[7] The researcher has used the terms "second" or "other" family when referring to the family that the respondent said he lived with "forever" from the age of about seven. It does not imply a legal arrangement.

and the respondent lived with the other family "forever" from the age of seven or eight years.

The respondent grew up in a "location" (township), with his second family, in a "nice house" which he described as having three bedrooms, a lounge and dining room. "And a living room, two toilets with one for our parents and then one for the children" as well as running water and electricity. The respondent's description of a "nice house" in the late 1970s is surprising, as it is in marked contrast to the documented poverty and deprivation of the township. The respondent said, "I don't have any member of my family living in a shack". However, which family he refers to is ambiguous.

During the first interview, the researcher asked the respondent why he lived with this family and not with his biological mother and his two half siblings. The respondent sighed, paused, and then replied, "Even today I don't know. I think I would like to find out the real answer". However, during the second interview, B said that a maternal uncle had sold his biological family's home without consultation. The respondent explained that he has two maternal uncles. "The first born [uncle] of my mother's family decided to sell the house for us. We used to stay in my [maternal] grandmother's house. That house, we used like a family house. At an early age, I was very, very young, my uncle just decided to sell the house without informing anybody". The respondent said he was aged about seven when this happened. The researcher asked, "Where did you all go and live?" He replied, "Others they go and stay with other families until my mother bought a house. She bought a two-room house". The researcher asked if this was when the respondent went to live with his stepmother. The respondent confirmed this and said, "This change, it started it all … I think my uncle contributed to my problems as I've got so many problems now". The respondent said his uncle wrote to him but "I don't respond to him because he's got a big house now. He's got cars, everything. He's like a rich guy now but I just tell him I don't need you". Shortly before the respondent committed his crime, the respondent reported that his mother had tried to arrange a meeting between the respondent and his uncle. "I said to my mother I'm very busy, I'm very busy. I didn't tell her straight that I did not want to see my uncle and my mother became very angry for me that I'm still angry for my uncle, for her brother". The respondent is still waiting for an apology from his uncle, 25 years later.

The respondent said, “I liked my stepmother but at a certain stage she changed and then hurt me”. The researcher asked how old he was. The respondent replied, “At that stage I was very young. I was maybe 12 or 13 years”. This “change”, reported respondent B, included that the respondent’s stepmother “didn’t like” him and would deny him food. The researcher asked, “What happened”? He replied, “She was frustrating me, like come and wash the dishes. I was doing everything. I was cleaning. I was doing jobs that children don’t do”.

The respondent reported that his biological mother would visit him daily (and later he said his mother visited him at weekends) at his second family and sometimes bring him expensive clothes. However, this would make his stepmother “jealous” of his biological mother, who was working as a cleaner in a provincial hospital. His stepmother would give his clothes to his “brother” [from his second family]. The respondent reported he was the youngest child of his other family. If so, could his “stepbrother” fit into these clothes, and would the respondent’s mother notice if her son was not wearing these “expensive clothes”? The respondent added, “My real mother … she’s a very harsh person for her child”, which sounds contradictory to his statements of her daily or weekend visits with expensive clothes.

The respondent made frequent references to clothes, including, “We went to town to buy clothes for Christmas. My stepmother said to my father she thought we mustn’t buy a lot of things”. The respondent reported that his step siblings got new things whilst he received their old shoes, from his father. When the researcher asked the respondent how this made him feel, he replied, “In fact, my father was interested in the things of his members of the church. He was interested in all the things of the church. He was always busy with things of the church … and it was not easy to make him see how things were going, what was happening”.

The researcher asked if the respondent was ever sick as a child. B said, “They used to tell me that at junior school, I was an asthma person”. The researcher asked, “Did you ever need a little thing you’d spray in your mouth”? B said, “No, I never had problems”. He then said, “And then one day she [stepmother] say to me I was very sick. I was in hospital, at the age of eight or so”. The respondent changed the conversation thereafter.

Home and punishment

The respondent reported that from age 12 or 13, his stepmother changed and then hurt him. He said that he was "not even once" hit by his father but was hit all the time by his stepmother when his father was at work. His stepmother would hit him with a shoe, *sjambok* (whip made from animal hide), stick or anything that was available. His stepsister, whom the respondent referred to as "my sister" and reported that he was very close to, would "sometimes get between my stepmother and me and say no, no, no, this is too much for me. … My sister was always on my side … understanding". The researcher asked if his step siblings knew his stepmother was beating him. He said, "Yes, they knew". The researcher asked B if his step siblings were beaten. The respondent paused, and then said, in an animated voice, "Sometimes, maybe once a year", and then changed the discussion to his school report.

Respondent B reported that his stepmother did not hit him at the weekends when his father was in the house. The respondent said that his father was away often. "My stepmother, she was very cross to my father if he was there … it was not easy to make him see how things were going, what was happening. During the weekend, she'd behave like a real mother".

Respondent B said his stepmother made him perform household chores, often before going to school. His step siblings "did nothing". He said that his father did not see what was going on because he was always at work. B never told his biological mother or father about the beatings from his stepmother as he was scared of the repercussions from his stepmother. "I always lie to my mother, to my father, because if I tell my father the truth what's going on, if he's not here, I will cause a lot of problems. … I didn't tell my mother …. You know the way I loved my mother, I didn't want to see her … pain". B said that his mother could see, "I was not the same … not right" and she would speak with his stepfather so that the respondent could spend weekends with her. "My stepmother she's not allowing me to stay with my really mother. … She will pretend she loves me a lot to my really mother. She says you mustn't take this child away". The respondent showed the researcher a scar on his forehead and a broken tooth. She asked how these injuries had happened. He replied, "Sometimes my stepmother say to me, go and fetch my shoes, there under the bed. And when I go under the bed, then she just grab me, rough me (slapped his hands together as he said this), shake me. (Starts speaking in an animated voice): 'Why don't you clean? Why don't you clean these sheets? Why don't you do this?' (Voice

returns to normal.) And if I don't do my job that day, I know I will get some punishment". When the researcher asked if his father had seen the injuries, the respondent said he told his father that he had sustained the injuries whilst "playing the ball". He said he "always lied" to his mother and father about the cause of his injuries. The researcher reflected that the respondent was scared of his stepmother. He replied, "I was very, very scared. I was very, very scared".

School and school friends

Respondent B reported that he attended school for 11 years, from the early 1980s until the early 1990s. He attended co-educational primary and high schools. He passed standard nine, his penultimate year of school, at the age of 16. He enjoyed school and reported, "I was a good scholar". (The respondent later reported that he played truant at school). "I never failed at school". He said that, "I get my friends from school. … We used to play soccer a lot (surprising if he was hospitalized for asthma). … I would discuss doing nice things when we grow up with my friends. Some friends said, 'I want to be a lawyer. I want to be a teacher'". When the researcher asked B what his dream was during these discussions he said, "I was looking forward to be an advisor of the President". He left school before commencing his final year, despite his friends trying to persuade him to finish his school education. "I was forced to go and work because of the situation I was in …to buy my things". (However, this contradicts the "nice, expensive clothes" the respondent mentioned earlier). He said that whilst he lived with his second family and had regular beatings from his stepmother, "My friends were on good terms with their families, everything was going fine and they wore nice clothes".

B said he had two close friends at school, one of whom has since passed away. No details were given about this friend's passing. The respondent showed no emotion when he said this. He reported that his second friend from school currently holds a senior position in a bank in his home province. B said that, "This friend always comes to visit me here" [in prison, some 700 km away]. He reported that his friend told him, "I know you (respondent). You never do such things". According to a DCS social worker, the prison Visitors' Log did not reflect such visits.

School and punishment

The researcher asked the respondent if his teachers ever hit him at school. B replied, "Yes, if I don't do things". He missed classes with his friends. "You know sometimes at school we do the wrong things. Maybe we go out, not go to class. … We're going with friends. Like Fridays, we say no, let us miss … Maths … and we go to town and watch a *flick* (a film). Come Monday, 'where were you on Friday 12 o'clock? You weren't in class'. … Every week, they are hitting me at school. Then they sent me to the garden – we were doing gardens … as a class – and then we run away. Things like that". The respondent understood his beatings at school "if I don't do things". B reported that he was hit once a week, with the teacher hitting his buttocks or across his hands with a cane, or animal hair fly swatter, in front of the other children.

Once a month, the punishment was more severe. B had to remove his trousers - "I must stand in my underpants"- bend over and hold onto a chair. Then he was hit "eight or ten" times. The respondent reported that this was done in front of the class. The researcher said that B must have been very embarrassed. He said, "Myself, not. During my growing days, my embarrassment got less". The researcher asked what the other children did when the respondent was beaten on his buttocks. B replied, "I was not alone but maybe with three or five" children, also punished, whilst in their underpants. "We were taking it … as a punishment". B would not cry during, or after, these beatings. "I always don't want other people to see my feelings". Some children laughed at him and, "Then sometimes I used to beat them because I am a quiet person. At the same time, I don't want somebody laughing at me. When somebody's doing wrong things for me, I don't like it. You may do wrong things to me. I never cry. I'll never cry but … if somebody … laughs at me, he make me ***cry*** (said with emphasis) because he don't feel pain for me. He just laughs at me and then I will respond by hitting him or doing things for her or him". Respondent B hit children after school, who had laughed at him in class, and they cried. He said he used his fists when hitting them. "I never fight with something". B would then "feel sorry" and apologize explaining, "You made me do the wrong thing by laughing. But I am very sorry. Please just forgive me and I'll never do this again".

The researcher reflected that it sounded as if respect, and people being polite, were important to the respondent. He replied, "That's what I try to teach … always respect

comes first to me, respect and discipline. I am very disciplined. I am very disciplined and have respect for other people, older or not older [younger] to me".

Religious belief

The respondent said that his biological mother was not involved a lot in the church. His interest in the church was due to his second family's involvement with the church. "Then I became interested in the church. … I went to church as a little boy until I went to prison". After a quarrel between his mother and stepmother, "I decided to concentrate on matters at the church". The respondent used this same phrase when he started working at the age of 18. Respondent B described himself as, "A Christian and a religious man".

Domestic pets

The respondent, when asked, reported that neither his biological nor second family had domestic pets.

Employment history

The respondent left school after passing his penultimate year of school education, at the age of about 16. He explained that his decision not to complete his final year of school was because, "I must buy my things". He got a "piece of job", meaning part-time work, with a supermarket chain.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the respondent was aged 18. He reported that his sister (stepsister) invited him to live with her in a house she had purchased in a township (in another province, about 700 km away). "My sister decided to come and fetch me because I was very, very close to her. She was always on my side. She was always on my side. I don't want to talk lies. And I didn't tell my mother I'm leaving because at that time, my mother and I weren't so close". The researcher then asked B how often his mother visited him at his stepmother. The respondent was silent and then said that his mother had a "quarrel" with his stepmother. "For a long time, she (biological mother) decided not to come. If I wanted to see her, or want something, then I must go to her place". The researcher asked how this made the respondent feel. He said, "Very sad. It was like I don't have any family".

The respondent reported that he found work with the same supermarket chain (in another province 700 km away, whilst he lived with his stepsister.) He replied, "Yes" when the researcher asked if his employer had arranged a transfer for him. The respondent said, "I decided to concentrate on matters at the church whilst working, as I was trying to make some good living for me".

B later applied for another post within the same company, worked there and then, "I just decided to leave the work and go back to the school … a sort of a *Technikon*" (a college). In a later interview the respondent said, "I hated that job". He did not return to school or *Technikon* because "that time, I was a motor mechanic … I just leave the work and then I decided to stay with … a friend … in the location who taught me motor mechanic".

During the final interview, the researcher clarified the respondent's employment history with him. She asked B for how many months he did not work. B paused and then said, "Years, not months". Then he giggled. The respondent said when he started to live with a toddler and her family, he was "working until the job was finished". (However, in another interview, the respondent said, "I left that job".) The respondent was aged 20 when he moved in with the toddler and her family and "left that job [a year later] and then I stayed at home". The respondent was unemployed from the age of about 21, except for a period of three or four months, until his arrest four years later. The respondent said when he was 21, "I was working, I got a temporary" (job) in the town near to the township that he lived in. The respondent said this temporary job lasted for three or four months. "Then they chased me away. They say I am not qualified to work there".

"I stayed with that child [the toddler he later raped] because I was trying to thank her mother for giving me a place to sleep and giving me some food. I said to her, 'I'll do anything, I will be the baby watch, I will clean your child, at home I'll clean'".

Girlfriends and sex

The researcher asked respondent B who had explained to him where babies came from. He replied, "Nobody". The researcher asked if he had anything at school that told him about sex. He said, "No, not at that time. You remember I was at school in the seventies and eighties. We blacks we … don't allow to ask about sex, not like now. You supposed to tell your children about sex". The researcher asked B how he found out about sex. He

replied, “To tell you the truth, it came natural”. The researcher asked the respondent how old he was when he had sex for the first time. He replied, “I think I started to do sex at an early age … 14. We used to play. I became a father, she will be a mother. I was doing sex … You just tell that lady you are my wife. *Ja.* I have sex with you”. The researcher queried if B asked the lady for sex or told her that he was going to have sex with her. He replied, “No, we just strip. You take your clothes off and then she will take her clothes off because it’s like a game. And then we play”.

B, aged 14, had one girlfriend for three years. She attended boarding school. She was, according to the respondent, “very, very cross” and “fought” with him when he wanted to leave school. She informed B that if he chose to work rather than complete his school education, she would end their relationship. She did so when the respondent left school after passing his penultimate year of school education.

When B was 20, and still living with his stepsister, he reported that this former girlfriend visited him for three weeks. His former girlfriend would have travelled about 700 km to see him. The respondent said that she had obtained his contact details from his stepmother. B reported that this former girlfriend (who had ended their relationship whilst they were both still at school) wrote him a letter saying she would like to visit him. She stayed with B for three weeks. During this visit, the respondent reported that she became pregnant with his son. He has never seen her since. B said that his biological mother had brought his son, aged 11 at the time of the interviews, to see him in prison. However, the Visitors’ Log did not reflect this visit. This information is also contradictory to the respondent’s statements and verification from a DCS social worker, that he had not seen his mother for seven years. Respondent B said that his stepmother and biological mother look after his son.

“I was with … plenty girlfriends after that [visit]. … A lot, lot, lot of girlfriends”. The respondent said on a number of occasions that he had a lot of or many girlfriends. He would giggle whenever he said this. However, during another interview, the respondent said he had no girlfriends during the three years that he lived with his stepsister, when he was aged about 17 to 19 years old, as he was concentrating on his work. Later, he said he had a live-in girlfriend when he lived with his stepsister. He reported that this live-in girlfriend has since passed away and gave no further information.

The researcher asked the respondent what he thought a girlfriend was for. He replied, "A girlfriend is just like a gift from heaven. A girlfriend is just supposed to be a part of your life and then we need to be (paused) straight with each other and then we need to respect each other. Don't tell lies to each other". The researcher asked B what his attitude was towards sex with a girlfriend. He replied, "If I have a girlfriend my aim is not about sex. But I associate that sex is part of our lives. We supposed to do sex…. But I'm not that type who always wants to have sex all the time".

Home life between ages 17 and 25

At the age of about 17, the respondent moved some 700 km away from his biological mother and second family. He lived with his stepsister, after she "fetched" him. Respondent B lived with his stepsister for three years in a township on the outskirts of a very large city. During this time, she got married. The respondent reported that his stepsister and her husband fought. He witnessed her being beaten. The respondent said, without being asked, "I was pained by this". He tried to stop the fighting between his stepsister and her husband by "trying to be an advisor for my sister". The researcher asked, "So you never told anybody this?" B replied, "I never told anybody. In fact, I am secretive. I am secretive so I always try not to show other people my feelings. I'm always trying to behave like I'm a normal person". The respondent thought being secretive was "natural" when he was asked why he thought he behaved this way. The researcher said, "So you wouldn't show people your pain?" B said, "No, even here in jail. That's why I decided to talk to you (the researcher) because I never talk about my private past to anybody … even my girlfriends, my former girlfriends, they don't know about anything".

When respondent B was aged 20, his stepsister's husband chased him away. The respondent said, "This man was very cruel". The researcher asked the respondent why he said this. B replied, "He's always coming home and saying, 'it's nice here' if I'm not home". The researcher asked why the respondent said his "brother-in-law" was cruel. He replied, "He was very harsh. He don't know how to approach (paused) he don't have a good manner. He just talk, talk. He don't respect other people even when you've got some visitors. He just say, 'come here, do this and do that. What a shit, what you fucking want you see? (Speaks in an animated voice) I said to you I give you this, I give you food, I give you this' (resumes normal voice), in front of other people". The researcher asked the respondent if his "brother-in-law" ever punched him or hit him. B replied, "No, he was

punching me with his mouth. … I'm a nice person. I'm not a fighting type. I don't want, I don't like to fight or make useless arguments. I don't like that".

B, aged about 20 in the mid-1990s, left his sister's home and moved in with a family. The respondent said that, "This family was a family friend. … And I stayed with them. They had a son and this man became a close, close friend … I used to call him my brother. … And then my brother he bought a house. And then he decided to take me out of his family and go and stay with him at his house. And his wife". The respondent reported that he lived with his close friend and wife for three years. The respondent was unemployed for most of these three years. During this time, the close friend and his wife had a daughter. B had known the child since "the birth". The researcher clarified what the respondent meant by "the birth" and the respondent said, "At her early ages". He also said, "I was like her nanny". He reported that he performed care giver tasks for the toddler because "her mother … and her father were working. I was not working at that time".

After living with the couple for three years (and for some of this time, the couple's infant daughter), the respondent moved out of their home. "I lived in a flat … my own place". The respondent, then aged 23, was unemployed during the year that he lived on his own. "This type of living was leading you to do some crimes, stealing some things to pay the rent".

The respondent reported that he returned to the couple and their toddler a year later. He was still unemployed, at the age of almost 25. After the respondent had moved back, he said that the couple explained, "Because you are not working at the moment and you love children so much, can you please stay with our child, look after her. We will do everything for you". These statements are different to the respondent's "pleas" to the child's mother of looking after the toddler and cleaning the house, noted in the "Employment" section.

B had known this child since she was "three, four months" old and said, "I was like her nanny". He performed care giver tasks because "her mother … and her father were working. I was not working at that time". The respondent said that the mother did "nothing" for her child. "She was very lazy to clean or feed children. She was a little bit scared of children". The child's mother was a schoolteacher and taught at a school in a nearby informal settlement.

The researcher asked B where the child slept. He replied, "With her mother in another bedroom". The respondent said, "And then sometimes I've got a visitor with my girlfriend". He reported that the child "sometimes" slept with him and his girlfriend, because "We were acting like we are really parents of this child. At early ages, she used to call me father. When she started talking, she know that I'm her father. … And then, I was very surprised (giggled), even now (paused) other people, they are still surprised that this guy (the respondent) he rape young children".

The respondent spontaneously said, "I forget to tell you (the researcher) something. Before all of these problems started, we used to sleep together with this lady if her husband is out. … I had sex with her. We always make sex because my brother, that's my friend (the toddler's father), I used to call him my brother, he used to go out maybe six months or three months. He was not living with us you see. And then we used to get a chance to sleep together". The respondent referred to the man he called his brother as, "My very, very, very, very close friend", and reported that the "very close friend" was unaware that his wife was having sex with the respondent.

Respondent B said, "I decided not to do this anymore because it looks like I am a coward to my friend. I tell her straight that I don't do this anymore. … After I told her we must not do sex anymore, she started to act with the wrong ways". In another interview, B said, "She was not really my girlfriend. So, like my girlfriend but not really". And in another interview, the respondent said, "Sometimes she just become so nice to me, kind. She will come and stay with me … touch me and then we end up doing sex. But it was not my intention to sleep with her".

When the researcher asked the respondent about his sexual relationship with a married woman, he replied, "I discovered that what I was doing, or we were doing, was very wrong". The researcher asked how he had discovered this. The respondent said, "I told another friend of mine that he (toddler's father) just coming home after six months and stayed for two hours. (The toddler's father) would say, 'you've got food, you've got everything' and then he just got in the car and then he'll go". When the researcher challenged the respondent about his Christian beliefs, and the Christian position regarding adultery, he said that he had told a friend who was a pastor. "But he's since passed away now". Respondent B said he told the pastor that, "I am having sex with (toddler's mother)

but I am not feeling right. All these things we're doing together I'm not feeling comfortable. Now I became frustrated because it is like I'm replacing her husband". The respondent said that the toddler's mother was very demanding. The researcher asked, "Demanding in what way?" B replied, "Having sex all those times. Sometimes I'm not feeling like sex. I need to go and see my really girlfriend. She became strict with my girlfriend". The researcher asked what the respondent meant by "strict". He said, "She (toddler's mother) told me that, 'I must remember that we are together now. You are acting as father of this house. Now I only want to know about one girlfriend of yours. Then you must have a day with her, not almost everyday she must come and sleep here. You must try not to sleep with your girlfriend here'".

B made frequent references to all the housework he did for the couple. He said that, "She (toddler's mother) would speak, talk nice and then the next day she's just changing. … She would say to me, 'you must go and look for a job'. … Her changing was very disturbing for me. I try to pretend there is nothing but sometimes I became very funny. I became frustrated. Sometimes I just clean the house and then leave. … Because if I allow myself to stay with her at the same time I am angry, maybe I will do something terrible to her". The respondent said he decided to end their sexual relationship. "We leave this thing. She, she, she was very angry with me, almost three weeks, she was very, very, very, very, very angry with me. …From there, she was not the same lady I know… and then she started to come with this issue of raping her child".

The respondent was aged 25 when he raped the toddler. He was also 25 when he said he found out that the priest, whom the respondent referred to as "my father" throughout the interviews, was not his biological father. His disclosure of this was as follows: The respondent reported that when he was 19 years old, he was staying with his stepsister and had been hospitalized. "I used to run (paused) maybe ten kilos (kms). I used to run. … Then they call an ambulance. And then I go to hospital and they give me oxygen". The researcher was silent. Then the respondent said, "I've got other problems (paused). It's always frustrating me. It always get me a lot of hurt, a lot of stress". The researcher asked, "And what is that?" Respondent B replied, "It's about my age." (Silence). "I dunno my really age. … How old I am. I dunno my really surname (paused) and (sighed) it's difficult for me". The researcher asked, "Why is that?" B replied, "I think it's (paused) frustrating me". The researcher asked, "Is this because you said to me at the beginning [of the

interviews] you don't know your father?" B explained, "My father! Even today I don't know my really [biological] father … because although I am old now (paused) I always ask myself 'who am I'? … My sister tell me, I think it was [the respondent gave the year that he was aged 25], 'you are aware that you are not part of our family'. I say *hoa*!"[8] The researcher said, "So you didn't know this?" B replied, "No, I wasn't aware until [age 25]. My sister tell me that (paused), 'I need to know your real surname. I'd like to know your really father. I'd like to know your real surname'". The researcher was silent and then said, "I'm listening".

B continued, "She said, 'you are not part of this family and our father's family really. You are not part of our family'". The researcher asked, "And how did that make you feel?" B exclaimed, "I cry, I cry!" The respondent reported that his stepsister told him he had to ask his biological mother, "But in a good manner. It's your mother. She will tell you". The respondent agreed it was a difficult question to ask his mother and said, "Because she will feel guilty and become frustrated too and because my mother is older than me. I decided to go to her [700 km away] and find out and then I asked her. I say, 'Mama, I know you were very young and (paused) that in your early days … you've got a problem in your relationships. I don't want to know about that. The only thing I want to know is who am I? What is my really surname'? She was crying … I just say to her, 'No, let us not talk. I don't want to see you crying. I'm sorry'". The respondent was silent. Then the researcher asked, "So she never told you?" He replied, "She never told me".

Use of alcohol and drugs

The respondent said, "I used only beer … a little bit" on certain occasions such as Christmas. When asked if he didn't drink from January to November, he replied, "Noooooo. I drink sometimes but not much". He said he has never smoked cigarettes but had smoked dagga "a little bit" before entering prison. He reported that he has not tried any other drugs.

The researcher asked B if he used alcohol when he lived with the mother of the toddler. The respondent replied, "No, I was not. Let's say I was not drinking". Towards the end of the same interview when the respondent made this statement, he said he could control his

[8] Exclamation!

feelings. The researcher asked what these feelings were. B replied, "For example, let's say alcohol. I can drink as much as I can but as long as I want to drink I can stop any time".

Crime

Respondent B raped a three-year-old toddler when he was aged 25. He was living with the toddler's parents at the time of the rape. He was unemployed and had recently found out that "my father" was not his biological father.

During the first interview, the researcher asked respondent B why he was in jail. He replied, "I'm in jail for raping". The researcher asked, "And the rape of whom"? B paused and then said, "For a young child of a friend of mine". The researcher asked if this lady was a girlfriend. He replied, "No, it was not my girlfriend. It was my friend's wife. … I used to call her husband my brother". The researcher asked if he was a close friend. The respondent replied, "A close, close friend. Even now he's very close to me. The father of the child is very close to me. He comes and visits me here ... every two or three months". (The DCS Visitors' Log reflects no such visits). The researcher asked, "Could you explain to me what happened that you raped this child?" The respondent sighed and said, "In fact, I didn't rape this child" (and sighed again). He paused and then said, "I never (paused) myself, liking to rape somebody".

During another interview, the researcher asked respondent B, "Can you tell me what happened with this little girl?" He replied, "In fact, nothing (paused) nothing". Then the researcher said, "I don't understand because you are saying to me 'nothing' but you got a 15 year sentence for rape". The respondent paused and then said, "In fact (paused) I was (paused) er misunderstanding (paused) er the mother" [of the toddler].

The respondent gave extraordinary and contradictory accounts of the events around the rape of the toddler. He said on a number of occasions that the toddler was five and six years old. He did not deny that the child was raped and said, "I was very shocked to hear that". He repeatedly denied he had raped the toddler, despite the researcher's challenges. The researcher was informed by a DCS social worker that DCS records reflected the child was aged three at the time of the rape, the rape occurred in the couple's home, and the respondent was sober when he raped the child.

The researcher informed respondent B that a DCS social worker had told her that his DCS file reflected he raped a three-year-old child. The respondent paused and then said, "I dunno 'bout the files but that child wasn't three".

Incarceration

Respondent B is serving a sentence of 15 years for "raping … a young child … of a friend of mine". A DCS social worker confirmed that he had no previous convictions or sentences. The respondent, when talking about that he would like to find out why he did not live with his biological mother, said, "Because even now, I'm here in prison. I think (paused), it's coming from them (his second family). They cost me a lot. They cost me a lot".

The respondent said, "I was very, very sad because she (toddler's mother) betrayed me. She made me stay in jail for a crime which I did not commit. She betrayed my brother (toddler's father) you see. She's not a trusted woman".

Respondent B said, "Prison life is very hard. Sometimes we pretend we are just visiting". The researcher asked B if people sent him letters in prison. The respondent replied, "Yes. They send me lots". The researcher asked if there was a limit on the number of letters he could send and receive. He said no. The respondent said he bought his stamps. The researcher asked where he got the money from to buy these stamps. B replied, "In my visits (paused) sometimes they come with stamps". The respondent said DCS staff read all his letters. However, a DCS social worker informed the researcher that maximum-security prisoners have limits on the numbers of letters they send and receive. Respondent B is a maximum-security prisoner.

The respondent said that in prison, "Even now, girlfriends, my ex-girlfriends, my former girlfriends, they come and visit me". The researcher asked the respondent when last he saw his son. He replied, "Last year". The DCS social worker confirmed that the respondent had had no such visitors.

Towards the end of the penultimate interview, the respondent said, without being asked, "To tell you the truth to be at prison as a rapist is very hard. It's very hard because other prisoners treat you in other ways". The researcher responded by saying, "I am having a

problem with what you are saying and what I hear is on your file". B said, "I am here for a rape that I didn't commit, that I didn't know".

APPENDIX N

SEQUENTIAL LIFE HISTORY: INCARCERATED RESPONDENT C

Background information

Respondent C is a coloured male who was aged 43 at the time of the interviews. He is serving a life sentence for the rape of his niece, aged three months. The respondent committed this crime about four years before he participated in the current research. This respondent denied his sexual crime throughout the interviews. The researcher conducted three interviews, lasting 3,5 hours, excluding time to introduce the research to the respondent, and discussing his participation and research rights. The interviews were conducted in Afrikaans, in a room located within the maximum-security prison cells. There was no translator present. After the researcher had transcribed the audio-tapes, she realized she needed to revisit respondent C for further interviews, with an Afrikaans-speaking translator present. This was done six months later. The researcher interviewed respondent C three more times, for a further six hours, with the assistance of an Afrikaans-speaking, senior, female DCS social worker. These interviews were conducted in her office. There were no viewing windows in the office and few interruptions from DCS guards.

Parents and siblings

Respondent C was born in the early 1960s. Prior to his incarceration, he lived in a township, about 25 km away from the nearest town. In 2006, the latter was estimated to have a population of 71 000 inhabitants. The region is predominantly agricultural.

Respondent C is the oldest of six children. His mother and father were aged 15 and 17 respectively when the respondent was born out of wedlock. The respondent's mother lived with her mother at the time of the respondent's birth. This maternal grandmother helped the respondent's mother to care for him. The respondent said he did not know his maternal grandfather, as he died early. The respondent was not sure if his mother went to school. The respondent's mother married the respondent's stepfather when she was about 18 years old. Thereafter, she had three sons, a daughter and a fourth son, with the respondent's stepfather. These siblings[9] were born when the respondent was aged 4, 11, 16, 18 and 21,

[9] For the purposes of this life history, the terms "sibling/s", "brother/s" and "sister/s" refer to "half sibling/s", "half brother/s" and "half sister/s".

respectively. The respondent only disclosed that he had a fourth brother during the final interview.

The respondent, his five siblings and their parents lived in a three-room municipal house.[10] The house had one bedroom. The respondent reported that his sister slept with their mother and her father in this bedroom. The respondent and his four younger brothers slept in a room "outside" that the family built. The family lived in this house until the respondent was aged 30.

The respondent's mother worked in the town's hospital about 25 km away from the family home. The respondent said his mother cooked in the hospital kitchen. The family did not own a car. A mini bus taxi collected her at 5:45 am. Other members of staff who worked at the hospital were also collected. Their work commenced in the kitchen at 7 am. The mother finished work at 5 pm and returned home by mini bus taxi at 5:45 pm. "Sometimes she would get a weekend off". His mother was the main breadwinner for the family. C said his stepfather worked three days a week as a gardener. The respondent said they had enough to eat.

The respondent reported that he and his stepfather did not talk to each other. His stepfather did not talk to anyone else in the family. The respondent said that his stepfather suffered from epilepsy and lost his work on a medical basis. During the first round of interviews, the respondent said that his stepfather was always sick. He reported that his stepfather never had fits at home but had them elsewhere. The researcher explored this. The respondent said he did not know why this happened but assumed his stepfather would visit his friends and drink different kinds of wine and liquor, and "Maybe his body couldn't take that". The respondent said his stepfather drank different sorts of wine at home, but never had a fit there. The researcher asked the respondent if he had seen his stepfather having an epileptic fit. C said he had, but not at the family home. However, during the first interviews, the respondent said he had never seen his stepfather having an epileptic fit.

During the second round of interviews, the respondent said that his stepfather had his epileptic fits at "another place". C reported that he was called to the house where his

[10] A municipal house was a small house provided by the apartheid state, often without running water, electricity or inside sanitation.

stepfather had been drinking. By the time C arrived, "He was fast asleep and then we would try to get him up but he's still a bit dazed". The respondent said his mother was not happy about his stepfather's drinking but he would not stop drinking.

The respondent was asked if he remembered his biological father. C said that his father was, "A good man". He replied, "Yes" when asked if his father gave his mother money and added, "But my father had big problems with wine". C said his father worked during the week so he only drank at the weekends. The researcher asked the respondent if he had contact with his biological father. He said that when he was a child, his father would come and talk to him at home. C's father lived within walking distance from the respondent. The researcher asked what it was like when his father came to visit him at home. The respondent replied that he would meet his father in the shebeen (informal tavern) and they would talk. He said he did not drink alcohol with his father at the shebeen.

The respondent did not know why his parents had parted and said it was not because of alcohol use by his father. He said he saw his father when he was drinking and that his father did not make trouble or fight when he drank. C said his biological father used dagga (marijuana). He reported that his mother did not use alcohol, drugs or cigarettes.

C said that his biological father was "sick" and died when the respondent was aged 38.

The researcher reflected to the respondent that he smiled when he spoke about his childhood. The respondent said that his childhood was "very nice" and he didn't have problems.

C said the family kept no livestock, chickens, dogs or cats.

Religion and behaviour

The respondent said that his mother was a member of the congregational church. She has always been a *kerksuster*.[11] C said that church was important and he believed that God is Almighty and his beliefs were very important.

[11] A *kerksuster* or "church sister" was explained by the DCS social worker as a sister organization within the church that reaches out to those in need of spiritual or practical assistance.

As a child, the respondent attended Sunday school. C reported that his stepfather attended church but was not involved in helping others through the church. Every mealtime at home commenced with a short prayer. The respondent said he prayed when he woke up in the morning and again at bedtime. Between the ages of 31 and 36, he taught at Sunday school.

The researcher asked who had taught the respondent what was good behaviour and what was bad behaviour. The respondent said, "As a child, elders in the community, older people would tell me, 'no, that is wrong. You don't do that. This is how you must do something'" and guide him about the proper way to do things. Respondent C said, "My mother always hit me if I did something wrong".

The researcher asked if the respondent's biological father ever guided C about what was right behaviour. C said that his biological father would do so, from time-to-time, telling him, "Don't go after friends, don't listen to friends, this is the proper way to do things". The respondent said that his mother would do the same. He said that his stepfather also told him when he was wrong. "I was treated just like the others". (These two statements are contradictory to others the respondent made concerning his relationship with his stepfather and sister.)

The respondent reported that, as a child, he never got into trouble with the police.

School

The respondent was not sure of his age when he started school. "I was older than the other children in my class". He failed standard eight (his tenth year of twelve years of school education) at the age of 18. As he was about to repeat standard eight, his mother told the respondent that he had to leave school. The respondent reported he did not ask his mother why he had to leave school and she gave no reasons for her decision.

The researcher asked if the respondent's siblings had attended school. He said that his sister completed her matric (i.e. twelve years of school). Two[12] of his brothers completed standard five (the seventh year of school) and the third completed standard seven (the ninth year of school). The respondent explained that the two brothers who completed standard five would go and play in the fields, and visit their friends, instead of going to school.

[12] At this stage of the interviews, the respondent had not disclosed that he had a fourth brother.

Their mother would only find out about the brothers' absenteeism when their school reports arrived, and reflected that they were absent for "lots of days". Their mother asked why they had missed so much school. They replied that they were sick and their mother would say, "These are stories. … The boys would just disappear or *bunk*[13] for a week or so and just come back and tell the teacher they were sick and the teacher didn't follow that up with the parent. My mother presumed they were in school".

The respondent's mother was at work when her children got home from school. C said that his mother would often work everyday for a fortnight, including the weekends, and then had three or four days off. The researcher asked who got the respondent and his siblings ready for school, as his mother left at 5:45 am. The respondent said they had to get ready "alone". C said he gave his siblings something to eat and put their clothes on. (The respondent's five siblings were born when he was aged 4, 11, 16, 18 and 21.)

The researcher asked if the respondent's mother had discussed her hopes for his future. The respondent said she did not ask him. He reported that his mother never asked what his interests were or where he would like to work when he left school.

Punishment at home

The researcher asked what happened if the respondent did not behave in the way everyone said he should. C said that his mother would tell him what chores he had to do for that day before she left for work. "If I had not done these chores, my mother would smack me with a *sjambok* (animal hide whip), about four or five times mostly across my back". The researcher asked how many times a week C's mother smacked him. He said, "Once or twice a week … sometimes it's once a week, sometimes it's once a fortnight". The researcher asked the respondent how he felt in his heart when his mother hit him. He said he felt "a little bit sore" in his heart, felt pain and nodded when the researcher asked if he felt angry. C said he was aged 15 when he received his first *"pak slae"* or what the respondent referred to as, "My first real smacking", with a *sjambok*. Prior to this, the respondent's mother used her hand to smack C on his buttocks, through his clothing, three times, if he did not listen to her or do what she had said. As his mother hit C, she would say that he was naughty. During the first round of interviews, the researcher asked if the respondent tried to stop his mother from hitting him. He replied, "No. I always did the

[13] Play truant.

wrong things. I was *los*.[14] I always did the wrong thing and was *gelos*".[15] During the second round of interviews, the respondent said that his mother started using a *sjambok* when he was bigger physically. "Smacks with her hand didn't work anymore. I was older and I still didn't want to listen". His mother used a *sjambok* until the respondent was aged about 19. The respondent said his mother stopped hitting him at this age as, "I was older and I learned now that I must listen and I must do what she says". The researcher asked if the respondent hit his mother and he replied, "No, no, no". He was asked if he ever hit his father and he said, "No. It says so in the Bible. The Ten Commandments". The researcher asked C if he hit his brothers and sister and he said, "No! I will not. We only spoke if they were wrong, as I was the oldest".

The researcher asked if the respondent's siblings were smacked. The respondent replied, "No, it was just me. Just me. I was the trouble man". His siblings did not see the respondent being smacked as he was taken into a room and the door was closed. "But they could hear me crying and my mother smacking me". The respondent agreed that this was humiliating for him. He reported that he did not "fight" with his siblings. From the age of 12, sometimes he ran away to his maternal aunt when he saw that his mother was going to hit him. He returned in the evening when his mother was "cooler". C explained that he ran to his aunt's house, as he was scared, because his mother hit him very hard. Upon his return to the family home, the respondent would tell his mother that he was scared. She would still hit him, and tell the respondent that he must listen when she spoke. The respondent reported, "If I was playing and I didn't do my task for the day, she would come home and she would call me and maybe ask me and smack me, if I didn't give her a good reason for not doing the task. But there were times that if I explained to her and she understood there were a good explanation for me not doing the task, and then she would leave me. She wouldn't smack me".

The *pak slae* did not deter the respondent from going to school. Respondent C reported that if he was not at school, he was sick, and would go to the doctor and produce a doctor's note explaining his absence from school.

[14] Roaming, up to nonsense.
[15] Past tense of *los*.

The researcher asked if the respondent's stepfather ever hit his mother. He said no. He was asked if this was so when they argued, or if his stepfather was drunk. The respondent was silent. Then he said that his mother hit his stepfather when he was drunk, saying to him that he must stop drinking. "She would smack him through the face". The respondent and his siblings would, "Say nothing. We just looked because if we said something we would also be in trouble. … There were times I would say to my mother, 'no you can't hit your husband. It isn't right for you to hit your husband. You can't do this'". The researcher asked how the respondent knew this. He said that he felt it was wrong. He would speak to his stepfather when he was sober. The stepfather would say, "Don't hit me when I am drunk". (It was not clear to whom the stepfather was referring). However, the respondent reported in two other interviews that his stepfather, "Did not talk" and that he and his stepfather, "Did not talk".

Punishment at school

The respondent said that he was caned at school for smoking or when he did not do his homework. The researcher asked if C could study at home. He said he went to the bedroom, did his homework, and his siblings did not disturb him. The respondent said, "I was very naughty at school". The researcher asked if the respondent was naughtier compared to the other children at school, and if the other children were caned too. He replied, "Others also got smacked but I got the most smacks". Thereafter he laughed. The researcher reflected that he looked proud. The respondent said, "I got a hiding when I didn't answer correctly when I was asked a question and also I … liked to bully the younger children. … The teachers would smack me for that. … I was warned that if I was naughty, I would go to the principal and get smacked and discipline and lashes from the principal and then go back to class". The respondent said the principal hit him on the buttocks. The researcher asked how many times the principal would hit him. C replied, "Many times". She asked him how many times. He replied, "Twice a day when I was at school". The respondent reported that his teacher hit him once on his buttocks with a stick, once a day. C said that the other children were scared of him because "I was always hitting them".

Towards the end of the sixth interview, the respondent disclosed, "I had a short temper, from a small child". The researcher asked C how he would fix a disagreement when he was a boy of seven or eight years. He replied, "It depended on the age of the children. If

they were younger than I was, I would rather walk away. But if they were my age or older, then we would get into a fight". The researcher said, "This is interesting as you had said earlier that you often got hidings at school for punching smaller children". As the DCS social worker was translating this, the respondent shouted, "No!" When she had finished translating the researcher's observation, C said, "The ones that I bullied I would talk to them and possibly they would listen and then I would give them a hiding".

The researcher asked the respondent if he had been a member of a gang. He replied, "No, I wasn't involved in gangs. I don't believe in them, in being part of a gang. Sometimes, when I wondered what friends would come by and ask me to come to town with them, I would refuse because I didn't have anything to do in town so what is the point in going to town, there where the problems start, getting involved in drugs or stealing or robbing people". (However, this contradicts what the respondent says in the following section about his visits to the same town, 25 km away).

Use of alcohol

During the first round of the interviews, the respondent nodded his head when the researcher asked him if he used alcohol when he was growing up. When asked how old he was when he took his first drink, the respondent replied, "I was 27". During the second round of interviews, the respondent said he was 27 years old when asked how old he was when he had alcohol for the first time. The researcher asked if 27 were quite late to try alcohol. The respondent said he was not interested in alcohol before. He said he had not even drink alcohol *skelmpies* (on the sly) as a teenager. When he did use alcohol, he did not drink in the family home where his mother and family could see him. "I started doing that later when my family realized I was drinking alcohol. I bought my alcohol at work and drank there". The respondent said he never got into trouble at work for using alcohol. However, during the first interviews the researcher had conducted six months earlier, the respondent said he had lost his job at the garage, aged 33, as, "They could see I was under the influence of drink".

The respondent said he started drinking beer and sweet wine. He purchased these items with his friends. "My first few drinks I bought. We were partying and we all clubbed together and bought alcohol". He drank brandy later on.

The respondent said he never drank with his stepfather. The researcher asked what his mother thought of his drinking. The respondent said she had nothing to say about it. "If I'm drunk, I went to sleep. I didn't make trouble".

The respondent would go to the town 25 km from the family home, do some shopping, get drunk, and wander around the streets. The respondent admitted that the police picked him up when he was drunk and let him sober up. He was silent when asked how often this happened. The researcher asked C if he drank a lot. He replied, grinning, "No, no. Just a little bit" and then laughed. He said that when he and his friends were drunk, "We liked to fight with each other, to get into arguments, to go into a fight".

When the respondent was aged 31, he fell off a ladder at work. He was not clear if he fell off the ladder whilst under the influence of alcohol. "Just after that fall, the epilepsy started" and C required daily medication. "The doctor told me no alcohol with the epilepsy medication. But I didn't listen. From time to time I drank. I took a beer or some other drink but ever since I have been in prison, I haven't had a fit. But I think now it is because there is no alcohol in prison and I should have listened to the doctor. The doctor was right to tell me no alcohol".

The researcher reflected that given his biological father's use of alcohol, three of his maternal uncles - all of whom drank - had died in their early fifties, and despite the doctor's caution to the respondent not to use alcohol with anti-epileptic medication, the respondent continued to use alcohol. He replied, "Sometimes I just wanted to be left with my drink but I wouldn't drink much or until I was drunk. One or two beers. … I wanted to please my friends but from time to time, I would buy my own alcohol". C said he bought brandy and would finish the bottle, on his own, in three days.

Sex and girlfriends

The researcher asked the respondent if he had seen his mother and stepfather, or anyone else, having sex. He replied, "No". He said his mother and stepfather never discussed sexual matters with him, except his mother told him, "That thing, watch out!" Respondent C said he had his first girlfriend when he was aged 15. The researcher asked if the respondent had sex with her. He replied no. The researcher asked what he and his

girlfriend did together. The respondent said that they would watch people playing soccer in the fields, and "We would talk about the future".

C said he was aged 17 when he had sex for the first time with his next girlfriend. She was aged 24 and had sex before. He said, "I just knew" what to do. The respondent said he used a condom that he had obtained from the clinic, as he and his friends spoke "very generally" about sex and they had told him about condoms. The researcher expressed her surprise that condoms were freely available at state clinics some 25 years previously (during the late 1980s) under the Nationalist government. The respondent then said, "Older persons would supply the condoms. I must ask them". He then admitted he had spoken about sex with his friends.

C said that he dated the woman, who was his first sexual partner, for three years. She lived in the same street as him. They broke up because the respondent found another *meisie*. The DCS social worker interpreted the word "*meisie*" as both "girlfriend" and "girl". The respondent said he had had 11 girlfriends. He clarified that these were "girls" he had dated, meaning that he saw them regularly. The respondent called the girls that he had one-night stands with "*fluffies*" (inconsequential women). He explained, "I liked to have a steady girlfriend and then the *fluffies* on the side. I would say to myself and then try it out, 'Can I come and visit you?' and they would say, 'Yes' and I'd go for it". The respondent giggled often as he relayed this information and said, "I enjoyed sex a lot".

When the respondent was 27, his then girlfriend fell pregnant with his first daughter. The pregnancy was unplanned. When the respondent informed his mother about the pregnancy, she told him that he had to leave the family home. He exclaimed, "I lost my mother". He said that his news was a shock to her, and his mother was an important person. He then paused after this comment. He went to stay with his maternal grandmother for about a month and then returned to the family home. He said his mother was disappointed about the pregnancy as she did not expect him to get someone pregnant, and she did not feel nice as he worked in a garage. The respondent's daughter was the first grandchild in his family. His mother was disappointed because the respondent and his girlfriend were not married. When the respondent announced the pregnancy, his mother was still a *kerksuster*. The respondent reported that the relationship ended four years later when his girlfriend was killed. She was travelling to a city about 1 000 km away, to find work. The car she was

travelling in broke down. She was standing on the side of the road whilst others were trying to repair the car. A passing car hit, and killed, her. The respondent's child, then aged three years, was with her maternal grandmother at the time. This child continues to live with her grandmother about four hours drive from where the respondent lived. The respondent last saw his daughter 13 years previously. He said he did think about this child but did not have an address to write to her at her grandmother.

Respondent C dated his sixth girlfriend for a year. She fell pregnant with the respondent's child but had a miscarriage. Shortly thereafter, she collapsed at work and passed away the same day. The respondent reported that he did not know what caused her death. C said they had seen each other in the morning on the day she died. He greeted her and they went their separate ways. When the respondent returned home from work that afternoon, he saw lots of cars parked in front of his girlfriend's house. He went inside the house and was informed that his girlfriend had passed away. The respondent was silent when the researcher reflected that this must have been a terrible shock for him. He said that he dated his deceased girlfriend's sister for a month thereafter.

The respondent had a 15 year relationship with the mother [girlfriend K] of his second and third daughters. These children were also unplanned, as girlfriend K, according to the respondent, forgot to take her contraceptive pills. The respondent was aged 30 and 33 respectively, when his second and third daughters were born. He said that his mother was "calm and expected it" when the respondent informed her about his expected children. His daughters lived with their mother who stayed very close to the respondent's family home. During this 15 year relationship, the respondent continued having casual sex with other women.

The respondent said he could support all his children as he was working. The researcher asked the respondent what it meant to him to be a father. He said, "It was a privilege for me to have children and that I can support them and give them want they want".

The respondent said he had never used the services of a prostitute nor used pornographic videos or magazines. He also said that he never watched "those things" on television.

Adult life

Employment

After failing his tenth year of school education, the respondent left school, aged 18. "I did a little bit of building work for a building contractor for one year. I could have done an apprenticeship with this building contractor but I didn't want that so I went to work in a butchery. They also wanted me to go further but I wasn't interested". The respondent left the butchery after three years. Thereafter, aged 22, he joined a garage and did general and mechanical work for 11 years. He described himself as a car mechanic. The researcher noticed a scar on the respondent's face and asked him about it. When respondent C was aged 31, he was looking underneath a car that was on a bridge in the workshop of the garage. He stood on a stepladder to do so. As mentioned earlier, the respondent fell off the stepladder and could not remember anything thereafter, or the week he spent in hospital. "People told me I lay there and I was looking at them but I couldn't respond. And I couldn't remember anything as well". After the fall from the stepladder, the respondent had epilepsy that required daily medication.

During the 11 years that the respondent worked at the garage, he had a second job. He also worked for another mechanic, after hours, and worked on Saturdays and every weeknight, until 10:30 in the evenings, except Fridays. The respondent said he could do cheaper repairs for customers compared to them going to a garage. "I worked on white people's properties but I didn't hand over the car until I got my money, especially after hours". Sometimes, people would bring their cars to the other mechanic's house for repairs. C kept the cars until customers had paid for his services.

The respondent never obtained a driving licence but reported that he could drive a car.

During the first interviews that the researcher had conducted six months earlier, the respondent said he had lost his job at the garage, as "They could see I was under the influence of drink". C was aged 33. However, during the second round of interviews, the respondent said that his boss told him to go and rest. "There was no other reason for them laying me off. There was no one else. I was the only one". Then the respondent said he lost his job because he could only speak Afrikaans and this was a problem for his manager. However, Afrikaans is the predominant language of the region in which respondent C lived and worked. His part-time work with the other mechanic also ended.

The respondent was unemployed for six years until his arrest. He worked from home, as a car mechanic, periodically. During these six years, the respondent said he had much less work. "I worked maybe one, two or three days a week, and then mostly on a Saturday".

Family life

The researcher asked the respondent how he felt being the oldest child. He said, "I will be the best. Clothes too. I always had the best clothes. When I went to work, I bought my own clothes". He gave some of his wages to his mother. "I would sleep over at a girlfriend's house and maybe sleep there for a week. After work, I would go home first. From there, I would go to the girlfriend's house. I'd sleep there the night and then go back home in the morning and freshen up".

When the respondent was aged 30, the first of his four younger brothers left the family home. He lived and worked about 900 km away. Thereafter, the family moved into another municipal house with two bedrooms, a living room, and a kitchen. The respondent and his brothers shared one bedroom. The respondent's mother, sister and stepfather, slept in the second bedroom.

The respondent's sister, at age about 17, gave birth to a girl, when the respondent was aged 31. He said, "There was no real reaction from my mother. She only talked to the sister and said she mustn't get pregnant again". The researcher asked how the respondent felt that his mother had reacted so differently to his sister's pregnancy compared to her reaction of his girlfriend's pregnancy. The respondent said, "I did not feel nice. I didn't feel good about that because I always felt that she was the better one in the house. She was special. … The sister was treated differently. She never received hidings. They only talk to her and treat her nicely. She will get everything of the best. I didn't feel nice at all about that. I was also disappointed in my sister getting pregnant. But my mother's reaction, I was jealous. … My sister's pregnancy was more acceptable than mine and that's how I always felt - my sister got better treatment".

Two years later, when the respondent was aged 33, his sister, aged 19, gave birth to her second child, a son. The respondent reported that the father of his sister's children was not working and he had to support her children as well as his own children. The respondent's employer at the garage had recently dismissed him. His part-time work with another

mechanic had ended. The respondent undertook private jobs from home and worked between one and three days a week. He said he was able to support his three children, and his sister's two children, from this money, and he still had enough money to buy brandy and sweet wine.

The respondent's second and third daughters, "Would mostly on a daily basis they would come [to my house] and play with my sister's children. My children would be there most of the time". The researcher asked how the respondent's mother treated his children compared to his sister's children. C said that all the children were treated the same by his mother. "If my sister's children got something from her, or clothes, then my children would also get something from her".

When the respondent was aged 34, his second and third brothers left the family home and went to work about 1 000 km away. By this stage, the third brother was married. It is presumed that there was a time that the brothers did not work, as the respondent said that he and his brothers were all treated the same, "But my mother mostly gave to the younger ones because they weren't working and I was working".

When the researcher was clarifying the movements of the respondent's brothers, the respondent disclosed that he had a fourth brother, born after his sister. The respondent was aged 21 when this brother was born. The fourth brother was aged 23 at the time of the interviews with the respondent. He lived at home. The researcher and the DCS social worker both expressed their confusion and surprise. The respondent said he had "forgotten" about his youngest brother. The DCS social worker asked the respondent how he could forget about his brother. The researcher reflected that C looked very embarrassed. The respondent said that he and his youngest brother did get along but they just didn't talk to each other. He said that his youngest brother did not have friends and was alone at home. The respondent denied that he was jealous of his fourth brother and his relationship with their mother. The fourth brother had a driving licence that enabled him to work as a truck driver. The respondent said he was not jealous of this brother. "This brother doesn't get into any trouble".

The researcher wondered what it was like for the respondent having a brother who was some twenty years younger. He replied, "My younger brother would be like a child to me

and I would teach him, talk to him, tell him what's wrong with him and give him guidance when I needed to. … I felt a bit ashamed and a bit embarrassed that my mother was pregnant but I didn't tell my mother because she was an adult. And it wasn't my business. I must show them the necessary respect". The researcher asked who looked after the respondent's infant brother when his mother went to work. C said that a niece moved into the family home to help care for the infant.

During the six years that the respondent worked periodically from home as a mechanic, he received a state disability grant for one year as he suffered from epilepsy. Thereafter, according to the respondent, the grant stopped. He does not know why. The respondent reapplied for the grant but never received anything. He said he had a fit every month, or every other month, and woke up in hospital with a drip in his arm. The respondent said he did not remember what happened when he experienced a fit. "It wasn't really frightening or unsettling. There were one or two times that I woke up in hospital and I was disorientated not being at home waking up". The doctor told the respondent 'no alcohol' with his medication. However, the respondent continued to use alcohol.

Three of the respondent's maternal uncles passed away in four years. The respondent said he had seen all his uncles whilst they were sick and when they were dead. The researcher asked the respondent how he felt about this. He replied, "It was a shock for me to see my uncles' dead and they were no longer here. They were gone". One uncle was older than the respondent's mother, and the other two were younger. All three uncles died in their early fifties. They were "sick". The respondent did not know what sort of sickness his uncles had but they all drank alcohol. The uncles lived near to the respondent.

The respondent's biological father died when the respondent was aged 38.

The respondent's maternal grandmother died when the respondent was aged 39. "My stepfather got ready and was dressed to go to her funeral. My stepfather went to the shebeen after he had dressed and he had something to drink. While we waited, he went back once or twice to the shebeen to get something to drink and we all went to the church for the funeral. Before we could start with the service, a family member had to bring my stepfather home. He was drunk". The researcher asked the respondent how he felt about this. He said, "It was a bit embarrassing for me because there were other people, other

family members as well". His stepfather retired from three days a week gardening work when the respondent was aged 39.

Also aged 39, the respondent looked after doves that belonged to the son of his sister. The boy was aged five or six years old. C said that he liked the doves a lot. When asked what it was he liked about the doves, he said, "They flew so nicely and are free". He helped clean the doves' cages, situated in the backyard of the family house, gave the doves food and water, and he loved doing that.

The respondent's mother was retired at the age of 55 by her employers. She receives a monthly pension. The respondent reported that his mother received a certificate for long service when she retired. His mother also receives a state disability grant. C could not explain what disability his mother had. In response to the researcher's questions, the respondent said his mother had not fallen in the kitchen. There was nothing wrong in her head. Respondent C smiled when he spoke about his mother. The researcher asked the respondent what he felt for his mother. He said, "I was very happy … and felt very lucky with my mother as she was always helping me. … If I don't have money, she gave me money". (This statement does contradict the respondent's earlier statements about his ability to support himself financially).

The respondent reported, "My sister always asked me to take care of her children for a couple of hours when she went to town. … I would baby sit and I was happy with that". The respondent reported that his sister was unemployed. However, during the first round of interviews, the respondent said that looking after a baby was a woman's work, not a man's work, but he said he did not get cross if he had to feed an infant. The researcher asked C if he ever bathed his sister's children. He replied, "No".

Rape of infant

At the time of the rape, the respondent was still living in the family home with his mother, stepfather, youngest brother, sister, and her three children. These three children were a girl aged nine years, a boy aged about six years and an infant, aged three months. The respondent raped this infant, his niece, when he was aged 39 years.

The house had two bedrooms. The respondent reported that his mother, stepfather, sister, and her three children, slept in one bedroom. He and his youngest brother slept in the second bedroom.

At the time of the rape, the respondent had been unemployed for six years but did casual mechanic work from the backyard of the family home. The respondent's girlfriend K, the mother of his second and third daughters, was aged 36. She lived very close to the respondent's family home. She and the two daughters lived in the home of an elderly man. According to the respondent, girlfriend K "cared for" this man. They were unrelated to each other. The respondent said that his girlfriend and the elderly man had their own bedrooms.

The respondent spent Friday night with his girlfriend K. He said that he had used alcohol He and his girlfriend had sex. He slept at his girlfriend's home. He returned to his family home at 8 am on Saturday. Only the respondent's sister and three children were in the house. The respondent's mother was attending a funeral. His stepfather was in the *veld* (open country or grassland) looking for old cans to sell for scrap. His youngest brother had walked into town to see his *meisie* (girlfriend). The respondent's sister asked him to look after her three children whilst she attended a different funeral.

C reported that his older niece was playing in the yard of the family home and his nephew was playing in the streets with his friends. "It was just me (paused) and the one *meisie*, the one that was raped, inside the house".

The respondent said that his niece saw him raping her infant sister through the window. According to the respondent, this was at 9 am. The child ran to the respondent's girlfriend K, to inform her of what she had seen. She immediately called the police, who arrested the respondent.

According to the respondent, "Nothing happened". He went to the backyard of the family home to check the doves and feed them. He tried to re-enter the house through the back door but could not as the door was locked. He came round to the front of the house and saw a police vehicle parked outside. The respondent reported that the police officers told him they had to arrest him as they were told he had raped a baby. The respondent said he

did not do anything. The baby was lying on the couch in the sitting room. "She was laughing at the time". The researcher clarified if the respondent had left a three month old baby alone on a couch. The respondent said he put pillows in front of the baby so she could not move. The respondent thought he had left the baby alone for five minutes whilst he went to the doves in the backyard, and during that time, the police arrived. As the respondent gave this information, the researcher reflected, "You are fidgeting".

The researcher confirmed with the respondent that his girlfriend had called the police. He replied, "Yes". She asked the respondent why his girlfriend would call the police for a crime he said he had not committed. The respondent replied that his niece went to his girlfriend to tell her about the rape and he did not understand why. The researcher said it sounded odd that the respondent had spent Friday night with his girlfriend, and then she called the police. Again, the respondent said he did not understand why his niece went to his girlfriend. He was asked why he thought his girlfriend had called the police. He replied, "I cannot really say". The researcher challenged the respondent again, and he said his girlfriend had been to the police once before, complaining that he was not supporting their children, and he had received a letter from the police about this. (This statement is contradictory to his earlier statements concerning his financial support of his children.)

Two days after his arrest, the respondent appeared in court. He spent ten months in prison whilst waiting for his trial.

The respondent reported the police took hair samples from him. He said, "I was found guilty because they found my hair on the outside of the baby's nappy". The respondent reported that he had no one helping him with his case. The DCS social worker commented that the police must have had a solid case against him.

The respondent repeatedly denied the crime, despite many challenges from the researcher. He said he could not understand why a nine year old child would say that she had seen the rape happening. He reported that the doctor who examined the infant took photographs. According to the respondent, "They revealed that there was no injury – nothing – to the baby. The baby wasn't harmed in any way". (A newspaper article reported that the infant suffered injuries to her sexual organs). The researcher asked why, if there was no injury to the baby, the court gave the respondent a prison sentence of 25 years. He said he could not

explain that but if the regional court tried a person, they usually got a long sentence. (According to the same newspaper report, the respondent's case was heard in a high court).

The respondent said that he had thought why he would rape a baby and said, "I can't believe that cruelty". The researcher asked why the respondent had even thought this. C said, "It was not a nice thing for me. I was disappointed and I knew that the community was also disappointed in me for allegedly *(sic)* raping a child and I had a girlfriend. Why would I rape a child? And, I had daughters. If I did that to my sister's child, what could I do to my children as well?" The researcher asked C how he would feel if someone hurt one of his little girls. He said, "No, I wouldn't like that at all. I have a very short temper. And I would easily get angry and get into a fight with these people".

Life as a maximum-security prisoner

The respondent is serving a sentence of 25 years for the rape of a three-month-old infant. The infant is the third child of his sister. The prison is about 25 km away from where the respondent's family, his girlfriend, and their two daughters, live.

When the researcher asked the respondent how he was feeling towards the end of the fifth interview, he replied, "I don't feel all right". The researcher asked, "Why not?" The respondent replied, "Because I didn't do this thing and I have a big sentence. This is the first time I have been in jail".

The respondent reported that his two daughters know why he is in prison. He said that his mother brought his daughters to see him in prison. C said his children cried when they saw him in prison. "They do not like seeing me". According to the respondent, his daughters understand why their father is in jail as their mother told them that their father had raped his sister's child. Respondent C then reported, "My children are very fond of me and they want to see me". His girlfriend, the mother of his second and third daughters, last visited him 18 months before the researcher conducted these interviews. The respondent reported that his brothers came to see him in prison too.

The researcher said that after she had conducted the first round of interviews, she contacted the head social worker to confirm who had visited the respondent in prison. The head social worker advised that, according to the DCS Visitors' Log, only the respondent's

mother visited him regularly, and one friend, who had visited 18 months previously. This was translated for the respondent. The researcher noticed that he was fidgeting and had done this before when he felt uncomfortable. She reflected this to the respondent. He was silent. The DCS social worker accessed the Visitors' Log from a computer in her office. The Visitors' Log reflected that the respondent's mother visited him every month, and that girlfriend K had visited him 18 months before these interviews were conducted. There was no record of children visiting respondent C in the Visitors' Log. The DCS social worker explained that DCS social workers recording visits on the Visitors' Log did not always record children's visits to inmates, particularly over weekends when there were fewer social workers on duty. She further explained that DCS keep records of adult visitors, as inmates are permitted a certain number of visits a month.

The respondent can have contact visits and sit with his visitors in a designated area. His visitors can bring him food, which he has to consume in the visitors' area. Visitors may not bring prisoners anything to drink, but there is a vending machine with cold drinks in the visitors' area. Inmates may not take any food, bottles or cans into their cells. They can receive toiletries, cigarettes, books and writing materials. These items can be taken into their cells.

Whilst the researcher was conducting the second round of interviews, the respondent saw a doctor in the town. It was the first time that he had left the maximum-security section of the prison since his he started serving his sentence, 30 months before. The researcher asked him how he felt. C said, "It was nice. It was a relief to get out again … even though I could not see much [whilst travelling] to the doctor because of the [small] windows in the van. At the doctor's office, it was nice. We sat and read magazines and we went and stood outside and talked, looked at the building, looked around".

The researcher asked the respondent how other prisoners treated him as he is serving a sentence for rape. C said, "I did not have trouble with other inmates. We have a nice relationship and we get along well. I am here for my crime I committed and they are here for their crimes. They don't talk about their crimes. There are no bad instances. I don't get bullied or attacked. I have no problem with the wardens. We get along quite well".

As a maximum-security prisoner, the respondent reported that he may not leave the building in which he is serving his sentence, except for external medical treatment. This means, in terms of DCS regulations, he is not allowed to work in the surrounding floral or vegetable gardens of the prison.

The researcher asked the respondent what he thought he could do to redeem himself. He said, "When I am released, I will not get involved in any crime. I will just be a good citizen. If I hear someone talk about rape, I will talk to him and explain to him, tell this story, tell him that crime does not pay especially for rape. You will get sentenced. You will get sentenced in maximum. You will be sent to jail and it's time lost. You won't get it back. … What I am really finding is in that time [before going to prison] I could have done so much, maybe a hobby or two. I could have enjoyed that but now it's just me. Everything is kind of on hold and my life is just going by everyday in jail".

The respondent said he read action and adventure stories available from the prison library. The researcher asked what it was he enjoyed about these stories. He said, "The fighting and the shooting". The respondent said that his religious beliefs remain "very important now" in prison. He continues to believe that God is Almighty. C attends church services on Sundays when they are held in the prison. The respondent receives daily medication for his epilepsy.

APPENDIX O

SEQUENTIAL LIFE HISTORY: INCARCERATED RESPONDENT D

Background information

Respondent D is serving a life sentence for the rape of a 30-month-old girl. He committed this crime at the age of 29, about five years before the researcher conducted these interviews. The researcher conducted four interviews with respondent D lasting nearly eight hours, excluding introductory and de-briefing time. A social worker's office in the maximum-security section of the prison was the venue for all the interviews. The respondent was not handcuffed or manacled. The three people involved in the interviews - the third being a DCS social worker acting as a translator - sat around a desk, to enable each person to have their own microphone attached to a cassette recorder. The respondent sat at the end of the desk, with the researcher and the translator sitting opposite each other at the same desk, so that the three people formed a triangle.

Respondent D is a coloured male. He was aged 34 at the time of the interviews. A senior, coloured, male DCS social worker acted as the translator throughout the interviews. Both men speak Afrikaans as their first language, and are from the same geographical area of South Africa. The DCS social worker knew the respondent before the interviews as he had commenced a social work assessment on him. During the assessment process, the respondent disclosed his sexual crime against the toddler to the DCS social worker. He also disclosed this crime to the researcher.

Childhood

Respondent D was born in the late 1960s. He always lived in the same house in a township prior to his arrest at the age of 29. A 1996 census reflects that this township had a population of some 8 000 predominantly coloured, Afrikaans-speaking people. The same census shows that about 9% of the adult population never attended school, and unemployment in this township was about 40%. Some 60% of the town's work force - "blue collar" workers - was employed mainly in factories and assembly plants, in large industrial areas situated within a 20 km radius of the township.

Respondent D's mother and father were aged 31 and 43 respectively when he was born. He has two brothers and three sisters. The respondent is the youngest of the six children. The

researcher asked the respondent if his brothers and sisters had the same parents as he. The respondent replied, "Yes". He did not know the ages of his siblings. He never attended school and is illiterate.

The respondent, his parents, and five siblings lived in a *koop huis*. The DCS social worker translated "*koop huis*" as "their own house". He explained that it was not a municipal house meaning the house that the respondent and his family lived in was not provided by the state. The respondent's mother worked in the family home. The respondent's father worked as a machine operator. "Sometimes he worked, sometimes he wasn't working". The researcher asked how the respondent's father had managed to get a house if he worked part-time. The respondent reported that his father had inherited the house from his father. The respondent nodded "yes" when asked if the house had electricity. He was asked, "And water"? The respondent replied, "There was also water". Respondent D said that the house had four rooms. The researcher asked how many bedrooms the house had. The respondent said there were four bedrooms. The DCS social worker asked where the respondent's three sisters slept, and D replied, "The sisters built their own rooms". The three boy children (including the respondent) slept in one bedroom, the three girl children in another bedroom, and the respondent's parents in the third bedroom. The fourth bedroom was a guest bedroom. The respondent reported that when his sisters were working, they helped their father to pay for "bigger rooms".

The respondent said his father could drive a car but did not own a car. When D's parents needed a car, they would hire one, or his father would use his employer's vehicle. His mother never worked outside the family home. The respondent reported that his parents were never ill. However, his father had asthma. The respondent was asked if his parents drank alcohol in the house. The respondent replied, "My father and my mother did not drink or smoke". The researcher asked if his parents used drugs. D replied no.

The family kept no livestock such as chickens, sheep, cows or goats. When the respondent was aged about seven, the family got a male dog. "I was the caretaker of the dog". Respondent D was initially silent when asked if he had hurt the animal or tried to touch the dog's genitalia. The researcher asked the respondent, on two occasions, if he ever wondered if the dog could have an erection. D was silent on both occasions. The respondent had no hobbies. He played no sport with friends. His siblings had no hobbies

and listened to music. The respondent said that the noise from his siblings, and their music, worried him.

He said that the family had *braais* (barbeques) at the weekends. During the week they ate cooked food and vegetables. His mother always cooked. D said that there was enough food to eat and he never went to bed hungry.

The respondent reported that his parents and siblings never hugged him. However, his parents, in front of the respondent, hugged his siblings. D was very close to his niece, who was four years older than him. She was the only person who hugged the respondent. They played games together. "I wanted to move in with my niece because of the fact that my brothers and sisters were always telling on me". When asked if he wanted to be more intimate with his niece, the respondent said his mother had told him, "You can't be involved with your own blood".

He never saw his parents fighting. However, his brothers "always" fought, using their fists, but the respondent did not know why. His mother would tell his brothers to go and fight outside the house.

When asked if the respondent had time alone or special times with his father, D said he never did anything with him. The DCS social worker used a father and son relationship depicted in a television soap opera that the respondent watched in prison, to discuss his relationship with his father. The respondent said, "My father is not like that" [i.e. the characters in a television soap opera] and later said, "I feel bad" [that I never had that relationship with my father]. He was aware that his father treated him differently compared to his brothers but he did not know why. Sometimes D would accompany his father to work to keep him "busy". The respondent was silent when asked how he felt that his father had no time for him. The respondent's father often went out with his brothers. D was not included and reported that he was left alone in the house. On their return, "My brothers would brag about how our father had spoilt them and bought them things. I normally felt like the black sheep because the others got all the attention … I felt unhappy". The researcher, respondent and the DCS social worker discussed this during the interview. The DCS social worker explained that, according to the respondent, "His family didn't want to

take the responsibility because of the behaviour learnt in the gangs[16] because he's always putting the family in a bad name". D said that his clothes were often hand-me-downs from his parents and his brothers. When asked, the respondent said that, "I got the same food as my brothers and sisters".

His brothers and sisters often taunted the respondent and sometimes called him a *skelmpie* (a bad person) and *vloeked* (swore) at him, after D had been rude to them. He felt unhappy and then walked away from them. "All the people who spoke about me made me very cross … My family would make me very cross. They would tease me very early in my life". When asked, the respondent said his parents never insulted him.

The respondent attempted "several times" to burn down the family home but "there was always someone there" to extinguish the fire. He smashed all the windows in the house two or three times a year. In response to this, the family chased him away, ignored him, or said they would call the police. The respondent would "be gone" when his family threatened to call the police. People visited from the church attended by his parents to try and help but nothing changed. The respondent never spoke to anyone about his feelings and frustrations. He said he never saw a social worker.

The researcher reflected that it sounded as if the respondent was a very angry young man. D said, "Yes and I was never in prison or the police cells for aggressive behaviour. I was always threatened with the police". The respondent's behaviour was explored. He said he would get very angry and break the windows. D was asked what made him so cross. He said, "All the people. … The people that spoke there at the house. … My family, they would tease me very early in my life".

The researcher asked if, when the respondent was a little boy, he had any trauma such as having to move house, or the death of a close family member or friend. The respondent replied, "No". The researcher asked if the respondent had witnessed any sort of violence, such as people fighting or stabbing each other. The respondent stuttered and said, "My brother-in-law was stabbed to death". The respondent confirmed that he saw this. The researcher asked when this happened. D said, "It was long ago. I cannot remember". The DCS social worker asked if the respondent could remember how old he was. The

[16] **Gang life** is discussed on page 82.

respondent said he was seven years old. The researcher asked how the respondent could remember that he was seven. He replied, "My mother told me I was seven years old".

When asked, the respondent reported he had never wet his bed. The researcher asked him if there was ever a time that he was sick as a small child. D replied, "No, I was never sick".

School

The respondent did not attend school and remains illiterate. When D asked his parents why he could not go to school, he said, "They didn't say and said I must wait a bit but it did not happen that I went to school". Respondent D said his parents did not say why he did not go to school. The respondent's parents and siblings all attended school. The researcher said, "But not you?" The respondent replied, "No". The researcher asked why. The respondent paused and said, "I don't know". The researcher asked him how he felt when his siblings went to school. He said, *"Ek het anders gevoel"*. (I felt different). The researcher tried to reach for the respondent's feelings and asked if he felt heart sore. The respondent said he was not happy. The researcher asked him why he felt "not happy" and the respondent replied, "They went to school and I didn't go to school". The DCS social worker asked if the respondent had asked his mother to go to school. D replied, "They said I must wait a little bit, hold on a little bit. But it did not happen that I went to school". The respondent reported again that his parents never told him why he could not go to school. He said he always wanted to cry when he saw other children going to, or leaving, school. "It did not make me feel good". When asked how the respondent felt about being unable to read or write, he said "I don't feel nice".

When asked what the respondent did all day as he did not attend school, D said, *"Ek het rondgedwaal by die huis"* (I wandered aimlessly around the house). The researcher asked if the respondent's mother got cross with him, as he was home all day. The respondent replied, "Yes". The researcher asked if the respondent did anything in the house for his mother. The respondent said, "I always helped my mother". He said that during the morning, he washed floors and clothes, cleaned the yard, took household rubbish out and peeled vegetables. The respondent replied no when asked if he cooked food. In the afternoons, respondent D said he played with the neighbourhood children. "In the evenings, when I'm finished, I went to sleep".

Religion

His parents "always" attended the New Apostolic church which was within walking distance from the family home. The respondent said he went to church "a couple of times" and "sometimes". He attended Sunday school three times. As a child his parents taught him about God and he believed what they said. His parents never swore at him as this was against the church. When asked if the respondent still believed in God as an adult, he replied, "No". He gave no further information except, "My mother is converted".

Home and punishment

The researcher asked D if he was naughty, what would happen. The respondent said his mother hit him, not his father. The researcher asked how many times a week his mother hit him. Respondent D replied, "Three, maybe two times a week". He received *min* (few) lashes, with a belt, on his buttocks. The researcher asked what the respondent meant by *min*. D said, "Two times" meaning two lashes. The researcher asked if he was hit by his mother with a *sjambok*. D said, "No". The DCS social worker confirmed this question and answer, the respondent added, "Yes and I was always naughty". No one was present when his mother hit the respondent, who wanted to cry. The respondent's father never hit him. The respondent said that his father was scared of his mother.

The researcher asked the respondent what sort of things he did that he was a naughty child. The respondent paused, grinned, then laughed and said, "My mother would always hit me if I hit other children. I was always older than the other children. So I'd hit them first". The respondent said when he was seven the children he hit were five or six years old. The researcher asked D why he hit these children. The respondent replied, "For their toys". The respondent said he had some toys but he wanted more. "My mother hit me if I hit other children… I was always fighting with the other kids and that was mainly the only reason why my mother would smack me". The respondent understood his mother hitting him because "I had done wrong". His mother always explained why she hit him, telling him that he had been naughty.

The hitting of younger children in the neighbourhood resulted in their older brothers hitting the respondent, after school. The researcher asked if this meant that D would be waiting outside the school for these children. D said that, "They normally came to me after school. They came to play with me because I was older". He also said, "Bigger boys always hit

me". When asked how he felt when he was hit by bigger children, he replied, "I wanted to cry when I was hit. It wasn't nice to be hit. … I was always feeling sad and unhappy with the way that they discriminated against me and I acted out my aggression and playing with other children just to show them how I felt … I would always kick and hit them just to release that tension within me".

The researcher asked what other things he did which were naughty. The respondent replied, "*Ek het nie baie goed gedoen. Ek kan nie onthou nie"*. (I did not do very much good. I cannot remember). In this context, the word "*goed*" could also mean doing "naughty things".

The researcher asked if respondent's mother hit his siblings too. D replied, "My mother always hit my brothers and sisters". The researcher asked how often their mother hit his siblings. He said, "It was like that in the family. When one does something wrong, all of us got a hiding. … My mother normally hit me in my room alone but my sisters and brothers got a hiding in front of me". The researcher asked why this was so. The respondent said he didn't know. When asked what he thought of this, he was silent despite two prompts to elicit a reply. The respondent's mother stopped hitting him when he was 12. The researcher asked the respondent how he remembered this age. The respondent replied, "I always sat with my sisters and they told me I was 12".

The researcher asked if the respondent's mother ever called him bad names. D replied, "No". The DCS social worker asked what the respondent's mother called him. D said only by his first name. The DCS social worker asked if the respondent had a nickname and gave examples of possible nicknames. D again said, "No". The DCS social worker asked if the respondent's mother ever swore at the children. He replied, "No". When he was asked why not, the respondent giggled and said, "My parents never smoked, never drank. My mother is converted".

Gang life

When the researcher asked the respondent what sort of friends he had as a child, he replied, "We were naughty, naughty kids". Her next question was what sort of things they did. The respondent replied, "We were ordered to rob the people". The researcher asked who told the respondent to rob people. He said, "Friends who were older than me". The researcher

asked what sort of things they robbed. D replied, "Normally jewellery and money". The researcher asked how old the respondent was when he did this for the first time. He said he could not say. As a way to try to ascertain the respondent's age, the researcher asked if the respondent had hair on his face. The respondent said, "No". The researcher asked D if he was in a gang. He was silent, giggled, and then said, "Yes, I was in a gang". The respondent said he was a member of a boys-only gang. "I was always the youngest in the group." The group had five or six members. The researcher asked who the head of the gang was. D said that the oldest child was the leader of the gang. When asked who taught the gang members to be naughty, the respondent said, "I don't know … I cannot remember". He reported that his parents were aware of the gang of which he was a member but not of his membership. His parents were also aware of the notoriety of gangs within the community. The families of other gang members knew that respondent D was a member of a gang. When asked where the gang would meet, the respondent said that gang members would fetch him at home, and "Then we would decide where we were going to go". The respondent said that his mother knew his friends, who were gang members, when they fetched him from the family home. However, according to the respondent, she was not aware that they were gang members. The DCS social worker clarified this and the respondent said again that his mother was not aware of his gang activities.

The respondent said the gang robbed people as it was getting dark. The researcher asked if these people lived in his community. D replied, "It was not people that we knew. It was people who lived in [the same place]". The researcher asked when the gang robbed people. He said, "Only on weekends, from Fridays".

The gang had an entry and exit ritual for a new or exiting member. The ritual was robbing and then hitting the victim on the head. The respondent said he performed this ritual when he was aged 12. The DCS social worker began translating this and said "Okay he–". The respondent interrupted the DCS social worker and said again, "I was 12". When the gang robbed a person, the oldest gang member threatened the victim with a stick or *knobkerrie* (a short stick with a round head). The oldest gang member demanded money and jewellery from the victim or "face assault", whilst other gang members formed a circle around the victim. Gang members, using stolen money, bought beer, sweet wine and sherry. Sometimes they bought meat, chicken, fruit, or fish and chips, and the gang members ate together. They would not rob from a fruit stall, as there were always too many people

around. Not participating in a robbery meant denial of alcohol and food. Members of the gang and the respondent smoked cigarettes and Mandrax together.

There were often territorial fights between different gangs with members going onto each other's "territories" during the night to "look for trouble". The respondent said, "You were not allowed to go into their territory and it was why we were fighting". When the respondent was aged about eight, he saw members from another gang shoot a person in the head. (This contradicts the respondent's statements that he was aged 12 when he performed the entry ritual into the gang.) Fights between gangs, using knobkerries, pangas (machetes), knives, sticks, and stones, ensued but "no one died". Gang members stole these weapons when they robbed people's homes, or they were purchased with stolen money. "I would always feel happy after a fight between gangs". The respondent's gang had a wine party when they beat another gang.

The respondent said, "I liked to be part of the gang because of the reputation and the people normally stood out of our way when we moved into a certain place. …. I liked the status of the gang". The respondent's gang frightened local boys of the same age who were not members of the gang.

There was a female equivalent of the respondent's gang. "We always walked together". The respondent's gang friends told him about sex and "what to do" with a girl. The gang believed a woman was there for sex. When asked if the gang ever sexually assaulted a woman, the respondent said, "No, there was nothing like that, nothing sexual". The respondent giggled when asked if it was easier for a gang member to "get" a girl. He responded, "Yes. It was easier to get a girl because the girls were afraid of the boys … and it gave us the opportunity to take any girl that we want".

Respondent D said he stopped being a member of the gang as "I didn't want to rob the people … I was scared … of being caught. Some of the gang members were too naughty". The gang had started to assault people and the respondent became afraid. He said he knew that assault was wrong as his mother and father had taught him this. The respondent reported that at the age of eight (which suggests that the respondent was a gang member at the age of eight or he was confused about his age), "I saw the gang hit a woman and her head was open and then I run away from it. … I could see the result of the assault on the

people because they were unhappy and because of that, I decided to stop". The researcher said it sounded as if the respondent saw people assaulted by the gang. He confirmed that, "We assaulted people very often". The researcher asked how many times. The respondent replied, "I saw five assaults". The DCS social worker asked "Tell us of one thing that happened". The respondent refused. The DCS social worker said the police could not do anything, as the respondent was a child at the time. Then the respondent said, "I once saw the gang hit a woman and her head was open and then I ran away from it". The researcher asked if the gang sexually assaulted the woman. He replied, "No". He also said, "I stopped being a gang member because there was nothing good in a gang". His mother said that gangs were doing wrong things and she did not want him involved in that, which is contradictory to his earlier statements that his mother was unaware of his gang membership. Alternatively, his mother was not aware of his gang membership initially.

The researcher asked the respondent for how many years he was in the gang. The respondent replied, "I cannot remember anymore but it wasn't long". However, the respondent's ages at various gang-related incidents indicate that he was a gang member for about seven years. He said that he had seen a woman assaulted when he was aged eight. The respondent received seven court-ordered lashes for housebreaking when he was 15 and, still a member of the gang. Thereafter, he decided to leave the gang. "My mother told me it was the last time that I was going to be in trouble and I must stop being involved with gangs". This suggests previous incidents of "trouble" and again, contradicts the respondent's earlier statement that his parents were unaware of his gang membership. The respondent was asked why he did not join another gang. He replied, "There was nothing good in a gang … there were always negative things so because of that I decided I'm not going to participate in gang things anymore. … Again it was my mother who said that the gangs were doing wrong things and she didn't want me involved". The respondent said that the court-ordered lashes were the last time he had been in trouble.

In another interview, the respondent said that he stopped being in the gang because of the lashes. He was asked how he felt when he received the lashes. D replied, "I was embarrassed and then I decided I was going to stop that behaviour". The researcher asked what D's mother said when he got the seven court-ordered lashes. He replied, "My mother told me that was the last time I was going to be in trouble and I must stop being involved with them".

The researcher asked, “You didn’t want to assault people because you were scared that you would be caught. How did you know that assaulting someone was wrong?” The respondent replied, “My mother and father taught me that it was wrong to assault people”. The researcher asked, “So when your mother hit you, how would you understand that?” D replied, “That I had done wrong”. The respondent was asked twice for his thoughts on this but he was silent. Then the DCS social worker asked, “Or how would you feel when your mother hit you?” D replied, “I normally feel unhappy when I got hit by my mother but I knew I did something wrong. That’s why my mother hit me”. The researcher asked how D knew it was wrong to physically attack someone. He replied, “I normally saw the result of the assault on the people. It was because of that, that I saw they were unhappy and because of that, I decided to stop and not take part”.

Sex, girlfriends and friends

Respondent D said his friend, also a member of the gang, taught him about masturbation. He practiced group masturbation “often” from the age of nine with other gang members. During the second interview, he said he was 12 when he masturbated for the first time. He would think about sex with a woman as he masturbated. The respondent said that he, and sometimes members of the gang, would look through people’s keyholes and windows to see if they were having sex. “I’d actually go and look. It wasn’t just something I was walking past and saw”. He masturbated whilst he spied on a couple engaged in sexual activity.

The respondent said he had sexual intercourse for the first time at age 15 whilst he was still a member of the gang. The researcher clarified that the respondent was still part of the gang. The respondent confirmed this. The respondent believed, “A woman is there for sex”, and then said, “And perhaps to be a friend and for sex”. Given the respondent’s comments about the gang’s attitudes towards women, both the researcher and DCS social worker felt that the respondent gave a socially correct answer to this question.

The DCS social worker asked the respondent what he could remember about his first sexual experience. The respondent giggled and said that a friend told him about sex. He kissed a girl three years older that he had met at a friend’s house. They went to a shebeen and got drunk. No sexual intercourse occurred that night but kissing and “petting” took place. The next evening, he had sexual intercourse for the first time after the same girl asked him for

sex after a couple of beers. He had sex with her a second time on a different occasion. The researcher asked the respondent if he was worried that the girl could become pregnant. The respondent said he used a condom on the second occasion. She asked him where he got the condoms. D said he bought condoms from a clinic. He also said, "The girl was my girlfriend and it was a serious relationship but we were not long together". He was not heart sore when the relationship ended. "I took somebody else".

The researcher returned to the issue of pregnancy in another interview. She asked if the respondent worried about things like getting a girl pregnant. The respondent was silent. The DCS social worker repeated the question, and prompted him for an answer, three times but he remained silent. The DCS social worker asked the question again and the respondent replied, "Yes". He was asked again if he was worried a girl could fall pregnant. The respondent replied he had a child, aged four at the time of these interviews. (More details follow in this section).

The researcher asked the respondent if he ever hit a girlfriend. He replied, "No". The DCS social worker asked, "Not ever in your life?" The respondent shook his head, indicating no. The DCS social worker asked, "Why not?" D replied, "Because I don't argue with a woman".

The respondent reported that he used sex workers three times when he was aged 16, after he had his first girlfriend. He used sex workers, whom he had heard about from "other people", when he had *geen meisie* (no girl). He had money to pay for the sex workers. "I always had gardening jobs". The respondent was asked if he was drunk when he used sex workers. He replied. "Yes". He was asked why. D said, "When I'm drunk, it's better. Then the woman always said, 'Yes'. It is easier because I knew that they also want wine or alcohol, so it's easier for them to say, 'Yes' to me". The respondent thought that sex workers were bad people to sleep with a lot of men. "I was always thinking about they are bad because they are selling their bodies". He used sex workers because "I was naughty". D was asked why he was "naughty" and he replied, "Because it is not good for women to sleep with a lot of men". He was rude to the sex workers in the shebeens (informal taverns).

The respondent would drink in a shebeen and meet women with whom he had one-night stands. He had enough "girls" (his phrase) to satisfy him sexually and had sex nightly with a different woman he had met in a shebeen. Sex occurred in the women's homes. The respondent said that he was not in the mood for sex unless he was under the influence of alcohol and he therefore went to shebeens. Dagga (marijuana) and Mandrax did not make him sexually aroused. D said he used a condom, as he was "scared" of AIDS which he had heard about on television. For the respondent, "Shebeens were places where people had parties and wine. … When I saw people fighting in the shebeens, I just walked away".

He had three girlfriends, all of whom had been to school. They worked in factories as machine operators. "My girlfriends knew I was never at school but they don't make fun of it". When asked what he thought a woman should do in a relationship, the respondent was silent. After two prompts, he said, "A woman can teach a man", but could not elaborate. The respondent was asked what he thought a man's role in a relationship was. He said, "A man must teach a wife, a man must teach a woman what to do and not what to do". When asked how a woman must learn these things, he was silent and then said, "I talk nice and quiet to her". The respondent said he had learnt this from his mother. He said he could not remember what else his mother had said about how he should speak with a woman. "I just left it" when a woman said "no" to sex when she was menstruating. He masturbated instead. Respondent D reported that he never hit a woman.

D said sex made his relationships with his girlfriends "good" as they were together afterwards. The respondent reported that his mother would not allow his girlfriends in the house. The researcher asked where the respondent and his girlfriend would have sex. The respondent explained that sex took place in the backyard of his uncle's home. By "backyard" he referred to, "Where they extended the house". The respondent was vague as to whether his uncle knew about this arrangement. When the researcher re-visited the topic and asked if his uncle didn't mind, the respondent said, "No".

D's second girlfriend is the mother of his son. His son was one month old when the respondent raped the toddler. He was aged 29 at the time. This suggests that he did not have a girlfriend for 14 years, as he said he had his first girlfriend at the age of 15. His relationship with his third girlfriend, therefore, was somewhere between the time he

conceived a child with his second girlfriend, the birth of this child, and his arrest, a period of ten months.

Whilst respondent D was a gang member, his mother would not allow him, or his brothers, to bring girlfriends to the family home. The respondent did not know why but thought it was because his mother didn't want people in the house. Similarly, his sisters could not bring boyfriends to the family home and D could not bring male friends either. He always went to his friends' houses. The respondent said, "Other families around us they normally bring friends home but my mother didn't want us to bring friends home".

However, after he left the gang, D associated with people who were "acceptable" to his mother. Male friends visited the family home. "We normally just drink together. My friends kept me out of trouble". His mother still did not allow the respondent's girlfriends in the house. By then, the respondent reported that his brothers brought their girlfriends to the family home. He was asked why this was so. D replied, "My mother did not want that". He was asked, again, why. He said he didn't know. The researcher asked the respondent how he felt about this. He replied, "I was feeling sad because my mother did not want me to be friends with girls or bring girls over to our place".

The respondent denied that he looked at pornographic magazines. He laughed when asked if the gang had "blue books". He also denied watching pornographic films on television or video. The DCS social worker said, good humouredly "You lie!" D responded with, "No, I don't lie". The DCS social worker continued to challenge the respondent, good humouredly, but he denied, repeatedly, that he had seen any pornographic material.

Alcohol and drug use

The respondent initially denied that he used drugs and said he only smoked cigarettes. In a later interview, he said he smoked Mandrax, through a broken bottle, when he was 15 and still a member of the gang. "It left me feeling drunk in my head". He used alcohol with the gang. "When I was drunk, it was nice". The respondent reported that his parents were not aware of his alcohol use. The researcher asked how the respondent hid the smell of liquor on his breath as he said his parents did not drink. The respondent said he ate musk sweets to disguise the odours of alcohol. Alternatively, he stayed with his friends until the effects of the drugs and alcohol had worn off and then returned home. He would tell his parents

that he was with his friends. The respondent reported that his parents never queried this. Later, he said his mother asked where he had been but he would lie to her, saying he had been with his friends. The respondent said his father never worried about him, or asked where he had been, or spoke to him.

After he left the gang, the respondent said that he drank mainly at weekends with his brother's children. He continued to use Mandrax when he worked as a labourer for a building company. The respondent said that he had a friend who also used drugs.

The DCS social worker explored if the respondent had ever seen a social worker for his alcohol and drug abuse. The respondent said he had not.

S*kollies* (gangsters) attacked the respondent on two occasions. The respondent showed the researcher and the DCS social worker his scars from these attacks. On the first occasion, the respondent was hit on his forehead with a *panga*. The respondent was asked why he was attacked. He replied, "I was drunk". During the second incident, D was stabbed in his shoulder. When asked about the second incident, the respondent said, "I was drunk. When I am drunk, gangsters normally assault".

Adult life

The respondent continued using Mandrax after he left the gang. He mentioned one occasion when he smashed all the windows in the family home at the age of 19. The researcher presumes the respondent's aggressive behaviour was exacerbated by his use of Mandrax. The family threatened to call the police but never did so. The respondent stayed with "other people" for two or three weeks and then returned home. "Other people" were his nieces and nephews. When asked, he said his mother came and looked for him. He bought herbs from a Rastafarian to clean his stomach and lungs and said, "I always had stomach pains".[17] The researcher asked if the respondent knew why he had stomach pains. He said he did not know. He explained he boiled the herbs and then drank the liquid. He said he felt a little bit better thereafter. The respondent never saw a doctor prior to serving his sentence. He said that he also had headaches[18] before his incarceration. "They'd get so

[17] One of the side effects of Mandrax use is stomach cramp. (Drug Aware, 2007:4).
[18] Other side effects of Mandrax include serious emotional problems, headaches, epilepsy, aggression and toxic psychosis. (Drug Aware, 2007:4).

terrible I'd pass out sometimes or I get mad". By "mad", the respondent meant that, "I was confused. I dunno where I am".

Respondent D worked as a labourer, doing plastering work, on housing building sites adjacent to where he lived. He worked for the same company up until his arrest and incarceration. He could not say how long he was employed but, "It was a long time". He gave his wages to his mother, on alternate weeks, and she bought food. D also used his wages to buy clothes and have "nice times" with girlfriends. The respondent grinned as he said this.

The respondent always lived at home. He never left home as "I'm used to my mother and that's why I didn't want to move from there". The respondent said he wanted to see other parts of the country but "I was scared to go further" because he could not read. The respondent was embarrassed during this part of the interview. D had only travelled 15 minutes away from the family home, with one exception. This was when the respondent travelled daily with other labourers who worked on a building site. He did this for three months. The journey to and from the building site took 10 to 12 hours each day.

The respondent's three sisters found full time employment. Two of his sisters worked in food-processing factories. His third sister was a live-in domestic worker. The sisters paid for extensions to the family house so they had their own bedrooms. They left home when they got married. Thereafter, the respondent and his two brothers each had their own bedroom in the family home. Then his brothers also left home, married, and had their own houses. Both of the respondent's brothers worked on building sites. His eldest and middle sisters had three and two children respectively. He did not know their ages. The respondent said his sisters would bring their children to the respondent's home when they went to work. D said that he and his mother "always" looked after his sisters' children, everyday, whilst they worked. (However, this does seem to conflict with how often the respondent worked as a labourer.) The respondent was asked what he did to look after his sisters' children. He said, "I was always cleaning them, like taking the nappies off" and did this until the children could "teach themselves like, two, three four years".

When the respondent was asked how he felt about children, he was silent and then said, "Don't know". The DCS social worker prompted the respondent. He was silent and said

again, “Don’t know”. He was asked how he felt about his own child and he replied, “It’s unfortunate I live here [in prison] because he is on the outside”. The researcher asked D how he felt about other children. He replied, “The same as my own child”.

The respondent said he only had one friend during his working life - a paternal uncle [referred to earlier] - with whom he drank brandy. The researcher noted that the respondent used a nickname for this uncle whenever he spoke about him. D remained close to his niece and they would have *braais* (barbeques), and drink, together.

The researcher asked the respondent what acts of violence he saw in his community. D said, “I can only remember that it was sometimes not a very nice place at nights”. The respondent, when asked what he would do to express his feelings when cross, said he would walk away, including when he saw fights in the shebeens.

Crime

The researcher asked respondent D how long he was in prison for. He replied, “Life”. She asked what he was sentenced for. D replied, “Rape”. The researcher said “Rape. Okay. And the rape of who”? The respondent replied, “A three-year-old child”. (The child was aged 30 months).

The respondent had never been to prison until he raped the toddler. This information was verified with the DCS social worker acting as the translator for these interviews. At the time of his crime, the respondent still lived in the family home with his parents. All five of his siblings had left the family home and were working. Some of his siblings were married and his two oldest sisters had five children between them. Respondent D was aged 29 when he raped the toddler. The toddler was the daughter of a friend of one of his sisters. D said that he had not known the mother of the child, or her child, “for long”, in response to the researcher’s questions. The rape occurred on a Saturday before lunchtime. The respondent had been drinking beer in a shebeen near the family home. Whilst in the shebeen, he had been talking about sex with five men. “We never spoke about sex before. It was only that day we talked so much about sex”. The respondent, when asked, said he was sexually aroused during the conversation. “My penis became erect. … If a man wants sex, then he must look where he can find sex … *ek is lus vir sex”* (I wanted sex). When the respondent was asked what he would do if he was sexually aroused during the day, he said

that he would masturbate, as masturbation was not wrong. "A lot of men do it if they can't get what they want … sex". The respondent said, "I was feeling to have real sex and that's why I didn't masturbate …. I couldn't wait for so long for my girlfriend because she was sleeping". (The respondent's girlfriend had given birth to their son one month previously). D said there were other women in the shebeen but not with him.

After discussing sex, the respondent said, "The men were giving me bad names". The researcher asked if these men had been to school. The respondent reported that they had never attended school. The five men insulted him and his parents. Then they used crude expressions about his mother's genitalia. The respondent was embarrassed to repeat these expressions, and kept looking at the researcher as he reported them. D said that his friends had never teased him in this way before. "I became angry as I heard the men say I never spoke badly about their mothers". The researcher clarified that this was the first time that the respondent became angry, despite being teased before. The respondent replied, "Yes".

Respondent D left the shebeen. "I was angry … so I went out and saw the child. … I did not know where her mother was but the child was there in the road, near my house". The respondent did not know the child's name. He took the child by her hand and said he would look for her father. When asked what the respondent was thinking as he did this, he said, "I thought other thoughts" and became silent. Later, D said that he knew by that time he would have sex with the child. D was asked where he thought he would go with the child. He replied, "I wanted to go to the bushes". The respondent walked with the child for "five minutes" and took her into some bushes, far from the road. The researcher asked the respondent why he had taken the toddler into the bushes. He replied, "I was afraid people could come after me. … We were all alone in the bushes". These bushes were near to the respondent's home. He laid the child on the ground. The child cried as the respondent took off her dress and panties. He left her shoes on. He then took off his trousers. His penis was not completely erect so the respondent stood and masturbated over the child whilst fantasizing about sex with the child. The child continued crying and said she wanted to go to her house. The respondent did not speak to her. He did not touch the child until he penetrated her vagina with his penis. He "struggled" to insert his penis. The respondent said this was *lekker* (nice). The child cried as he "struggled" but he did not stop his penetration and said, "I must finish here". The researcher asked the respondent what he was thinking when he had sex with the child. D said, "I was cross with them", referring to the men in the

shebeen. The respondent initially said he ignored the child's cries as he penetrated her. In a later interview, he said he did briefly speak to the child as he penetrated her. The researcher believes that this was a socially acceptable answer and his initial response of ignoring the child's cries was the correct one. When asked if he had considered that he might suffocate the child as he lay on top of her, the respondent said, "I was drunk". The respondent was asked again, given his size compared to that of the child, was he not scared that he might suffocate the child, hurt her, or possibly kill her? He was silent.

The respondent ejaculated and said that he had enjoyed having sex with the toddler and "felt better". He did not look at the child, or her genitalia. He did not put her clothes on. "I was in a hurry because I wanted to go back to my friends". He put his trousers on and left the child, naked and alone, in the bushes because "I was afraid that somebody might see me". Respondent D went home. When asked how he felt, he replied, "I was still angry after sex with the child. … I am always angry". He returned to his friends and "I told them I had come from home".

Throughout the respondent's disclosure of his crime, he frequently said, "I was drunk". During his disclosure, the researcher asked the respondent if he had sex with a woman who said "no" but he carried on. The respondent was silent. The DCS social worker prompted D, who remained silent. On the third prompt, D said, "It's like rape". The researcher confirmed that the respondent knew the difference between right and wrong. She asked if it was right or wrong to have sex with the child. D replied, "It is wrong". When asked why the respondent "kept on going" (referring to his continued penetration of the toddler) if he knew it was wrong, D said, "I was under the influence of alcohol".

The researcher reflected that the respondent said his mother taught him that he was not supposed to be violent towards a girl. How was it that he could be violent towards the child? The respondent was silent, despite prompting, and then said, "I don't know". The DCS social worker asked what the respondent's mother had taught D about children. He replied, "Not to fight with children". D was asked, "Why not?" He replied, "I always played safe with children and I mustn't hit them". When the researcher asked the respondent how he understood his actions with a little girl, D said, "I was drunk".

When asked if he thought about the physical damage he had inflicted on the child, the respondent replied, "No". He remained silent despite being prompted three times. (Newspaper articles reported that the toddler underwent extensive surgery. She will have to wear a colostomy bag for the rest of her life. She might not be able to have children.)

The police arrested D on the same day as the rape. The respondent reported that, "Two people saw me walking to the bushes with the child". He said he felt sorry for himself as he was going to jail.

The researcher asked the respondent if he had heard that sex with a baby can make you clean. The respondent paused, and then shook his head to indicate "no".

The respondent confirmed that other inmates knew he was serving a sentence for rape. However, they did not know the age of his victim. The DCS social worker advised that the respondent would be "a target … and even sodomized" by other prisoners if they were aware of the age of the victim.

The DCS social worker confirmed that respondent D does not get visitors in prison regularly. His mother visits him with his child. Sometimes, his father and two brothers visit him but his three sisters have never visited him.

The researcher asked the respondent what he could do to make things "better". D said, "I don't know". He gave the same reply when asked how he thought these acts against children could be stopped or reduced. The respondent was silent when asked what might have stopped him from raping the toddler.

APPENDIX P

SEQUENTIAL LIFE HISTORY: INCARCERATED RESPONDENT E

Background information

The researcher conducted four interviews, lasting six hours (excluding research introduction and de-briefing time), with respondent E. This respondent, a coloured male, was aged 38 at the time of the interviews. Respondent E speaks Afrikaans as his home language. A senior, male, coloured DCS social worker, from the same geographical area as this respondent, was the translator during all the interviews. Before the researcher conducted these interviews, the DCS social worker had met with the respondent, on a number of occasions, whilst undertaking a social work assessment on him.

The four interviews were conducted in the DCS social worker's office, situated in the maximum-security wing of the prison. The office was one in a row of six offices, all of which had large viewing windows about 2,5 m long by 2 m wide, on opposite sides of the room. These viewing windows ensured visibility through all six offices. DCS staff and their incarcerated clients occupied the offices during most of time that the interviews were in progress. There were no DCS guards observing the interviews. Periodically, a DCS guard would enter the social worker's office unannounced.

The researcher positioned the respondent so that he sat at the side of a desk with the researcher to his right and the translator to his left. Hence, the respondent was not able to look through the viewing windows, unless he turned his head to the left or right. Each of the three persons involved in these interviews had a microphone, attached to a portable cassette recorder.

Respondent E is serving a life sentence for the rape of a 13-month-old toddler. He committed this crime seven years previously, when he was aged 31. He disclosed full details of this crime to the DCS social worker during the assessment, as well as to the researcher and the DCS social worker during these interviews. The respondent similarly disclosed his crime of indecent assault against a boy aged 13. The respondent aged 19 served a sentence of six months in prison for this crime. He also disclosed to the DCS social worker separately, and again during the interviews, that he served three years in

prison, from the age of 28, for housebreaking. The DCS social worker verified the respondent's prison sentences as correct, as they appeared on his DCS record.

Childhood

Respondent E was born in the mid-1960s, in a wine producing and agricultural region of South Africa. E is the oldest child of eight children. His younger siblings are four sisters and three brothers. Two of these brothers are deceased. The researcher asked the respondent if his brothers and sisters all had the same father. He replied, "Yes". He said that his mother was not married. The respondent did not know the ages of his siblings and said, "Every year there is a child". He explained that his siblings were born very close together. The eighth child was stillborn. Thereafter, his mother underwent sterilization. A second brother died in a tractor accident when the respondent was aged 14.

The researcher asked the respondent how old his mother was. He replied, "I don't know but she can't walk very far". The respondent had not seen his mother for seven years at the time of the interviews. His father died about 20 years - "somewhere there" - before these interviews were conducted. The respondent was aged about 13 or 14 years when his father died. His seventh sibling crawled at the time of their father's death.

When the researcher asked the respondent what sort of house his family lived in, he replied, *"Ons is maar aarbeiders"* (we are but farm labourers). The DCS social worker asked the respondent what he meant by "*aarbeiders*" and if he meant that they lived on a farm. The respondent confirmed, "On a farm". The DCS social worker explained that the respondent and his family stayed on a farm but not in their own house. It belonged to the farmer. The respondent and his family lived, and worked, on three different fruit farms. The family lived on the first farm until the respondent was about 14. When the researcher asked who cared for him as a little boy, the respondent said, "My mother, it was my mother's work". When the respondent and his family lived on the first fruit farm, E said that his mother picked fruit and then "cleaned" the fruit trees.

The researcher asked what the respondent's father did. E replied, "In those days, prisoners worked on farms so my father was like a warden. He looked after the prisoners[19] who worked on the farm". After his father's death, the respondent and his family moved to a second farm, where they lived and worked for 14 months before moving to a third farm.

The owners of these three farms provided accommodation for the respondent, his family, and other *aarbeiders*. Accommodation on the first two farms was in two-room houses consisting of a kitchen and a bedroom. Accommodation on the third farm was one large room, which the family divided using curtains. All the accommodation had no electricity, inside sanitation, or running water. Ablutions were performed using a *buitehuis* (outside toilet) and bathing was done in metal basins.

The respondent's first home was at the end of a row consisting of four houses. Rows of houses were very close together. The respondent explained that, "All the people on the farm they stay together and play together as children". The respondent further explained that "staying together" was normal. Three generations, with four families, consisting of paternal and maternal grandparent/s, parents, and four or more children, lived and slept in one or two rooms. "In those days, people had big families".

Until respondent E was aged about 14, his family consisted of his paternal grandmother, his parents, and his six siblings. Ten people spanning three generations slept in one room that the respondent indicated was a little bigger than the DCS office used to conduct these interviews. The DCS office measured about 4 by 4 m. The respondent, his six siblings and their paternal grandmother, slept top-and-tail in a double bed. His parents slept in another double bed. The researcher empathized with the respondent and reflected that things were not easy for him as a child. He responded by saying, "It was difficult times".

Whilst the respondent and his family lived on the first farm, they had three dogs that lived outside the house and two cats that lived inside the house. The researcher asked who gave these animals their food. E said his parents were responsible for the pets. The respondent

[19] During the 1960s and 1970s, the "nine pennies a day" prison labour scheme was abandoned and replaced with a system of parole (Department of Correctional Services, 2004:26). However, in the context of South African prisoners, the word "parole" did not "give essence to the internationally accepted meaning of the word parole", as paroled prisoners were still required "to enter into employment agreements with employers (mainly farmers) at ridiculously low remuneration or else to remain in prison" (Department of Correctional Services, 2004:26).

reported, “I loved animals a lot”, when asked if he played with them. He replied, “No”, when asked if the family kept chickens, sheep, or cows, but his father did keep chickens “before our time”.

The researcher probed about the noise in the family home. The respondent said, “Yes, there was noise, many times in the house … because the house is small”. When the researcher asked if the respondent ever had problems with wetting the bed, he giggled and replied, “I didn’t pee … I did not pee in the bed. No”. The DCS social worker normalized that stressed children wet their beds and again, the respondent giggled twice, and said, “No”.

The researcher asked if the respondent ever got angry as a little boy. He paused and replied, “Um, yes, I must say I could get cross”. He giggled when asked what he would do when he was cross and said, “You see, that time, er, if I now say that I was not a difficult person but I would get angry quickly but it just disappeared. Sometimes I would go away. I was always thinking about the consequences of my behaviour. That’s why I always just walked away from a situation when I was angry”. The researcher asked what sort of things made the respondent angry. He replied, “When people made jokes about me and fun of me”. The researcher asked what kind of jokes. The respondent replied, “Ummmm”. Then he giggled and continued, “When they said funny things, it is small things but I understand. I understand those jokes and so on. But many times, they said my mother has a nice vagina[20] and so on”.

School

The researcher asked if there was a school for the children of farm labourers on the first farm where the respondent and his family lived. He replied, “No, there was not a school. The school I went to for a short time was weekend school. … The school was situated on the farm”. The respondent reported that he walked three or four km to this school. When asked what he thought of school, the respondent said, “I am a child and I must go to school and I must learn. I know I must go to school”. He worried what would happen if he did not go to school. However, “My mother was always giving me a hiding in the morning if I didn’t want to go to school so that action told me I must go to school, it’s important”.

[20] The respondent used a crude word for “vagina”.

When the respondent was aged about 14 he had to leave school during standard two, his fourth year of school education. He reported that, "My mother took me out of school … because I was supposed to help my mother provide. … I worked with my mother on the farm". The respondent's mother took him out of school after what he called "an accident" between his parents. "My mother was making food. … *My pa was 'n ander man gewees as hy honger is. Dan soek hy sy kos. ... En ma, my ma was 'n vrou wat 'n* very short temper *(sic) gewees"*. (My father was a different man if he was hungry. Then he looked for his food. And mother, my mother was a woman with a very short temper.) The respondent reported that his mother chased his father away whilst she was holding a knife in her hand and stabbed him in the heart. He died a few minutes later. His mother was taken to the police station where she was charged with manslaughter. The researcher asked if the respondent's mother went to jail for stabbing his father. He replied, "No, it was an accident". The respondent reported that he and his siblings did not see this accident. Their mother told them about it. "My father normally quarrelled with my mother and then he normally was aggressive towards her … and she thought it was going to happen again. And because of that, she used a knife to protect herself". The respondent became defensive when asked if his parents fought a lot. He called out, "No, no, no! They did not fight a lot. … My father always quarrelled with my mother … my father was aggressive towards my mother. But it's not like in everyday. It just happened once in a while". The respondent said that his father used dagga (marijuana) and when his mother found out, she got angry. His parents drank together and they always fought when they had been drinking.

Respondent E said that he spoke to his mother about his feelings after his father's death. According to the respondent, his mother said that, "She was feeling sorry but she explained to me that she didn't mean to stab my father to death". E said his father's death was in his thoughts a lot. He reported he cried "a lot" after his father's death and planned to run away from home, but never did so. He said he was very close to his father and spoke a lot with him. The respondent, when asked, denied he was cross with his mother about his father's death. He reported that he spoke to his mother about his feelings concerning his father's death.

The respondent said he was "not cross" with his mother when she took him out of school after the death of his father. This was in spite of, "My mother was always giving me a hiding in the morning if I didn't want to go to school", whilst the respondent's father was

still alive. “I wanted to complete school but I understood why … my mother took me out of school”. The respondent said. “These were difficult times”. During the last interview, he said, “It was not so good for me to leave school but due to the circumstances, I was forced to do it”. E said that there were times he had to “jump in” to do certain things, such as putting his siblings’ clothes on and making food. The respondent was asked who else lived in the house after his father’s death. He said that his grandmother was still with them.

The researcher asked E if his brothers and sisters went to school. He replied, “Yes”. The researcher asked why this was so. The respondent replied, “Things were better”. She asked if there was more money, as a year after the death of the respondent’s father, the respondent reported that his mother had a boyfriend. The respondent replied, “I will say there wasn’t more money but the times had changed. That time and my time”.

Punishment

Until he was aged 13, “My mother hit me … four times a month. … She used a cane and I would have blue marks on my body. … The cane was her weapon”. When asked what his mother would say when she was hitting him, the respondent said, “My mother had many frustrations … she was short tempered … if she hit you, she hit you. … My mother hit me as I liked to do my own thing. … My mother would ask me to fetch firewood. I would first finish playing and then fetch firewood. Late firewood meant late food and food had to be on the table when father came home”. From the age of 13, the respondent said that his mother spoke with him instead of hitting him.

The respondent said his father never hit him. However, “My father got cross, very, very, very angry. He was very angry sometimes and then he could kill you if he’s getting cross”.

Teenage years

The respondent was asked if he had always lived at home. He replied, “I did not always live at the house”. The DCS social worker asked, “Where did you live?” E replied, “I stayed always with my good friends, at their mothers’ houses”. Then the respondent was asked what his mother did when he slept over at friends’ houses. He replied, “Nothing”. The researcher asked why the respondent stayed at his friends’ houses instead of at home. The respondent replied, “I was there most of the time but sometimes it’s getting late so

that's why I was sleeping there by my friends". The researcher asked how old the respondent was when he started sleeping out. He said, "From 12 and 11".

The researcher asked the respondent if he ever had his own place to live. He said, "I was always at home when I wasn't in jail". In response to why he did not live on his own, the respondent replied, "I never yearned to live on my own … and the reason I always lived with my mother was to stand by her – she was alone – and the children". The respondent also said, "I didn't have a choice because I was the eldest and it was my duty to help my mother".

The respondent said that, "After my father's death, it was difficult in our house. … He was not there to provide for the family". There was not always enough food to eat. The respondent said that his father would look for food when there was no food in the house.

The researcher asked the respondent if, apart from the incident with his father, he saw other incidents of violence or where other people got hurt. The respondent said that two or three weeks after his father's death, he witnessed his maternal aunt fatally stab a man who was neither her boyfriend nor husband. The aunt and the man were fighting outside her house over a pot. His aunt went into the house, fetched a knife, came back outside, and stabbed the man. He died on the scene. The respondent spoke to no one after witnessing this incident. "I had no one to talk to. … It was difficult for me to understand at that time". The researcher asked the respondent what he thought when he saw his aunt stab the man. He replied, "I learnt at school that these happen and we mustn't be afraid of these kinds of things. I was sorry it happened. But in my thoughts I knew it was a mistake".

The respondent reported that he saw two other stabbings. "People were all drunk on the farm … Things happen in front of me. … These kinds of things happened when people were always under the influence of alcohol. Then there's always stabbing and fighting so I'm used to it".

When the respondent was aged 14, two of his younger brothers were collecting fruit using a tractor. One of the brothers, aged seven or eight, fell off the tractor. The other brother, who was driving the tractor, did not see his younger brother falling off the tractor and

continued driving. He thought he had driven over a stone as he drove over his brother's head. The respondent saw his injured brother before he died at the scene of the accident.

When the researcher asked E if he could remember any happy times as a little boy, he said, "We didn't have any happy times. … I was born to suffer".

In the same year that the respondent's father died, the family moved to a second farm. The respondent was aged 14. He reported that one of his younger sisters did not move with the family to the second farm. "She had a boyfriend. She stayed behind". The respondent reported that his mother said they had to move as her current work had become harder for less money. Accommodation and sleeping arrangements on the second farm were the same as those on the first farm: a house with two rooms, one of which the family slept in. This house also had no electricity, inside sanitation or water. The respondent giggled as he recalled that, "We all washed in the same room" [using metal basins]. He said that when his mother or grandmother had to wash he and his siblings would go out of the room. The family left this farm after 14 months, as according to the respondent, "The women were involved with the men".

The family moved to a third farm. Accommodation, without electricity, inside sanitation or water, was provided in a bigger room. The family divided the room with curtains. The respondent and his brother slept in the curtained-off "kitchen" area.

The researcher asked if there was enough to eat. E replied, "Not always (sighed). We didn't always have enough food in the house for everyone". The researcher asked who would go hungry. He replied, "There were times that we went to sleep with no food but it was not the only reason".

About one year after the death of the respondent's father, the circumstances of the family changed. His mother had a live-in boyfriend. The respondent said, "My mother had, for some time, longed for my father and then she decided on another man who accepted all of us". The respondent knew the man as he was a driver on the first farm, and had been a friend of his late father. "I accepted him. … I called him uncle. But my father had more love than this man". There were no children from this relationship, as the respondent's mother was sterilized after the stillbirth of her eighth child. The respondent reported that

his mother's boyfriend sometimes came home drunk. He argued with the respondent's mother and hit her. When asked what the respondent would do, he giggled and said that he got angry sometimes when the boyfriend acted like that. "I knew my father never, never done that". The respondent said he protected his mother "many times" from her boyfriend.

When the respondent was aged 18 or 19, his mother and her boyfriend had separated. The boyfriend got a room "somewhere". One night, he fell asleep with a lighted brazier in his room and died of carbon monoxide poisoning.

Employment

The respondent said that he had worked from the age of 14 to support his mother. "I did farming work. … When my brothers and sisters were a little bigger I got some other jobs as well like on a building site and more general type of work". He said he slept at home. "I spent my time … working here, working there, doing here a job, then there a job". When the researcher asked how the respondent felt doing all these little jobs whilst boys of his age were sitting in school, he replied, "I felt a little bit left out. … Yes, I felt a little bit left out that I must leave school and work. … I felt it was my responsibility to work for my mother and for the others". The researcher asked who had taught the respondent this. He replied, "My mother said your father is no longer here and you must now stand as a father in the house".

When the respondent was aged about 15, he left the family home. For four years, he worked about 120 km away from his family for what the he termed "Muslim people" who had recruited the respondent after a visit to the farm. The respondent reported that he worked in a hardware shop. The DCS social worker said that the respondent's story was plausible and that he had heard of these incidents before. The respondent spontaneously said that, "I never went home during that time. After four years, they released me. The Muslim people took me home, as it was time to come back home. When I went back home, I wasn't working. And I became very lazy. And then I thought the Muslim people had put a curse on me". The respondent reported that the city, 120 km away from the family home where he worked for four years, was the longest distance he had travelled.

The researcher asked E what his relationship was like with his mother when he returned home four years later, aged 19. He replied, "My relationship with my mother and them was

always not the same, and my mother (giggled), I will say that she was not satisfied with the money I gave her but she took it". Respondent E returned home in the mid-1980s. He reported that he returned with ZAR 400-00 (about USD 400-00 at the time), after four years of work. The researcher asked if his mother was still drinking. He exclaimed, "I will say that, yes!" The respondent's mother was still living on the third farm with the respondent's grandmother and three of his four sisters. E's only surviving brother left the family home before the respondent returned to the farm.

When the respondent was aged 19, he served six months in prison for indecent assault. The researcher asked the respondent what he did when he was released from prison. The respondent said he worked again doing farm work. He continued to live with his mother.

When the respondent was aged 25, in the early 1990s, he worked briefly for a building company. This employment ended as, "There were no sites where we could work".

When the respondent was aged 28, he and a friend started a business selling tinned food door-to-door. He did this for one month and was then arrested for housebreaking. Respondent E served three years in prison for this crime. When he was released from prison, aged 31 years, he sold tinned food, door-to-door, again. One month after his release, he raped a 13-month-old girl. He was arrested about three weeks thereafter and has remained in prison since.

Sex and girlfriends

The respondent said that his mother did not speak about sex. When he was older, he heard people talking about sex. He giggled when the researcher said that she was thinking, with all the people living in one room, did he ever see or hear anything regarding sex? The respondent said that he saw his father lying on top of his mother and he thought to himself, "Why was my father lying on top of my mother?" When they were finished, "I saw them staying together. … And I would see it quite a few times and then my mother became fat so I know because of that, my mother became fat and the babies were born". The respondent's perception of sex thereafter was that, "When two people have sex, they normally share their feelings together and their hearts together".

The respondent giggled when asked if he ever played *poppiehuis* (doll's house) as a child. *Poppiehuis* was explained as, "I am the man and you are the woman". The respondent replied that he did play doll's house, and "I lay on the girl and then my penis became erect but I never did anything". When asked, he denied playing "I'll-show-you-mine-if-you-show-me yours" games.

In response to questions from the DCS social worker concerning the respondent's erections during the night as a child, he reported that, "I got nothing". Then the respondent asked the DCS social worker if he could help the respondent write a letter to his pastor. The DCS social worker agreed to this request and asked the researcher, "Where are we now?"

In response to questions about nocturnal emissions and masturbation, the respondent said, "The sex feelings always came … but I took no action". When asked what he would do if his girlfriend was not in the mood for sex, or had a headache, or was menstruating, the respondent giggled and said, "I accepted it". He denied masturbating as an adult. He giggled when asked if he had sex with a prostitute and did not answer the question. The researcher asked E what he thought of sex workers. He replied, "Is *meisies* (girls) what are (paused) there was one thing that I was always very careful of. It's AIDS. I was very careful". Respondent E then disclosed that he walked around with a condom in his pocket "in case something gives". The DCS social worker told the researcher of the interchange that then followed between him and respondent E. The DCS social worker said that the respondent had said to him during the social work assessment that, "He's got a high sex drive. And I am confronting him with the fact that how is it possible that a person with a high sex drive can just ignore his sexual feelings? And that just by talking to someone, everything is just over? And he said that he's got a friend who always has condoms with him so the respondent always took one of those condoms and put it in his pocket".

The respondent said that he kept a condom in his pocket as he had a friend who was a dee-jay. The respondent said that this friend, "Likes ladies. There were always a lot of ladies in his house". His dee-jay friend also offered child pornography videos which the respondent enjoyed watching.

When the respondent was aged 19, he was charged with the indecent assault of a 13 year old boy. The respondent served six months in prison for this crime. When asked what

happened, the respondent replied, *"Ek het my penis in die anus gedruk"*. (I pushed my penis in the anus.) When asked how he knew that he could put his penis into a boy's anus, the respondent said that he had smoked dagga, and the child had stood in front of him, dropped his trousers and bent over. "My penis stood up and I had sex with him". The researcher commented that the respondent must have thought something to make his penis erect. Respondent E replied, "My mind rested on what I could see at that moment, to my mother and father". The researcher asked, "What did the boy do when you were having sex with him?" The respondent replied, "The boy said I must not do it and he cried". He said that when the boy bent over, "I thought that the boy wanted me to have sex with him".

Whilst in prison for indecent assault, he denied that other prisoners anally penetrated him. However, the respondent said that other prisoners always said to him that they would never come to prison for something like that. Prisoners tried to make the respondent join a gang but he reported that he would not do so.

The researcher asked how the respondent's family had reacted to the incident with the boy. The respondent said that his mother asked him what had happened and he explained the incident to her. "My mother was shocked and disappointed in me and she told me to stay away from my friends". The respondent denied that he had heard about such sexual acts from his friends. He said, "It just happened". The respondent then changed the conversation to when he worked away from home.

The researcher asked respondent E how old he was when he had his first girlfriend. He exclaimed, "Phew!" Then he grinned, and replied that he was 25 when he had his first girlfriend. The respondent smacked his lips as he said this. Then he said, "I don't speak now of a time when I was 12, 13. I speak now of my first girlfriend, a girl I was in love with. I was 25". He said he had not been "earnest" with a girl before but had contact with girls. When asked how old he was when he had sex for the first time and lost his virginity, he said, "I was 15, 16". He giggled and said, "That was another experience". He said his first sexual experience was painful. The respondent was asked what he meant by "painful". E said that something broke in him and that his pain was physical. Again, the researcher tried to clarify what the respondent meant. He giggled and said, *"Dit was fisies seer die pyn"*. (The physical pain was sore.) The researcher asked again what the respondent meant. He said, "The first time I did not have earnest sex with a girl. … I had sex with my first real

girl who was 15". The respondent used the term *"meisie"* (girl) whenever he spoke about her. He informed the researcher that they were both virgins.

This *meisie*, aged 15, became the respondent's girlfriend. She moved in with the respondent, into his mother's house. The respondent and his girlfriend slept in the curtained "kitchen" of the one-room house. By this stage, the respondent, his mother, his grandmother, and two of his sisters were living in the family home. His sisters had their own children who also lived in the family home. These children's fathers lived and worked elsewhere. The respondent said that, "I felt bad because it's the first time that I stayed with somebody in my mother's house". The researcher queried this and the respondent said that this feeling did not stop him from living with his girlfriend.

The researcher probed the respondent's statements that the relationship was acceptable to both of their mothers. The respondent said that he had spoken to the girl's mother. He said he would look after the girl with food and clothes, and provide food and money to her family. The girlfriend was "finished with school" but was not working. He said that he and the *meisie* would also sleep at her mother's house, but not in the same bed. The respondent's girlfriend fell pregnant more than two years into the relationship. The baby was almost due when the respondent started serving a prison sentence of three years for housebreaking.

The respondent had been selling tinned food, door-to-door, for one month, before he was arrested for housebreaking. The researcher asked the respondent to help her understand the reason he broke into people's houses. He giggled and said, "I was a very naughty man". E said he had a friend and he did not know that his friend broke into houses. "I was … sort of forced to do that kind of thing because we were friends". The researcher asked if "forced" meant that the respondent, or his family, was threatened. He replied, "I wasn't forced to go … but I was asked to be a kind of watch dog to see whether there were police or whatever and that's how I became part of this housebreaking".

Shortly after the respondent started serving his sentence for housebreaking, his child was born. His girlfriend and their child lived with her mother during the three years that he was in prison. He reported that his girlfriend and their child, together with one of his sisters, visited him in prison. When E was released from prison, he did see his girlfriend and their

child for four weeks. During this time, he tried to "court" his girlfriend back from her mother.

Alcohol and drug use

The respondent reported that both of his parents used alcohol. His parents received some of their wages under the *dopstelsel*, whereby labourers were partly paid with alcohol by the farmers for whom they worked. The respondent initially denied that his parents were paid with alcohol. Later, he said that his father received a litre of wine a day. His parents also purchased wine, using their wages, from shebeens on the farm. His father used dagga and his parents "argued mostly" about this. After the death of his father, his mother used alcohol everyday. The respondent said, "She couldn't live without alcohol. She would buy alcohol and her friends would come and bring alcohol. … In that time, my mother worried with alcohol". His mother's boyfriend was similarly paid under the *dopstelsel* and got a litre of wine everyday from the farmer for whom the boyfriend also worked.

The respondent had a scar below his eye. The researcher asked about this. He replied, "It was a mark because I was a little bit naughty". He was on his way home from the shebeen. He saw someone in the road with a bottle of beer in his hand, which the respondent reported he tried to take. The person with the bottle of beer stabbed the respondent in the face with it.

The respondent said that when people were drunk, they would make jokes about him and this made him angry. He said that many times people made crude and vulgar comments about his mother's private parts, or would speak badly about his parents and this, too, made him angry.

The respondent said that his biggest mistake was using alcohol and this had led him to prison. "Alcohol makes me want to have more … I cannot be still in one place and I look for more alcohol … and dagga". He said he used dagga but "not often".

Crime

The respondent said he had been to jail many times. The respondent explained that, "There were times I felt very depressed. I would do anything just to protect myself from my depressed feelings".

Respondent E raped a 13-month-old toddler one month after his release from prison, having served a sentence of three years for housebreaking. He was 28 years old. The researcher asked what had happened. The respondent reported that he tried to woo his girlfriend, and their child, back from her mother. He stayed with "this friend" after his release from prison. The researcher asked why the respondent stayed with "this friend" rather than his mother. He admitted that she was no longer so important in his life. He and "this friend" were selling tinned food, door-to-door. The mother of the toddler he raped wanted to buy two tins of food but only had enough money to pay for one tin. She invited the respondent to return that evening, a Saturday, to collect the balance of the money, when her husband was back from work. The respondent used the term "husband". Later that same day, the respondent and his friend went back to the woman to get the balance of their money. She did not have small change. E said he would bring her change when she paid him for the tins. "Then, she said to me I'm a nice guy … and she would like to talk to me". The respondent said that he and his friend left. The respondent returned on his own later, "without … the change" and entered the house. The woman's husband was at home. A second woman arrived, with a five-litre box of wine, but "I didn't know if she was a friend of (the toddler's mother). ... So they all started drinking and they offered me also". By "all" the respondent meant the toddler's parents and the second woman.

During the evening, the respondent went to the toddler's mother. "She said to me earlier that she wanted to talk to me about something and if she didn't think that the time is right now to speak to me". The respondent reported that the woman said she and he must go to the tavern to speak but they did not do so.

At some point, the second woman left the house. Later on, the mother fell asleep behind the father, with their toddler. The respondent tried to rouse the toddler's mother three times but could not do so. "So I took the child from behind the mother's back … and I had sex with the child". The researcher asked, "When you took the child, what were you thinking?" The respondent replied, "Well, I thought (paused) I cannot come out with the mother. … I will go and look for the child and I have sex with the child". The next question to the respondent was, "What do you mean … that you couldn't get the mother, so you took the child? To do what"? The respondent replied, "I had sex with the child". The DCS social worker clarified, "So you knew that you would have sex with the child when you took the child?" The respondent replied, "Yes. So I had sex with this small one".

The respondent took the toddler to a second bed that was in the same room where the toddler's parents were asleep. The toddler was wearing a nappy. The respondent's penis became erect as he removed the nappy. He was asked what was in his thoughts as he removed the nappy. He replied, "I can now have sex with the child. … The alcohol was motivating me to have sex with the child".

He did not lie on the child as he sexually penetrated her. *"Ek het voor die kind gestaan. Die kind het op die bed gelé and ek het voor die kind gestaan, op die vloer en so ek het sex gehad met die kind saam"*. (I stood in front of the child. The child lay on the bed and I stood in front of the child, on the floor and so I had sex with the child.) He held the child firmly with one hand. The researcher asked if he struggled to insert his penis into the child. He replied, *"Ja, ek het omgesukkel, maar met die sukkel het ek altyd deurgebreek"*. (Yes, I struggled but with the struggle, I always pressed more.) He said the sexual penetration was painful for him, until "I had finished breaking through. There was just resistance from her body … I pushed hard, yes, pushed very hard … but I didn't use my full power. I don't know if the child had fear but the child didn't cry". When the researcher asked what the child did whilst the respondent was having "sex" with her, he replied, "She did not cry". The respondent said that the child wriggled at the beginning. The researcher commented that this must have been very painful for the child. The respondent giggled and said, "I don't know lady". The parents did not wake up as the respondent raped their child.

The respondent ejaculated. He took the toddler and put her back with her mother. He did not put the toddler's nappy on as "I was afraid that somebody would catch me whilst I was putting the nappy on again". He did not wipe the child and said he did not see any blood as it was dark. He thought that his penis was wet from his ejaculate.

During his account of the rape, the respondent said he had been drinking. The researcher challenged him and asked how drunk he really was, as alcohol makes "penises go *pap*" (soft). The respondent giggled and then said that alcohol did not make his penis go soft, and if he had used alcohol, then "I always get the feeling to have sex".

The researcher asked, "When you think back about that night, what do you think of?" The respondent cleared his throat four times and stuttered during four sentences saying, "How could I do this thing with this girl?" He admitted that, "I was cross with the mother … and

then I thought … I will take it out on the child because of the mother". The researcher asked respondent E if he knew what he was doing with the child was wrong. He agreed that what he had done was wrong. The researcher asked why, if he knew what he was doing was wrong, he didn't stop. "I wasn't satisfied", replied the respondent. "Satisfied with what?" asked the researcher. He replied, "With the mother. If I had sex with the mother, then everything would be much better". The researcher asked, "Better in what way?" He replied, "Better in my soul".

The parents did not take their toddler for medical attention after the rape. The respondent saw the child three days after he had raped her and said she was quiet. When asked how he felt when he saw the child again, the respondent giggled, banged on the table and said, "I wondered how the mother should feel if she found out I was the one that raped the child". The respondent said that he heard people from the community talking about the rape, but he did not say anything. The researcher asked if he worried about the health of the child, or the damage. He stuttered, swallowed and said, "After the incident, I felt (sighed) I felt very guilty". The DCS social worker asked, "What did you tell yourself to justify your behaviour?" The respondent replied, "I sat on a chair [after the rape] and no one knew what I did there. And I asked myself what have I done? … I said to myself if the child's mother did what she said she would then I wouldn't be in prison". The respondent was asked, "So are you saying that this was the mother's fault?" He exclaimed, "Yes!"

According to media reports, the parents took their toddler to a hospital two weeks after the rape, as her wounds had turned septic. The young child spent four months in hospital, where she underwent several operations. Serious medical complications were treated. The doctors, who treated the toddler, were further reported in the media stating that she will never completely recover as when she is older, she will never have sex without pain, nor be able to bear children.

The police arrested respondent E about three weeks after the rape. This was after the toddler's mother recalled that the respondent had visited her home. The court denied respondent E bail. He was sentenced to life in prison. The respondent was asked if he wasn't "caught" by the police, would he have come forward and said he raped a child. He replied, "I believe I can't say that". The DCS social worker asked him if he would, or should, have come forward and admit that he had raped the child. The respondent said no

and maintained that, “If the mother said she would do what she would, the rape would not have happened. The mother did not play her side of the role”. The researcher challenged the respondent and said that the woman had a partner. Why did the respondent think it was his right to have sex with her if she was involved with somebody else? The respondent said the woman had promised him sex. He agreed that the woman had not said the word “sex”. When she told him she wanted to “share” something with him, and had told him to keep it a secret, the respondent assumed she had meant sex. “Her face said she wanted it”.

Incarceration

The respondent’s mother does not visit him in prison. Respondent E saw his mother and family (except one of his sisters), and his girlfriend and their child, seven years previously, when he was arrested for the rape of the toddler. The respondent explained that for his mother to visit was a very difficult journey and she has no transport. (The prison is about 120 km away). He said he does not want his mother to come to the prison. No other family members visit him except one sister who has visited him three times in seven years. The “church brothers” visit him and his time in prison is “spent in the service of God”. The respondent reported that he has written to the mother of his child from prison. She had not answered his letters and the respondent said, “I believe in my heart that she had met somebody else that she cannot write back to me”.

The researcher asked if the respondent had heard of the “virgin-cleansing” myth. He said he had heard about it in prison. The researcher asked the respondent what he thought he could do to make things better with the child and her mother. He replied, “The child must forgive me”. The researcher asked, “What do you think we could do to stop other men from doing this?” E sighed and said, “I will say (and sighed again) the best way to stop people is to talk to the people”. The researcher’s next question was, “What would have stopped you from doing this?” The respondent replied, “If I had not taken part in dagga, alcohol, whatever, I wouldn’t do it”. The researcher then asked, “So whose fault is it you did what you did?” Respondent E sighed, paused and then said, “I will not say it’s my fault”.

APPENDIX Q

SEQUENTIAL LIFE HISTORY: INCARCERATED RESPONDENT F

Background information

Respondent F, a Zulu male, was aged 70 at the time of the interviews. He never attended school and is illiterate and innumerate. He received a life sentence for the rape of a two-year-old girl, a crime he committed at the age of 61 in the latter half of the 1990s. During the interviews, the respondent spontaneously disclosed that he had served three prison sentences prior to receiving his life sentence for the rape of the toddler. First, when he was aged 18 during the 1950s, he served one year in prison for the rape of a 12-year-old girl. Second, he served a month for stabbing a co-worker. The respondent did not know his age or the year when this occurred. Third, he received a sentence of one year for the rape of a woman, a crime the respondent said he did not commit. He received this sentence during the 1960s, when he was in his thirties.

The researcher conducted four interviews, totalling 8,5 hours, excluding introductory and de-briefing time. Respondent F spoke little English. The researcher cannot speak Zulu. A Zulu first-language speaker was therefore necessary to act as the translator. At the time of these interviews, there were no social workers in the maximum-security section of this prison. Hence, the Area Commissioner's office of the Department of Correctional Services (DCS), in conjunction with the head of the prison, arranged for a senior, DCS guard, first language Zulu-speaker, to act as the translator. The researcher spent considerable time before, during and after the interviews, explaining the importance of confidentiality to her. She was not aware of the age of the victim that respondent F had raped, until the respondent disclosed this information to the researcher during the interviews. The respondent admitted that other prisoners did not know why he was in prison. He said, "I hide it. I don't want other prisoners to know". The researcher emphasized, again, the importance of maintaining confidentiality, to the DCS guard, to protect the respondent, in a personal letter to her at the end of the interviews. In addition, when she wrote a letter of thanks to the Area Commissioner's office, she reiterated the importance of the DCS guard, who acted as the translator, maintaining confidentiality.

The head of the prison assigned an office within the maximum-security wing for the researcher to conduct the interviews. This office had no viewing windows but there was a

small viewing window in the single door of the office. Not all three parties were visible to DCS guards through this window. Hence, DCS guards entered the office frequently, at random, and without knocking, during all the interviews.

The researcher was constantly mindful that she and the translator were females, much younger than the respondent, and that Zulu cultural traditions were respected, for example, keeping direct eye contact to a minimum. During the interviews, the researcher and translator sat next to each other at the width of the desk, and the respondent sat at the end of the length of the desk, so that the three parties formed an "L" shape. The researcher deliberately requested that the respondent and translator sat in this format to minimize direct eye contact between the two younger females and the older male respondent. To indicate respect to the age and culture of the respondent, the researcher addressed him as Mister [surname].[21] The DCS guard acting as the translator showed similar respect by addressing the respondent by his surname and at times, called him *baba*, a Zulu word used to convey respect to a male.

Childhood

Respondent F was born in the mid-1930s at his family home situated in a rural part of South Africa. During this time, the Department of Social Welfare was created, with services directed mainly towards white South Africans.[22] The respondent was the sixth child of seven children, all of whom, he said, were born to the same parents. His oldest two brothers were born a year apart. Two years later, his eldest sister was born. Thereafter, a third brother, a second sister, the respondent and his youngest sister were born, a year apart. The respondent's mother was about 16 years old when she had her first child (the respondent's oldest brother) and approximately 23 years old when she gave birth to the respondent, her sixth of seven children. The respondent's three brothers are since deceased. F gave no information about their deaths. His father died 11 years before the interviews.

[21] The researcher addressed all respondents in this way and continued to do so unless a respondent invited the researcher to use his first name. In the case of much younger respondents, the researcher asked if she could use their first names.

[22] McKendrick (1987b:12-13) notes that the Department of Social Welfare was created in 1937 and was "strongly influenced by political priorities". Hence, services of the Department were targeted primarily towards whites. Rheinallt-Jones (cited in McKendrick, 1987b:13) reports that in 1943, nearly ten million pounds was spent on social assistance and social security in South Africa. £8,3 million was spent on whites, £800 000 on coloureds and Indians, and £600 000 on blacks. MacCrone (cited in McKendrick, 1987b:13) notes that whites formed 20,9% of South Africa's population at the time, coloureds and Indians 10,3%, and blacks 68,8%.

The respondent did not know the age of his father and said, "He was dressed in a hundred years". His mother died at the age of 92, a year before these interviews were conducted.

The family lived in a house with five rooms, built from mud. There was no running water, electricity, or sanitation. Water was drawn from either a well or river, cooking was done on open wood fires, and a "long-drop" used for sanitation.

The respondent's father had two wives. The respondent's mother was the first wife. F said that his father treated his two wives the same way. Both wives lived in the same house with the respondent's father and children. There were no children from the second wife as she died. The respondent did not explain her death. His father had girlfriends outside the marriage and was, said the respondent, a playboy.

The respondent's father worked as a cleaner at a hospital in the town.[23] "My father would go to work early in the morning and come home in the evening". The respondent's mother was a domestic worker[24] and lived with her employer during the week. She would return to the family home on Sundays and at the weekends. The respondent's oldest three siblings (two brothers and one sister) were care givers during the day to the respondent and his two siblings (the youngest of his three brothers and his youngest sister). One of the respondent's grandmothers lived with his family. She passed away when the respondent F was about 12 years old, shortly before the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948. He said her death traumatized him but gave no further details.

When asked about his hobbies and interests, or things that he liked to do, the respondent said that, "I was an athlete. I ran for myself, because I used to run after the goats and the cows. And also Zulu dancing".

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[23] The Natives Land Act of 1913 was intended to prohibit black tenancy of white-owned land, other than labour tenancy (Kemp, 1991:181). The prevention of the emergence of independent peasantry farming for blacks was done with measures such as the master-and-servants law and the control of movement by blacks (Kemp, 1991:180-1). Hence, some 70% of South Africa's (black) population was confined to reserves that made up some 14% of the country, unless they were labour tenants or workers on white-owned lands (Kemp, 1991:181).

[24] McKendrick (1987b:14) writes that one of the challenges brought about by the Second World War from 1939 to 1945 (the respondent was aged about ten when the war ended) was an increase in the movement of black people to towns, searching for employment, in South Africa's cash economy.

School

Respondent F never went to school. "It was because of my father. He wanted me to look after his cows".[25] The respondent said that, "I felt bad that I didn't go to school before but now am happy that I am learning here" [at the school in prison]. He explained, "There were no schools at that time so we didn't have a problem if we don't go to school because we knew nothing about school. We would enjoy just looking after the cows. … It wasn't difficult for me. We were children. We just played … bring our friends around". His siblings, with one exception, also never went to school. "They didn't have the problem because our father was having cows. … My youngest sister got the opportunity to go to school. She can write".

The respondent's oldest sister prepared, and cooked, meals during the week. All the girl children grew vegetables. The boy children fetched firewood, and cared for their father's cows and goats.

Belief systems

The researcher asked the respondent if the family ever went to church. The respondent replied, "Oh yes. My mother was a member of the Zionist Christian Church".[26] The researcher asked if this meant that when the respondent was a little boy he went to church. He said, "We all went to church often … a short distance away" [from the family home]. The researcher asked the respondent if he could remember what his religious beliefs were as a child. He replied, "I believed in God because my brothers went to church. All the family believed in God, that God is there". The respondent has been a member of the Zionist Christian Church (ZCC) since "I was young and was a member of the Sunday school and enjoyed it".

Respondent F has always believed in, and followed, African traditional and Christian belief systems. His prisoner identity card reflected that he was a member of the ZCC. The

[25] McClendon (1997:32-44) writes that cattle represented important economic and social relations during the pre-colonial system and that these relations continued during 1930 to 1950 in the area that the respondent was born and lived.

[26] The Zionist Christian Church (ZCC) was founded in 1910 (Byrnes, 1996:1). The respondent's mother was born shortly thereafter. Byrnes (1996:1) explains the following: ZCC respects traditional African belief systems, particularly those concerning the power of the ancestors to intercede on behalf of humans. ZCC beliefs are eclectic. Practices are often strict, with the condemnation of sexual promiscuity and violence. However, the ZCC proscribes alcoholic beverages, smoking and eating pork.

respondent said, “I do believe in God”. He attends ZCC church services in prison and representatives from the ZCC visit him in prison. Respondent F reported that when his father prayed, he called the ancestors and named all the people who had died and were sick. F copied his father. “So now I’m doing it but I don’t know why”.

Punishment during childhood

The researcher asked, “When you were naughty, what would happen”? The respondent giggled and the researcher said, “You understood that. You’re laughing”. F said that, “I wasn’t naughty. I was just looking after my father’s cattle and playing with the boys, playing with the stick” (a game). The researcher asked if the respondent ever got a smack (and clapped her hands together as she said this) when he was a little boy. He said, “I did get hit … if the cows I was looking after … went to … our neighbours’ fields”. The respondent explained that his mother would hit him on his buttocks with a stick when she returned from work at the weekends. “I didn’t count [how often or many times I was struck] but it was many times”. His parents would have to pay their neighbours for the damage caused by the cows. “There was nothing wrong when my mother hit me because I made a mistake by letting the cows go”. When she hit him, his mother would call the respondent “stupid, lazy … and all that”. The researcher asked the respondent how he felt in his heart when his mother said this. He replied, “I wasn’t really having any problem because I was doing wrong with the cows”. The researcher asked where the respondent would receive his smacks from his mother. He said he was hit outside, in the yard, in front of his siblings, who also got “many” smacks from their mother in front of the respondent. The researcher asked why the respondent’s brothers and sisters got a smack. He said, “Because of the cows. We had cows as people from rural areas and if you let your cattle go through neighbours’ property then you are in big trouble. You have to pay”. Respondent F reported, in response to a question, that his father never hit him.

During and after these hidings, the respondent said he would cry. There was silence. Then the researcher asked, “What does it say in Zulu culture about boys crying?” The respondent said crying meant, “You are not a man. … Even if your mother hits you hard … you mustn’t make any noise or they’ll laugh at you”. The researcher asked if, “They’ll laugh at you” meant that his brothers and sisters laughed at the respondent. The respondent, in an animated voice, described how one of his siblings had told their mother, “No mama, leave him now. It’s okay, leave him”. The researcher asked if his brothers

cried when they got a smack. "They were not crying", replied the respondent. "I was the only one who was crying because I was young". His siblings did not cry even when they received hidings *kakhule* (many times). The respondent's mother stopped hitting him when he was aged 13 because "I would run away when my mother wanted to beat me".

Respondent F said, "I only hit children who are at the same age, not … older children". He said he would hit these children when they let their cows go through other people's fields and did not stop the cows from doing so.

Employment

Childhood

The respondent wanted to leave the family to go and work as "I wanted money so I decided to go seeking". He thought he was aged 12[27] when he left home to work as "a garden boy". He went to the Department of Labour and then "… a white man, he came there to fetch us … to come and help in the garden". The researcher asked if other children worked here. The respondent said he was the only one. He also washed dishes for his employer. "I slept at the back of the house". He returned to the family home at weekends. He gave his wages to his parents and they bought him clothes.

Employment

Adulthood

The respondent had difficulty in recalling his employment history. He could remember that he worked for 18 months, mixing concrete, for a building contractor near the family home. He also went to one of the biggest cities in South Africa (about 450 km away from the family home) and worked on a coal mine[28] for six months. The respondent was extremely vague about his employment and living conditions whilst he worked at the coal mine. However, he did report that he stabbed a co-worker when he worked at the coal mine and served a month in prison. He said his longest job lasted 18 months but a few minutes later, the respondent said that he worked at a college, near to the family home, for ten years as a cleaner. He said he did so as he needed *lobola* (bridal dowry).

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[27] This was shortly after World War II had ended in 1945. In South Africa, this resulted in an increase of black people in towns searching for employment in the cash economy of the country (McKendrick, 1987b:14).

[28] Hare and McKendrick (cited in McKendrick, 1987b:14) highlight that the migrant labour system "dislocated the family system and contributed to prostitution, illegitimacy, alcoholism, juvenile delinquency and other indices of social disorganization".

Before the respondent's father passed away (about three years before the respondent raped the two-year-old), the respondent worked as a delivery assistant for an industrial flower-growing company for "a year and few months". The respondent said his salary was low and his employer supplemented it with *mielie meal* and beans. He left the company when his father died so that he could prepare for his father's funeral.

The respondent has never lived away from the family home, except when he worked at the coal mine, or was in prison. The researcher clarified that this home was the same home in which the respondent was raised as a child. He replied, "I was still sleeping at my father's place. I didn't have a home of my own". The researcher asked the respondent how he felt that he never owned a home of his own. He answered, "It feels good when I am at home where I was born". The researcher asked the translator if this was common amongst rural Zulu people. "Yes", she replied, "when the father dies[29] the last born son usually takes care of the house".

Mental illness / alcohol use

The respondent started drinking when he was ten years old and reported, "I haven't stopped". The researcher noticed a scar on the respondent's head. She asked him about it. The respondent explained that when he was aged 14, he was drinking and a boy hit him on the side of his head with a stone. "When the boy hit me with a stone, I just fell down and then they picked me up and took me home. Then my mother carried on looking after the cows". The researcher asked the respondent if he had seen a doctor. He said no. He said he had never seen a doctor until the age of 61, shortly after he raped the two year old. After the rape, members of the community beat the respondent severely. He required hospitalization for a week. He saw another doctor who treated his influenza whilst in prison.

The researcher asked if the respondent was ever sick as a child. He replied, "When I was about 20, I suffered from mental illness". The researcher asked what sort of problems the respondent had with this mental illness, and what he would do. He replied, "I was doing nasty things, carrying the shield whilst I would hit the people … with … hammers. If you came next to me, then I want to hit you". The respondent reported that he could not remember behaving this way. The researcher asked what his parents did when he was

[29] The respondent said he was aged 58 when his father died. The respondent was the last born son.

drinking and "go mad". He said, "They were not there". The respondent said that his aggressive behaviour lasted for a year. He saw an *inyanga* (traditional healer) who helped him get better. "The *inyanga* told me not to drink alcohol because I used it a lot at the time. … But whenever I drank alcohol, I just go mad and do all these nasty things. I fight with people". The respondent continued drinking, "And then this thing starts again. I went out and then I committed this crime".

The respondent said that he has never used drugs like dagga and cocaine. He reported that he smoked cigarettes prior to his incarceration, and continues to smoke cigarettes in prison.

Sex, girlfriends and married life

The respondent said that his parents never told him about sex. "My older brothers told me, when we were looking after cattle, that 'if you are having a woman, if you sleep with a woman … she'll get pregnant'. They taught me".

F had sex for the first time when he was 18, with a girl who was also a virgin. "The lady was from a rural area. They get virginity tested. … I paid compensation of one cow" as she failed her virginity test. The relationship continued and she fell pregnant. The respondent said his parents did not like the woman and he stopped seeing her. He paid a second cow in compensation for the pregnancy.

The respondent said, "I loved women. I was having lots of girlfriends". He said he had four girlfriends. As neither the respondent nor his girlfriends could have sex at their homes, sex occurred in the bushes. He said he would only "make love" to a lady when she agreed. When asked what sort of things he did with his girlfriends, he said he was sleeping with them. The translator explained that doing anything together would be virtually taboo, unless the couple was married.

The respondent met his future wife at the river when she was collecting water. He would stand at the river and talk to her. The respondent married her, "Because my parents loved the girl and they paid *lobola* (payment made by bridegroom's family) for her". The researcher asked if the respondent loved his wife. He said, "I loved her because my parents loved her". The translator thought that the marriage was arranged. Respondent F could not remember when he got married, or his age at the time of the ceremony. He and his bride

had a traditional marriage performed by an *induna* (a tribal councillor or headman). "So there is no paper or marriage certificate". Respondent F could remember that his wife was pregnant before the marriage ceremony and gave birth to their first child, a son, soon after they were married. The respondent and his wife had a second son followed by three daughters. He does not know the ages of his children and said his wife did. "I can't remember that because I'm in prison. I dunno this thing of dates". When asked what he thought about children, the respondent said, "It's nice to have children around … I'm happy. I want to be around children". His wife has never worked outside their family home, the same home that the respondent grew up in.

The respondent said he hit his wife, but not his children. His wife hit their children. His wife would hit them with "a big stick" if she sent them to the shop and they came back late or used the money to buy sweets. The respondent and his wife never discussed the discipline of their children. "If the child made a mistake, or did stupid things, then she would strike the child".

During his marriage, the respondent reported that he had three other children with three girlfriends. He said he also two other girlfriends, one of whom was his girlfriend up to the time of his arrest for the rape of the toddler. His wife was aware of these girlfriends and their children. These children visited the respondent when they wanted money for school fees, which he gave to them. The researcher asked the respondent if he could help her understand his need for girlfriends despite being married. He replied, "I was enjoying it because they called me a playboy, because I'm having many girlfriends. And my father did the same. He was having many girlfriends, at once. … My wife was complaining that I was doing the wrong things for having girlfriends outside whilst I was still married. She didn't like it but in the end she accepted it".

The researcher asked the respondent if he had heard about HIV or AIDS. The respondent said he had heard about AIDS from women talking about it in the community where he was living. He replied, "No" when asked if he understood how a person could get AIDS. In response to another question, he said that no one ever told him "anything to get rid of" HIV or AIDS.

The researcher noticed that the respondent had scars on his hands. She asked him about them. He said that the scars were as a result of treatment for his bewitchment. The researcher asked how F knew that someone had put a spell on him. He replied, "When I was at my home, I usually go to church and I had to go late and that's where these people were saying I was bewitched. I've been bewitched before". The scars on the respondent's hands were from cuts, with a razor, made by an *inyanga* (traditional healer). Thereafter, the *inyanga* put *muti* (traditional medicine) into the cuts. "If the *inyanga* cut me, then I could heal from the bewitchment". The respondent said that he had felt pain in his hands when he was milking cows and went to see the *inyanga*. The *inyanga* said he was bewitched, performed the cutting procedure and then, "When I milked the cow that pain went up and down". The researcher commented that an *inyanga* was a very powerful person, and asked if an *inyanga* would bewitch a person. The translator said, "It is somebody else who bewitches you, not the *inyanga*". The researcher asked the respondent how much it cost to put a spell on somebody. The respondent said, "Before it was costing me [ZAR] ten rand. Now it's around about [ZAR] two thousand, three thousand, four thousand rand".

The respondent has lived in the same family home his entire life, except when he left to work, or was in prison. He explained that his wife was having electricity installed in the house, and he was building a water pump, at the time of his arrest for the rape of the toddler. At the time of the respondent's arrest, he lived in the house with his wife, their five children, partners and grandchildren.

Crimes

The respondent was in prison three times before going to prison for a fourth time to serve a life sentence for the rape of a toddler. His three sentences were for first, the rape of a 12-year-old girl, second, stabbing a co-worker, and third, the rape of a woman.

Rape of 12-year-old girl

"I raped a girl … who was 12". This occurred at the time that respondent had his first child, "From when I was 18. … The child was staying in another village … under another *nkosi* (tribal chief). I was drunk". The respondent said he served a year in prison for this rape. The DCS translator commented, "It's funny to hear he served one year for rape". The researcher asked the respondent, "When you think back now about that rape, what do you think about?" He replied, "It was a bad thing to do and I was bewitched. … I went to

the girl's family with goats. Then we slaughter a goat just to apologize to them". He also paid the girl's family money, which his father obtained by selling his homemade cheese to a trading centre. These two acts were undertaken after the respondent had served his sentence. The respondent recalled his parents said that what he had done was, "Bad and they didn't like it".

Stabbing a co-worker

The respondent stabbed a co-worker with a knife when he worked at the coal mine. He was in prison for about one month. He could not remember his age or the year when this incident occurred but it was before his father died. He was sober when he stabbed his co-worker who did not want to work, and finish a pre-set target for that day. "So I decided to stab him".

Rape of woman

"A certain girl lied that I raped her. But I said I didn't rape her. But the girl told the police that I raped her. So I went to jail for about one year". The researcher asked how old the girl was. The respondent was unclear about the girl's age but said she was an adult. She lived in a city near where he lived. The researcher asked the respondent why the lady lied about the rape. He answered, "The lady was looking for money so that's why she lied". Then he laughed. The researcher asked the respondent why he was laughing. He said, "I am laughing that she was shouting she was broke! That's why!" The respondent could not give his age when this incident occurred, but thought it was during the 1960s, when the respondent was in his thirties.

The respondent's explanation for these two sexual crimes was, "Because of witchcraft. That's why". He reported, "I went to see the *inyanga* and the *inyanga* told me this".

Rape of two-year-old

The respondent knew the mother of the two-year-old toddler he raped. They were neighbours. The researcher asked for how long he had known the mother of the toddler. The respondent said, "I knew her since she was a little girl until she got married. So I was the one who was preparing everything for the wedding". The researcher asked why the respondent had prepared everything for the wedding. He replied, "I did those things as a neighbour, not the whole wedding, just a little. I liked her" (the toddler's mother). The

researcher asked the respondent what he meant by this. He said he was "on very good terms" with the parents of the toddler, who also had a younger son, and that he and the toddler's father were, "Good friends. … If they are having a function, they'd invite the neighbours to come and help". The father of the toddler died when the mother was pregnant with their younger son. The researcher asked what happened. The respondent replied, "They told me that he was sick but he was an alcoholic".

Respondent F, then aged 61, was unemployed at the time of the rape, which occurred at about 4:30 on a Friday afternoon. He started drinking that morning during a visit to a friend's house. He returned to his home and continued drinking. He then went to a second person's house, with a friend, and had more drinks. The researcher asked what the respondent had been drinking. He said equal quantities of brandy and orange-flavoured soda pop. The respondent said that, "It was too much brandy". Thereafter, at 3:15 pm, "I again went home, left again and carrying my *sjambok*, and went to go and look for my cattle". Seven of his cattle had been stolen. The researcher asked who stole the respondent's cattle. The respondent answered, "I don't know, even now who stole my cattle, but it was not [the toddler's family]". Whilst looking for his cattle, the respondent decided to visit the home of the toddler. He had a glass of beer, or what he called "homemade brew", at the toddler's home, which toddler's mother, aged 30, offered the respondent. "I was drinking, drinking, drinking, drinking – I was drunk, very drunk – when I raped that little girl". The researcher said she was confused and asked, "If men drink too much, their penises can't work, because they are drunk. So how drunk were you because you still managed to rape?" The respondent said again, "I was drinking, drinking, drinking, drinking. I was drunk, very drunk, when I raped that little girl. … Homemade brew has got something that makes men have erections".

The toddler was in her grandmother's bedroom. The grandmother was in town. The respondent reported, "The little girl was with other children" including two children aged 14 and 15. As this was being told to the researcher by the translator, the respondent interjected with, "And the little girl's parents[30] were nearby". The researcher asked if there were any other adults present. He replied, "Yes. The other children could see me raping

[30] This appears contradictory, as the respondent said that the toddler's father had died before the toddler was raped. It could mean that other parents were present, as the respondent had confirmed there were other adults present at the time of the rape, including the toddler's mother. Alternatively, the respondent inadvertently used the word "parent" in the plural.

the little girl". The researcher asked where the respondent had raped the toddler, if the other children could see what he did. He replied, "The other girls saw me raping the child when they came near the house. Then they called the older children".

The researcher asked what the respondent did that the 14 and 15 year old children, who were playing with the toddler in her grandmother's bedroom when the respondent entered this room, went away. The respondent said, "I can't remember because I was drunk".

The researcher asked what the respondent could remember. He said, "I can remember that people from the community beat me with sticks until … I became sober". The researcher asked how many people had beaten the respondent. He replied, "Five women". The researcher asked if it was unusual that only women hit the respondent, not men. The translator thought that as the crime had occurred at 4:30 on a Friday afternoon, the men were in a shebeen.

Thereafter, the respondent said, "The community used a cell phone to call the police. Then the police came and took me away. … I was hospitalized for a week … and then I went to jail after that". The respondent said that the court gave him bail but his family could not pay. "There was no money because the husband of my first daughter passed away, so we used all the money".[31]

Respondent F said, "I was arrested as I raped a child … it was not my intention … to rape a child. … The thing that drove me is because they stole my cattle. Now, I think they bewitched me. That's what is driving me to do that. … I was angry … I was hurting her … when I didn't get my cattle, I decided to do this thing". The respondent said he was drunk. "I couldn't remember anything because I was drunk and the people hit me".

The respondent admitted he was angry that "someone" had stolen his cattle. When the researcher asked if the respondent could have displayed his anger in other ways, he said, "I believe in witchcraft and said in court that I was bewitched. I believe that someone gave me *muti* (traditional medicine)". During the second interview, the researcher asked the

[31] The researcher believes it is unlikely that the court would have given the respondent bail, as the victim was two years old. She pursued this with the respondent, who then became vague and confused. The researcher did not pursue the matter of bail any further.

respondent what he would do if he was angry. He said, "When I had a problem with a neighbour or something like that, I just went to the person and fight with him". During the first interview, the researcher asked what the respondent would do if he was very angry, before he came to jail. The respondent remained silent and after the researcher tried to prompt him for a reply, he said that when he is cross in prison, "I pray now".

The respondent has not seen the toddler since the rape. He said wrote a letter from prison apologizing to her family but has had no reply.

The researcher asked the respondent who visited him in prison, which is about 350 km away from the family home. The respondent said, "My children visit and I tell them I am always writing ten letters of apology to the family and *induna* where I was living". The respondent said his wife and children visited him, in prison, about three years previously, after travelling 350 km. He did apologize for the rape to his wife and children whom, according to the respondent, similarly believe he was bewitched to rape the toddler. He said his wife is now ill and cannot travel. Since his arrest and incarceration, the respondent said that he has not seen his three children, born out of wedlock, and these children now have their own children. "It hurts me … these children don't know their grandfather". The researcher could not verify any of this information, as there were no social workers in the maximum-security section of this prison when the interviews were conducted. The researcher considered verifying the information with DCS guards but felt it might draw unnecessary attention to the respondent. The DCS guard, acting as the translator, said she had no way of verifying the information as only DCS social workers and senior staff can access the Visitors' Logs.

The respondent's mother was 84 when her son was arrested for the fourth time. The researcher asked the respondent what his mother had said. He replied, "My mother was hurt when she found out I'm coming back into jail. I still say I was being bewitched. She was sad".

The respondent had "no answer" when the researcher asked him what might have stopped him from raping the child. Similarly, when the researcher asked how F thought other men might be stopped from raping children, he replied, "Nothing". The researcher asked the

respondent if the little girl was very badly injured. He replied, “They say when I get out of jail, I must marry her”.

Respondent F is older than many of the other prisoners. “I don’t have a problem with respect”. However, he admitted that other prisoners do not know why he is in jail. “I hide it. I don’t want them to know”. During the first two interviews, and the first half of the third interview, the respondent constantly maintained that he had raped a seven year old child. The researcher said she was confused as DCS records stated that he had raped a two year old child, not a seven year old child. The respondent suddenly needed to leave the interview room and use the toilet but did return. Towards the end of interview four, the respondent admitted that his crime was against a two year old child, the court had heard this information, and he knew it was on his DCS record.

APPENDIX R

SEQUENTIAL LIFE HISTORY: INCARCERATED RESPONDENT G

Background information

Respondent G was aged 26 at the time that these interviews were conducted. At the age of 22, he indecently assaulted[32] a 30-month-old girl, resulting in "serious injuries". He received a life sentence for his sexual crimes. The respondent had known the toddler, her mother and their extended family, for about 20 months when he committed this crime.

The researcher conducted five interviews with respondent G, totalling 10,5 hours, excluding introductory and de-briefing time. As the respondent spoke English, no translator was required. The researcher conducted the interviews in the last office of a row of social workers' offices in the maximum-security section of the prison. All of the offices had large viewing windows on two sides, so it was possible to see into all the offices. DCS guards watched the interviews from an adjacent office. In addition, they entered the interview room unannounced and frequently (14 times, for example, during the fifth interview).

Early childhood (up to seven years)

Respondent G, a Zulu male, was born in a town at the beginning of the 1980s. At the time of the respondent's birth, the town had a population of approximately 56 000 residents. The town experienced the political violence affecting many areas of South Africa at the time. During the respondent's childhood, the population of the town grew enormously, due to the apartheid policies of forced removals, influx control and industrial decentralization. By the late 1990s, the population had reached some 320 000 residents. However, population growth exceeded employment growth, despite the industries - including coal mining - that operated in and around the town. At the beginning of the 1990s (when the respondent was aged about ten), employment opportunities declined. Nearly 20% of jobs were lost during the first four years of the decade.

[32] The respondent was convicted for "indecent assault" in line with the legal definition at the time, and as noted in Volume I, Chapter Two. "Indecent assault" included attempted rape and the forced penetration of a penis into an anus (Gallinetti, 2004:213). The respondent was convicted for both of these acts of "indecent assault" against the toddler.

Respondent G is the youngest of five children. His oldest sibling, a sister, is 11 years older and his three brothers are eight, six, and four years older than G. The researcher asked the respondent if all five children have the same father. He replied, "*Ja* (yes)! All the same father". The researcher repeated, "You are all from the same father". Then the respondent said, "And the same father, the same mother, yes". The respondent's mother was 24 when her daughter (the respondent's sister) was born, and aged 27, 29, 31 and 35 when she gave birth to her four sons, the youngest of whom is respondent G. The family lived with the respondent's paternal grandmother in "granny's house", a three-room mud house built by the respondent's father. The respondent and his three brothers slept in one room, the respondent's parents in the second room, and the respondent's grandmother and sister in the third room. The respondent's father worked in a factory. The respondent named the company that his father worked for and said, "It's like a mine". His mother was a domestic worker. When the respondent was almost six years old, his father rented a house in "a location" [a township on the periphery of the town]. The respondent, his four siblings and their parents moved from "granny's house", and lived in this house in the location until the respondent was aged seven.

The researcher asked the respondent what he could remember about his father. He replied, "I can remember my father. He was so abusive". The researcher said, "Really". The respondent continued: "Abusing my mother. He even tried to shoot my mother". The researcher asked the respondent what happened. He said, "I was still young then [up to the age of seven years] but I can remember when they fight. They fight a lot. My father was an aggressive guy. He would come inside the house when we are eating. … The food would not be right for him". The researcher asked what would happen. The respondent replied, "… We didn't feel to eat. We just leave the food, all of us because we know he is going to start a problem. … And to fight my mother a lot".

The respondent reported that his mother and three older brothers received daily beatings. G reported, "My father was going to beat me if I do something very wrong". The researcher asked what was very wrong. The respondent replied, "I would break a cup. That's when my father's going to beat me". His father would beat him "anywhere" on his body, using his hands, "especially" at weekends. "From Friday, we didn't sleep". The respondent said, "We supposed to go to the neighbours and hide with my mother and the neighbours became scared to hide my mother because they are scared of my father".

The researcher asked the respondent if his father drank. He replied, "Yes. My father did drink. He even made homemade beer. They always need to fight for that beer when my mother didn't make that beer. My father would beat my mother if she didn't cook him meat. There was no money for meat. Then he gonna beat her. Always he was wanting meat. He wanted meat. He quarrelled with my mother and would fight her".

The respondent said, "People in the area were scared of my father because when it was time to pay the rent, the cops come and collect the rent. … When we see the cops coming into our yard, we gonna run away. We don't need the cops near us. That time, the cops man, they were respected; we respect the cops, serious!" The respondent's use of the term "that time" refers to the 1980s in a predominantly Zulu area of South Africa.

The respondent said he started school at the age of six. He attended grade one, his first year of school. "My first school I still had a mother and a father. School was nice. I enjoyed school at that time". During the respondent's first year of school, his father left the family to work, "At another job … he started this contract when I was six years old". The job was in a city, some 300 km away. G's father returned the following year, when the respondent was seven, and in grade two. The respondent said his father came home, "Once. He brought clothes. I can even remember the shoes". This visit took place on Good Friday and the respondent's father said he would see the family again during winter (about four months later). However, by Christmas, some eight months later, the family was still waiting for him to return. "My father just left when I was seven. … He didn't come back no more. … I don't know where my father is now. All of us in the family we didn't know where he is". Since the age of seven, the respondent has not seen his father. The researcher asked the respondent if his father sent his mother money. The respondent replied, "He didn't. … It's where we start to suffer".

After his father's departure, the respondent said, "It was hard for my mother". She continued working as a domestic worker. He described how he, his four siblings, and their mother would share one potato. "Food was a problem". The respondent reported that, "At the time when my father left us, we go to [maternal] granny's house. … Granny said to my mother come with the children at home". This home also had three rooms. The respondent said that there were, "Many, many people who lived there" who consumed 50 kg of *mielie meal* (crushed maize) a week. The researcher and respondent counted the

"many people" as seven adults and 15 children, including the respondent, his four siblings and their mother. The respondent joked that if the family played a game of football they did not need to invite other children from the neighbourhood to make up a team as, "We were enough in the house. *Ja*, they even call us the (family surname) aces … because we make a football team in the yard"! The respondent recalled that, "If they make a sacrifice, they slaughter maybe a sheep. We don't need the neighbours" [to help eat the meat].

The researcher asked about the sleeping arrangements in the three-room house. The respondent explained that, "The [15] children slept with the ladies [the respondent's maternal grandmother, mother and two adult relatives]. All of us were sleeping in the kitchen. … All the children slept under the beds. Sometimes I used to sleep with my mother". The respondent's maternal uncle slept alone in the second room. The respondent's maternal aunt and her husband slept in the third room. The respondent said, "The house was a small space but you gonna live there". Often there was no where for people to sit. The researcher asked what would happen when people needed to wash themselves. The respondent replied, "*Ja*, we wash there. All of us wanted to wash near the stove. You put your washing bath here (and the respondent mimicked a row of washing baths). … There was no privacy and everybody can see everybody else. … When older people washed, they used to chase the boys away". When younger women washed in front of the young boys, "We can stay inside the house". The toilet, a pit latrine, outside the house, was "self made" and did "not flush". The house had no electricity until after 1994.

Despite the family's difficulties, "My mother tried to keep us in school. She used to say go to school, go to school. I go to school but my mother tried to make all of us go to school". (The respondent and his four siblings all attended school. None of them completed their school education.) G said if he or one of his siblings wanted money for something at school, his mother could not afford it. "We were blaming her. Even if she tried to explain, we were young. We didn't understand the situation". When the respondent was aged about ten, the school organized a trip about 300 km away from where the respondent lived. His mother could not afford the money for him to go on the trip. "I got angry with her, as she couldn't give me all the things I wanted".

When the respondent was in his fourth year of school, aged about ten, he said, "I got talent in Zulu dancing". His teachers wanted him to go on a trip where he could display his

dancing talent. The respondent told his teachers that his mother could not pay for this trip. His teachers urged his mother to see them and, thereafter, gave respondent G, "A free trip". The respondent smiled as he spoke about the trip and said, "I enjoyed the trip. *Ja*, it was nice, it was nice that time". He reported that his teachers, "Quarrelled about me. … I felt like a star! They want me! Heh, I'm important!" The respondent wanted to attend a particular higher primary school, as according to the respondent, "They wanted me" because of his talent for Zulu dancing. However, his mother could not afford the school fees for this school, as the fees were almost double those of another higher primary school which the respondent then attended.

Middle childhood to mid-teens (seven to 14 years)

The respondent's mother continued working as a domestic worker when she and her children lived with their maternal grandmother. "But my mother was not getting time to relax. She was a person who liked to work a lot". The respondent recalled that his mother did a lot of clothes washing during the time the family lived with their maternal grandmother. "At granny's house, she will try with all her means to make them to be all right. She clean *everything*! It's painful if you see your family don't like your mother. I used to see my mother, she became thin".

The respondent fought with his maternal uncle, the younger brother of his mother (who also lived at the maternal grandmother's house), but "He's going to defeat me because he is old. He is just going to quarrel with you without reason". The uncle would also fight with the respondent's friends and cousins. "He used to do that … while he was drinking". The researcher clarified, "So when your uncle was drunk, he'd want to fight?" The respondent replied, "*Ja.* He want to hurt. When he's drunk, he's a problem".

The respondent and his family lived with their maternal grandmother for about seven years. They had to leave when the respondent was in grade nine, aged about 14. G explained that there were quarrels about his brothers' drinking and taking things. The respondent, his brothers, and their mother were "forced" (the respondent's phrase) to leave the grandmother's home. The respondent said, "My mother was chased away and told she must go and find a place for her children. … My mother must take her children and go. Because my brothers are getting older [they were then aged about 21, 20 and 18], they take the things. They chase us away. ... My mother made a shack in a location". The

respondent said that their shack with two rooms was the only shack in the area. The neighbours lived in houses. "It was hard to grow up during those years".

The respondent said that his mother "relaxed" when they lived in the shack in the location. The researcher reflected that the respondent's mother worked hard. She was still working as a domestic worker. The respondent replied, "Daily she worked hard. She didn't get the good life from us, just … pain".

Punishment at school

The respondent attended primary school in the "location" (township) in the late 1980s. The researcher asked if any of the respondent's teachers hit him at school. He replied, "In school at that time, the teachers were hitting us. They punish us all on the hands". The respondent said, "From grade one (aged about six), I got punishment" for arriving late at school. Punishment was a smack, with a stick, on his finger tips, that had to be drawn together into a bunch. "We gonna get pain, lots of pain. If they hit you, they hit you here (pointing to his bunched fingers). The whole day it's sore". The researcher asked how any times a week G was hit. He replied, "It depends how many times you come late in school". The respondent said he stayed not too far from school and he would arrive late for school once or twice a week.

Without prompts from the researcher, the respondent explained that teachers administered punishment to children who did not get full marks. Nine out of ten marks resulted in one smack, eight out of ten marks two smacks, and so on. G said, "In grade one, they beat us! Grade two – that teacher beat us a lot! I don't know what kind of mother she was! … That teacher she beat you if you made a mistake". The respondent said the teacher would hit him across his shoulders, his buttocks, or on his hand, using "sticks". He could remember this teacher, "As she like the fat stick", about a metre long. The respondent, without prompting, demonstrated how he and other children had to make what they called, "A chair on air". The child receiving punishment had to position his body to look like a chair whilst other children held his ankles and wrists. "Then the teacher gonna hit you". In addition to one strike for each wrong answer, "The teacher gonna beat me for noise in class". The teacher would decide how many "sticks" the respondent would receive. "If she's angry – five! You gonna cry! I'm gonna cry. I'm gonna cry, heh, I was in a lot of pain with the school". The respondent said if he went home and told his mother that the teacher had

beaten him that day, his mother would agree with the teacher's actions. "All the parents they gonna agree – why do you do wrong things in school?"

In grade three (when the respondent was about nine years old in the very late 1980s), "That teacher, she was beating us but not a lot you see. But the way she punish us, it was painful. She used to hurt other children but not me". The respondent reported that the teacher used a wooden ruler with a metal strip in it to hit the children's bunched fingers. The respondent recalled how two of his school friends had their fingers cut on one occasion as the teacher administered this punishment.

During grade four, the respondent told the researcher that, "Me and others at school, we made gardens. So there in the garden, if you make the mistake, you are in big shit. She's going to beat you a lot that teacher". However, the teacher did not beat the respondent a lot, "Because she's the one involved in the Zulu dance. I was in her class. So she didn't used to beat me a lot because she liked me a lot".

The respondent said that the punishment administered during grade five, compared to grade three, was worse. He said he had a lot of teachers each of whom taught a different subject. He spoke about three of these teachers with respect to punishment. The first teacher, his science and biology teacher, a female, would make pupils put their fingers in a glass of iced water and then hit their bunched fingers, if pupils could not answer a question. "She was mad!" said the respondent, spontaneously. The second teacher, his music teacher, a male, would tell pupils to rest their heads on their desks if they could not answer his questions. Pupils who did not put their heads on their desks, and gave an incorrect answer, resulted in all the pupils who did not have their heads on their desks getting, "Two, two, two, two, two, two" strikes, with pupils who had their heads on their desks getting one strike. The third teacher, a female, who taught the respondent religious instruction, administered punishment using "black pipes, strong pipes". This teacher also used a pipe that had "balls" of cow skin tied to it. "In grade six, only one teacher was beating us".

The researcher asked the respondent how he felt when all the teachers were hitting him. The respondent said, with great emphasis, "*It's painful*! …. They beat us like we are donkeys". The respondent said teachers would call him "stupid and so on" as they beat him. G said he and his school friends "bunked school. … School was terrible!"

During grade seven, when the respondent was aged about 12, he went to school in what he called "ladies' shoes". He said that the children at school spoke behind his back about his shoes. If the respondent heard them talking about him and his ladies' shoes, "They were in a big problem … as I want to smack them. I got angry. It was not my aim to wear shoes like that. It was the situation. And I won't stay at home just because I don't have shoes to go to school".

The respondent attended a high school in the township on the outskirts of the town. When the respondent was in grade nine (aged about 14), "We start to vote … [in South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994. Shortly thereafter, the new government banned corporal punishment in schools]. So after we finish voting, we don't want the beatings in school". G said that whilst he was in grade nine (which he repeated), and grade ten, "Only the principal was supposed to punish the children with no more than two strikes on the backside" as the child bent over, holding his toes. Punishment was administered but "Not in front of other children. There were lots of rules of the school at that time. If a boy hit … the girl in school, you got punishment". The researcher asked if the respondent had hit a female pupil. He said, "Only one lady. I quarrelled with her. When I tried to go to her in the morning … she grabbed me. A teacher saw me". The teacher sent the respondent to the principal's office. "Time out" followed in a small room adjacent to the principal's office with a viewing window in between.

The respondent said, "I spent many hours sometimes in the little room". The researcher asked if this meant that G was naughty. He said, "I was naughty. … You know what caused me to be naughty? There's a lot of children in school. I didn't get the things. You are not living the life just like other children at school". The respondent explained that during school break times he saw other children eating pies, which he would try to take away from them. "I was hungry". The researcher asked if the respondent had enough to eat at home. G replied, "Sometimes I have enough. Sometimes I had nothing. I went to school with an empty stomach! … I can look to the teacher but my mind is not there" often when he had no breakfast before going to school. The principal called the respondent a "problem child" and sent letters to his mother. The respondent collected them at the post office and reported, "I *won't* give the letters to my mother. I would hide them. There were lots of letters". The respondent held his hands about ten cm apart to indicate all the letters sent by the school. The principal approached the respondent, after sending lots of letters,

all to no avail, and asked him about life at home. Thereafter, the principal arranged for the respondent to go to the school office, before lessons commenced and collect food. The respondent ate the food immediately. The school provided more food and beverages, for him, during the day.

The respondent said that by the time he was in grade nine, he and his mother were good friends. This suggests that they were not always "good friends". He said, "Then my mother only hit me thrice … for breaking". By this stage, his sister had "quit" school after, "She find a baby", left the grandmother's house, and married the father of her child.

Use of alcohol and drugs

The researcher asked the respondent about his use of alcohol. He replied, "I was not living without alcohol outside. … If I didn't get drunk, I would get like this. (The respondent held up his hands and shook them as he said this). I was a drunk". He said people would tell him about things he had done whilst he was drunk. G said, "Sometimes I would wake up in a place and I didn't know how I came to that place".

The researcher asked how old the respondent was when he had his first drink. He said he was 11 and then said, "They beat me!" G explained that "they" referred to his brother-in-law and sister, who attended a *braai* (barbeque) at the house of the respondent's aunt. During the *braai*, the respondent said he "pinched" a cream-based locally made liqueur. His brother-in-law beat the respondent, "Because that time, he's the one who is responsible. He was trying. He is the one who was helping my mother". The respondent lifted his shirt and showed the researcher his rib cage and said, "So that time he broke my rib here. … I stopped there because he beat me a lot. …. *Eih*![33] He beat me sore that time!" The respondent's mother was aware of the beating that her son received, "But there is nothing she is going to say to him because sometimes he help financially".

The respondent's brother-in-law beat G for a second time, "Because they find me smoking cigarettes". His brother-in-law did not beat G thereafter. "I stopped drinking alcohol until I was 17. Fridays, we used to drink with friends when they came out of school. … I became addicted. We were not living without liquor because if I live without liquor, I was

[33] Exclamation!

not feeling all right". The respondent said he drank brandy and cider. He voluntarily said, "I did not drink beer as beer is not all right for me".

Mid to late teenage years (14 to 19 years)

By the time the respondent was aged 14 and in grade nine, his mother had built a shack, with two rooms, in the location. This was after the respondent's grandmother had told the respondent's mother and her family to leave her home. By this stage, the respondent's sister, aged 25, was married. She lived with her husband and their child. The respondent's oldest brother, aged 22, had not written his final school examinations, as his mother was unable to pay the examination fee, and his two younger brothers, aged 20 and 18, had failed their final school examinations. Shortly thereafter, the oldest brother found work in another city, about 300 km away, "Because my brother-in-law was the one who put him in the work. …. Life started to be easier". Later, the second and third brothers also left the shack and joined their oldest brother. The older brothers helped financially. "Then life became a little bit easy for my mother".

The respondent said, "Me and my mother were good friends. … Only me and my mother. We were very close". He would sleep in the kitchen, "But sometimes we gonna stay together … in her room … no place to go to my room. We gonna sleep together. … If we sleep together, we talk and talk and talk. A lot of the times I was with my mother, we are talking about my father. I ask my mother why he decided to leave her with these children. …. She gonna say, 'ah my child, I don't know because all of you are his children'". The respondent said he never saw his mother with what he termed, "A new father".

About a year later the respondent's oldest brother lost his job and returned to the shack, occupied by respondent G, aged about 15, and their mother. G said that his oldest brother, "Stayed at home, he swore, he started to be mentally disturbed". The researcher asked, "So when you are saying your brother became mentally disturbed, what was he doing?" The respondent exclaimed and then said, "He did a lot of things!" The researcher asked, "Like what?" Respondent G described how his oldest brother, "Beat my mother, he wanted money from my mother … to buy dagga… and alcohol … he demanded money. He knew my mother didn't have that money. He hit her. I was young. I don't have power so he chase my mother around; there he is hitting her, pulling her". The respondent reported that his mother, employed as a domestic worker, borrowed money from her employer to give to

her oldest son. He used the money to purchase marijuana and alcohol. This meant that, often, there was no money left to buy food. When the oldest brother became physically abusive, sometimes his mother temporarily ran away. Then, the respondent's oldest brother "fought" and "beat" the respondent, who ran away too. G reported that his brother stole his and his mother's clothes, and sold them, using the money to buy alcohol and dagga. The researcher asked the respondent about his brother's use of dagga. Respondent G said his brother used dagga, "A lot, a lot, a lot! He likes his dagga". The respondent reported that his brother also stole his school shoes. He explained, "That's why I run away from home". The respondent was aged 15 and in his ninth year of school, which he failed.

Life on the streets

A year after South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, G lived on the streets of a town for six months. The town was near the township where the respondent had lived with his mother. He reported that his mother knew where he was. "She's gonna come with food for me and then after work, I will meet her". His eyes then filled with tears. The researcher reflected that this was a very hard time of his life. The respondent exclaimed, "*Ja*, my mother man!" The respondent and researcher were silent. Then the respondent cried. The researcher briefly suspended the interview whilst she emotionally supported the respondent. Then, she asked the respondent if she could give him a tissue. He replied, "Okay". The respondent wiped his eyes and continued, "While I was living in town, the feelings were painful for me". G told the researcher how he, and other boys, living on the streets, smoked glue to ease their hunger pangs. "All the boys they use glue. They do terrible things to you. … We slept in this big dustbin" that was in a garage behind a shop. Sometimes, the police would "chase" or "catch" the boys, put them in a car and drive them far out of town. "We didn't know where we were going. They gonna leave us far away. During the night, we gonna start to go back. … We walk. Nobody wear the shoes. No space for shoes. The feet were swollen". The boys would get food from begging, or tips from pushing customers' supermarket trolleys, and unpacking shopping into their cars.

Whilst on the streets, respondent G, aged 15, disclosed three occasions when adult men anally penetrated him. He volunteered that, "The people are gonna come there, they look at us, you beg as someone passes you and he says, 'let me give you a job'. You go with him. He's not giving a job. He's gonna make sex with me". On the first occasion, the respondent said, "I met this coloured guy. He asked me, 'where are you going?' I told him

I am going to look for my friends. The man said he will give me a job and a place to sleep at home". G followed the man to a house but did not know if the man owned the house. "But it's a big house and he has the key". There was no one in the house. The man told the respondent he would get a job in the morning. "While I was sleeping, he started this thing". The man threatened the respondent saying, "If you try to make shit, I will do terrible things to you. Let me finish this and I will pay you". The man fondled the respondent's private parts. Then, the man put cream on his own private parts and anally penetrated G. The respondent said that the experience was painful. "Even the blood come out. … If I cry, he shout at me. He say, 'you want to be alive, don't shout'. I said nothing". The man paid the respondent ZAR 50-00, about USD 15-00 at the time. The respondent discussed this incident with his friends who also lived on the streets. However, they required "proof" from G so he showed them his bloodied underwear. The respondent said, "Lots of children on the streets explain to me those men do that thing. … And that thing was happening - serious - to me, because they were watching their clients … to take them to their cars. … I did not go to the toilet for two or three days as it was too painful".

On the second occasion, the respondent recalled, "The Rasta man, he found me in the passage of (a supermarket). He says I must do him. That one I can say he raped me. That one he raped me because he just grabbed me but he just (the respondent indicated his private parts and imitated exhaling sounds, four times, in quick succession) … without my permission". The Rasta man used his spit as lubricant. This disgusted the respondent.

The third occasion was "a white man. He promised me a lot of money. He gave me money. He used cream". The researcher asked if any of the men had used a condom. The respondent replied, "Which one? … That time (mid-1990s), the condom, I wouldn't even know how to use it, that there is something called a condom. All these people I am talking about, no one used a condom". The respondent said that these experiences were painful, both physically and emotionally, and he felt scared. "You are scared to tell other people what's happening. … It was worse if I saw my mother. I didn't tell her what's happening. But I think my mother knew".

"After six months, my mother came to me" and informed respondent G that, "My brother had started to be all right". The respondent returned to the family's shack. He never discussed his sexual experiences on the streets with his mother. The respondent said that in

his culture as a Zulu male, "Man-to-man sex is not all right. Having anal sex is a sin. Even today, if I think about it, it's shame. …. If I think about this thing, what happened, I don't want to be alive". The respondent went back to school and repeated grade nine, which he passed.

Early adulthood (18 to 19)

In the very late 1990s the respondent was aged 18. He had completed grade ten. He and his mother were still living in their shack in the township. On New Year's Eve, the respondent's mother, aged 53, was shot and killed on a street in the township. She was on her way home. The researcher asked the respondent who had shot his mother. He replied, "They say me, they say I shoot my mother. They arrest me. They said I killed my mother". He said that the first he knew of his mother's murder was when the police arrived at the shack and arrested him for the crime. "I didn't do it because I was in another place. It was a very, very big shock for me that day. I don't forget it. …. The time I was arrested - heh! I was asking God a lot of questions. It was my first time to see the walls of police stations, inside, and then to go to prison. … I went to prison". G never saw his mother's body or attended her funeral. The respondent said his family had him arrested because he had fought with "other guys" on Christmas day and got hurt on top of his head. In response to this, the respondent called a friend. "My friend pinched his father's gun. We were going to pay revenge on the person who attacked me". The day after Christmas, the respondent said, "We fight them, we fight them but we didn't hurt anyone". The respondent reported that he kept the gun. He said that his brother - who came home for Christmas - had told the police that the respondent had a gun. The respondent reported that he gave the gun to the police when they arrested him. G said, "I hated my family and was really, really angry" and fantasized about killing his brother whilst in prison. "And then … after a long time [four months], the police found the person. It's not me who did this thing. That person, a family member, was arrested. They get him". (The family member's relationship to the respondent was never revealed to the researcher). Thereafter, respondent G did not return to school.

The respondent tried to find work, "But I didn't get it so …. I started to think about coming to (city)". The city, 300 km away, was where his second and third brothers worked. The researcher asked what the respondent lived on before he left his hometown. G said he used

to work for a friend's father, buying diesel that truck drivers had drained from their vehicles. The respondent and his friend then sold this diesel in "the location".

Almost a year after the death of his mother, the respondent left his home town, aged 19, with his girlfriend and went to the city, 300 km away where his second and third brothers worked and lived. The researcher asked what made the respondent think to come to this city. G replied, "I see at home, no one's going to help me. So I thought the time is now to stand up for myself and find a job".

Sex and girlfriends

The respondent said he never saw his parents having sex, "Because while my father was still at home, I did not sleep with them. I didn't even go to their bedroom where they were sleeping". He recalled an incident when he was aged six and his father was still at home. He said he and a girl, aged "12 or 11 got into an old *bakkie* (an open delivery vehicle) and pretended to make sex with our clothes on. That girl, she took me to do that. She's the one". The girl's father saw them and beat them with his belt. The girl's father told the respondent's mother what had happened but the respondent was too scared to enter the house and face his mother. One of his brothers grabbed him and brought him to his mother. "She started to beat me. … What if she gonna tell my father? My father he were going to kill me".

Respondent G said he never spoke to his mother about sex. "Now, parents try to talk to the children about sex. But, to us – no - it was amazing! If I can hear you talking like that, I am going to tell my mother or your mother. My mother is going to go to your parents and they gonna beat you. You like it or not, they gonna beat you. Why are you talking this thing? This thing is not for you, it is for older people. Even if you saw people kissing on the street when you are with your mother, she's gonna tell you … you mustn't look".

The respondent relayed an incident when he was in grade two (aged about seven). "An old man used to play with our penises. … I remember he used to do like this". (The respondent mimicked masturbating as he said this). "He gonna call us, buy sweets for us then he gonna ask to see our penises". Then the man masturbated himself, the respondent and the boys. The respondent said, "It happened a lot … maybe five times". One of the boys told his mother what had been happening. She called the police who interviewed the boys.

Thereafter, the man was arrested and sent to prison for about four years (late 1980s to early 1990s). Aged 11, the respondent saw the man after he was released from prison. "I didn't even want to pass him. … I would change my direction. … Until I grow up, I always see him".

Masturbation

The respondent said no one ever talked to him about masturbation. "It happened" in the swimming pool with other boys. G said the boys would swim, "And then lie down when you are tired. … We used to play with it and see who's gonna ejaculate first. … We used to plan for masturbation. I would take soap from home. I would come to the swimming pool. I knew after I finished swimming, when I'm tired, we supposed to play our game. We gonna put the soap here (pointed to his private parts) and it's where we gonna play. We all lay down, maybe 11 of us, we see who's gonna ejaculate first".

The respondent said he masturbated once a day at home. He then spoke of the time he lived on the streets and said, "These people while they were making sex to me, they used to masturbate me".

Sexual intercourse

The researcher asked the respondent how old he was when he had sex for the first time. G said, "I was young. … Ten. …. I remember that day. We got toothpaste". G said he was sitting with his friend. Some girls, the same age as the respondent and his friend, came and shouted at them. They ran away from the girls. The girls chased after the two boys, who ran into an old stadium. "It's where we made sex. It was the first time". The researcher asked, "So how did you know what to do?" The respondent shouted, as he clasped his hands together and rocked them up and down, which resulted in a DCS guard rushing into the interview room, "*Hoa*,[34] we are just doing it! …. We were not knowing that thing, I am telling you!" In a later interview, the respondent said, "The children taught each other about sex because we used to play with the girls. … We were scared to take off our clothes, to go naked. The girl, she gonna lie down, I lie on top of her but with our clothes on. …. We know we are supposed to take our clothes off but we are scared".

[34] Exclamation.

Girlfriends

The respondent said, "I started to have really, really girlfriends" when he repeated grade nine (aged about 16). By "really girlfriend", the respondent meant he "propose that girl". The researcher asked if "propose" meant to have sex. The respondent replied, "Yes. No (paused) then (paused) no, I not only want sex". He said he was "already late" with his "proposal". The respondent said his mother had told him that, "You are not supposed to have a girl in life until you finish school". The respondent asked his mother why he could not have a girlfriend whilst still at school. His mother told him that the girl would "probably fall pregnant and you see our situation here".

The respondent reported that, "It happened maybe sometimes the old ladies they like to talk about sex to me". The respondent would tell his mother what the old ladies had said to him. "My mother would approach them and tell them, 'don't talk like this to my child. My child is still young'".

Incident of bestiality

Towards the end of the fourth of five interviews, the respondent said he was thinking of telling the researcher "something" but needed to think about it further. The researcher reminded the respondent of the mandatory caution. At the beginning of the fifth interview, the respondent spoke of how other prisoners had "teased and beaten" him about his case and said that other prisoners had told him, "You raped a child outside. If we were outside, we would pick you". The respondent also spoke of his own pain caused by his crime against the toddler and his need to understand why he had raped her. He had discussed these points at length during the first four interviews but at the beginning of the fifth interview, he was in a pensive mood. He said, "The thing that made me to feel pain is the way other prisoners talk like maybe I did this thing … intentionally. That is why I started to feel the pain". The respondent continued his monologue and said, "I don't know what I can do to show them [other prisoners] that it was not my intention". The respondent stood up and rearranged his chair so that it was next to the researcher's chair. He positioned himself so that his shoulder was almost touching the researcher's shoulder. He stared straight ahead. The researcher asked, "How do you understand what you did with that child?" The respondent said, without looking at the researcher, "When I started to do this thing in the child, I didn't see myself. As I was carrying on … I realized what I was doing when I heard the child crying. …. Even if I am alone now, I can hear the child … crying.

… I used to think what caused me to do this. I think maybe if you have intercourse with an animal … it can cause you to do this thing. … Because me (paused), I am not mentally disturbed (paused), I am all right. So I ask – *why* – did I do this. … I had sex with a dog. … Sex is not a small thing. (Paused). There is something that happens when you are having sex. So I think it maybe that thing … that causes a man to do this thing to a child. …. I had sex with an animal. … Once". The respondent thought he was 14 (before he lived on the streets) when this occurred. He said, "It was the time when I started ejaculate. … I used to like that dog. And that dog, it like me. (Paused). I was not in a hurry with the girlfriend. When I am alone I feel to have sex (paused) but I don't know how to correctly approach a girl. … I feel I want to have sex. It's where I started to have sex with the dog. It's where I release myself, heh! I'm ejaculating now!" The researcher asked where G got the idea to have sex with the dog. He replied, "No one told me. … I saw the donkeys having sex. … It's here I feel to make sex. It's where I started to make sex with a dog". The respondent said the dog was "already old" and compared to a goat, was "a big dog". The researcher asked what the dog did whilst G had sex with it. He replied, "It didn't grumble. It just (respondent mimicked whimpering) until I finish. … After that I feel so scared … maybe people saw me having sex with the dog. … I started to isolate myself from my friends. … When time goes on, I become all right but I already told myself I won't do this again to … any animal". The respondent said he had told the researcher about this incident as, "I think to have sex with an animal is the thing that caused a man to have sex with children".

Use of pornography

A younger brother of his sister's husband showed the respondent pornographic magazines whilst G, aged 15, was living in the shack with his mother. He said that he looked at pornographic magazines, "But not to pay attention to it. Just to look. But I didn't used to put it inside my head". The researcher asked G how he felt when he saw pictures of naked women. He replied, "It depend on what kind of woman I see. But sometimes it happen if I see that picture then I became aroused". The researcher asked, "And then what would you do?" He replied, "I would go to my girlfriend. … Sometimes I put that picture inside my head. … So we gonna carry on and we gonna make love. After that, if I'm finished, I will forget about that picture".

The respondent reported that he watched "blue" movies for the first time at age 19. "I make sure I've got a girlfriend next to me". He said he watched "blue" movies four times with his girlfriend alongside him. He said he once watched "blue" movies, "With only the boys. After we watched the film, I make sure I must get to my girlfriend".

Awareness of AIDS

The researcher asked respondent G what he knew about AIDS before he came to prison. He replied, "I just knew AIDS is available … if you make sexual intercourse". The respondent explained that he lived next door to an AIDS clinic after he had moved to the city. "At the clinic, they used to make a show about AIDS. … I was believing in my life that AIDS is not for me. I didn't even use a condom outside. Because of my beliefs, I never used a condom outside. AIDS, if you tell me about AIDS outside, it did nothing. It was far away from me".

The respondent's two sons

The respondent aged about 18, sired two sons. "I was alone at home. I was doing a lot of things I liked". He said that he and his girlfriend used to fight. They broke up when she was pregnant with his first child. Whilst he was still with this girlfriend, the respondent met her friend. She became pregnant with his child at the same time that the first girlfriend was pregnant. Both women gave birth to boys. The respondent's second child passed away at the age of nine months, whilst he and the mother of this child still lived in the town. The respondent did not know the cause of the infant's death and said, "He had a yellow tongue". G "carried on with" (meaning lived with) the mother of his deceased second son until his arrest for the rape of a toddler.

After the respondent left for the city, he had no contact with his first child's mother, or their child, until nine months before he raped the toddler. He saw them when he returned to bury his oldest brother. When asked, the respondent reported, "I sent money maybe every two months" to his aunt or sister for this son.

Early adulthood (19 to 22 years)

When the respondent and his girlfriend arrived in the city, they shared a room with the respondent's second and third oldest brothers. (These brothers left the family shack whilst their mother was still alive.) In addition to the respondent's two brothers, there were four

other people living in the room, two of whom were men from a neighbouring country. The room was small so the eight occupants slept in the order that they had to leave in the morning. G looked for a job during the day. In the evening, "I used to go to the playground and exercise and play football. One day a man saw me and asked me to go and practice with his team. He saw my football is all right. He said I must come and play with his team. I went to his team and he gave me a job". The respondent worked for this man for three weeks. "I didn't work a long time". During this time, the respondent played in a soccer tournament in which his third oldest brother and their team had also competed. The soccer coach told the respondent's brother that G should play in their team. Then, G would get a job at the same company as his brother, selling a mainstream newspaper on the streets. The respondent compared his current salary to that offered by the newspaper and accepted the newspaper's offer. "My work was selling newspapers in the street". He earned four times more than "selling" [stolen] diesel. "It was better".

The respondent explained there was a shebeen in the backyard where he and the seven others lived. "I used to get credit for liquor … if I don't have money. …. I was not living without liquor". The respondent said that when he came to the city, "I became addicted and the friends I was living with who came from (neighbouring country) … didn't drink because things are expensive in (neighbouring country). When they came here, *jaaaaaaaa,* they drink a lot. That is why I became addicted because always if we have money we would go to the disco and buy liquor". He met the toddler's grandfather in the backyard shebeen soon after the respondent's arrival in the city.

When the respondent was aged 21, his oldest brother, aged 29, was murdered, as his brother's girlfriend "bought people to kill him". The respondent reported that his brother's girlfriend had done this as his brother, "Liked the girls. He didn't give up the ladies" and ignored his girlfriend who then arranged for his death. The respondent said, "It's better for both of us, it's better to lose him".

The researcher noticed a scar on the respondent's lip and asked him about it. G explained he got the scar in the same year as his oldest brother's death. The respondent and his second oldest brother were fighting. "We were both drunk. We were fighting for the bed". The respondent said his brother tried to wake him as he wanted to sleep on the bed.

The two brothers started fighting. “We fell on top of the bed and we fall together from the bed”. The respondent’s brother bit him on his lip. “He took a piece of flesh”.

G sold newspapers on the streets for about 18 months. Then he borrowed money from his employers to go home, about 300 km away, for Easter. On the Thursday night before Good Friday, the respondent reported that he drank a lot. “They take all my money. I dunno who took it. I didn’t go home. I’m supposed to pay (the newspaper) back. I didn’t go back to selling”. The researcher clarified this as, “So you left the newspaper because the money they lent you got stolen?” The respondent said, “Yes”. He reported that he fought with his brother, also employed by the newspaper, about the respondent’s decision to leave. G said his brother would not give him money to buy food.

Aged about 20, the respondent found a job at a construction company. He worked there for about seven months. “It was a nice job. But I was a casual. They used to pay us daily. … Then I quit. I started to work for myself. I start selling for ourselves – fruit and veggies and then after that, we start to order clothes. … We used to stock clothes”. The “we” referred to the two men from a neighbouring country that the respondent, and others, had shared a room. By this stage, the respondent was aged 22. He moved into a backyard shack with his girlfriend and the two men. There was also a shebeen in the backyard. The toddler, then an infant, her mother, grandfather and other extended family members, also lived in rented shacks in the same backyard. The respondent knew some members of the infant’s family as he had already met them in the shebeen. The infant’s family sold liquor from the backyard. The respondent said that, “The worst part of the yard where we were living was that they were selling liquor”. He said he was making enough money to live on, “Because I paid the rent where I was living. … It was a good business because we could afford to pay rent, afford to buy my clothes and my girlfriends’ clothes”.

Over a period of eight months, G said he would take the young child “always” and was sober when he did so. “I treated her just like I am her father”. He said he and the young child “Would go the shops, to town, heh lots of places, maybe (a theme park). … Just the two of us! … My girlfriend was not liking it. … She gonna shout at me”.

Girlfriends

In addition to the on-going relationship with his girlfriend (the mother of his second born but deceased son), who accompanied him 300 km to the city, the respondent had a sexual relationship with the toddler's aunt. She lived in an adjacent suburb. G said, "I was in love with her and she's the one who used to love me. …. She loved me a lot. … She make sure I am always happy". The respondent said, "I make sex a lot with her. … When we are together we must make sex. … To be honest, when it comes to sex, heh (paused) I like sex. …The thing that she wants is only sex".

The respondent volunteered that he had a third girlfriend. She was unaware of his relationships with the two other women. These women were unaware of his relationship with the third girlfriend. The researcher asked the respondent if he could help her understand his need for three girlfriends. He explained, "It happened like that. I wake up in the morning. When I look at my girlfriend, I don't like her today. It happened when time goes on you get angry for each other. Sometimes it's her. The time when I'm happy for her maybe I find she's not happy for me you see? Because I will ask her, 'do you still love me?' When she's supposed to answer me, she paused. I told her, 'please think about that.' I go outside … when I come back I ask her, 'will you please answer my question?' She say, 'no'. Same time I go out".

The researcher asked the respondent, "If you have a girlfriend, what must she do to make you happy?" Referring to the mother of his second child, the respondent replied, "She's supposed to tell me everyday she love me. Because … I used to do that. Always I tell her I love her. … She didn't respond in that way I am talking to her. Sometimes I gonna say that to her, she gonna ignore me. … I think it's where my love started to go down because always – that one – if there is no money in the house, she wasn't happy". When the respondent realized that, "If there is no money, no love, nothing, I want to leave her but my heart didn't allow me to leave her. …. One day I asked her, 'do you still love me?' She said, 'no'. From that day (paused) I always (paused) I think about it. … I was very hurt. She is the one who drive me to get other girlfriends. I find [the toddler's] aunty first".

The researcher asked the respondent what would happen if he wanted sex and the girlfriend said no. "I just go. I get angry. I will leave everything. You deny me sex … I take the money". The respondent said that he could go to the toddler's aunt. "She won't deny me

sex. I know definitely if I go to her, I will get what I want". The respondent said that when the toddler's aunt was with him, she wanted sex. "Always! Always! Always! So I don't know if she used to like me or she just want me to make sex but I think she liked me". Again, the respondent said that the day his live-in girlfriend said she didn't love him, "Was when I stared to get other girlfriends". The researcher asked the respondent, "What do you think sex is for?" G replied, "You won't make sex with a person you are not in love with". Then he said "I just think about sex, not you love that girl". He said he would see a girl he did not know and become aroused. He would go and talk to her, and tell her, "'I love you'. She supposed to tell me, 'I love you'". The researcher clarified, "Even though you've only just met?" Respondent G replied, "*Jaaaaaaaa*! I would try by all means … to get a place … to have sex with her. … And then after sex, I will leave her".

The respondent reported that, during the three months before his sexual crime, the toddler's aunt, who lived in an adjacent suburb, went to his room. "She found only my [live-in] girlfriend there. They started to quarrel". When the respondent returned, his live-in girlfriend said to him, "This bitch of yours has started to come here". The respondent went to the toddler's aunt and told her, "If you still want me to come to you, you mustn't come to my girlfriend".

The researcher asked the respondent how many ladies he had sex with. He said, "I can count even all the times, the day when I started to have sex, even if I were not ejaculating … because the time I was a child, when you make sex, I didn't count that. … I think it's 13 or 14. … Okay, I didn't count prostitutes". The researcher asked if this meant that the respondent had used the services of a prostitute or prostitutes. He replied, "Yes, I did use prostitutes. But in that total, I didn't count the prostitutes in the total I told you". The respondent asked the researcher if he must count the prostitutes in. The researcher replied, "Yes, if you want to. Yes, it could be useful". The respondent said, "Heh, the prostitutes, they are a lot! … A lot!" He said that if his girlfriend denied him sex he would see where he could find sex. "I would go to the prostitutes then. I used maybe eight. I can buy this one today. If I see her tomorrow, I don't want her anymore. I want another one. … I didn't have sex twice with the same prostitute. … A prostitute is not supposed to do this thing. … My girlfriend did not know I used to buy the prostitute. … If I'm sober, I won't go to a prostitute. If I'm drunk, I don't have the patience. If I want sex with my lady I want her to

give me the same time. If you gonna say 'wait', I just go out same time. I'm gonna find someone".

Relationship with toddler's mother

The respondent met the toddler and her mother in a shebeen about 20 months before he committed his sexual crime. At the time of their meeting, the toddler was less than a year old. "The time I saw (the mother), I feel love for her. … She already has a child. To be in love with a lady … who already has a child it's not all right because it means she already has a man in her life. … I feel love for her but I didn't tell her. … She liked me, she didn't love me. She liked me because we used to be together". The respondent never met the toddler's father. Once the respondent had moved into the same backyard as the toddler and her family, eight months before he committed his crime, G said sometimes the three of them "joked" together. He told the toddler's mother, "We are sitting like the family". He would ask the mother how she felt as "We are sitting like this. She laughed. She won't answer me". The respondent said that sometimes he would see the mother sitting with her boyfriend (who was not the father of the toddler) and her child. G said the toddler's mother would call him and say, "There is (name of the toddler)!" The respondent reported that he would do "lots of things" for the toddler, such as looking after her when the mother went out. He bathed the toddler. He said when the child was sick he would take her to the clinic. G reported that the toddler's mother was "lazy". He asked the toddler's mother why she did not take her child to crèche.

The researcher asked what the respondent felt for the toddler. He said he liked her a lot. He said he was scared to ask the mother about the toddler's father, as the respondent saw the toddler as his. He said some people used to call him the toddler's father. The respondent felt that the toddler's father was supposed to be with the toddler and her mother. "So why he left them? That means he was doing it for me. I thought she was my child". The researcher clarified this as, "So you saw the toddler as yours?" "*Jaaaaaa*! It's mine", replied the respondent. He said he was angry with the toddler's father as he had left a beautiful mother and child, and he failed to understand why he had left them. The respondent said, "I didn't tell the mother that I was in love with her. … I was supposed to give her this child, who is supposed to be mine. I'm the one who is supposed to give her this child. So that is why I used to take care of the toddler". If the toddler wanted something, the respondent said she would come to him. The researcher asked if he had

those feelings for his first son (with whom he had had no contact for more than three years). G replied, "I get two children in the world. Both were boys. If I see the young girl, I feel like she is my child". The researcher asked if he and the toddler's mother had ever had a fight. G said, "She can speak harsh with me if I'm fighting with another person. She's gonna shout at me". The respondent would shout at the toddler's mother if she was fighting with someone. "She became a problem if she's drunk. … The men were after her … and she start to fight with other men". The respondent would try to intervene but the mother would tell him to "get away" and "leave" her. G said that, "She became a problem but not too much if she's drunk".

Indecent assault of 30-month-old girl

Respondent G often asked himself during these interviews why he had raped the young child. (He used the term "rape"). As the interviews progressed, he verbalized two understandings of what he believed had made him rape the toddler. His first understanding was his excessive use of alcohol. His second understanding was his act of bestiality. "I blame the alcohol, I blame the liquor because what I did, if I was sober, I was not going to do that thing". The respondent said that he had been drinking on the day of the rape. "It was my first time to go with the child while I am drunk". During the last interview, when the respondent disclosed the incident of bestiality, he said when referring to the rape of small children, "This thing is to behave like an animal. …. Human beings come to the world because of sex". The respondent said that when sex occurred between two people, part of each other remained with the other. "If you make sex with an animal, some part of that animal stays with you. When time goes on, you will behave like an animal".

The rape occurred on a Saturday. On that morning, the respondent had gone "three rounds" with his live-in girlfriend, the mother of his deceased second son. He clarified that "three rounds" meant he had ejaculated three times. Later that day, he was walking in the street with friends. They were going to pay some debts. A friend, driving his new car, passed them and then stopped. The respondent and his friends got into the car. The driver of the car stopped at a shebeen and started to buy lots of liquor. The respondent said he, and his friends, forgot about paying their debts. The toddler's aunt (with whom he had a sexual relationship) was at the same shebeen. "Then, she took me to her house. … We started to drink a lot". The respondent gave the aunt money to buy more liquor. She did not return so G went to look for her in the backyard where he, his girlfriend, the toddler, and her

family, lived. The toddler's uncle asked the respondent to buy him an ice cream. As the toddler's uncle and the respondent were about to leave, the respondent reported that the toddler cried to accompany them. The two men took her. They went to a take away outlet, where G bought ice cream. Then the toddler's uncle asked the respondent to buy food. He did so. They ate the food at the take away outlet. They left to return home. "On the way, I dunno what comes to me". The respondent said he could not remember what he did or said that the uncle left him and the toddler alone. He reported he could not remember taking the toddler inside a bridge. He had heard about these events when the toddler's uncle testified in court during the trial.

The respondent could recall that he put the toddler, "Down, lying on her back". He then pulled his trousers down to his knees and pulled the toddler's tracksuit trousers down to her knees. He could not recall if she was wearing panties. "I positioned her" and the respondent lifted one arm horizontally, with his second arm held up at an angle of about 45 degrees, to show the researcher what he meant by "positioned". Respondent G said, "I enter here at the back". He lifted his buttocks and pointed to them as he said this. G could not remember if he used spit before he penetrated the child's anus. The penetration was not painful for him. The researcher asked if the toddler could breathe whilst G penetrated her, or if he had thought about this. He replied, "I dunno". The respondent reported that, "My mind came back while she was crying". When the child cried, "I release". The respondent did not know if he ejaculated. The researcher asked if the toddler was bleeding. The respondent said, "I didn't see her blood".

The researcher explored what the respondent was thinking when he inserted his penis into the toddler's anus. The respondent clarified this question as, "What comes to my mind while I was doing her?" The researcher said, "Yes". His replied, "I dunno what was in my mind".

The respondent fell asleep under the bridge. "But I can remember before I went it was not dark. … When I wake up it was already dark. …. It was really, really dark. … When I wake up, she was next to me. … I pulled up her tracksuit pants. When she tried to walk, she fell". The researcher asked if this meant that the respondent pulled up the toddler to make her stand. He replied, "She didn't want to. Her feet were not moving". Respondent G said he had left the toddler because "She didn't know how to walk, just sit down. … I

didn't know what I am going to explain to her parents *(sic)*. … I was scared to take her back". A passer-by found the child in the morning.

The respondent said he went home and told his girlfriend what he had done. He said that his girlfriend called the police. He was arrested four days after the rape. This appears to contradict his comments to the researcher that he informed his girlfriend as soon as he got home of what he had done, as that the child was found by a passer-by the following morning.

The respondent said that a doctor testified in court that, "The child was seriously injured at the back. In front, there is something that touched her but did not enter inside". This "something" was the respondent's attempted vaginal penetration of the toddler, which he did not disclose to the researcher, apart from, "Something that touched her but did not enter inside". The respondent said he saw the damage he had caused the toddler from photographs shown to him by his lawyer, and the prosecutor, in court. "I became scared when I saw the photographs. I just looked at them once. I gave them back. It was painful".

Incarceration

The respondent's third oldest brother is serving a six year sentence for dealing in stolen goods. He is in the same prison, but in a different section, as the respondent. The brother started serving his sentence in the same year that respondent G received his sentence of life imprisonment. One of the sons of the respondent's paternal aunt is in the same maximum-security section as G, after receiving a sentence of 12 years for robbery and possession of a firearm. The three men have no contact inside the prison.

The respondent said he knew all his life that he would land up in jail. "I do a painful thing to an innocent child. But the one who is supposed to protect that child is not there to protect her". He received no visitors in prison after his conviction, except his brother-in-law's sister. She came to the prison, once, to inform the respondent that his first son had died at the age of five, in the same year that that he started serving his life sentence. The child had pains in his chest. The respondent could not attend the funeral. "It's difficult to go to a funeral while you are especially in maximum. …I don't even know the grave number of my first child. If I think about that time, I feel pain. I see myself, I am

worthless. Respondent G said that he accepts the passing of his children as, “It’s the Will of God to take them. It’s not a human being will”. The respondent converted to what he called, “the Muslim faith” during his incarceration.

The respondent spoke often of the prison sentence he had received for rape. He said, “The government is supposed to make harsh punishment”. He felt that the sentence he had received is not going to help the children outside. G said, “The government could do a special law for the rape of a woman. I think the government [should make an exception to] the death sentence for only this case. They have abolished harsh punishment”. The researcher clarified that the respondent believed that the death sentence be imposed, “For this crime that is serious”. The respondent explained, “If I can get the power to go out of prison, I can approach the government. I can try to find people outside who do like me [raped] to approach the government. I can ask the government, the ANC (African National Congress) to ask the people for the death sentence. I am telling you the truth”. The respondent often said that he believed the imposition of the death penalty would deter rapists. The researcher challenged him and said, “I think your argument where you are saying bring the death sentence back for rape, I think for women and children –”. The respondent interrupted the researcher saying, “Is gonna be dangerous”.

Respondent G said that, “The people outside, the children and the women, they don’t see the way they treat us here. … Here we have equal rights in prison. Even if you do a bad thing, such a bad thing, but while you are here it’s better. … All of you, they treat you the same way. You sleep, they give you food, they give you everything. It’s like others you see. … Other people are crying outside. In prison, they treat prisoners good”. The respondent described how, “You must stand in a line for *everything* in prison … and wait for the other person to finish”. G discussed the three meals he receives a day. He said that there were books and papers available in the maximum-security section of the prison. The respondent said he would not appeal the sentence he had received, as “It’s all right the sentence they gave me. … I just serve my time until if it happen I’m going outside. I don’t know when. But I will try my best because I know I hurt a person outside and to hurt that person I hurt her family, I hurt all South Africans. I must apologize because I hurt these people”.

The researcher asked the respondent what he thought could be done to try and stop the rape of very small children. G replied, “The thing that caused this thing to happen, I blame the liquor. If you can ban the liquor, the drugs. These things cause rape”.

APPENDIX S

SEQUENTIAL LIFE HISTORY: INCARCERATED RESPONDENT H

Background information

Respondent H is a Xhosa male, aged 31 at the time of the interviews. He is serving a sentence of 15 years for the rape of a two-year-old. The respondent committed this crime aged 24, about seven years before the researcher conducted these interviews. During the interviews, the respondent told the researcher that he denied raping the young child throughout his trial. He escaped from court on the same day that he was sentenced for this crime. However, the police apprehended him on the same day of his escape and took him to the prison where he began his sentence.

During the first five years of the respondent's sentence, he and other prisoners attempted to set fire to their cell. In a later incident, the respondent stabbed a prisoner. Respondent H reported, to the researcher, that he did this to protect himself from an attempted sexual assault. In response to this, he received an additional sentence of one year for grievous bodily harm. Furthermore, the Department of Correctional Services relocated the respondent to a high maximum-security prison about a year before the researcher met him. The respondent disclosed this information spontaneously to the researcher. A DCS social worker also verified it.

The researcher conducted these interviews with the assistance of a female, Xhosa-speaking, senior DCS social worker. She had not met the respondent prior to these interviews.

In terms of DCS security regulations, the respondent had one of his hands handcuffed to a concrete bolster that he sat on during the interviews. Interviews were conducted in a room used specifically for consultations between prisoners and intervening professionals. Two DCS guards observed the interviews through a large viewing window whilst seated outside the consultation room. The room had a very high ceiling, with sealed, barred windows immediately below the ceiling. It was air-conditioned. The air-conditioning was set at a high temperature. This made concentration difficult and hearing problematic at times, as it was extremely noisy. The researcher conducted four interviews lasting a total of eight hours, excluding introductory, termination, and de-briefing time.

Home life

Respondent H was born in the mid-1970s in a township in South Africa. Vogelman and Simpson (1991:1) note that South African youth lived their lives "in dirty townships, in overcrowded housing with no sanitation, hot water or electricity. They are frequently the children of large families whose parents work long hours (and notes the researcher, often for poor remuneration), and give them little or no attention. … They are also the children who had little schooling. They were part of the school boycotts of the 1980s".

Respondent H lived in the same township until his arrest and incarceration, at the age of 24 (in the very late 1990s), for the rape of a toddler. He is the second child of four children. The respondent was aged 31 when the researcher conducted these interviews. His eldest sister was aged 34, his younger sister 30, and his younger brother 29, at the time of the interviews. All four children have the same parents, both of whom are still alive. The respondent did not know the ages, or birthdates, of his parents. His father works as a contractor for a municipality. "My father operates the machines. … My mother is a general assistant, cleaning the rooms and such things".

The respondent said that when he was a little boy, he and his three siblings lived with their parents and paternal great aunt. He remembered that they lived at the back of her home. The aunt owned a four-room house in a township. When the respondent was aged ten or 11, he said, "My father bought a shack, the place from the municipality and then that's how we lived as a family. … When we moved, the shack was just a one-room place". The great aunt also moved into the shack with the respondent and his family. The one-room shack had no electricity, running water, or sanitation, and was in a "squatter area" (informal settlement).[35] The respondent said that, "It was not easy living in a one-room place as a family of seven, especially that we even had to attend school and others were working and

[35] About two years before the respondent and his family moved into the one-room shack, the area was dominated by struggles and boycotts initiated by community based organizations in their and other townships. Swilling (1987:1-6) reports that these protest actions - for basic economic rights and against the appalling living conditions endured by all townships residents - became increasingly violent. Boycotts included: paying rent; purchasing goods from shops owned by Whitess; using state transport systems; adults going to work, and children attending school. In late 1984, when the respondent was aged about nine, the army moved into many townships. Confrontations between township residents and the army followed. During the first few months of 1985, when the respondent was aged about ten, the apartheid government admitted it had lost control of scores of the townships in the country, many of which were completely ungovernable by this stage. The apartheid state's response to this massive uprising in townships across South Africa was the declaration a state of emergency in July 1985 (Swilling, 1987:1-6).

so on and so we would have to take turns having a bath and we also used a *Primus*[36] stove. So it used to be a slow process in the mornings". The researcher asked the respondent how he felt living in a shack, after moving from his great aunt's house. He replied, "I really had to persevere and accept things as they were because there was nothing I could do about the living arrangements at my age. So I had to accept it, even though I wasn't happy about the arrangement itself". The respondent was asked if he realized at the time of living in the shack as a young boy, that life was not easy, or if he had realized this much later, when he was an adult. He replied, "I was still young [about ten]. But, there were times when I would feel or wish that I was rich and then I would provide for the family. But, it was difficult. Maybe then it was not as hard hitting as it is now but still, I doubt it". When the researcher asked if people teased him as he lived in a shack, he replied, "That would never have happened because it was common practice. It was the way of life in our community for people living in such a condition. So it was normal".

The researcher asked the respondent about the sleeping arrangements in the one-room shack. He replied, "There was only one bed. The bed was for the parents. The [two] girls slept on one side of the room and the [two] boys slept on the other side of the room. We also had to prepare a sleeping place for the paternal aunt. She was the one who always woke the earliest, or before everyone else in the house, because she also used to pray and wake us up with her prayer". The shack had no bathroom. "We used washing dishes and washed within this one-room space". The aunt, who woke first, took a "bath". Then, she woke up the respondent's mother who had to prepare a lunch box for the respondent's father. The mother had to report for work at six in the morning. H said that, "Everybody had to take a bath in this washing dish in this one room. There was no privacy … and people would wash only those areas that are not private and leave out the private parts, especially the older people. They would have a private bath [in a basin] when the kids are not there".

The researcher asked respondent H what would happen when his parents wished to have sex. He replied, "Our parents had to wait for us to be deep in sleep. … Whatever our parents would do, they would make sure that they did not wake the kids up". He was asked if had ever heard his parents having sex. He said, "No, they were very discreet about those things".

[36] A *Primus* stove uses paraffin for its single burner.

His mother was the respondent's main care giver. She left the family home very early (to start work at six am) and came back from work, "Tired … at about nine in the evening".

The respondent lived in this shack until he was aged 18, shortly before the country's first democratic elections in 1994. The family extended this shack from one to three rooms. The respondent's parents slept in one of the rooms of the shack. The respondent and his siblings (his sisters then aged 21 and 19, his younger brother then aged 16) slept in the second room. The third room of the shack was a kitchen/guest room. By this stage, the aunt had passed away.

During the latter half of the 1990s, when the respondent was aged 22, the family moved from their shack into a four-room brick house. By this stage, "My sisters had moved out into their own places". The brick house consisted of a kitchen, lounge, and two bedrooms. Respondent H's parents occupied one of the bedrooms. The respondent and his younger brother, aged 20, occupied the second bedroom. The house had electricity but no bathroom. The respondent said it was not an RDP[37] house. "It was a house that had been there for a long time, before RDP houses". The DCS social worker concurred and explained that RDP houses have three rooms.

Domestic violence

The respondent said, "For as long as I could remember my father beat my mother, from when I was still young … it continued until I was old enough to talk about it with them. It happened when I was still young. My sisters would cry as well and there was just a wailing in the house and I would just look on. When I grew up and I was old enough to talk about it, I would tell my father that this was not right, and ask my mother why she didn't rather get a divorce".

The researcher asked the respondent if his parents used alcohol. He replied, "Both my father and mother drank alcohol". As the researcher probed for more information,[38] she reflected that it must have been hard for the respondent to hear his mother cry. He whistled

[37] RDP refers to the Reconstruction and Development Programme. The RDP was "an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework" drawn up by the African National Congress-led (ANC) alliance, in consultation with a variety of mass organizations, at the time the ANC was about to assume the responsibilities of governing South Africa (African National Congress, 1994:1).

[38] More information about the respondent's use of alcohol and drugs is on page 167.

and said, “It was very difficult and it pierced my heart because I don’t like to hear the sounds of crying, people crying, and the fact that the person who is being beaten cannot defend themselves. That makes it worse”. The respondent replied, “Yes” when asked if his father beat his mother in front of him. The researcher asked the respondent what he would do when this happened. He replied, “When I could, I would try and stop the fight but if I can’t or failed, I would go and call my maternal family because they didn’t live far from our house”.

Domestic pets

The respondent said, “I always had dogs but not cats. I didn’t like cats, although there were cats at home but I liked dogs. I always kept one dog at a time. And when that dies, or something happens, then I got another one”. The respondent fed the dog and said that he was the one responsible for the dog, even though “I didn’t have money to buy whatever I needed for the dog. Then I would take food from the house”. The dog slept outside in a kennel that the respondent had made. The researcher reflected that as the respondent spoke about dogs, he smiled. He said, “I liked dogs a lot as they were helpful around the house and warned of the arrival of an unwanted person”. The researcher asked what he would do if the dog did something he did not like. He replied, “Just like I would do with human beings. I would punish or discipline the dog, not only by beating”. When the respondent’s dog ate the eggs from his doves and chickens, “I would cook an egg, and take it hot and put it inside the dog’s mouth so that the dog would know in future they shouldn’t do that”. The researcher asked the respondent where he had learnt to do this. He said he had seen his father doing this. He asked his father why he did it. His father said, “It is to teach the dog that even if it sees an egg, it will think it could be hot, so as to prevent the dog from just eating the egg”.

The researcher asked when the dog would get a beating. H said that “I would normally beat the dog when it had bitten someone, like a child on the street, because I didn’t like putting it on a chain all the time”. When the dog got out of the yard, and bit someone, the respondent would take it by the collar and “beat it nicely”. By this, the respondent meant that he did not use a weapon or an object to beat the dog, only his bare hand. The researcher asked what the dog did when it was beaten. The respondent said, “If a dog is a cruel dog or the dog is dangerous, then I had to hold the dog’s collar [whilst] beating it or

the dog would bite back". The respondent said he never beat a dog excessively. "I just beat it nicely and not overdo it".

Religion

The respondent said that, "All of us as a family used to attend church but as we grew older, some stopped and others continued". The researcher asked what the respondent's religious beliefs were now. He replied, "When I [went] to prison, I became Anglican, an Anglican Church member even though I did not get any visitors from that religious organization. I also have the Bible and read it sometimes so that people could know I am a Christian. This continued until others [in the prison] advised me to contact members, higher members of this organization in writing". The researcher asked the respondent if his religious beliefs were still very strong. The respondent replied, "Yes and it is also written on my [prison] identification ticket". He showed his "ticket" to the researcher. It reflected, "Religion - Anglican church".

Illness during childhood and adulthood

When asked if he was ever sick as a child, the respondent said, "Yes, I was sick at some stage even though I wasn't initially aware until I consulted with a doctor who told me I had high blood [pressure]. I didn't really attend to it then. When I came to prison - because every inmate who comes into the system their health status has to be known - I consulted with a doctor. They examined me and found I have the illness of high blood and now every morning I have to be given pills and I was told high blood cannot be treated. It can only be managed". The respondent could not remember his exact age when he received his diagnosis of high blood pressure but said, "I was already a mature person". (The respondent was 24 when he was arrested for the rape of the toddler and about 25 when he received his sentence for this crime.) The researcher asked again if there were any other cases of the respondent being ill as a little boy and he replied, "No, I never had any other illnesses".

Trauma: death of a relative

The researcher asked the respondent if he had experienced the death of someone close in the family or anything like that. The respondent replied, "That is a good question". He explained that when he was 22, he witnessed a family relative, aged 40, beaten to death with an iron rod. Respondent H explained that he saw his relative leave a shebeen. "My

relative had something to drink by the looks of it" when he met up with a man. The two men argued which culminated in the respondent's relative stabbing this man. The man then ran to his home, returned with an iron rod, and hit H's relative. The respondent said, "Even though I was distanced from them, I could see that this guy who had the rod, hit my relative with the rod either on the side of the head or on the neck. My relative was left dizzy and not able to take out the knife and protect himself". The respondent moved closer to the scene whilst shouting at the man to stop hitting his relative, "But that is when this guy beat my relative to the ground". He ran to his home and told everybody that, "This guy has killed my relative". A crowd gathered outside the assailant's home and "street committees in the area"[39] cautioned the crowd against throwing stones or attempting to burn down his house. The police arrived – "There are always people who would call the police" – and protected the assailant, as "They took him away and they locked him up". The respondent's deceased relative was taken away. The respondent went to court as a witness but the assailant was, he reported, acquitted. "To everybody this guy looked like a murderer and he always got funny looks and glances from people but our father advised us that we shouldn't judge him. It's up to God to do that. And true to my father's word, that year never came to a close and [the assailant] also died".

Home: discipline and punishment

The respondent said, "My father was very strict. If we did not undertake household tasks, he would punish us to say maybe we wouldn't have a meal". The respondent laughed when the researcher asked him if his father ever hit him to punish him. He said, "My father used to hit when necessary, and my siblings, and I, also understood that if we failed to do whatever we were expected to, our father would hit us. Certainly our father hit us and punished us". The respondent said he felt "nothing" about it now. "It's past times but at that time … it happened as child, it wasn't a nice thing to be beaten but in any case, we knew why we are subjected to this because our father was telling us beforehand that if you don't do this, this is the consequence". The researcher asked how often his father punished

[39] During the first half of the 1980s (when the respondent was aged about eight), black school pupils in the area started boycotting school. Swilling (1987:1-6) notes that 18 months later, the boycott had spread to all black schools in South Africa, resulting in youth who were out of control and increasingly militant. In response to this situation, towards the end of 1985 (when the respondent was aged about 11), "street committees" were formed, elected by the township residents of each street. Representatives from street committees were elected into area committees. These two forms of committees helped bring militant youth under control (Swilling, 1987:1-6). This incident recounted by the respondent happened in the second half of the 1980s.

the respondent. He replied, “It is not easy to say because it wasn’t a situation where every time I failed to do something, the punishment was meted out to me. … The punishment would depend on my misbehaviour at the time”.

The researcher asked the respondent who else in the family hit him. He replied, “When we were still young as boys, our mother was the one who used to punish us. Until we reached a certain age, when we boys were old enough, then our father took over and he punished me and my younger brother sometimes with a wooden stick. He would hit us. But for the girls, it was always the mother who would punish them, not the father”. The researcher asked how the respondent’s mother would punish him. The respondent giggled as he said, “The mother just used the hand … or sometimes, pinch you on the thigh. She never used an object”. The researcher asked if the respondent’s mother would say anything as she hit or pinched H. He replied, “No. The mother would just keep quiet when meting out punishment. It would be continuously. … When it is the mother who is dealing out the punishment, most of the time the father would just go out, leave the house. And even if it is the father now who is giving out the punishment, the mother would also ask the father to stop that. I mean, he’s given enough punishment and [she would] apologize on your behalf to the father”.

The researcher said that it sounded as if H’s mother tried to keep the peace in the house. He said that, “What I realized then and now as growing up is that my mother was the most humane person, the most kind person in the house”. The respondent’s eyes filled with tears when he spoke about his mother. “She was always kind and always thoughtful of her young. The researcher asked how his mother treated his siblings. He replied, “I realized that my younger brother got the least punishment or was treated fairer than me. This brother was the most favoured child. … I didn’t really mind that”.

The researcher asked what would happen if the respondent cried as a little boy. He replied, “If you cried and our parents didn’t know why you were crying, say for example, I had a quarrel in the street with somebody and they beat you and you come home. Instead what happens is you are beaten back and told to go and fight for yourself. … If it happened I couldn’t fight back, I cannot go to the house crying. I rather went elsewhere. Then I came back when everything is fine”. The respondent said it saddened him that there was no solace at home when he returned, as “I couldn’t handle the fight because maybe the other

person overpowered me. I would feel sad[40] about it". The researcher asked where the respondent did find solace and he replied, "Well there was no other place because I didn't have an older brother. … If I had an older brother, maybe I wouldn't have got hurt". The researcher asked if girlfriends could be a form of solace. The respondent giggled. When asked why he was laughing, he said, "I was laughing because I could not go to my girlfriend because I had been beaten". The respondent said, "The social life of the area I lived in was beatings. They were part of the life there because beatings happened all the time. For example, you would be sent to the shop to buy something. You would meet people who would just take away what you had, and that would force you to do something because it would be funny to go back without what you were sent to get from the shop. So it's not like I enjoyed these beatings or it's something I enjoy talking about but it's part of what happened in (the township) and what (township) life is".

School

Respondent H stopped school whilst in grade ten/standard eight at the age of 22. The researcher commented that 22 was quite old to be attending grade ten (the third last year of school). The respondent explained that he could not attend school for three years because of the "prevailing struggle".[41] (This was during the 1980s). "And we couldn't continue our studies because there was that fear that our house would be burnt down. … So we had to follow the rules that were put in place at that time and stay and guard our property".

The respondent repeated grades two and eight. At the end of his grade two year, the teachers' assessments reflected that he was not ready for the next school year. The respondent reported that his parents took him to another school, but he had to repeat the same grade. The respondent said he failed grade eight, at the age of 19.

The researcher asked the respondent, "When you think about primary school, what comes into your mind?" The respondent replied, "Firstly, I didn't like school. I had to be

[40] The respondent looked uncomfortable as he said this. It is possible that the DCS social worker used the word "sad" rather than the word "humiliated" to reflect the respondent's feelings when he was overpowered by another person.

[41] The respondent is referring to the school boycotts and "street committees" mentioned earlier. School boycotts started when the respondent was aged eight. There were many "street committees" with vigilantes. They created fear and trepidation amongst township residents if their "rules" were ignored and harsh punishment followed. Apartheid education policies, and poverty, also meant that black children often started school later than white children.

persuaded and forced at times to go to school. Secondly, some grades were not easy sailing for me and in some subjects. At times, I would be in standard one in one class with my brother [two years younger than the respondent], and I would at times ask him to do my homework as well and to cover up for me. It really was not easy. I didn't like school and even though I used to pass, but it wasn't on high marks but I was just going by". The researcher asked what it was about school that the respondent did not like. He replied that, "It wasn't about school. It was about the other activities that took place in the township that took me away from the school, which I liked more than the school, like soccer, like hunting birds and rabbits. As a result, I aligned myself more with those people, those kids who didn't attend school. … So I felt that the school thing is taking its time and it's taking me away from my hobbies".

The researcher asked the respondent about his parents' school education. The respondent said, "My mother is totally illiterate. She never went to school because she grew up on farms. My mother never went to school not because there were no schools but because they lived among the Xhosa people who didn't educate a woman. They would marry someone who would then take care of them. My father only went up to standard five". The researcher reflected that it must have been difficult for the respondent's parents to get him, and his siblings, to attend school. He replied, "The parents really wanted us to go to school and make something of ourselves in spite of … the political struggles, us not wanting to go to school, having to persuade us at times. But it was a situation that we couldn't do much about because it was up to the children, the children themselves, to push themselves in school and the parents could only do so much".

The researcher explored how far the respondent's siblings got in their school education. Respondent H said that his older sister and youngest brother went up to standard seven [grade nine]. "I am not sure why my oldest sister stopped schooling but I suspect that it's because she fell pregnant. And then in my case, my parents were not willing or able to take us further in schooling because I preferred to take a nice life, going out with friends. Plus, I had to stop one and concentrate on the other". The respondent reported that his younger sister completed her school education.

Alcohol and drug use

The respondent said he did not use alcohol whilst still at school. "It was only after I stopped schooling that I started going to discos and experimenting with alcohol. Otherwise, as a student, I didn't". The respondent explained, "Before I started, my friends were already drinking alcohol and I could ask them. I asked my friends how it felt to be high on alcohol and they would say that all the things that trouble them, alcohol are the one thing that makes them not to be scared. It takes away the shyness. It makes them relax and gives them a good feeling". The respondent said he only used to smoke at this stage. He reported that, "I was not yet 25 when I started [drinking alcohol] but it was after schooling". The researcher expressed her surprise at this information (particularly as the respondent was aged 24 at the time of his arrest and denied bail). The respondent said that, "I regarded myself as a total realist that I experimented with Western alcohol … not the traditional type of beer that we have". During a later interview, the respondent said that he drank commercially produced sweet wine. He purchased this using money that friends pooled together, and from the sale of his dove and chicken eggs. "I only drank when I went out with friends on Fridays and Saturdays. Not during the week". He said he would buy two litres of wine.

During a discussion about the respondent's behaviour at school, and the principal's request that a family member came to the school to discuss the matter, the respondent said, "Most of my family relatives were abusing alcohol or drank a lot of alcohol".

During the third interview, the respondent expressed his desire for his younger brother (by two years) to join the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) as a warder. The researcher pursued this. The respondent explained that he saw a DCS warder's job as one associated with discipline. He said that he had one family member who was a soldier, and a second family member who was a police officer. The researcher asked if the respondent's hopes for his brother meant that the respondent felt he did not have enough discipline at home. He replied, "No, I am not saying that the discipline at home was not enough and that I didn't get to be disciplined at home. I am sure that enough was done to try and put me on the right track but the things that happen in life that I'm afraid of, it happened in my case as well. So that's why I would feel or I would like it if my younger brother could get to this department to get the discipline, to run away from those things that somehow I got into as well".

The researcher asked the respondent what the things were that he now regretted. He said, "On Mondays, after I had alcohol on the weekend, people would warn me or tell me that I should drink responsibly because of the things that I did when I had taken alcohol. … I regret the alcohol and my behaviour while drunk, even though I always knew what I did when drunk. … I was drunk when I was arrested by the police [for the rape of the toddler] and somehow, that made me to actually get arrested. I feel if I wasn't drunk, I could have talked myself out of the situation".

The respondent reported that he has never used dagga or other drugs.

When asked, the respondent said that both of his parents drank alcohol. "At times, it would be my father who was drunk. And at other times, my father would just be sober and it was my mother who was drunk and that would be the cause of the quarrel, because they lived together, the other one, the mother who's drunk, who smells of alcohol and my father wouldn't like that. But as kids, we never differentiated, or never actually knew, what the cause of these quarrels was. … I would advise my parents [against using alcohol]. I liked to do that and when I noticed something I would talk about it and advise accordingly". The researcher asked to whom the respondent would do this. He replied, "I would do this to both my parents pointing out that if they were not taking alcohol, things would be going smoother and much better". The researcher asked H how he knew this. He replied, "I did because if you are a bright or intelligent person – I am not saying I was – but I was able to pick up that this is not right and I based my advices on what I saw". The researcher asked how the respondent knew what the right way was. He said, "I would compare my home and things that were done with other homes and see how they did things and realize that if things were done differently or the same way that things were done in other homes, things would be better in my home as well". The researcher was silent. Then she asked, "So does this mean you felt that things weren't always done right at home or could have been done differently?" The respondent said, "When you have tripped on a stone or an obstacle, you always know and you always try to avoid the same obstacle or tripping on that obstacle again". The DCS social worker translating the interview said to the researcher, "He said I should tell you that exactly". The respondent added, without prompting, "I didn't like the fact that at home we were not really progressing while other families were and so, that is the reason why I would sit my parents down and advise them when there was the need to do that".

The respondent described what happened when his parents drank alcohol. He said, "I didn't like that the neighbours would hear my mother crying if there was a quarrel between her and my father, and sometimes it would happen that my mother wouldn't be at home by nine pm [from work]. My father would send us out, throw us out of the house and my mother is not even home. I didn't like the neighbours to know and other people to know about the family. Onlookers, or people outside, maybe they never realized how difficult it was".

The researcher then asked H what the worst thing about his childhood was. He replied, "The difficulty that I experienced is what I am telling you now, in so much that as kids, we would sometimes feel that it would be better if our father were jailed for his acts or deeds. But we would also feel that it would be even more difficult without him and with him in prison. And the fact that our father had never been in prison would make it even worse for him so we'd console or sometimes tell ourselves that for these reasons, maybe he shouldn't be jailed". The researcher explored the father's possible imprisonment with the respondent and asked if this was a fantasy. He said, "Yes, it was my fantasy and my siblings also. If me, or one of my siblings, would bring up our father in prison we would talk about it. And then we would look at it and feel it wouldn't be right for us to lay a charge or for our father to be jailed, because no one in the house would assist our mother providing for the family financially". The respondent said that the neighbours would call the police when his father beat his mother. "At times, the police would come and would engage our father in a conversation. … There were … no charges or court appearances that ever took place".

The respondent disclosed that there were times when he would break the fight. "Then, my father would tell me to go away, using a swear word, *voetsek*,[42] and just punching me with a fist. Those were times when I realized that I cannot continue with this. I have to get my mother's family. They would come, they would talk about it and end it there and we would go to sleep peacefully".

School: discipline and punishment

The respondent said that, "I'm the type of person who gets naughty[43] and is caught by the teacher. The class teacher would take me to the principal, and in most cases, I would be

[42] Crude Afrikaans word for "go away".
[43] "Naughty" possibly included the respondent's truancy.

asked to bring my parents. At times, I apologized that I was wrong because I knew that I was wrong. …I knew that my mother wouldn't have time to come to the school because she was working. And the other people who were available were family relatives, most of who were abusing alcohol, or drank a lot of alcohol, and it would worsen things if they went to the school on my behalf. And then, if it came to a push, I would have to ask my mother to go to school and attend to whatever I had done but I would never, ever divulge to my mother what I had done in school. My mother would only learn that day at school what I had done".

According to the respondent, teachers and the school principal hit him until he was about 18. The African National Congress-led government, elected in 1994, outlawed the administering of corporal punishment in schools, three years before the respondent left school, aged 22. The respondent reported that when the law was not there (i.e. prior to 1994), boys at school would be caned on their backs. Girls would be hit on their hands or under their feet. He said that he would not be hit at school very frequently because "I wouldn't do things that would warrant [canings] to be done. For instance, if there was a party and students would get drunk and the teachers saw that and those students would be caned but I didn't do such things".

Employment history

The researcher asked the respondent if he could tell her about his work history. He replied, "I have never worked".[44] The researcher asked, "How does that make you feel?" Respondent H replied, "It is really hurting or not good for you when as a man you don't get a job. After I stopped schooling,[45] I used to try and go to town and look for a job but I would always be disappointed in that I mean I wasn't lucky[46] enough to get hired. I would always be told that … they've got people working for them or they are not looking for anyone. So for a man, it's not easy to just sit and not have a job". The researcher asked

[44] Branson and Wittenberg (2007:313) concluded in their study concerning employment status in South Africa for the period 1994-2004 that young people left school earlier whilst being better educated than their elders. However, these young people were not absorbed into employment at a faster rate, leading to a spike in youth unemployment.

[45] The respondent was aged 22 whilst in his third last year of school education in the latter half of the 1990s.

[46] The respondent was part of the generation of children who boycotted their schools during the 1980s. Vogelman and Simpson (1991:1) note that these children, with little education and a few skills, did not have much to offer the South African economy that is "more in recession than out". This meant that for respondent H, his searches for employment ended in rejection.

how the respondent felt when people said to him that there was no work. He said, "I would get disappointed but I wouldn't stop just because this one didn't offer me anything. I would go on and on until the end of the day or I was too tired to continue. Then I would start again the following day, but even myself, I would get disappointed. … The types of jobs I was lucky to get most of the time was when people were moving from their shacks to build houses and needed to destroy the shacks or maybe for the bricks or some material to be taken wherever. Then I would do such jobs".

The respondent also said, "It wasn't something I considered working for somebody else. I always believed or dreamt[47] that I would study until I got qualified then have my own employees, not be employed like somebody else".

The researcher asked the respondent where he would get money when he needed it. He replied, "I would get money from my parents though it was never enough. I would also try my friends so that I have enough to buy doves or chickens. I would buy those to keep and sell their eggs". The researcher asked how it made the respondent feel to ask his parents for money. He said, "It was not a good thing and it was never easy. But my parents were supportive because unlike in other homes where people, or my peers, would be told how to get money, which is from working, in my case, that was never said to me. Instead, the parents were kind enough to assist when I asked". The researcher asked if this meant that the respondent was quite close to his parents that they could assist him financially. He replied, "I was closer to my mother because she wasn't the type of person who would turn you down. If you asked, she would help you, unlike those who tell their kids that they should go and work if they want money".

Sex and girlfriends

The respondent could not remember how old he was when he experienced his first nocturnal emission. "I was shocked but thrilled at the same time" as he realized that he was now growing up. He said that his body "felt "nice" when he experienced nocturnal emissions and that he would dream about "the girlfriend" and then ejaculate. Respondent H told his peers about this event and discussed it with them. He disclosed that he

[47] In 1995 the President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, launched the "Nelson Mandela Children's Fund". At the launch, Mandela spoke about children deserving "a better social and family environment to fulfil their dreams" (Asmal, Chidester and James, 2003:424). Mandela's comments received a lot of publicity.

masturbated with his peers. The researcher asked the respondent what the Xhosa culture said about masturbation. He replied, "Culturally, it's not right to play with your private parts. And you would be scolded and told to stop doing this because it will get swollen". The researcher asked the respondent who had told him this. He answered, "I am not referring to myself. I am just thinking that generally older people would respond in that fashion even if it's not your parents. But my parents never saw me doing this and I was never stopped from doing this by my parents".

The researcher asked the respondent who had told him about intimate aspects of relationships. He said that, "As boys, we used to talk about these things and would advise each other and tell each other that if you meet a girl, and you know or you think that you love them, you have to or sometimes sleep with them. We would also advise each other in terms of where this should be done given the fact that we cannot, or it could not happen, in our respective homes. Advices like the fact that you can also do that [sexual intercourse] during the day were also given in such discussions". The researcher clarified if this conversation was one that the respondent had with his parents. He replied, "Intimate issues were really taboo to discuss with parents. So we didn't". The researcher asked the respondent how he became aware of things like pregnancy. He replied that he learnt a woman could fall pregnant during sex, after consultation with social workers, when he was treated for "drop" (a euphemism for penile discharge from a sexually transmitted illness). The respondent explained that he had tried to hide his pain and concomitant difficulty in walking and passing urine from his father. However, his father had been through it too and the respondent said, "We would end up talking about such difficulties [but] discussing sexual issues with my father was not an easy thing. It was taboo". His father advised the respondent to see "medical staff". The social workers whom the respondent saw urged the respondent to bring his girlfriend in for treatment. However, the respondent said, "You couldn't really tell which one of the three or two [girlfriends] infected you with this".

The respondent said "I started sexual intercourse at a young age, as soon as I had a feeling or interest that now I felt like having a woman". He said there was a game called hide-and-seek whereby "kids would engage in intercourse". He started this game at the age of 13 and admitted that by this age, he was engaging in penetrative intercourse, masturbation and "touching".

The respondent had girlfriends from time-to-time but "I wouldn't take them home to spend the night. I would rather take them to friends' places because I was showing respect to my family and to my parents". The respondent said asking to use a friend's place for sexual intercourse with a girlfriend was, "Not anything to be laughed at or looked down upon or to be embarrassed because we always talked about these things. It didn't mean if you asked for a friend's place, you were going to use it the whole night because we also had to respect the parents. We had to do whatever we had to during the day and part ways during the days".

Respondent H has never married and has no children. He reported that none of his girlfriends have children. The researcher asked what kinds of things H would do with his girlfriends. The respondent replied, "The most prominent thing is that I really respected my community. I would just stroll around with my girlfriend. I knew when to do that and knew when to meet the girlfriend. At times, when I had money, I would take her out to movies, to town, to get things the girlfriend wanted or what I wanted. But that would only depend on whether I've got money". The researcher asked what the point of a relationship with a girl was. The respondent said, "I looked for girlfriends who were respectful. … The main intention behind me having girlfriends was that as you were growing up, you reach a stage when you need to have somebody that you are close with and with the intention that later, you would get married, have kids and settle down. … I wasn't really looking for a woman that I could marry at that stage but I knew that ultimately I would have to get married".

The researcher reflected that it sounded as if sex was very important for him on the outside (prior to his incarceration). H agreed and explained, "I would be regarded in another fashion if I didn't have a girlfriend. … It was important for me to have sex so others would take me as a real man. … I had a lot of sex but not in an irresponsible way. … Sex made me feel good, as there was a story that sperm could get to a person's head, mess it up and make a person go mad".

The respondent said he used "a lot" of pornographic magazines. He never bought them with his money. "I got them from a white guy who was passing driving a truck". The respondent also watched "blue movies." One of his friends had a video machine at home. He said they would hire gay, lesbian and heterosexual, pornographic videos. His

girlfriend[48] did not watch these videos, as he could not take her to his friend's place. The respondent said that he was aroused from watching the videos and then, "I would go out and look for my girlfriend". The researcher asked what he would do if he could not find his girlfriend. H said, "That was a difficult one because it meant I had these feelings with no way of letting them out". He said he could control his feelings with the thought that he would see his girlfriend, as he wasn't really into masturbation.

The researcher asked how the beatings and culture of violence experienced in the township the respondent lived in affected his relationships with women. The respondent admitted that "beatings would happen", when for instance, he found his girlfriend with another boyfriend. "But even then, I would not just start a fight without finding out the circumstances. If I was the first one to get the girl" determined if a fight would follow.

The respondent reported that, "I learnt about relationships, specifically girlfriends, from my sisters as teachers". H said that he liked his girlfriend not to drink, to dress well, to be a well-behaved person who would listen to him when he spoke to her, and not to shout at him from the streets. If a girlfriend did shout, "She would be drawing other people into this relationship". The respondent said that people had to respect each other in relationships and if the person did not do as requested, or required, "They wouldn't be respecting the other party". Then he would break up with that girlfriend.

Respondent H said that he had a girlfriend whilst still in the community. One day, he and his girlfriend quarrelled. "The following day, after the quarrel, my girlfriend's brother came to me and said that he didn't like what I had done, beating his sister. She didn't like that". The respondent knew his girlfriend's brother as, "The guy was my school mate". H commented, "I never realized that the bad things that my father used to do to my mother, I would ever do that as well to somebody else. However, on that day, I was only trying to correct my girlfriend's behaviour because initially, or prior to that day, it was not common for my girlfriend not to follow my instructions or my requests. Normally she would do that. She would comply but on that day, she did not. So I was only trying to correct that by hitting her". The respondent admitted that this was the first time he had hit this girlfriend. However, he said, "There have been incidents or cases where I've beaten other girlfriends". The respondent explained, "I would consider it as disrespectful of another party if they do

[48] The respondent made no reference to a specific girlfriend.

not concede to what I was saying. I am not only referring to my girlfriend, I am referring even to other people in general. For instance, my younger brother, or my younger siblings, if I would tell them to do something and they would not, I would correct them by beating them, disciplining them, by beatings. If it was older people, I would let it go but knowing I did not like it. … Discipline was also in the form of talking to a person and showing them where they went wrong with their bad behaviour".

The respondent laughed when the researcher asked how many girlfriends he had. He asked the researcher if she meant as he was growing up or all the girlfriends he ever had. He said it was not something he had thought about and he could not give any number because he could not say how many girlfriends he had had in a year or a month. "Sometimes I would have a girl, break up with her. After a few days or after some time I'd have another one".

Crime and prison life

The respondent had not served a prison sentence previously, but admitted that the police arrested him, aged about 24, after "I assaulted another young man who made a charge. The matter only went as far as the police cells awaiting trial". The respondent was dismissive of this event and would not discuss it further.

The respondent is serving a sentence of 15 years for the rape of a two-year-old girl, a crime he committed aged 24, seven years previously. He denied to the researcher that he had raped anybody. When asked why he was in jail, he said, "For rape". He said that when he received his sentence for rape, "I started thinking about the sentence. I realized I didn't deserve to be sentenced. And that is when I escaped". The police apprehended the respondent the same day.

About a year before the researcher conducted these interviews, DCS moved the respondent to a high maximum-security prison, after he and other prisoners sharing a cell, tried to burn it down. Shortly thereafter, the respondent stabbed a prisoner. The respondent reported that he had done this to defend himself from a possible sexual assault. He received a sentence of one additional year in prison. In response, DCS moved the respondent to the high maximum-security prison, where the researcher conducted these interviews.

The relationship between the respondent and the toddler is unknown. The respondent gave a lengthy explanation of the events leading to his incarceration that started with him beating his girlfriend "correcting" her behaviour. He reported that the charge of assault also became the charge of rape. He said that he only met his complainant in court and "It was three ladies and four young kids". The brother of the respondent's (beaten) girlfriend was also present in court. The respondent said, "These two witnesses of about 12 years gave the following account about what happened on the day of the rape. The witnesses allege that the whole event took place by the riverside. … They allege that I slept with this child in the grass and when this guy [his girlfriend's brother] came, I was on top of the child. He asked me what I was doing and he kicked me. I stood up, took out a knife, but I didn't use it". The respondent clarified that during the court proceedings, he faced two charges, the first for beating his girlfriend, and a second for the rape of a minor. The respondent also said that after the rape case was over, he had to attend court again for charges of stock theft. He reported that the court acquitted him of these charges. His two friends also charged with stock theft, received prison sentences.

The researcher asked how old the child was that the respondent raped. He replied "15 years". The researcher challenged the respondent and said that records at DCS Head Office reflected that he was serving a sentence for the rape of a two-year-old. The respondent was silent. He then said, "I deny raping even a three-year-old and what I know is the incident with my girlfriend and her brother and the goings on after that. It's just an allegation that the courts made against me which I deny all together". The respondent explained that this was the reason he decided to try to escape, after he received a sentence of 15 years for the rape of a toddler, as he did not commit this crime. The researcher expressed her confusion at what the respondent had said. She discussed with him that she would like to check the warrant, on his file, held by the prison. The researcher asked the respondent how he felt about this. He replied, "It doesn't sit well with me. I've resigned myself to the fact that I cannot change it. I just have to accept it and work with you, co-operate with you, because many times a social worker is just doing her work and you as a researcher have to do what you are here to do. So even though I am not feeling okay with this, I have to accept it". The researcher explained to the respondent that other men she had spoken to, serving long sentences for the rape of children under three, often told her that the child was much older because it was a difficult thing to talk about.

The researcher suspended the interview whilst she and the DCS social worker left the consultation room to check the warrant. In the interim, guards escorted the respondent back to his cell. The DCS social worker called DCS Head Office for their permission for the researcher to see respondent H's warrant. This permission was granted. The DCS social worker explained that the researcher could only view the warrant and no other documentation contained in the respondent's DCS file. The researcher respected this request. The respondent's prisoner number reflected on his identity card tallied with the file that contained his warrant. The warrant stated, "Rape of two-year-old" and the sentence of 15 years. No other information was on the warrant.

Ninety minutes later, the researcher and the DCS social worker returned to the consultation room. Guards brought the respondent from his cell and handcuffed him to the bolster. The researcher confirmed to the respondent that his warrant reflected he had received a 15 year sentence for the rape of a two-year-old. The respondent wanted to continue to participate in the research. He maintained he had not raped anybody.

The researcher asked who came to visit the respondent in the high maximum-security prison.[49] He replied, "Nobody comes to visit me". Before DCS relocated the respondent from the prison (400 km away) where he began serving his sentence, he said that, "My younger brother used to visit more frequently than the rest of the family". He was vague about his use of the term "more frequently". He explained that his mother and eldest sister visited him only once, after he had served three years in the prison (400 km away).

The respondent reported that, "There is no communication between me and my family, as they do not respond to my letters[50] even though I write often to them". The respondent said he arranges the use of a telephone card to call his family and check that they have received his letters. He reported that his family tells him that they do receive the letters but for "certain reasons" are not able to write to him. The respondent banged his free hand on the table as he spoke, and said, "It doesn't feel good. It saddens you not to get replies or letters from home. It makes me wonder when I'm sitting alone in my cell whether my family will

[49] In terms of DCS regulations, the respondent has restricted non-contact visits in the high maximum-security prison. He can see his visitors through a plate glass window, with conversations conducted over an internal telephone. DCS staff monitors the conversations.

[50] The DCS social worker explained that DCS provide stamps for letters to family members, for a prisoner in this situation. DCS do not provide telephone cards.

turn me away should I get released because of the crime I committed and say I am not welcome anymore at home". The respondent said that he sometimes thinks that his family is still angry for what he did. On one occasion when he called them, he learnt that his father has a car.

APPENDIX T

SEQUENTIAL LIFE HISTORY: INCARCERATED RESPONDENT I

Background information

Respondent I was aged 27 when the researcher conducted four interviews with him, lasting a total of seven hours. This excluded the time needed for introducing the research, obtaining the respondent's informed consent to participate therein, questions from the respondent before each interview commenced, terminating each interview, and the final de-briefing at the conclusion of the interviews. No translator was required.

The interviews were conducted in a social worker's office in the maximum-security wing of the prison. The respondent and the researcher had to sit very close together as the noise levels outside the interview room were extremely high during most of the interviews. The tape recorder and microphones were positioned on the corner of a desk between the two parties. At the suggestion of the researcher, the respondent sat with his back to the viewing window. DCS guards watched the interviews at all times through large observation windows. In addition, there were frequent, unannounced entries into the interview room, by guards, as part of the security procedures. Prisoners who had various duties to perform in the row of offices, of which the interview room was one, informally observed the interviews.

Respondent I was serving a life sentence for the rape of a two-year-old girl. He knew the child. He committed this crime, aged 19, about eight years before these interviews were conducted.

Early childhood to age 14

Respondent I, a black male, was born in the very late 1970s. He is the second of three boys. Their mother was aged 14, 16 and 21 at the time of their births. The respondent said, "That means she make us while she was still young". All three boys were born out of wedlock. The respondent said that he did not know his father and had never met him. He was not sure if he and his older brother had the same father. The respondent was told that the father of his youngest brother was different to that of him and his older brother. The respondent's mother was illiterate and worked as a hawker. The respondent explained his maternal grandmother was the second of two wives. "My grandfather had said he did not

want girls [including the respondent's mother] to go to school. At that time, only boys went to school. The girls must work at home, in the field". This was the reason, according to the respondent, that his mother was illiterate.

Until the respondent was aged about eight, he lived with his mother, maternal grandmother, and older and younger brothers in, "A tin house", the respondent's phrase, meaning a shack. The "tin house" had no electricity, sanitation, or water, and, reported the respondent, was in "a squatter camp" (informal settlement). The squatter camp was in a township, about 30 km from a very big city.

The researcher asked the respondent how old he was when he went to school. He replied eight years old.[51] When the respondent started school (during the late 1980s), he lived with a maternal aunt, who had never attended school, and her husband. This aunt and her husband had six children. The aunt and uncle lived in a different part of the same township that the respondent had lived in with his family. This living arrangement with his aunt lasted for about four years so that the respondent could attend school. Schools were "far away" from the squatter camp that the respondent lived in. He explained that "far away" was a 45 minute walk to school.

The respondent's aunt and uncle also lived in a shack. The youngest two children - of preschool age - from the aunt lived with the respondent's mother and grandmother, whilst the respondent and his older brother lived with this aunt, uncle, and their four older children. The respondent said that he thought his aunt was his mother. He called his uncle father. He thought that his biological mother was his aunt, "Because she comes sometimes to visit".

The respondent's older brother left school when he was in standard one, the third year of school education. The respondent said his oldest brother left school, "Because of the situation of the poorest but he do wrong because he ran away from [the aunt's] home. And he was a street kid, selling *Homeless* newspapers". The respondent said that his older brother had lived on the streets "maybe for years" but used to write letters sometimes

[51] By the time the respondent started school, the three year boycott of township schools that started in 1985 had ended. The respondent would have been aged nine and not eight, as he reported to the researcher. In addition, the time line of the respondent's attendance at school suggests that the respondent started school at the age of nine.

saying, “Don’t worry, I’m still alive”. Respondent I believed that his older brother did not want the family to know where he was as, “You see him today here, and tomorrow you can’t get him there. He’s disappeared”.

When the respondent was aged about 14, his maternal aunt passed away. He reported that his mother told him that his aunt and uncle were not his parents. His mother showed the respondent photographs of himself as a small child. The respondent returned to live with his mother, grandmother, and younger brother, in the same shack that he had lived in some five years previously. His older brother still lived on the streets and was not aware that their aunt had passed away. The researcher asked how the respondent felt when he found out the woman he thought was his aunt was his mother. He replied, “I was old enough to handle that matter”.

The respondent queried his paternity. “I started this thing with my mother when I was 14”. When he queried his paternity with his mother, she informed him that his father supported them and took care of them so they did not have to know who their father was.

The researcher asked the respondent what he thought of his grandmother, who lived with him. He said his grandmother did not chastise him. She helped to care for the respondent, “And there was nothing wrong she [could] do”. The respondent said, “She worked at home”. His grandmother was hard of hearing.

The respondent was asked if he ever got sick as a little boy. He replied, “My sick is just coughing”. He reported that he had never seen a doctor or been in a hospital.

Religion

Respondent I reported that his mother liked to go to church. She was a member of the apostolic church. According to the respondent, his mother did not use alcohol, dagga, or cigarettes. She used snuff “sometimes”. The respondent recounted how the “Bishop”[52] was called, “A cooker, as he used to cook for us. When we [went on a trip with the church], maybe we are going to sleep there”. When the respondent and his family left the following morning, they were given things to take home and cook. The researcher

[52] The respondent used the phrase “Bishop”, a term used quite loosely by African/Pentecostal churches.

commented that the respondent was smiling as he recounted this and he said: “Yes, at that time, I enjoy going to church”. The respondent went to church every Sunday. He enjoyed the singing. He was taught how to pray. When the respondent was older, he did not want to go to church anymore and said, “I’ve changed”. He giggled and said he did not know what made him change attending church and that, “I fall along the way”.

School, punishment and friends

The respondent attended three schools between the ages of about nine and 19. He completed standard five/grade seven.

Primary school

When the respondent was aged about nine, he said that his mother and maternal aunt swapped children, i.e. the respondent’s two youngest cousins with the respondent and his older brother. “They take us because we must go to school”. The school that the respondent attended for the first four years of primary school education was “maybe 15 minutes away” from his aunt and uncle’s home. “And that time, we [were] struggling because in winter there are rocks and we don’t have shoes”.

The respondent said when he was a little boy, “I used to believe friends”. He and his friends played together, with cars made from wire, after school. These friends also accompanied him to look for doves and rabbits in the forest.

He attended two co-educational schools during the first seven school years of primary school. The respondent attended a different primary school from standard three. There were “forty-something” pupils in his classes at both primary schools. When the researcher asked the respondent what he thought about school, he replied, “I’m not free” and then said, “Always I am smiling because I don’t want to be angry”. He said, “I loved to read books” and studied books from the standard eight year of education whilst in standard five. “It was easy for me to memorize everything”. The researcher said it sounded as if the respondent enjoyed school. He said, “I enjoy school [but] by other circumstances then I didn’t like school. ‘Cause I was poor at home, having no money to eat, sometimes I don’t have shoes. I’m wearing trousers that are patch patch. (The respondent indicated his buttocks as he said this.) At school, they’re laughing at me. They’re laughing at me. That make me not to go to school. Even when I was at high school, I used to wear my mother’s

shoes. As long as the shoes are black, then I go to school". The researcher was silent. Then she asked, "How did it make you feel when the children laughed at your clothes?" Respondent I exclaimed, "*Eish*! I was scared. Sometimes I am not feeling all right because I'm poor but I must do something so that I must get the success. Even my mother used to say she didn't go to school at all. She didn't know how to write. I was the one who was teaching her". The respondent said he would keep his mouth closed when children teased him about his clothes and shoes. He said, "I suffered" as he could never go on school trips.

The respondent said that he was often asked at the second primary school he attended, "Where is your father?"

Punishment at school

The researcher asked the respondent if the teachers hit him. He replied, "Yes, for wrongs. When I was doing wrongs". By "wrongs", the respondent said he was absent from school. The respondent said he often made cars from wire and then, "Play in the bush the whole day until the school is out. And then I come home". He said he was not beaten for being "a wrong-doer" at school. When he attended the first primary school whilst still living with his aunt and uncle, he was beaten on the buttocks with plaited leather. He would be hit on his outstretched hand with a stick for "some other wrongs". He said, "I was beaten three times in five days" whilst attending this primary school and said they could not beat him when he was absent from school.

The respondent said he was never beaten for not doing his homework. He tried to do his homework during free time at school, as there was no privacy at home. The researcher reflected that it sounded as if the respondent was a good pupil at school who really wanted to learn. The respondent said he was second in the class. He said he could not be first in the class as he was absent from school. The researcher explored his absences from school again. The respondent said he was absent from school as, "The way I was dressed left me feeling not comfortable. Many times, I wanted to go to school. I was still at home and they make me get cross with something then the whole day I'd be left alone. That means they spoil a good day. When they talk to me, I can't rise". The respondent said his hand was always up first to answer a question from a teacher. "Every class teacher of mine was loving me".

The respondent recalled he was absent for "twenty-something" days during his standard two year. He was still living with his aunt. He said his cousins took him with force to school. "When I get there, they take out my *broeks* (underpants) and beat me. Other people held me". The respondent demonstrated how he had to bend down and hold his ankles, whilst other people held his arms. "That teacher beat me, beat me, beat me. … I was naked". When asked how he felt during this beating, the respondent said, "Sometimes I can't cry. … Even that day when they beat me, I didn't cry and they say to me I've got cheek, I've got cheek 'cause I don't cry. 'Cause I can't cry when people hurt me. When I am alone is when my tears come. I cry on my own".

The respondent said that he could see now, "They were teaching me something. They must chastise me because when our parents chastise us, they love us, we don't recognize that".

In his fifth year of school, aged about 14, after the death of his maternal aunt, the respondent returned to his mother and grandmother. The second primary school he attended thereafter was 45 minutes walk from where the respondent lived with his mother, grandmother, and younger brother. At that stage, the younger brother did not go to school. The respondent failed standard three, his fifth year of school.

From the age of 14, the respondent sold ice creams, illegally, on trains. He did this for three years.

High school

The respondent attended a different school when he commenced his standard six year of schooling, aged about 16. This was shortly after the country's first democratic elections in 1994. The school was "just around the corner" from his mother's shack. When his friends played soccer at school, the respondent could not join in as "I was working (selling ice creams). I loved school but things greet me in a different way and now I was having that mind of mine how to make money because we were suffering".

The respondent said that his younger brother had not gone to school for "maybe seven, eight years". The respondent said that his absences from high school were due to, "My

trying to make money". The researcher asked if 17[53] were quite old to be in standard six. Respondent I said, "Yes, that was old. For me it was old because I was getting problems going to school you see".

When the researcher asked how far the respondent's older brother got in school, the respondent replied, "I was the best in the family. … I wrote standard six.[54] No one reached that". However, the respondent failed standard six as, "I was always absent from school". As he was about to write the exams after repeating this school year, he was arrested for raping a toddler. He did return to school briefly thereafter. "I was out on free bail. … Since that time I was arrested, when I go to school, other children don't talk to me like the way I know them and I don't go to school anymore".

Friends

"When I was older, in the location, I had only one friend. The best friend I used to say. I think he used to say I was the best one. At all times, I used to be with him". The respondent said that their lives changed when his friend became aggressive. "I was not aggressive". The researcher asked what he meant by "aggressive". The respondent said that many times he owed his friend money. "I would pick another friend that I had grown up with, and together we would go and find my [best] friend". The respondent reported that his best friend would "provoke" him and he was "in the middle". He said that this friend "hit too many people". When the respondent tried to hold him to prevent him from hitting someone, the friend would "come back" to him. He said that he and this friend fought over money. The respondent said he was "struggling". His friend would chase him, "And we would provoke each other … and we fight. We were punching". His friend was a year older "but bigger in his body" compared to the respondent. The respondent said he felt hurt when his friend hit him. He said that he could go to his friend's home when he was suffering and "I don't have any *mielie meal*" (crushed maize). His friend said that when the respondent needed food or wanted to sleep, he could go to his house. "I was

[53] By way of comparison, during apartheid, many white children of the same age (17) would be in their penultimate year, standard nine, of high school. However, white children were immune from the boycott of schools seen in the townships, and were not required to pay school fees for compulsory school education. Black children had to pay for grossly inferior, non-compulsory, school education.

[54] Pre-1994, standard six was the first year of five years of high school education. Post-1994, standard six is referred to as grade eight.

friend with everybody there. … When that man was my friend, I didn't stay long at home. I used to stay that side".

The researcher asked twice what things the respondent did with his brothers. He replied, "There's nothing I can say I've done with my brothers".

Pets

The researcher asked the respondent if he had any cats or dogs at home, when he was growing up. The respondent said he loved dogs. As a child, he got a dog from his uncle. He used to sleep with the dog. He used to tell people that dogs could not bite him, as he knew how to handle the dogs when they jumped. He said he "communicated" with the dogs, as the dogs did not let in strangers. When asked how many dogs he had had all together, the respondent said, "It's too many dogs. … Fifty, sixty". He fed the dogs. He said he took them and sat at the bus stop after school and showed them to his friends. He washed the dogs and took them to the river to swim. He taught his dogs how to look for hares. The researcher asked the respondent what he did if the dog did something that he did not like. The respondent replied, "I can't have things this way. I just look at the dog but sometimes I hit him. I hit him. I hit him like this" and used one hand to mimic holding the head of the dog whist he mimicked slapping the dog's face repeatedly with his other hand. The respondent said that if the dog ate the hens' eggs from the house next door, he paid compensation to the neighbour and purchased one egg. He boiled the egg and put it into the dog's mouth, which he kept shut with both his hands, for three minutes, until the egg was cold. He said the dog whimpered as he did this. The dog could not eat until its mouth had healed. Only thereafter the respondent bought tinned food for the dog and fed it. Respondent I said if he wanted the dog to "be strong" he had to put a scorpion into the mouth of the dog. If the scorpion bit the dog's tongue, the dog would "bite strong". He did not like to tie the dog up with a chain. "I know the dog is my friend. … As long as I know that dog is mine, I can't be alone".

He said there were eight dogs at home whilst his mother was still alive. When these dogs had puppies, he found them homes. The researcher asked how long the respondent's dogs lived for and he said, "Heh, it's a long time. At least for seven years one dog had been with me". When a dog was sick, "I didn't have any clue. I just make food, so it's up to the dog

to eat. At that time, there was no SPCA[55] service". If the dog died, the respondent buried it.

The respondent kept doves. He said he caught them in the forest and made a cage to keep them. When there were "too many" doves, he would give them away to "those … I know will care for them". Respondent I caught bats and when they "make babies" he took the older bats, killed them, and cooked them for the dogs. He also kept rabbits and fish.

The respondent said, "I liked to watch the animals having sex in their cages, like the doves". He had seen dogs and cats having sex and said when he saw this, "It's like it's natural. Sometimes I'd laugh".

Adolescence (from age 14)

When the respondent returned to live with his mother and grandmother at the age of about 14, his older brother was aged about 16. He reported that by this stage, his older brother, who had lived on the streets, was working. "I don't know where he was working … I remember the time he got money. He was working as a security guard. He came home every fortnight. When he came back home, he used to fill me with emotions. … The way he talk with me. … Somewhere I can feel that this man is not like a real brother for me. … He didn't want me to relax. I must always do this and do this and do this".

The respondent reported that his older brother beat him. The researcher asked who had shown his brother this. He said he did not know but he thought that it was in his brother's character as he grew up. "Discipline was beating. And at that time discipline was by beating, not by telling you". The respondent said he could not remember his mother beating his older brother because his mother was short and his older brother was "the longest" (the respondent indicated tallest with his arms).

The respondent explained that his older brother "stocked" ice creams. His older brother, aged 16, told the respondent, aged 14, to go and sell ice creams [illegally, on trains], "So that you might eat". Respondent I was robbed of money from the sale of the ice creams and returned home, crying. "My brother didn't trust me or listen to me, he ***beat*** (respondent's emphasis) me".

[55] The respondent is referring to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA).

The respondent said that he helped people during the evening "past eight" who got lost in the township. He said that he was beaten and he ran home. "When I get back home – *eish*! It was ***hard*** (respondent's emphasis) because now I was scared. I don't have that power. When I go back home, they beat me. They beat me in the street, they beat me. I must run home and even when I get home, they can't look for me if I'm back or what. They just sleep and see me in the morning".

Punishment at home

The researcher and respondent discussed "wrongs". She asked what "wrongs" the respondent had done when he was a child. He replied, "What I did wrong sometimes was to steal my mother's money … when I was I hungry sometimes. I say I am hungry. There is no money to give me. They say we do not have money but I have already seen money in my mother's purse. Therefore, I steal that money. I buy bread. They see me eating bread. It's where they chastise me. … My mother would tell me that stealing is the wrong thing and I must not steal. She hit me so I must be straight". The respondent reported that he never got a warning first. "My mother used to hit me!" He said that when his mother hit him, with her sandals, he could not cry. "My mother would beat me three or four times but when I refuse to cry, she said I've got cheek. Then she [would] chastise me so that I must cry that day. … She [would] beat me till I cry. … I felt that my mother did not like or love me when she hit me but now I can see to beat me is to show love, [she didn't want] me to make mistakes. I know that beating made me to be wiser somewhere".

Sometimes the respondent told his mother not to beat him. He recalled that his mother beat him in the street. She shouted at people in the street. The respondent led her away, saying, "We must go home, not shout at people". He said, "When I want to beat my mother, I can beat her".

The respondent was aged about 14 when his mother stopped hitting him, after an incident with the neighbours. The respondent said that one of the speakers on his mother's radio was not working. He got another speaker from the boys next door. "They used to be with too many speakers". The father of the boys arrived at the respondent's home. He said the respondent had told his sons only lies. The boys' father took the speaker. In response to this, the respondent's mother "chastised" the respondent. He said to his mother, "You know me, don't chastise me. Since that day she didn't hit me".

Employment

"I started making money when I was 14. I was a hawker on the trains".[56] This was shortly before the country's first democratic elections in 1994. "A man showed me how to climb a train". The respondent sold ice creams to passengers on trains, for his older brother. The respondent said he did not know what he was doing initially. As time went by, he went to the market.[57] "I saw everything". The respondent's mother, a hawker, did not teach the respondent about hawking. According to the respondent, his mother would just put out her stock and wait for people to purchase. A friend of the respondent's mother taught the respondent how to "develop" his own business as a hawker. The respondent said he would "push" people in trains to buy fresh fruit and vegetables.

In the three years that the respondent worked for his older brother, from age 14 to 17 years, "My brother didn't even buy a *takkie*[58] or underwear for me. He bought *mielie meal*. … He hurt me, *ja* (yes) he hurt me. Because even now to be here [in prison] I can say it's him". The respondent recounted an incident when he was aged 18. He had helped a friend with a replacement bicycle wheel after the original wheel was stolen at school. The respondent took the replacement wheel from a bicycle at the family home and lent it to the friend so he could cycle home. The respondent's older brother returned home and wanted the bicycle wheel but the respondent was "scared" to tell his brother what he had done. He said that he knew his older brother would know that he had taken the bicycle wheel. "I waited for my mother to come back because it's she who will shield me". The older brother told their mother what the respondent had done. "So my mother knows my brother can hit me". A few days later, the older brother hit the respondent with a *sjambok* on his shoulder. As his brother hit him, the respondent's grandmother tried to intervene but to no avail. "Since that day, my love for my brother was now gone. … Even now, my shoulder hurt me and I can still see the stripes. … That brother of mine, he used to drink crazy".

After this incident, the respondent, then aged 18 (latter half of the 1990s), moved to a friend who lived on his own in a squatter camp. "I attended school when I was there". This was the respondent's second attempt to pass standard six. The respondent reported that his older brother, aged 20, arrived and told him to come and live with him in a new home

[56] "Hawking" refers to informal trading. It was illegal to hawk on trains.
[57] "Market" refers to a fresh fruit and vegetable market, where many hawkers purchase their goods to sell to township residents.
[58] A gym or running shoe.

(shack) that he was building, as "I was suffering. I don't have enough money to eat". The older brother said that he had money to buy a car and purchase, "The material to make a tin house". The "tin house" consisted of four rooms - a kitchen, two bedrooms and combined sitting room and *spaza* shop.[59] The older brother said that the respondent would manage the *spaza* shop.

By this stage, the respondent's older brother had a girlfriend, who had a toddler. The older brother was not the father of this toddler.

The respondent lived with his older brother, his older brother's girlfriend, and her toddler for three months. He reported that whilst he lived with them, his brother's girlfriend could not even clean or cook for his older brother. The respondent said he sold goods in the *spaza* shop during the day and then, "Late, I clean the house, I cook for them". He said he noticed that the mother of the toddler was always "checking" her child. The respondent lifted up one leg and pointed to his genital region to demonstrate this "checking". The brother and his girlfriend slept in one bedroom of the shack. The respondent slept with the toddler in the second bedroom. He said, "I didn't have any problems" with this arrangement. He also said, "The young girl used to sleep here". He slapped his chest and crossed his arms over his chest, drawing them close as he said this. The researcher asked what he thought of the young child as he slept with her. The respondent said that at that time, "My mind was not there. My mind was always on the money, always on the money. And I thought (the child) is still young". The respondent said that when he was not there the child would sleep with her mother.

The respondent said he never washed the toddler. The researcher asked how he felt looking after somebody else's baby. He replied that he was scared of his brother. The researcher asked the respondent what he thought of the child's mother. He said, "I loved her. The way I was loving her, even my brother said heh, you must go home!" The respondent said that his brother and girlfriend fought and provoked each other. The respondent said, again, that he loved the child's mother and she knew this. He would give her gifts of fruit and vegetables. He said, "She was a drinker sometimes". She would give him beers, in view of the respondent's older brother, "So she must love me". The researcher asked the respondent if he would have liked the mother of the toddler as his girlfriend. He replied, "I (paused)

[59] *Spazas*, or tuck shops, are very common in township homes.

didn't (paused) like that thing but she (paused) used to say to me sometimes, *eish*, I wish I could leave your brother and stay with you. And I said, because you love my brother, it's like stealing love. And when I've got (paused) other girlfriends, she was (paused) jealous".

Three months later, the respondent's older brother accused him of stealing R20.[60] In response to this accusation, the respondent returned to his mother, grandmother, and younger brother, all of whom were still living in the same shack.

Two months after the respondent had moved out of his older brother's shack, he said that his brother and girlfriend were, "Running short of money again. So I say, because I am a hawker, I see now you are suffering. So I can make it better because you know I am selling". The respondent said he had some money that could assist his older brother and his girlfriend. He reported that his mother matched the amount of money that he had available to assist. The respondent used the combined money to buy "stock" from a fruit and vegetable market. By doing this, he said, "I am showing them that I love them both". The respondent said that he and his brother's girlfriend worked for almost two weeks, selling on the trains, whilst his brother "stayed at home". He said the girlfriend put fresh produce "nicely" into plastic bags. Then he went "up and down" the trains[61] selling to passengers from Monday to Saturday. The researcher said it sounded as if this was hard work. The respondent replied, "Well for me it was enjoyable work. Actually, I loved to work".

The respondent reported that his older brother said they had to work together. This was after the respondent said he would visit his older brother "sometimes" and his brother would "dispel" him. By "dispel", the respondent meant that his brother used to say that the respondent was "selling" his girlfriend and she could not work with him. The older brother said that the respondent had to work with him. The brothers continued hawking on the trains, despite railway security guards trying to prevent them from doing so. The respondent said he would "pay small fines" to these guards so that they could keep hawking on the trains.

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[60] At the time, ZAR 20-00 was approximately USD 4-00.

[61] This was during the second half of the 1990s. Trains, run by the state, were a vital form of transport for thousands of black people who lived in townships and used the overcrowded trains to get to the big cities where they worked. Informal trading on trains was still illegal.

The respondent reported that his older brother and girlfriend continued fighting. The respondent, who was sleeping in his mother's shack, reported that, "She (brother's girlfriend) wanted to sleep with me because I had a big bed. My mother used to say, 'don't sleep with my child! You left [respondent's older brother] and now you want to disturb my child.' So she left. Next day, she'd come back maybe even to massage me". (The respondent rubbed his shoulders as he said this). In response to the researcher's question, he said he had thought about having sex with her but thought his older brother would kill him. "So I said no, no, no, no. I can't push that thing because you are my brother's wife.[62] And at that time, she was a drunkard. So I thought no, no, no, no, not me. It's where my brother will hate me for life". The respondent said the girlfriend had never asked the respondent for sex but would take her clothes off. "She was wearing a body suit and [would] come to me and say, feel here (pointing to his private parts). … So I must feel there. And I said when my brother comes and see me doing that thing, he will kill me. I know that. I can't do that thing. It's maybe better if you get somebody. I can't help you if my brother does not satisfy you. But for me, it's hard. Then she said, heh, there's no problem. And I leave her. … She was teasing me".

During the time of this "teasing", the respondent had a girlfriend (S). According to the respondent, his brother's girlfriend had told girlfriend S that he was "not your size". The researcher clarified if the respondent meant that his older brother's girlfriend had teased the respondent because he was not tall like his older brother. "Yes", replied the respondent, "I was short. My brother is tall". The respondent reported that girlfriend S said the brother's girlfriend should leave him and "take" the respondent instead. He said he couldn't do it as it was his brother's "wife". "And she already has the baby. I don't want a woman with a baby".

The respondent relayed another incident concerning his older brother's girlfriend. "She put some bananas in her panty. She teased me for a very long time. Even now when I am here, I can say somewhere it's her who make me to be here" [in prison].

The researcher asked the respondent if he loved his older brother's girlfriend. He said, "Now I don't love her anymore. I did love her. And I thought if it wasn't my brother's

[62] The term "wife" is sometimes used when referring to a "girlfriend". It in no way denotes a legal relationship.

wife, I could fall in love with her. Because it was my brother's wife, I didn't want to interfere there". The researcher asked what it was about her that made the respondent love her. He replied, "The way she used to do things for me". He explained that not a day went by and she said she wanted to see him. She visited the respondent at his mother's home, saying, "'I came here to see you, just to see you. At least now I am satisfied. Buy me cold drink and then I leave'. And I buy cold drink". The respondent said that his older brother's girlfriend asked for many things. The respondent said he bought her designer clothing - a blouse and a pair of trousers. However, his older brother did not want his girlfriend to wear this clothing. After she had worn the clothing twice, the older brother took it away, saying, "You can't wear this clothing. It's me who must wear trousers".

Sex and girlfriends

The researcher asked the respondent if he had any girlfriends. He replied, "Too many girlfriends", smiled and then giggled. The respondent has one daughter. This child was conceived nearly three years after respondent raped the toddler. His daughter was born when the respondent was aged 23 and on trial for the rape of the toddler. The respondent said nobody had told him how to make babies. He read books called "Growing Up". He said, "It was not my intention to make a baby. It just happened".

Respondent I said he was aged 16 when he had sex for the first time. "I knew what to do" as he had friends who talked and told him what to do. His friends laughed at him if he "failed" to get a girl. He said that he had "maybe nine girlfriends". When he found a girlfriend with another boyfriend, he would leave her. He said this happened "many times". He recounted that late at night, it was his "time" to visit a girlfriend. She was not at her home when he visited, as she was "somewhere with somebody". When the girlfriend visited him, he would tell her "I don't love you anymore" because of what she had done, and that he was more important than the man she had been with. Then he said, "Actually, I was afraid of sick, any sick, especially transmitted diseases". In response to this, the researcher asked what the respondent knew about these diseases and he said, "From the first girlfriend. She loved the taxi drivers so I got drop". The respondent went to his uncle's wife, a *sangoma* (traditional healer), and told her that he had pain and sores. She gave him *muti* (traditional medicine). "From there on, the *sangoma* said now I am right and there's no problem and I don't want that thing again".

The researcher asked if the respondent would use protection when he had sex with his girlfriends. "Sometimes", he replied. The respondent said his friends told him about condoms, which were "scarce" when he was still a teenager. He said that he might see one condom in four months.

The respondent disclosed, spontaneously, that, "I had many, too many one-night girlfriends". The researcher asked if this is what the respondent meant by "girlfriend". He replied that he had to see if a girlfriend was "a really girl" and when he told her that he loved her, she had to "refuse to love" him. The respondent explained that if the girl loved him already, that meant she would love somebody else the next time. The researcher asked what the respondent thought girlfriends were for. He replied that when he was drunk with girlfriends, it was to de-stress himself. "But when I am alone, I said I want to be a father. I want to be a good example because I didn't have a father". The respondent was with the mother of his child for about 18 months. During this time, "I had other girlfriends I played with, but I knew I loved this woman. This woman was mine". He said the mother of his child understood him, "And we plan we can make a baby". His daughter was conceived when his case of rape against the toddler was repeatedly postponed. He parted with his baby's mother as "I was doing my things" in court. He last saw his child when she was about six months old, five years before he participated in this research.

The researcher asked the respondent why men could behave one way and women another. He explained that his girlfriend S lived in a shack adjacent to his family's shack. He stayed in her shack from time-to-time. She would say she wanted them to go out to a "tavern" (the respondent's phrase, meaning a shebeen or informal bar). The respondent agreed, as it meant he would "get a lady". He said girlfriend S must "bring me a girl" (the respondent's phrase, meaning a woman). Then the respondent and the "girl" would "sleep together". The researcher asked if this was not quite a strange relationship. In response, the respondent said that he sometimes called girlfriend S his "wife" and she knew that she could bring him other girlfriends. "She helped me where I needed help". He said that girlfriend S "loved boys" and had "other boyfriends". The respondent said that parties made him and girlfriend S to "be like that". He said he organized parties at girlfriend S's home. Then, he and girlfriend S would chose their sexual partners, for that night, from the guests. The respondent said that girlfriend S knew he was working during the week. Hence, she arrived at his shack during the weekend and he would take her to buy groceries.

Leftover money was used to "go to the movies". The respondent recalled that he would buy "spirits" (alcohol) for girlfriend S's cousins when they visited.

The researcher started to ask if a girl said she did not want sex, when the respondent interrupted her saying, "Then I jump to another one. As long as there is a party, I'm a drunkard, I jump to another girl". The researcher asked what would happen if a girlfriend said she had a headache and was not in the mood for sex. The respondent replied, saying that if a girlfriend said she could not have sex that night as she had a headache, he would not understand this. Being tired was not an excuse for not having sex. He would say to the girlfriend, "What have you done all day long – nothing!" The researcher asked what would happen if the woman was menstruating. The respondent replied, "She must prove that she's in period. She must show me. She must show me the blood". The researcher said that was quite a request and the respondent said, "It's not me alone. I hear many people do the same". He said he "would just leave it" even if he really wanted sex. Then he said, "I make a plan to go forward and look for another one. I liked sex and had sex seven days in a week".

Use of violence in relationships

During an earlier interview, the researcher asked the respondent if he had ever beaten anyone. He said, "I don't fight. … I don't beat people". During the fourth interview, the respondent said that he beat his girlfriends. The researcher asked the respondent where he had learnt this. "I see other people beating their wives, children. Even my neighbour used to beat his wife. I used to help there", he replied. The respondent said that he beat women, not men. "That girlfriend of mine, I gave her money. When I asked her [what she had done with the money], she would tell me [that she would do everything she needed to with my money]. Then I would beat her. Or if she had another boyfriend. Then we've solved the problem". The respondent reported that he would hit his girlfriend on her face. "Sometimes I punch her face for three minutes. That means she must see I am beating her strategically. Then she feels hurt and cries". The respondent said he also felt hurt. He said that beatings showed a girlfriend that he loved her but she did not want to understand that he loved her. The respondent said he was "always sober" when he beat somebody. The researcher said she was confused by this. The respondent giggled and said, "To beat somebody, you show her love. Even I, when growing up, I can see people fighting – a man

and his wife – they show love". The respondent asked the researcher if she was beaten when she was growing up. She replied that the interview was about him.

The respondent explained his second reason for beating his girlfriend. He said maybe a girlfriend had cheated on him. "So I must show her that I don't like this thing of cheating but she won't listen to me till my feelings are now upside down. … When I am beating her, she gets hurt and she can't repeat the same mistake. … If someone hurt me, I must hurt back". He said he would talk to a girlfriend, "But she refuses to come out with the truth [and say I am not the only one]. Then I recognize she doesn't love me and then I beat her again, till she tells me the truth". The respondent said he worried that a girlfriend would find someone else and leave him. He beat two of his nine girlfriends, one of whom is the mother of his daughter. "I used to beat them, beat them. I care for them. They don't care for me. … They must care for me because I care for them. … But nowadays they push us into trouble! Girls!" The respondent said that girlfriends asked him for money he did not have, or ask him to buy expensive designer clothing, and "I'm still at school. I don't have money to eat".

The researcher reflected that the respondent had many one-night stands and that he sounded almost proud that he had slept with many women. The respondent replied, "Of course yes!" The researcher said, "But that's okay for you but it's not okay for your girlfriend". He answered, "I used to say we men are the cheaters, more than the women. Women don't have the power (banged on table once as he said this) to say to you 'what are you doing' when we beat them. … I know she can't beat me. She will cry and leave. That's what makes us men. To be like that". When the researcher probed what made the respondent a man, he said, "I go with my girlfriend but I see another one is more beautiful than my girlfriend. So I drop my girlfriend and I must go and see that lady. I'm not satisfied actually. Yes, I am not satisfied". The researcher asked what would satisfy the respondent. He replied, "Now I can say my girlfriend can satisfy me but I'm not like that because the women outside are beautiful. It's just one heart. When you have got that heart, I don't want too many because I know they are beautiful and they are different. I want mine. It's whereby you can control yourself. As long as you still love girls, it's hard to say I want one".

The researcher asked the respondent what he thought of women. He said, "Young women don't want to see your face anymore when you don't have money. You go there while you are having money". He also said, "I wanted somebody (paused) a shoulder to cry on, somebody who can't leave you, whether it's rain or storm, she can't leave you". The respondent said, "My brother had luck, to bring a girl home".

When asked, the respondent said he did not masturbate but had experienced wet dreams. He did not see any pornographic videos. He used pornographic magazines, obtained from taxi drivers, and used those "books for the styles I needed".

Mother's boyfriends

The researcher asked if the respondent's mother had boyfriends. He replied, "Well, I can say sometimes. And when she used to bring a boyfriend, I can't sleep at home because we fight. I can't allow other boyfriends to come while I don't know my father". The respondent reported that when he asked his mother about his father, she said "I hate these questions of yours". When his mother had a boyfriend, the respondent slept at his friends. He did not tell them what was going on at home. When he returned home in the morning, the boyfriend had gone. The respondent said when a man slept at home, his grandmother used to shout. This made the respondent angry with his mother. "So the best solution was to go away, not hear the shouting". The respondent said, again, he did not like his mother being with boyfriends, "While we don't know our father, which [man] is our father".

Sometimes, the respondent would not leave the family shack when his mother had a boyfriend. "I didn't want to go. I used to play music - loud. I knew that my mother couldn't tell me I [was] making a noise. I played music [on] auto reverse and then I can sleep. I wake up after seven and the boyfriend's gone". The researcher asked if the respondent knew what they were doing. He said, "I can't say I did not know. It's just I didn't want to mention it". The respondent said he could remember that his brother (which brother is not clear) argued with their mother about her boyfriends. "Then my mother would say, 'you want to be my friend'? … She said, 'I'm not so old that I will not have friends'". The respondent said this made him scared to talk to his mother about her boyfriends.

During the closing minutes of the final interview, after the discussion about his mother and her boyfriends, the respondent disclosed that he had three sisters, all of whom were deceased. The respondent's mother would have been aged 31, 34 and 37 when these children were born. The respondent did not know the causes of their deaths. He reported that the first girl died in hospital. The second two died at home. These children were born when the respondent was aged 15, 18 and 21. He said, "I don't know where they coming from" referring to their paternity. The first sister passed away, when "She was still young … couple months. The second … was trying to talk then she passed away. She was one year, nine months". His third sister passed away, aged two weeks, on the eve of his mother's funeral.[63] The respondent saw his third sister die at home. Thereafter, the respondent disclosed the death of a brother, born after the respondent. This brother died whilst still an infant. (The respondent's mother was aged between 17 and 20 when she gave birth to this child.) The respondent did not know the cause of this brother's death. The respondent said he felt "angry" and was "hurt a lot" at the deaths of his four siblings.

Violence in the community

The researcher asked the respondent if he had seen things that were difficult or disturbing for him. He replied: "Always I see people killing people, like the time of taxi fighting.[64] When people shoot other people, others falling in front of me. Others dying. Even taxi drivers. I have seen that and it hurt me a lot. It hurt me a lot. I survive those things because immediately when they shoot, I drop down, then looked around to see what's going on. People (paused) have been killed. There is shooting. Others injured. Sometimes I was scared to climb into a taxi and would go on foot [despite] the distance but because I know drivers were being shot and even us, we are going to die. … Others, when we are in a train (paused) maybe they (paused) alight while the train is still in motion.[65] Then they get - (the respondent indicated severed upper limbs). Others [their] feet". The respondent reported that he had seen people fall underneath moving trains and had their limbs amputated by the train's wheels. "And when the train had passed, I can see a hand on the platform. I would pick it up". The researcher reflected that these were terrible

[63] This was two years after the respondent had raped the toddler. More information is in the section **the respondent's life after the death of his mother**, on page 202.

[64] The respondent is referring to the violence at mini bus taxi ranks, often triggered by taxi drivers and owners fighting over taxi routes, using firearms and other weapons. Sometimes, passengers are caught in the cross fire.

[65] Severely overcrowded trains have resulted in "careless" commuters losing their limbs. Some people have jumped in front of oncoming trains in suicide attempts.

things. He replied, “Sometimes, I experience only hard things. It is not a simple thing I see”. The respondent said he would follow the reports about what he saw on television. He said only hard things were on his mind. “Maybe there is somebody that used to beat people. I want to see that body. And at the end of the day, I see many dead people. It’s hard! And I go back”. The researcher asked the respondent if he spoke to anyone about what he had seen. He said, “Sometimes we don’t talk. Maybe we talk for just two minutes – ‘have you seen that man? - Yes I have, I feel shame’. Then it was finished. When I sleep, my heart was beating faster. That person whose life ended in the train, maybe tomorrow it’s me”.

Use of alcohol, marijuana and cigarettes

The researcher reflected that the respondent said he had spent quite a lot of time in shebeens. He smiled and said, “I liked liquor while I was still outside. When I was growing up, I [felt and could see] that liquor was wrong for me”. The respondent said that when he had money, he spent it on alcohol, “Forgetting that I’m suffering. Because I wanted to live free, laughing with people, then I decided to buy beers. After I was arrested, I could see there was no purpose. And it became my headache. But my mother didn’t know I drank”.

The respondent said he was 15 or 16 when he tasted beer made by an uncle. “My aunt used to say, ‘Heh, come here! Take!’ And we drink there. But that was not in full”. The respondent referred to “in full” when he later bought brandy, vodka, milk stout and cigarettes and knew the prices of these items. The respondent said he liked to “jive” when he was drunk. He said he drank in a tavern, “Or somewhere we could enjoy drinking but not at home”. The respondent said he did not fight when he was “a drunkard”. He explained that sometimes people fought him and he remained silent. “I used to get punched but I don’t have that power to punch back”. The respondent said he felt hurt when other men punched him in the taverns.

The respondent said he used dagga at the age of 22, three years after he had raped the toddler. He had received bail. “I was alone and my girlfriend, the one I love, was visiting somewhere and it’s far and I couldn’t go there. So I started taking that drug [dagga], smoking it and cigarettes”.

The respondent recounted an incident where he had seen his older brother and his girlfriend at a tavern. "I saw my brother fighting with other men. They beat him with something on his head". The respondent described his brother as "sleeping in the street" and unable to recognize him. He took him home and told his older brother's girlfriend they must drink at home, as his brother was "a provoker. When he goes to the tavern, they just beat him". The respondent said that "guys" would come and even beat him for revenge. He reported that his older brother beat "even little children" from the community. He said that the children would call his brother "uncle" and his brother would kick these children until, according to the respondent, "The children they must fall there, to make the heart of the mother to get hurt". The researcher asked if the respondent's older brother ever beat his girlfriend's child. The respondent replied, "He beat all. All! He don't care for them. Even me".

Rape of toddler

The respondent is serving a life sentence for the rape of a two-year-old. The toddler is the child of his older brother's girlfriend. The brother is not the father of the toddler. The respondent committed this crime in the late 1990s.

The rape occurred in the shack of the respondent's mother. At the time of rape, the respondent, aged 19, was living in this shack with his mother aged 35, grandmother age unknown, and younger brother aged 14. The respondent reported that he had been living with his family again for "quite a long time, maybe seven, eight, nine months" after living with his older brother and girlfriend for three months. He no longer worked for his older brother. The respondent worked, on his own, as a hawker. The respondent said that his older brother and girlfriend visited "almost everyday" as his older brother parked his car in their mother's yard.

On the day of the rape, the respondent's older brother, aged 21, arrived at their mother's shack, with a brother of their aunt and a maternal uncle. All three men had their wives or girlfriends with them. The respondent reported that these three men wanted to fight. The researcher asked if these three men were drunk. The respondent replied, "They were not drunk". He said that his maternal uncle had accused his wife of "*jolling* (playing around) … sleeping with" a male relative. The three men wanted to speak to the respondent's mother but she was not there. The respondent said he bought everybody beers and told

them to go and “fight where you stay”. He escorted his relatives and their partners back to their homes and returned to his mother’s shack at about two pm. The respondent said he was sober. The researcher asked the respondent who was in the shack when he returned at two pm. He said that his younger brother was “playing”. His grandmother was in the shack, “But she don’t hear well”.

The respondent said he started to wash himself as he had planned to go out with girlfriend S. He reported that the toddler of his older brother’s girlfriend came running into his room in the shack. The respondent said, “I was naked”. The researcher asked where the toddler’s mother was. He replied, “I dunno if she was in the street or at the neighbour. …I just see her (the toddler), come into the room where I was washing. There were no doors in the shack”. The respondent reported that the toddler said to him, “I’ve got something here” and pointed to her genital region. The respondent said, “I look, I look, I look. … I take off her panties. … Bad luck as that time I look [at the toddler’s genital region] is the time her mother came in. … I was not on top of (the toddler) and even when she (the toddler’s mother) was talking in court, she didn’t say I was on top. … When (the toddler’s mother) came in, she said, ‘You have raped my child! You have raped my child’!”

The respondent reported that the toddler’s mother took her child to an adjacent clinic. He was arrested on the same day of the crime and was given “free bail” thereafter.

During the final interview, the respondent said that he remembered he told the court that the child did not cry during the rape and as the child was not scared of him, she “enjoyed it”. Despite his initial denial of the crime to the researcher, the respondent expressed his concern that the child received counselling. During the final minutes of the final interview, the respondent said, “Today I am a rapist”.

A year after the crime, the respondent was still out on bail and said, “The matter has been cancelled”. Two weeks after the death of his mother (two years after the respondent committed this crime); the respondent said that his family held a meeting and said he was supposed to be in prison. “After two weeks, I get papers for court”. Three years after the rape, his case went to trial where the respondent was tried and convicted by a lower court. Thereafter, his case went to a high court for sentencing. The respondent received a life sentence for the rape of the toddler.

The respondent initially denied he had raped the child, even when the researcher read newspaper reports that quoted him as confessing his crime to the court. "Luckily the judge say I didn't hurt or harm the child. … There is no injury. There is not. It's only penetration. I didn't hurt the child. I didn't do anything. Maybe it can strengthen her". When the researcher clarified what the respondent meant by this, the respondent said, "I didn't know exactly what penetration is". He said that a doctor, who had examined the child at the clinic, was called to testify to the court. The doctor testified that the child had been penetrated. The respondent informed the researcher that, "The doctor said … there is no injury. It's only penetration". Blood samples were taken from the respondent during the investigation into the sexual crime.

The respondent's older brother paid "damages" (compensation) to the family of the raped toddler. The researcher asked the respondent how this made him feel. He said that at that time, he didn't care about his older brother, or what they did.

The respondent's life after the death of his mother

The respondent's mother died when she was aged 37, two years after the respondent raped the toddler. The respondent and his younger brother were aged 21 and 16, respectively, at the time of their mother's death, and were living with their grandmother in the same shack. When the researcher asked what had caused his mother's death, the respondent replied, "She was sick … for three or four months in the hospital" where she died. The respondent reported that a nurse told him that his mother had died of natural causes but the respondent said he lived with his mother before she was admitted to the hospital, and knew that she was sick. "I was the person who always used to talk to my mother and I was the person who went to the hospital". The respondent, his younger brother and their grandmother lived together for two weeks after the death of the mother.

Two weeks after the death of his mother, the respondent said his family called a meeting. He was "in the house" of his deceased mother with his grandmother and younger brother. He was still out on bail for the rape of the toddler two years previously. The respondent said that members of his community said, "I had raped.… Even the younger children they don't play at home anymore. … Even that girlfriend I had [girlfriend S], they are now so far away". The respondent said that when he did find a girlfriend, the mother of the toddler would "chase" him, saying, "There goes the rapist. … The girlfriend run *(sic)* away until I

get the new one. … I was suffering at that time, suffering. At home, [there was] nothing. … Even salt and there is no electricity – I don't have candles. I don't have money".

After this meeting, the respondent's grandmother and his younger brother went to live with her son and his wife. At the same time, family members queried the paternity of the respondent's younger brother. His older brother arrived and told the respondent that, "The thing that make us to be together has passed", referring to the death of their mother, and that he did not know the respondent's father. "Maybe he don't know his father. We [i.e. the respondent and his older and younger brothers] have different fathers so we must go different ways. Because my mother made us unite, [my brother] said we must separate". The respondent said that this made him feel uncomfortable. "Now I cry, I say to myself I don't have a brother anymore because of my mother's passing. Maybe he want to go to his father. I must get my father".

The respondent reported that his younger brother had "everything done for him" by his uncle, after this brother and their grandmother moved out of the respondent's mother's shack. The respondent also reported that a paternal aunt informed him that his father had sired eight children, the last of whom was born when the respondent was aged about 12. The respondent never found his father, despite his reported efforts to trace him through the Department of Home Affairs when he applied for an identity book. The respondent said, "My father was cheating his wife with my mother".

Towards the end of the first interview, the respondent said, "Even outside, I was still a helper". In response to this, the researcher asked the respondent to think about how he had solved problems "on the outside". When she pursued this during the second interview, the respondent said, "There is nothing I solved outside…. There is nothing except maybe with girlfriends". He also said, "There was nobody like you (the researcher) who come and ask me exactly what has happened in my life. The community that I am living in, they don't ask me – because you are here – you have raped. What has happened or why. … So for me to end up being here – even my community is involved. Because when my mother passed away, then I was alone". The respondent reported that he lived for two years on his own in his deceased mother's shack. During these two years, he said, "I had to sell, working weekends, gardening. [There were] times I don't have money for stock [buying fruit and vegetables to hawk] because when I sell it's like I'm gambling". The respondent said that

during the week when people went to work and children went to school, "There's nobody around me". He reported that people in the community said he was stealing. The researcher asked if that was what people said or what the respondent was doing. He said that was what people said to him. The researcher asked how this made the respondent feel. He replied, "I would be quiet. Sometimes I feel bad. I wanted to be with somebody who can say he is protecting me. If my aunt [who died when the respondent was aged about 14] was there, I could stay with her and protect her. Now I am alone and people say I am stealing. … When people said I'm stealing, I used to cry alone".

The respondent said he tried to "adopt the communities" by giving children the fruit he had not sold. According to the respondent, community members said, "That is not right". When the respondent threw the edible fruit away, community members said. "How could I throw things away?" The respondent said his uncle, and members of the community, called him a *tsotsi* (a gangster). During the third interview, the respondent said that now he understood there were problems in life. "You can't just be like when you are a child, when your family are messing with you, you don't know right from wrong. But when you grow up, it's whereby you recognize there's a wrong and right, that there's problems".

The researcher asked the respondent on a number of occasions why he thought the community treated him in this way. He thought they were jealous of his financial success as a hawker. He said that members of his community took his sound system and a large television set. He reported that he had purchased these items whilst his mother was still alive.

Life as a maximum-security prisoner

The researcher asked the respondent if he got visitors in prison. He replied, "There's nobody coming to visit me[66] … since I am wearing this thing (pointing to his orange-coloured prisoner overalls). I don't know my people. I don't think … even when I can go outside I can stay in the family house".

The researcher asked how the respondent felt that no one came to visit him in prison. He replied, "It's painful for me but nowadays it's less painful because I visit myself". The respondent said that he was involved in woodwork and was making a ship out of

[66] This was verified as correct by a DCS social worker.

matchsticks he had called ‘The Ship of Redemption’. “I am in a boat or a big ship because when I look, I don’t see something here. I just see the sky. … My desire is to go out again and help people and change what they know me from rapist to be a good man”.

The respondent said that other prisoners saw sentenced rapists as, “Dumb, dumb, dumb, dumb, as rapists are [in prison] for free things. So that means we are dumb, dumb”. He said, “I want to be somebody out of nobody”. He said that life in prison was hard as he was not born in prison but “I am free in mind. I’m free in everything … even when the warders [lock up], they can’t lock for me. Not this man. He’s always busy”.

The respondent said that before his incarceration, his younger brother was at school in standard five. “I used to write letters but no there is no answer”. The researcher clarified if this brother had answered the respondent’s letters from prison. He said, “I get no letter. And when I was outside, I didn’t have a chance to take their ‘phone numbers, especially for my [older] brother. The younger one didn’t have a ‘phone. But when I ‘phone [my older brother] the number doesn’t exist anymore”. The respondent said, “I can’t worry that they don’t want to answer me”.

The respondent last saw his daughter during his trial when she was six months old. Since his incarceration, the respondent does not know the whereabouts of the mother of his child. He reported that he told her, “I don’t want you to come to me anymore, till I ‘phone you and tell you”. He also reported that he has photographs of his daughter. He wanted to show them to the researcher but he kept “forgetting them” in his cell.

He said that he attended church in prison.

The respondent did not know if his grandmother was still alive. She was alive when he started serving his life sentence. He did not know if anyone would tell him if she had passed away.

The respondent said that he got anything he needed in prison. “I know that outside I was nothing because I was always oppressed, suffering”. The respondent said he admitted the rape in court as, “That was my life solution to remove myself from the face of the earth and go to prison”. The researcher clarified if that meant that the respondent wanted to go to

prison. He said "I wanted [to be] here". He said he thought he would get a sentence of 15 years for his crime. The researcher clarified if the respondent meant that life in prison was better than on the outside. The respondent replied, "That was better for me. Even now, I can say I cry to go outside … at that time, I didn't see it differently. … In my heart, I'm still free, I'm free of everything. I'm free. I'm living. I can stay for 20 years without being sick and I'm still fine to go out. It's the age I want. … Outside, I didn't have somebody to ask me a question. They didn't care for me and I didn't care for them. Let me do what is right for me. Right for me was to go to this place".

When the researcher asked the respondent why he thought men raped children, he replied, "We men, we don't think. Maybe you regret after doing such things and what makes men sometimes to rape. Even that I can't clarify because I don't know why especially young children. I don't understand why because I see it's still a little child. It's not a girl I can have sex with. … What I can say maybe it's an evil person at that time you rape. … I didn't have any conscience. … When I was outside I was always worrying. I didn't care, only as long as I live. There is nothing I took seriously".

APPENDIX U

SEQUENTIAL LIFE HISTORY: INCARCERATED RESPONDENT J

Background information

Respondent J was aged 31 when he participated in the present research. The researcher conducted two interviews, the first almost four hours, and the second three hours, in length. This was necessary to accommodate the security and staff arrangements of the maximum-security wing of the prison where respondent J is serving a 25 year sentence for the rape of a two-year-old. He committed this crime nine years before these interviews were conducted, at the age of 22, in the latter half of the 1990s. The respondent knew the toddler and her mother.

The interviews were conducted in a room used for group intervention in the social workers' wing of the maximum-security section of the prison. There was a small viewing window in the only door of the room. A DCS guard remained outside the room at all times and periodically entered the room, unannounced. No translator was necessary for the interviews.

Childhood

Respondent J, a black male, was born in the mid-1970s. He said he was a Swazi. He and his family lived near to a township. The township was situated about 15 km away from a large city. The researcher asked the respondent the age of his mother. He replied, "I'm not sure. She is very old. She gets a pension".[67] The researcher asked if the respondent knew when his mother was born. He replied, "That mother from us (paused) it's just, you see this mother I have got, she was just born in the wrong time. That one from wrong time, heh, she was tough to us, my mother. 'Mother (said in an animated voice), heh, when are you born?' (Normal voice resumed.) Now your age, it's tough". The researcher said, "So, she wouldn't tell you?" The respondent said, "She can't tell you". Similarly, the respondent did not know the age of his biological father who passed away about five years before the interviews were conducted. During the second interview, J said that he did not know his parents' first names for ten or fifteen years. "If somebody come to me and said, 'what is the name of your mother?' [I would reply], 'it's just mother'. You were fighting

[67] Since 1994, all men aged 65 and women aged 60 receive a monthly state pension, subject to the administration of a means test.

with your mother if perhaps you called your mother by her name. She will beat you". The respondent said that to call his parents by their first names showed disrespect and resulted in a beating.

Respondent J said his mother was the third of three wives. Hence, he had many brothers and sisters from his father's first and second wives. The respondent's mother had eight children. The first two of these children, boys, passed away before the respondent was born. The respondent is the fourth of the six surviving children.[68] His siblings and their ages at the time the interviews were conducted are as follows:

Oldest sister (aged 37)
Oldest brother (aged 33)
Older brother (deceased aged 32)
Respondent J (aged 31)
Younger brother (aged 28)
Youngest sister (age unknown. She was born after the respondent had left home)

The respondent explained that after he was born, his mother went to stay with a stepfather. He used the term "stepfather". He said, "I was staying with my stepfather. I was still a child so I don't understand since for me I was sure sure, that stepfather was my father". The researcher clarified, "You thought your stepfather was your father". The respondent replied, "*Jaaaaaa*. … I was busy growing up, growing up, growing up. One day, I hear the other brother. He told me – heh – 'you know now who is your father? He does not live with you'. No! 'That is not your father'. [The brother] told me to ask my mother. One day, I went to ask her. I said, 'mama, tell me. Just please don't lie. Just tell me. I want to know. Where is my father?' Heh, my mother don't want to tell me the truth. (Paused). So at last, she told me the truth. She say your father is at so and so place. Ah! I go there. I'm going to ask".

J reported that he spoke to his father's second wife, not his biological father. The second and third wives (the respondent's mother) of the respondent's biological father were sisters.

[68] Wilson and Ramphele (1989, cited in Dawes and Donald, 1994:3) note that the mortality rate for white children was 9.3/1000, but for black children was 60.6/1000, with the death rate for black children even higher in rural areas and comparable with the poorest nations in the world.

The second wife explained to the respondent that his biological father "beat" his mother. She also told the respondent that his mother said she wanted to live with her children. The respondent's biological father built her a house which she lived in with the respondent, his siblings, and his stepfather.

The researcher asked the respondent how he felt when he found out that his stepfather was not his "really father". The respondent said he felt bad as he liked his stepfather if he wanted something, "Or a close word. And when he was very old, at that time he was getting a mining pension.[69] He [called me, saying] 'heh come, let us travel together, we stand for the pension'. We get the pension. After he get the pension, he gave me money, my father". (The researcher notes that the respondent called his stepfather "father" hereafter, whenever he spoke about him. The terms "stepfather" and "father" are synonymous, unless indicated otherwise). The researcher reflected that the respondent was smiling. The respondent replied, in an animated voice "Come here now! … Come with me" (imitating what his father would say to him. The respondent resumed his normal voice hereafter). "So when my mother told me he was not my father, I felt pain. I feel pain man!" The researcher was silent and the respondent continued, "Well, I feel bad (sighed). Well life was ***tough*** (respondent's emphasis). I feel bad about life. Well life there was tough when I was staying at home". The researcher asked what home was for the respondent. He replied, "You see, people are coming from the rural areas.[70] [Some people] have money [other] people don't have money. So my father was not so um …" (the respondent then paused). The researcher clarified if the respondent meant his stepfather or his "really father". The respondent said "My really father and my stepfather".

The respondent said that the house he lived in had four rooms. The kitchen was outside the house. There were fruit trees in the yard of the house. When he needed money the respondent picked fruit and sold it at taxi ranks. Sometimes his stepfather told J to "make a plan" by selling fruit and using the money to buy *mielie meal* or eggs. The respondent reported that, "There was a big shop selling nice food" in the local town, about 15 km

[69]There were mines in the area where the respondent spent his childhood. However, during the 1980s (when the respondent was aged about five to 15), South Africa was in a recession and the country became increasingly isolated economically from world trade due to its apartheid policies at the time. In response to this, mines retrenched some employees.

[70]The Reconstruction and Development Programme (African National Congress, 1994:14) highlights that the greatest burden of South Africa's people is poverty, and is the direct result of the apartheid system with skewed business and industrial development policies.

away. He would "eat the money" at this shop. When he went home, his stepfather beat him, asking J why he had used the money. The respondent said he told his stepfather that he was hungry. His stepfather asked why J did not come home and say he was hungry.

The respondent spoke to the shop owner about the beating, who advised him that his stepfather "can't just beat me" and the respondent could lay a charge. The stepfather told the shop owner that J was "his child" and he "don't hear".

The respondent said that his stepfather kept sheep. He looked after the sheep before he started going to school. When asked if the family kept any pets, the respondent said that his mother kept a cat and chickens. "She liked chickens too much". His mother did not like dogs.

Respondent J said that both his biological father and stepfather were pastors[71] with the same church,[72] at different locations. The respondent did not know if his mother had attended school. His mother worked in the family home. Later, his stepfather received a mining pension.

Use of violence in the home

The researcher asked the respondent if his stepfather hit his mother. The respondent said that he, his stepfather, and mother were "still young". He said he remembered one day when his oldest brother wanted to "beat" him. J went to his stepfather, who told the respondent's brother to leave the respondent. The respondent said, "My [oldest] brother said, 'no. This child doesn't hear. I want to beat him'. My mother, with my brother, wanted to beat me". The respondent's oldest brother was bigger than both the respondent and their mother and his size "was a problem". Sometimes, the oldest brother beat his mother. J said his mother beat him with her bag.

The respondent said, "I would go next door when my stepfather was fighting as he was going to beat me. … You need that love from your parents. I see other people, other mothers, the fathers who are giving love to the child. I remember my father didn't give me that love, same with my mother. I don't remember she gave me that love".

53, 54 The terms "pastor" and "church" do not necessarily have the same meaning in the context of African indigenous churches as in Western belief systems.

First employment

By the time the respondent was aged 11 or 12 (in the latter half of the 1980s) he had yet to attend school. Shortly after the incident with the shop owner, the respondent said that his brother, who was two years younger, was working on a vegetable farm. The farm was situated in a predominantly agricultural region. The respondent reported that his brother contacted him and asked why he did not want to work. He responded with, "Work? Me? I'm still young". He said that his brother told him he must work as the respondent liked money. The respondent joined his brother on this vegetable farm, about 180 km away from the family home. "That job is tough for me. It's tough, tough! If you want to eat, you don't sit down". A manager watched the workers all day. The respondent worked on the farm for three or four days, then left, and returned home. He said his father was "not so easy" thereafter. The respondent said he told his father that he wanted to go to school.

School

The respondent started school the following year (in the late 1980s), aged 12 or 13. He did not know how old he was but he said he was biggest child in his class. "I remember I look at the other children next to me and I was the only big one". The respondent said he attended school, for two years, from January to December. He said, "My father was doing well".[73] At the end of his second school year, the respondent said that his school report reflected, "This boy must pull up his socks!" The respondent said his stepfather also said that he must "pull up his socks." His stepfather had heard from a neighbour that there was work on a vegetable farm about 50 km away from the family home.

The researcher asked if the respondent's brothers and sisters had attended school. J said that his oldest sister had reached standard five or six. He thought that his oldest brother had completed standard three or four. The respondent's younger brother (who worked on a vegetable farm about 180 km away from the family home) did not go to school at all. His youngest sister was attending school when the respondent started his life sentence. The researcher asked why the respondent went to school for two years, whereas some of his siblings had attended school for at least three more years. J replied, "That's the problem at home. Sometimes, you need something. You've got to get the things you want. It cost! Sometimes you [thought] why does somebody else get something and I get nothing"? The

[73] The researcher understood this to mean that at this stage, the respondent's stepfather was still working on a mine in the area and could afford to send the respondent to school.

respondent recalled that he had to wear sandals to school for a year during summer and winter. He had no jersey or jacket and said, "It was "tough, tough, tough". That was why he thought he had to work, get money, and buy himself clothes.

The researcher asked the respondent how he felt that his siblings were at school for more years than he. He said he felt bad and "I think sometimes why my mother or father couldn't give me some money towards clothes". The respondent said that if there was an "away" Sports Day at the school and the children had to bring "five or ten rands"[74] to cover the cost of transport, "I did not have that money. So you feel bad". The researcher asked what the other children would say to him at school when he arrived in winter with no jacket or jersey and wearing sandals. The respondent shouted, "Some children talk, others just look at me, and others, they say, 'this guy is suffering. Look at him'! Sometimes you don't have money to eat at school. And if you wanted to go home at break to eat, [you couldn't as] it was too far".

Punishment and fights at school

The respondent said he would sometimes leave the children who said things that hurt him, or he would fight them saying, "Come! I feel nothing!" When he did fight with children, the school principal called J into his office and beat him, or suspended him from school for one or two weeks. "It was tough!"

During the second interview, the researcher revisited what else the respondent would do that ended in a beating from the school principal. The respondent said, "If perhaps you do something serious in the school. I remember one day, I was with four guys. The child of the principal was going to the shop". The respondent told his friends that, "I am going to take that lady [i.e. "the child" as the respondent had initially called her]. And if she does not want to walk with me, I am going to beat her. My friends said, 'no, don't beat her, just pull her or something' so that she would come with me". The respondent did this and saw that, "This thing is not good. I said okay guys. This lady doesn't want to go with me anywhere. So I left her alone". The respondent said that the child cried and went to her father, the principal of the school. The principal called the respondent to his office the following day. He told the respondent to wait by the door. The principal also called his daughter ("that lady") to confirm it was the respondent who had pulled and - added the

[74] At that time, ZAR 5-00 was about USD 1-00.

respondent - "beaten" her the day before. The respondent, in an animated voice, relayed what the principal said. "'Boy, come here!' *Eih*! I went for that man. That man said, 'Ooooh, I see you. You want to do that to my children – catch him!' (Voice returned to normal.) I said noooooo! I was just playing, playing. He said, 'come! We are going to the office'". The child said that the respondent was not alone and he was with "four guys". The principal said they would go to the other classes, fetch "the guys" and they too would be brought to his office. The respondent explained how he had to bend over and hold onto a chair whilst the principal beat his buttocks. The researcher asked how many times the principal beat his buttocks. He replied, "Four times". Thereafter, the principal beat the respondent on his head and told him, "'don't do that thing again. You hear?' I said I won't do that thing again. I feel bad".

Respondent J recalled fighting with a *laaitie* (little boy)[75] at school. He said he was "just playing". The *laaitie* called his older brother, who asked the respondent why he was fighting with someone smaller than him. The older brother said he was going to beat the respondent after school. The respondent went home and told his mother that this pupil was going to beat him up everyday after school and he could not go to school, as he was scared.

Respondent J said he wondered if people thought he was fighting when he wanted to play because he was an older and bigger boy in his class. "My fighting was just playing. I don't remember fights". He said that his one friend was in another class. J thought of leaving school and sometimes did not attend school. This resulted in beatings from his teacher.

The researcher reflected that it sounded as if the respondent got hit a lot by the teacher and principal at school. He replied, without prompting, "Sometimes you like the ladies [at school]. You want to talk [to them] (giggled) but you don't [know] the words or what you are going to tell that lady. If I like [a lady at school] and she asks me, 'why do you say you love me'? I don't know what to tell her. So I talk, I just grab her. And then I will say, 'you know what? I love you and don't ask me for many things'. So, that one [the principal's child], it was wrong but I was still young". The researcher asked the respondent where he learnt to grab a girl and say "I love you". He replied, "Sometimes you are a gangster. Your friends in the school [are gangsters]. So [all the gangsters get together] and

[75] *Laaitie* is an Afrikaans word. During the interviews, the respondent spoke some Afrikaans, the predominant language spoken on the farms where he worked.

get the idea. Sometimes, people have TV at home. I remember in my room, there was no TV, only radio. If I want to see TV, I just go next door. And when my father was fighting. I don't like that. Even [when] you go next door, he is going to beat you. (Paused). Sometimes, TV teach children funny things when they look at the TV".

Childhood employment after two years at school

When his school report arrived at the end of the second academic year, the respondent said it stated that he must pull up his socks. In response to this, the respondent's stepfather spoke to the neighbour, who told him and the respondent about a vegetable farm in an agricultural region that would employ J. The respondent and neighbour travelled to this farm - about 100 km away. The neighbour left him there. The respondent, aged about 12 or 13, said he left school to work as he was suffering. "I don't have shoes, I don't have clothes". J said it was better for him to work then he could buy these things. For the next 18 months, the respondent planted, picked, and packed cabbages and onions.

The respondent relayed an incident when he told his friend on the farm that he could not work in the vegetable patches that day. Aged about 14, he said, "I was busy driving [around] the plot" instead. Another labourer saw the respondent in an area that he did not normally work and reported this to a manager. He appeared and asked J why he was in that section of the farm. According to the respondent, the manager wanted to beat him. The manager told the respondent to leave the car he had been driving and "fuck off". He repeated that he would beat J.

That evening, the respondent told his friend that the manager wanted to beat him, and J was leaving as the manager was "dangerous". The respondent said he lived on his own and he knew no one, except this one friend, on the farm. He packed his bags and left this farm. The respondent thought he was aged about 14 (in the very early 1990s).

Respondent J travelled to another farm, about 80 km away, saying he was looking for work. A young man on this farm told him to wait until the next day. However, the respondent had no where to sleep. This man gave J somewhere to sleep and food. The respondent waited for four or five days to hear if there was work for him on the farm. "I saw there

were too many adults trying to get work".[76] He left and travelled about 150 km to another agricultural region. "I was lucky" as a man had told the respondent about a local farmer, Mr A. This farmer also owned a shop, a garage consisting of a workshop and petrol pumps, and a scrap yard, in the town. The respondent found Mr A, who asked him if he had a pass.[77] The respondent said he did not have a pass. "I begged him (Mr A) to make a plan, as I must work". The respondent told Mr A that if he worked, he would get money and then he could get a pass. Mr A agreed to employ the respondent and directed to him to one of three rooms behind his shop where J would live. The farmer gave him food and told J he would start work in the morning.

Mr A had two sons. The respondent described the younger son as "sometimes cool". He also described the son as "the boss man, the fat cat". The respondent reported that the son called him *kaffir*,[78] frequently yelling, "*Kaffirtjie* (little *kaffir*) to come here!" Respondent J asked the son, "Please not to call me a *kaffir*. I'm not a *kaffir*". He said he felt pain when the son called him by this name. The respondent said he wanted to beat him to stop him from calling him *kaffir* but was scared to do so. J said, "I lived with the name *Kaffirtjie*". One day the respondent was working on a car in Mr A's garage. The son entered the workshop. He held a broomstick and beat the respondent with it saying, "Come here *Kaffirtjie*, come now man!" The respondent said he stood up and asked, "Why must we do this?" The son continued to call the respondent a *kaffir*. The respondent had a wheel spanner in his hand. He said he was scared but he took the spanner and "beat that guy". The son ran into his family's adjacent shop where his mother (Mrs A) was. The respondent said he spoke to Mrs A, and told her that he didn't like what her son was doing and he always came and "chased" (harassed) him. The respondent also told Mrs A that when her son wanted to talk to him, he would call him *kaffir*. Mrs A asked why respondent J had beaten her son. Mr A arrived, and reported the respondent, beat him. Then Mr A put

[76] The area in which the respondent tried to find work was predominantly agricultural and mining. At the beginning of the 1990s, one of the biggest mines, and largest employer in the area, retrenched many miners. This was a result of decreasing demand for raw materials due to the world wide recession at the time, and South Africa's continued apartheid policies.

[77] The "pass" referred to by the respondent was an identification document that black South Africans, during apartheid, were required to keep on their persons at all times. The document indicated if a black South African had permission to be in a specific area, for employment purposes. If a black person was in an area that was not indicated on the "pass", or could not produce the "pass" when asked by a police officer, then that person could be arrested for contravening the pass laws. Hence, working without a pass made the respondent particularly vulnerable.

[78] The word "*kaffir*" is an extremely offensive and derogatory term for a black person.

the respondent into a room, locked the door, and called the police. The researcher asked if the respondent was bleeding. He replied, "I had little bit bleeding from my nose".

A policeman arrived and according to the respondent beat him, and told him that he should have informed Mr and Mrs A of their son's name calling. The respondent said that he did not think. The policeman told the respondent that he was going to jail for beating the son. The child's father, Mr A, intervened and told the policeman to leave the respondent. The respondent said he would not beat the son.

The respondent reported that Mr A gave him sweets, cold drink, and money, and told him he would see him the next day. The respondent said, spontaneously, "I take that money. I liked alcohol. I am going to buy alcohol. I was drinking. No one ask about me in my room". (This was the first time the respondent mentioned alcohol.)

The respondent discussed this incident with a female staff member. She stayed in one of three rooms where the respondent also lived behind Mr A's shop. She said she did not like it when somebody beat a child, but the son had abused other people. She told the respondent to "watch out" and just do his work.

The respondent recalled another day when he was working on a car in Mr A's garage. The son came into the garage. The respondent reported that he tapped his leg and pulled it. He asked the son to leave him alone and he did so.

On another day, the respondent was at the garage on his own. A customer wanted petrol. The respondent put petrol in the customer's car. The customer paid for the petrol but needed change. The respondent said, "I was not sure [about the change]. I can't read. I [didn't work with money in the garage]. I'm not perfect at those things". The researcher clarified, "So things like money were difficult to work with". The respondent replied, "Yes, to remember the money". He made a mistake and gave too much change. In response to this, Mr A said that the respondent had stolen the money and used it to buy food. He told J that if he took his money, he must "fuck off".

The respondent reported that one day Mr A called him and said, "'I have seen that you are taking my money'. He said I wouldn't go to jail. I asked him for my pay. I took my pay

and I sat in my room. I was waiting for December, because in December I will have money. I am going home. (Mr A) said he would search my room". Mr A did so. J reported that Mr A found four months of wages. The money was in a bag that belonged to the respondent. The respondent reported that Mr A said, "This money is not your money. It is my money. You have stolen my money". The respondent said this was money he had saved to go home at Christmas.

Mr A called the police who, according to the respondent, took him 180 km away to a cell at the police station. The respondent reported that whilst he was in the police cell, a social worker came to see him as he was a child (he was aged about 15 years in early 1990s). The social worker told the respondent that he needed to tell the truth or he would not go home. She also said that as J was under age, he could not stay in the cell at the police station, or in prison. J was sent to an industrial school (about 30 km away from his family home) until he went to court. The court found J guilty of theft and sentenced him to six lashes and a year in industrial school. "I don't have money. I don't have clothes, just the ones that I was wearing. My home is too far". The researcher asked if the respondent's parents knew what had happened. The respondent replied, "My parents didn't know where I was or what had happened. After that I don't remember well".

The researcher asked the respondent how old he was. He said it was "before Mandela[79] came out". Thereafter the respondent described how he received his six lashes.[80] He reported that the police took him to a police station. He had to lie down on a bench. One policeman sat on his thighs, and a second policeman sat on the respondent's neck, during the administering of the lashes. A third policeman spoke to the respondent, asking why he had stolen money and that he should be in school. A fourth policeman beat the respondent on his buttocks whilst he tried to answer the third policeman's questions. The respondent said, without prompting, "I was feeling bad. I was feeling bad, bad, bad. After six lashes, I couldn't sit down. I was crying. They beat me, I was crying, crying. After they beat me, they said, 'fuck off, go home'. I don't have money to go home. And I was scared to ask [for money] but I want to go home" (30 km away).

[79] Nelson Mandela was released from 27 years in prison on February 11, 1990.
[80] The respondent reported that he received six lashes *after* he spent a year in industrial school.

The researcher reflected that she heard many people telling the respondent to "fuck off". He said, "Many people told me to fuck off when I asked for a job, or money for bread, or taxi fare. People would call me a *tsotsi* (a gangster). So many people told me to fuck off, fuck off". The respondent said that when people spoke to him like this he felt bad. He felt pain and said that people who told him to "fuck off" thought he was "a stupid".

Respondent's disclosure of his HIV status

Then the respondent changed the discussion to an incident involving another prisoner and the remote control for the television set in their cell. During this discussion the respondent mentioned that the other prisoner had asked him for some eggs. The respondent said he didn't like eggs and gave the prisoner "his" eggs. The researcher asked how the respondent got eggs inside prison. He replied, "Just now I wanted to tell you because this thing is a secret". The researcher responded with an "um hum". The respondent said, "I'm positive" and reported that he found out his HIV status when he began serving his sentence for rape. He further reported that he had seen a programme on television, in prison, about HIV and AIDS. As a result of this, he saw a nurse at the prison and requested that she performed an HIV test. The test was positive.

Employment after industrial school

After the disclosure about his HIV status, the respondent returned the discussion to the events after he had left industrial school and received court-ordered lashes for theft. The respondent said that he did not have work. He made a plan to get money to go home. He said that he approached "a madam"[81] saying "I don't have money and I came out of jail today". The woman called him a *skelm* (a bad person) and told him to "fuck off" or she would call the police. J left, saying it "was hard" and thinking what he would do. The researcher reflected that this must have been very hard for the respondent. He replied (in a high pitched voice), "Yes, it was hard, hard, hard. It was hard! (Paused). *Eish!*[82] I'm thinking what I'm going to do now. I went to that friend, that friend of mine, (Mr A). I'm going to (Mr A). *Eish!* … I'm going back. I want my clothes. I want my clothes. I want

[81] Black people frequently called a white man "boss" and a white woman "madam" during the apartheid era.
[82] Exclamation!

my clothes. I want my clothes. Heh, I'm going back there. Free at last[83] (name of son). I'm coming back".

When the respondent arrived at the home of Mr and Mrs A, the family were sitting in the garden under a tree. The respondent said he waited at the gate. He reported that the son was surprised to see him. He also reported that the son came to the gate and spoke to him saying, "I am so sorry. I was just playing. I won't do it again". In response to this, the respondent said him, "I understand. I don't have a problem". The researcher said the respondent spent a year in industrial school because of this man. The respondent replied with, "Um!" He continued, "So I'm telling that guy you know what? I have a problem because all my clothes are here. You know your father is going to shout at me or is going to beat me. So please give me my clothes". The respondent reported that the son told him that he couldn't leave and he would talk to his parents. The respondent said he waited. At 3 pm, Mr A said, "I am so sorry. All of us say sorry. So come you can get work and live with us. I will give you a place in my house. Live with us. All of us". The respondent reported that the family told him he could live in one of the two outside rooms of their house and work in their garden. J would no longer work in the shop. Mrs A gave the respondent a bicycle to use when he wanted to go to the shop. The respondent said he felt bad. He wanted to go home because it was a long time since he had seen his parents.

One day, the respondent said that Mr A gave him a pair of big glasses to wear. The respondent shouted the word "big" and used his hands to demonstrate the size of the glasses. Mr A told the respondent to go to Mrs A in the bedroom and show her the glasses. The family laughed. The respondent said that on his side, he felt pain. "These people made me a teddy bear. I was not happy but these people were laughing – ha ha, smiling happy. Me, I'm not happy".

Rejoining his family after four years

By this stage the respondent, now aged about 18 in the mid-1990s, had not been home or seen his parents for about four years. The respondent spoke to Mrs A. He reported that she gave him the money to travel (about 30 km) home. The respondent smiled as he remembered going home. Upon his return, his parents (i.e. his mother and stepfather)

[83] Archbishop Desmond Tutu used this phrase after he had voted for the first time during South Africa's first democratic elections held on April 27, 1994.

informed him that his older sister was getting married. He asked his sister if he could live with her, as "I can't stay at home". His sister said she would speak to her fiancé. The respondent spoke with his stepfather about this arrangement, who said, "'No!' I'm crying. I say I can't stay here. I want to go with my sister". The researcher asked why the respondent could not live with his parents and wanted to live with his sister. J replied, "My father was watching this side. It was tough. I don't remember my father buying me clothes since I was little". Eventually his stepfather agreed that the respondent could live with his sister, saying to her, "Take him. You see, you are going to really struggle with him".

The respondent lived with his sister, her husband, and their children, in a large town about 10 km away from the family home. The respondent's brother-in-law worked in an aluminium factory. He suggested that the respondent work at the factory, on a casual basis, during the festive season in December. J worked there twice. He reported that thereafter, his brother-in-law told his sister that he had to go back home, as the brother-in-law could not afford to support his own family and the respondent. The respondent's sister told J he had to leave and return to the family home. "I told my sister I don't want to go home because life was tough at home. Now she thinks I must go home. I did not feel happy". The respondent's sister took the respondent to the taxi rank and paid a taxi driver the fare to take him about 10 km to the family home. She instructed the taxi driver not to stop on the way, even if J asked. He said, "I'm going home. Well, my mother was happy, my father was happy. I stay two or three months at home. I can see I can't just stay at home". The respondent was unemployed.

One day, his stepfather gave the respondent money to buy *mielie meal*. Instead, the respondent took his clothes and went to the large town where his sister lived. His sister asked why he had returned and he replied that he wanted to work. She took him to stay with their older brother and his wife. They lived in a rented room in a backyard.

Sometimes the respondent stayed with his sister. He accompanied her to an Evangelical church. The respondent reported that he was "reborn" at this church. The pastor of this church said he needed someone to stay in his house. The pastor was married. He and his wife had no children. The pastor's wife discussed the respondent attending school, as he could not read. The respondent said he could go to school but there were "many, many things" he needed and he wanted clothes. Who would help him get these things if he

attended school? The respondent reported that the pastor's wife gave him a job - selling bottles of gas from their *spaza*. She encouraged the respondent to open a bank account so that she could pay his wages into the account. The respondent wanted to take his driving licence but he had to be able to read in order to take the test. He reported that when he was working for the pastor, "I was busy drinking alcohol and smoking dagga". Immediately thereafter he said, "I liked the ladies too much" and spontaneously informed the researcher about a sexual relationship he had with a woman two years older.

Sex and girlfriends

The respondent never discussed sex with his parents. He said there would be "trouble" if he mentioned sexual matters to them. He recalled his mother telling him that she was going to town to buy his little brother when the respondent was aged about four years old. He said he remembered seeing an aeroplane overhead, "looking down from the sky". He remembered that they used to sing a song about an aeroplane going to mama and then mama would buy a child. He said children now saw "that things" in the cinema. The respondent recalled his sister's son, at the age of ten, discussing what he had learnt in sex education at school. J questioned that such things were now taught at school.

He said that he learnt about sex from television, as well as from his friends and his brothers. He learnt that to find out if he loved a lady, he should sleep with her. His friends said, "Sex was nice - they got it all". The respondent had sexual intercourse for the first time at the age of 14 or 15 whilst he worked for, and lived with, Mr A. He met an older woman and took her to his room. "I'm doing sex. Everyday! In the morning, I wake up. I must go to work. [When I saw] the sperm is white, I asked why is [this] so full? That lady was just beautiful. She said, 'go and shower and you will be all right'". She told the respondent that if he did not shower, he would smell. J said he had learnt from this woman what to do during sex.

The respondent said he could remember having "wet dreams" after he commenced sexual intercourse. He said he would dream that he was "sleeping with a lady". He could not remember if he experienced nocturnal emissions before he commenced sexual intercourse. He giggled when the researcher asked him if he had masturbated. He said he was not sure if his mother or stepfather had seen him masturbating. The researcher reflected that this was difficult for the respondent. He continued giggling.

The respondent informed the researcher that in addition to his use of alcohol and dagga, he liked the ladies "too much". During the time that he worked for the pastor, he "got a lady" who was two years older than he was. "I liked this woman!" He wanted to marry her and consulted with his older brother about this. He said the respondent could not marry this woman as she was from a different tribal group, was two years older than him, and had a child. The respondent continued living with this woman, despite his brother's opinion of the relationship. One day the woman told the respondent that she was pregnant. The researcher asked the respondent what he thought of his girlfriend being pregnant. He replied, "I am scared of my brother. He is going to beat me! I talked to him alone. But I told my girlfriend I don't want a child now. If I want a child, I will tell you. That lady says no. It's just a mistake. I feel bad". The researcher asked what the respondent felt bad about. He replied, "I don't want a child because I don't have the money. So this lady, she give me some child. That child is going to make me worry because I don't have the money. That child must be planned. I didn't have the money for a child". He told the lady, "Don't push me in a dark place. I don't have money".

The respondent said, "I told her I would give her some money and see what she was going to do. But I [am not going to tell her what to do]. 'Cause the lady she was joking". The researcher clarified if the respondent meant the lady was not pregnant. He reported, "She just wanted to see if I would stay or go". The researcher asked the respondent how he felt about this. He said "I felt bad because after she said she was pregnant, I am going to the bank, take one thousand rand[84] [which] I gave that lady and said to her don't, don't, don't, don't, don't, don't, don't call me because I told you I don't want a child. So you, just do it. I don't want the child. I'm still young for a child". The respondent was about 20 years old.

The respondent was still living with and working for the pastor. He had another girlfriend, who informed the respondent that she too was pregnant and she needed money. The respondent reported that, "She came to me everyday, saying give me some money, some money. I don't have money. I took money from that pastor and gave it to this lady". The researcher asked, "So you borrowed money from the pastor to help the lady?" The respondent replied, "I don't borrow! I just took it". He explained that he knew that the pastor kept money in the house. On Sunday, he did not go to the pastor's church. He broke into the pastor's house and took the money. The pastor told the respondent that he was

[84] About USD 100-00 at the time.

"fucking" with him and fought with him. Respondent J said that, "The devil was so strong". The pastor called the police, who caught the respondent, and "beat" him. He went to jail whilst awaiting trial. The pastor visited the respondent in prison, "one or two months" later. The respondent apologized to him. The pastor spoke to the prosecutor who dropped the case. The respondent was released after he had appeared before a magistrate. Whilst he was in jail he was "treated rough". People took his clothes and shoes. He left jail barefoot. He said this made him "very, very, very angry". He said his parents did not come to court. His sister knew he was in jail but did not know his court date. He did not have any money to call her.

The respondent said he liked pornographic magazines "too much". He also disclosed spontaneously that he liked and enjoyed "cassettes of the ladies". He said that he watched pornographic videos with his girlfriend - who had a child from a previous relationship and a second child with the respondent - as he had a television set and video player of his own. He said his girlfriend had never seen a pornographic video before as she came from a rural area. She asked why he was "playing these things" saying, "The children can come and visit any time". The respondent told her to close the door so the children could not come into the room but he wanted to see the video. "I would ask my girlfriend for one round, I can't leave here. Heh, I'm liking [these videos] too much". The respondent said that this girlfriend sent him pictures of naked women whist he was awaiting trial in prison. He stuck the pictures in his locker.

The respondent has two children with different mothers. His first child, a daughter, was born when the respondent was aged 21, one year before he raped the toddler. His second child, a son, was born when the respondent was aged 24, two years after the rape of the toddler.[85] He said he loved his "kids". He reported that he also watched pornographic videos with the mother of his second child.

The researcher reflected that it sounded as if sex was important for the respondent "on the outside". J replied that he liked sex "too much" and he did not know if he had a problem. He said he noticed even "a fat woman wearing a g-string" and became sexually excited. He wondered if the woman who had put on such underwear was "all right". He would look at the woman and wish she was his "wife" (girlfriend). The researcher asked the respondent

[85] The respondent was released on bail.

what he would do when he was aroused. He said, "Sometimes, I try to take my mind away, to just forget about those things. Perhaps I am going to talk to somebody. I know if perhaps I talk to somebody, then my mind forget about those things. But if I'm alone, watching the TV, perhaps I see the lady on TV, and she takes her clothes off. And I'm thinking it's beautiful, it's fresh".

When the researcher asked how many girlfriends the respondent had, he giggled. The researcher said, "Not one-night stands". The respondent sighed and said, "Since I started to love, maybe 15 or 20 … different ladies". The researcher asked what the respondent meant by "started to love". He replied, "To make love". She asked how many one-night stands the respondent had. He replied, "Many, many ladies. I remember my father was a pastor at the church. I liked to sing in church". This attracted ladies from the church. "You sleep with her, you make sex, you enjoy yourselves. Tomorrow, the lady goes home. The next day … you get another lady". The respondent disclosed that many of his sexual relationships were conducted without the use of condoms or "I can't feel". His explanation for this was, "If you eat a sweet, you take the wrapper off first and then eat the sweet". The researcher asked the respondent what he thought about women. He said, "It's tough … it's not easy. You get one man who stays with one woman. That's not what most black people live with. … If I've got the money, I will just marry two wives. … My father had three wives".

Use of violence in relationships

When the respondent was talking about his girlfriends, he disclosed that he "beat" women. The researcher asked where he had learnt to hit a woman. The respondent did not answer the question and instead recalled a live-in girlfriend who had asked him for money. J said he did not have money but he would see at the end of the month. His girlfriend said that if the respondent did not want to give her the money, he could just leave. The respondent said he was angry. He locked the door to their room and beat the women on the mouth. He sat on her chest as he did this. The respondent's sister-in-law (who lived in another room with the respondent's brother), alerted by the sounds of the girlfriend screaming, used a spare key, let her self into the respondent's room and pushed the respondent off his girlfriend. "Later, my sister-in-law she tell me to go to the lady and talk to her".

The respondent reported that the same girlfriend, on another occasion, said she was going to see her sister. The respondent thought she had gone to see another man. The girlfriend returned at midnight and told him "not to worry". They went to sleep. The respondent woke up at 3 am and said, "I want real sex now because you said you have not slept with anyone". His girlfriend said she did not want sex. The respondent said that "This lady don't want to make sex with me. And I'm hungry for sex". He used his belt to beat his girlfriend. He also used the buckle on his belt to beat her face. She screamed. The respondent's oldest brother and his wife, who still lived in the same yard, woken by the woman's screams, both burst into the room and pushed the respondent off his girlfriend. The respondent's brother told him, "If that woman is doing funny things, come and talk to me and then I will talk to her". The respondent spent the rest of the night with his brother and wife. Later that day his brother spoke to the woman. His brother cautioned the respondent that he might have "problems" from the girlfriend's parents if she went home and informed them what had happened. The respondent's brother urged the respondent to give his girlfriend money so she could buy a ticket and travel far away from her parents and him, and money for food and clothes. The respondent did so and his girlfriend agreed to these arrangements. Instead, she went home to her parents. Two days later, the girlfriend's mother called the respondent. He told the mother that, "Your child is not good for me as she make funny things for me". The mother urged the respondent to come to her home and "patch up things". The girlfriend's mother was a *sangoma* (a traditional healer) and the respondent said he was scared of her, if he went to her home. So, he left the girlfriend he had beaten and found another girlfriend with whom he had his second child.

The researcher asked what the respondent would do if he was hungry for sex and the lady had her period. The respondent said he was "a big man" (clarified as meaning that he had a large sexual appetite). The researcher asked what would happen. He said, "I'm gonna hit her. (Laughed). I'm gonna hit her! (Laughed). I'm beating her". He remembered that he had beaten "only two women". Thereafter, they gave him "permission" to have sex with them. He said he apologized to the women after beating them saying, "Why do I come to you and ask you for sex and then you do funny things? Next time [do it this way] or I will hit you again. Just tell me if you are sick".

The respondent admitted that he had hit men too. He would use his fists. He said the fights were not about a woman. He said that in rural areas, whilst playing football, children from different tribal groups to his own called him "a baboon".

Adults also used the word "baboon", said the respondent, when he was walking with a girlfriend from a different tribal group to that of his own. The respondent's oldest brother cautioned the respondent that men from a different tribal group were going to beat him. The respondent would ask his brother why. His brother said because of "that lady and another lady" referring to the women the respondent had beaten.

J told of an incident when a man with a gun woke him and a girlfriend up one night. The girlfriend opened the door and the man locked himself in their bedroom. J's girlfriend told the man with the gun that she could not see him today and she already had "a visitor". The man beat both the respondent and his girlfriend. The respondent took his clothes and left. He said his heart was "sore" and he "felt bad". He went to his brother's room for the rest of the night. The man with the gun visited the respondent's brother the next day and apologized. The respondent also apologized and said he was "leaving that woman". He told the man "if you want her, you can take her". The respondent said, "Sometimes you can fight for the ladies".

When the respondent was aged about 21, his daughter was born. He was about 24 when his son was born. The children have different mothers. He disclosed little information about the mother of his second child, except that this one of the women he had beaten. So too, he disclosed very little information about any of his female partners.

Religion

The respondent described his father and stepfather as pastors. The researcher asked J what his religious beliefs were as a child. He said they were the same as that of his father and stepfather. The researcher asked what their beliefs were. The respondent replied, "These people were living in Christ". He said he accompanied his mother to church. The respondent said that before the rape, "I was just going to church but I had not accepted Jesus. I just went along".

Two years after respondent J raped the toddler, "I was born again" at an Evangelical church. He said a visiting pastor had told the church congregation one Sunday that, "There was a Man who can help you with problems. I thought, heh, that's for me! … I felt bad and [I had problems because the police could come at any time and put me in jail. So before the police took me and put me in jail, I thought I must repent]. That pastor called those of us who wanted to repent to come forward. I went there. The pastor prayed with me. I told that pastor I've got a problem and I'm still waiting for the police. Any time the police can come and take me. The pastor said, 'even the police can come to take you but don't live without Jesus. Just pray everyday. And God is going to help you'. I remember I came to jail. I was still waiting for the trial. I feel bad. I feel God can't help me".

Rape of the toddler

The respondent raped a two-year-old toddler when he was aged 21. At the time of the rape the respondent said he was working with his brother, on a casual basis, for a building contractor. His brother had arranged this employment. The respondent had two concurrent girlfriends, the first of whom was the mother of the toddler he raped. He had sex with her on two occasions whilst living with the second girlfriend. She was not aware of the respondent's sexual activities with the first girlfriend. The respondent said he "felt bad" about having sex with the toddler's mother as he was living with another woman. J was scared his second girlfriend would find out about his sexual contact with the first girlfriend. His second girlfriend was the mother of his infant daughter.

The second girlfriend sometimes came to him saying she needed money. J said he did not have the money. In addition, the first girlfriend (the toddler's mother) had frequently asked the respondent for money. "I don't have the money but she (the toddler's mother) had money". The respondent reported that the toddler's mother frequently visited the respondent's sister in her house. The researcher asked J what he felt for the toddler's mother. The respondent sighed heavily. The researcher asked what his heart said. The respondent sighed again and said the word, "Yes" loudly, drawing out the word. Then he said he didn't know what to say in English or Afrikaans. The researcher asked the respondent if he liked the toddler's mother. He said, "Roughly, I feel bad, bad, bad, bad, bad. Sometimes people say (drew his breathe in sharply, stuttered) I did this thing; you know from the bottom of your heart I did not do this thing. (Sharp intake of breathe). It's bad, it's bad, it's bad, you feel bad, bad, bad, bad. You feel bad, bad, bad, bad". The

researcher tried to ask again what the respondent felt for the toddler's mother and he interrupted her and changed the discussion to what some children say in court.

The rape, which the respondent denied in court and repeatedly denied to the researcher, occurred at the home of the respondent's sister. The respondent said that the toddler's mother had said, in court, that he had taken her child to his sister's house. J said, "My sister was there. My sister can't just leave me to do funny things because my sister is a mother. She has three children".

Shortly after the rape, the police arrested respondent J. He appeared before a magistrate. The respondent reported that the magistrate released him on bail of ZAR 200-00.[86]

Whilst he was out on bail, the respondent said that his friends were so "*skelm, skelm, skelm"* (bad). His reported that his friends gave him a gun. He was vague about what happened thereafter. However, there was an incident with the gun, resulting in the arrest of the respondent and three of his friends. All four men waited for their court appearances in prison. During this time, the respondent's sister visited J in prison and reminded the respondent that she had warned him about his friends. When the respondent appeared in court for the gun incident, he said to the researcher that he had wanted to inform the court that he had another case pending for the rape of the toddler. The respondent reported that he told the magistrate about the actions of his three friends with the gun. The magistrate told the respondent to "watch out" and told him he was going home. J said he was happy about this.

After his release by the magistrate, he said he made a plan to work and get some money by taking his public driver's licence so he could drive minibus taxis.

Life after the rape of the toddler

Respondent J reported that he went to driving school and obtained his public driving licence that would enable him to work as a taxi driver. He approached a taxi owner who gave the respondent work. The respondent explained that he had to give the taxi owner an agreed sum of money each week. In return, the taxi owner paid J a weekly wage for working 12 hours a day, seven days a week. The respondent said, "People who drive taxis

[86] Approximately USD 44-00 at the time.

can do anything they want. The money is lots in taxis, too much". He said, spontaneously, "Taxi drivers like ladies too much, because these ladies – shoo! They wear short skirts. Sometimes they say buy me some food or pay for me to go to the hair salon. Sometimes I gave that money and then sometimes, you take that lady, you sleep with her".

The respondent said he had taken risks by driving on taxi routes not designated to his employer. He said he was scared when he did this but he wanted money. He worked for four different taxi owners over a period of three years. During this time his case was postponed on a number of occasions. "The police were just relaxing". When the respondent was aged 24, his girlfriend gave birth to their son.

The respondent's biological father died shortly before he went to jail for the rape of the toddler. J was aged about 25. "I felt bad. I cried that day. My sister came to me and said don't cry. … From my side, I remember my father (paused) my father was nothing (paused) I don't remember my father doing something for me".

Two years before these interviews were conducted, the police arrested the respondent and the case went to trial. J was convicted in a magistrate's court and sentenced to life imprisonment in a high court.

Towards the end of the last interview, the researcher reflected that it was difficult for the person who had committed a sexual crime against a young child to talk about it. The respondent said, "Yes. It's difficult. Yes".

Life as a maximum-security prisoner

"Since now I am here in jail, I am happy here. I am going to church".

The respondent's closing statement at the end of the first interview was: "From my side, I know I can't sleep with that child – [she was] still young. Everyday now I just talk to Him, God. Nowadays, I hear other people raping children. I feel bad but because I am repenting, I'm repenting, I'm repenting. I don't want to feel bad".

The respondent said he did not want his children to "live their lives like me. I was lazy". He does not want his children to know that he is in prison. He said his brother has seen his children and told them he will call their father "at work".

The respondent was vague about which family members had come to visit him in jail. A DCS social worker advised that he rarely has visitors. As he is illiterate, he cannot read and write letters without assistance.

The respondent frequently talks to other prisoners about religion. "Since I came here, I told the other guys, 'you know what? If you want to live all right – just forgive. Forget about things. Forget about things from outside and what people are doing outside and if perhaps you are watching TV, don't say heh – people outside are enjoying whatever. Just look at the way you live here and then just pray. God is going to help you. Perhaps the miracle is going to happen. I believe the miracle can happen because God told Moses - take my people there'".

The researcher asked the respondent if he ever thought about the little girl. He replied, "I don't think about her. … If I did, I would stress. I don't want to think about it". Then he giggled. The researcher read extracts from newspaper reports about the physical and emotional effects of the rape on the toddler. She asked how the respondent felt when he heard this information in court. He drew breath sharply as the researcher read the article. He said he remembered hearing in court what the researcher had read to him. He added, "There was no stress in that child. I was just friendly to her. I don't know if she felt bad".