

https://dspace.org/

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

Kleijn, Amelia Ann

2010-08-30
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/8574

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

CHAPTER ONE:
OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1. BACKGROUND TO AND MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

During October 2001 in the Northern Cape of South Africa, the former boyfriend of a 16-year-old mother raped her nine-month-old infant. A provincial government official nicknamed the infant "Baby *Tshepang*" meaning "have hope" (Bird and Spurr, 2004:36). The incident triggered both local and international media coverage. In response to this, the Media Monitoring Project (MMP) examined 155 South African newspaper articles using a keyword search, including "baby rape", "child rape", "gang child rape" and "Baby *Tshepang*" during the period October 1, 2001 to January 31, 2002. Eighty of the 155 articles monitored by the MMP mentioned the "Baby *Tshepang*" case (Bird and Spurr, 2004:37). Some newspaper articles intimated that this form of sexual violence was unique to South Africa (Bird and Spurr, 2004:52), and in a video about the "Baby *Tshepang*" rape, it was even suggested that such acts began after South Africa held its first democratic election in 1994 (Bestall and Joubert, 2002).

The rape of children under three years: a 'new' crime in South Africa?

The researcher fulfilled her final year Social Work Field Instruction commitments in 2002 at The Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children,[1] an out-patient clinic that forms part of The Memorial Institute for Child Health and Development in Johannesburg. During this time she met a medical intern, Thulkanam, who was conducting research, the results of which suggested that the sexual abuse and rape of children under the age of two years was neither 'new' nor unique to South Africa. Thulkanam (2002) searched for all English language articles documented

[1] The Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children is a medico-legal facility that renders a range of services to abused and/or neglected children and their families. It is one of the out-patient clinics of the Johannesburg Hospital and offers its services in partnership with the Department of Paediatrics, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

in the medical literature (Pub Med)[2] concerning the rape of children in the 0-23 month age group for the period 1980 to 2001. This researcher conducted a similar exercise. Her findings identified the following examples of sexual acts involving children under the age of three years:

- Jaffe and Roux (1988:65) note that 88 cases of suspected sexual abuse of children were investigated at the Red Cross Children's Hospital in Cape Town[3] in 1985. Twenty cases of rape, 15 of incest and seven of sexual interference were confirmed, with 47% of cases unconfirmed. Victims ranged in age from ten months to 13 years.
- Dubé and Hébert (1988:321) conducted a retrospective study of 511 cases of alleged sexual abuse in children under the age of 12 years, at the Hospital Sainte-Justine in Quebec, Canada. The youngest victim was a two-month-old infant.
- Meursing, Vos, Coutinho, Moyo, Mpofu, Oneko, Mundy, Dube, Mahlangu and Sibindi (1995:1693), in a study which explored the reporting of child sexual abuse to hospitals and police in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe, in 1992, note that the youngest victim was a two-year-old.
- Van As, Withers, Du Toit, Millar and Rode (2001:1035) report that nine infants under the age of one year, 15 toddlers under the age of two years, and 27 toddlers under the age of three years presented at the Red Cross Children's Hospital, Cape Town, between January 1991 and December 1999, with varying injuries as a result of sexual abuse.

The time span and incidence of such acts aside, two questions arose for the researcher. First, why would men commit such violent acts, and second, what in their psychosocial backgrounds compelled them to behave so brutally towards infants[4] and toddlers?[5] A similar question was debated by members of the Parliamentary Task Group on the Sexual Abuse of Children, set up after "taking

[2] Pub Med is a service of the National Library of Medicine and has over 15 million citations from life science journals going back to the 1950s. Pub Med gives links to full text articles and other related resources.
[3] At the time of the Jaffe and Roux (1988) research, the Red Cross Children's Hospital was called the Red Cross War Memorial Hospital.
[4] For the purposes of this study, an infant is an individual less than 12 months of age.
[5] For the purposes of this study, a toddler is an individual between 13 and 36 months of age.

note with the greatest concern of the repeated instances of sexual abuse of ever-younger children" (Parliamentary Task Group, 2002:6). During March 2002, 76 governmental and non-governmental organizations involved in child care services made representations to the Parliamentary Task Group on the Sexual Abuse of Children. The aims of the hearings included analysing the causes of child rape and abuse, understanding the nature of sexual violence, and developing a comprehensive picture of the causes of this crime and the conditions that exacerbate it, as well as the political, social and economic values that underpin it (Parliamentary Task Group, 2002:7). During these presentations, organizations such as The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication[6] and The South African Medical Research Council[7] called for research into the sexual abuse of young children. Similarly, doctors who have treated young children for serious physical injuries sustained during rape have urged that such research be conducted. Likewise have senior police officers from the Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences Unit of the South African Police Service, and social workers from the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society as well as The Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children.

Sexual crimes against women and children are not new social phenomena. South Africa continues to experience high rates of such acts against women and children, including rape, abuse, indecent assault and incest, with media reports highlighting the rape of children under the age of three years. Richter (2003:395) elucidated that roughly one-tenth of all rapes in Johannesburg are committed against children under the age of three, which suggests that these sexual crimes are not uncommon. However, what sets this sexual act apart from others is the devastating physical damage done to such a young child, including serious damage to the perineum and internal injuries, as a result of the physical force used by the perpetrator to achieve sexual penetration. Such injuries require immediate medical attention or the child will probably die. Often protracted medical treatment will be required subsequently. The rape of young children has triggered a moral outrage in society

[6] The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication (2008) is a multi-media health promotion and social change project which aims to impact on society at the individual, community and socio-political levels.

[7] The South African Medical Research Council (2005) is a statutory research body. Their task is to improve the health and quality of life for South Africans based on research.

generally and again, triggered a call by professional practitioners who render a variety of services to children particularly, for research aimed at trying to understand why such acts occur. Another consideration for child care professionals is the age of children who are raped: increasing numbers of younger-aged children are presenting with severe physical trauma because of rape when compared to ten years previously (Dawes, 2003; Pitcher, 2003: personal communications). This increase could be attributable to an escalation in the number of children under the age of three years who are raped, or an increase in the reporting of such crimes despite South Africa's mandatory reporting of sexual crimes involving children, or a combination of these factors.

Thus, the present research was informed by the need to clarify often inaccurate media reports which suggested that infant and toddler rape was both 'new' and unique to South Africa, and by the need to understand why perpetrators committed these particular sexual crimes. Specific issues raised for the researcher included first, the motivation and psychosocial profile of perpetrators who performed such acts. Second, and in addition to the often life-threatening physical damage perpetrators inflicted upon their victims, such acts appeared not to follow the periods of "grooming" often associated with how some sexual abusers gained children's trust and coerced them into keeping such sexual acts "secret".

2. ANTICIPATED VALUE OF THE STUDY

It is envisaged that the findings of the present research will:

- Develop psychosocial understanding of why some men rape children under the age of three years, and the motivation for committing such acts.
- Demonstrate that these sexual acts are neither 'new' nor unique to South Africa.
- Identify possible indicators of potentially high-risk situations involving infants and toddlers so that preventive action, by parents and communities, might be taken to reduce the risk of such incidents.
- Contribute towards broadening further understanding of the dynamics of child sexual abuse.
- Attempt to ascertain if the motivation of the perpetrators in the present study was in response to the "virgin-cleansing" myth, a belief held by some that the

bodily fluids of a virgin protect an individual with HIV/AIDS (Pitcher and Bowley, 2002:274).

3. OVERALL AIM OF THE STUDY

The overall aim of the present study was to identify and describe the demographic profile and psychosocial history of ten convicted perpetrators who at the time of data collection were serving correctional sentences for the rape of children under the age of three years, in order to develop an understanding of the factors in their psychosocial histories which might have influenced them to commit such acts.

Explanation of terms used in the present research

Psychosocial

In the context of the current study, the term "psychosocial" refers to "person-in-environment" (Payne, 2005:79) and focuses on the dynamic and interdependent relationship between individuals and their environment (Compton and Galaway, 1999:28-34). The environment can be viewed as comprising four different but interconnected levels. The first level, the microsystem refers to face-to-face interrelations experienced by an individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:7), such as the family, school and peer groups. The second level, the mesosystem, is comprised of the interrelations between two or more settings in which an individual actively participates (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:25). The third level, the exosystem, concerns settings in which an individual does not participate but decisions regarding them have a direct effect on the individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:25), such as a parent's hours of work. Finally, the fourth level, the macrosystem, concerns ideology, social policy and assumptions about human nature (Whittaker and Tracy, 1989:25). Person-in-environment is an important conceptual framework in social work as it enables consideration of a person and his/her environment as an interrelated whole, rather than a cause-and-effect linear relationship (Compton and Galaway, 1999:28).

Given the enormity of the social problems facing many countries, including South Africa, and the often limited human and financial resources for intervention, the researcher believed that the psychosocial approach was prudent in the current research as its emphasis is on understanding the interplay between individuals and their environments, rather than focus on the interrelationship of an individual's

personality, or the psychodynamic approach (Tulloch, 1997:1231). Furthermore, the focus of the present research concerned the maltreatment of children that is influenced by a combination of factors at the level of the individual, as well as at the levels of family, community and broader society.

Demographic

The term "demographic" is used in two ways in the current study. First, communities' macrosystemic conditions of life that could be reflected in the term "demographic"- the study of statistics - concerning births, deaths and diseases that illustrate such conditions (Tulloch, 1997:383). One way of viewing life in communities, or countries, is with the use of the Human Development Index (HDI) that reflects three dimensions of human welfare - income, education and health (United Nations Human Development Report, 2005:21). South Africa is one of 12[8] countries comprising a third of sub-Saharan Africa's population of some 240 million that has experienced HDI reversal between 1990 and 2003, as well as the former Soviet Union[9] (United Nations Human Development Report, 2005:21). Southern Africa has experienced some of the steepest declines, including 35 places for South Africa, 23 for Zimbabwe, and 21 for Botswana, over the last two decades. In 1998, for example, South Africa was placed 89th out of 174 countries (United Nations Human Development Report, 1998:129). In 2005, South Africa still reflected "a "medium human development" but was ranked 120th out of 177 countries (United Nations Human Development Report, 2005:221). These declines are attributable to "the lethal interaction of economic stagnation, slow progress in education and the spread of HIV/AIDS" (United Nations Human Development Report, 2005:22). However, the HDI does not reflect the human welfare disparities *within* countries. South Africa is one of the most unequal societies in the world as the wealthiest 10% of the country's population earn more than 51% of the circulating income in the country (Marais, 2001:7).

Second, the term "demographic" is also used in the current research as a possible comparative context to show how the respondents who participated in the study are

[8] The other African countries are: Botswana, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Lesotho, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

[9] Kazakhstan, Moldova, Russian Federation, Tajikistan and the Ukraine.

different from other men in South Africa who do not rape children under the age of three years.

4. CONTEXT OF RAPE OF CHILDREN UNDER THE AGE OF THREE

The rape of children under the age of three occurs in South Africa within "a culture of violence" whereby violence is a central facet of South African life (Vogelman, 1990:118). However, many cases of sexual violence remain outside the legal system and become part of "normal life". This was demonstrated by Andersson, Mhatre, Naidoo, Mayet, Mqotsi, Penderis, Onishi, Myburg and Merhi (2000:xi) who concluded that for every 394 women raped in the Gauteng province during 1997, only one perpetrator was convicted for the crime. Andersson et al (2000:xi) also concluded that only 272 of every 394 raped women reported such crimes to the police, reflecting the choices made by adult women. Similarly, Van Niekerk (2004:264) explains that statistics of sexual crimes against children, released by the South African Police Service (SAPS), also reflect the under-reporting of sexual crimes against children, as not all parents/care givers report such crimes.

However, when children under the age of three are raped, their severe and often life-threatening injuries (Pitcher and Bowley, 2002:274) bring such crimes to the attention of professionals who are required by law to report them. It could be assumed, therefore, that the conviction rate for men who rape children under the age of three years is far higher. However, the researcher was informed that apprehending rapists of very young children is a very difficult undertaking for three reasons. According to senior members of the SAPS, first, there are rarely witnesses to such crimes, second, children under the age of three do not necessarily have the verbal ability to identify their rapists and third, surgeons explained that in many instances, forensic evidence is unobtainable due to the severity of very young children's injuries.

Despite a plethora of legislation in South Africa to protect particularly women and children from sexual crimes, reported rape, assault and indecent assault have increased for the years 1994/1995 to 2002/2003 (Crime Information Analysis Centre, 2009). Some of the increased reporting is possibly due to greater public confidence about the police, whom until 1994, were required to uphold apartheid

legislation. It is also possible that despite women's status increasing considerably since 1994, rape is used as a way of dominating women (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002:1242) particularly as patriarchy cuts across diverse ethnic groups (Guma and Henda, 2004:102).

Also reflected in the outcomes of increased reporting are increases in sentenced criminals. The Department of Correctional Services (DCS) reports that sentenced criminals have increased from the period 2002 to 2004. In 2002, DCS had 123 498 sentenced offenders in their custody, of which 15 086 were sexual offenders. In 2003, the total number of offenders increased to 131 604, of which 16 608 were sexual offenders and in 2004, 17 556 sexual offenders formed part of the total of 133 764 sentenced offenders in custody (Department of Correctional Services 2003/2004:27). Such convicted criminals are part of the country's population estimated at 46,9 million in 2005 (Statistics South Africa, 2005:1).

South Africa's crime statistics have resulted in many referring to the country as the crime capital of the world (Masuku, 2001:1). This has created much debate. One simplistic way of testing this reference is by comparing South Africa's reported sexual crimes with other African countries at a similar stage of development, using the HDI. However, Schönteich (2000:1) notes that comparing crime statistics between African states is "notoriously unreliable or non-existent" as the most complete statistics are derived from victim surveys undertaken by the United Nations and the International Criminal Police Organisation (Interpol). However, this excludes crimes that are not reported, and assumes that crimes that are reported have the same legal definitions in all countries.

A second way to test this reference is to compare South Africa's murder rate with other countries at a similar stage of development. Murder can be used for comparison purposes between countries as there are few definitional disputes as to what constitutes murder, and a dead body is evidence of a crime (Masuku, 2001:2). In 1998, South Africa had the highest recorded per capita murder rate with 59 recorded murders per 100 000 of the population (Masuku, 2001:2) whilst ranked 89th out of 174 countries on the HDI. This was followed by Columbia, with 56 murders per 100 000 in 1998 but ranked 53rd out of 174 countries on the HDI

(United Nations Human Development Report, 1998:128-9). However, murder in South Africa has decreased from the period 1994/1995 to 2002/2003 (Crime Information Analysis Centre, 2009). In contrast, the number of sentenced "aggressive offenders" increased from 58 189 in 2002, to 67 732 in 2004 (Department of Correctional Services, 2003/2004:27). In other parts of the world, and South Africa, murder rates are generally higher in deprived communities. For example, the male homicide rate in the informal settlements of Cape Town exceeds 200 per 100 000 compared to wealthier areas of the same region, with male homicide rates of 50 per 100 000 (World Report on Violence against Children, 2006:288). This suggests that the factors associated with poverty, such as unemployment, stress, poor socio-economic conditions, overcrowding and low standards of education, might play important roles in understanding violence, and the abuse of children in all countries, noted in some statistics from the World Report on Violence against Children (2006:11-12):

- Nearly 53 000 child deaths during 2002 were homicides.
- An estimated 150 million girls and 73 million boys under the age of 18 have experienced forced sexual intercourse, or other forms of sexual violence, that involved physical violence.
- Only 2,4% of the world's children are legally protected against corporal punishment both in the home and the school.

However, many who live with poverty do not sexually abuse children. Likewise, many who do sexually abuse children do not live with poverty, suggesting that there are other factors that decrease, or increase, the likelihood of violence and abuse. One factor might be the weakening of social and community cohesion – common to various parts of the world – as there are many who believe that dwindling cohesion is at the heart of violence which threatens children most particularly (World Report on Violence against Children, 2006:285). It could be argued that inherent in the terms "social" and "community" are role models, who exert both positive and negative influences on other individuals and on developing, impressionable children most particularly. It is therefore possible that in the current study, the weakening of cohesive systems, including the influence of role models,

will be reflected in the psychosocial histories of ten men who have raped children under the age of three.

5. RESEARCH DESIGN

Implementation of the broad aim of the current research required a strategic framework, or research design, that defined the study in its broadest sense (Rubin and Babbie, 2001:107). The research design for the present study was qualitative, as the study attempted to describe and understand, rather than explain, human behaviour (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:270). The term "qualitative research" has varied meanings (Schurink, 1998a:240). The current qualitative research required focus on understanding and interpreting the psychosocial data gathered from ten convicted perpetrators.

The "strategies of enquiry" (De Vos and Fouché, 1998:80) followed the phenomenological[10] and ethnomethodological[11] approaches that aim to understand and interpret the meaning that research respondents gave to their lives. Such approaches to interpretive enquiry use participant observation and interviewing as methods of data collection (Schurink, 1998b:253). The present research used "systematic techniques and procedures of sampling and data analysis" (De Vos and Fouché, 1998:81). In doing so, the researcher was enabled to develop a grounded theory, which attempted to understand factors in convicted perpetrators lives which might have led them to rape children under the age of three years. Grounded theory is the "discovery of theory from data" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:1). Strauss (1987:34) highlights that, "The goal of grounded theory is to generate a theory that accounts for a pattern of behaviour which is relevant and problematic for those involved".

6. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Methodology provides specific direction for research design procedures (Creswell, 2003:13). In order to achieve the aim of the current study, its sub-aims were

[10] Phenomenology involves the "systematic investigation of consciousness, as consciousness, it is argued, is the only phenomenon of which we can be sure". It assumes that experiences of the world are constituted in and by, consciousness (Marshall, 1994:389-390).

[11] Ethnomethodology refers to the "methods" by which people make sense of their situations and how they maintain "orderliness" in their interactions with others (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:30).

ordered into three stages. The first stage concerned an orientation process to sensitize the researcher to the study itself. The second stage focused on data gathering from incarcerated respondents. The third stage concerned the dissemination of the study findings.

Sampling: orientation study

The first stage of the study concerned an orientation process that served as the researcher's introduction to her research. The orientation process comprised two stages. First, the researcher conducted two interviews with two paedophiles convicted for their sexual crimes against children. Second, eight interviews were conducted with eight professionals who rendered direct and/or indirect services to children who had been sexually abused. One type of non-probability sampling, theoretical sampling (Strydom and Delport, 2005:329), was used to identify and select two paedophiles and eight professionals.

Sampling: convicted perpetrators

A second type of non-probability sampling, purposive sampling (Strydom and Delport, 2005:328-329), was used to identify ten convicted perpetrators serving sentences in prison for the rape of children under the age of three years at the time of data collection.

Research tools

Three different research tools – interview guides - were used when conducting interviews.

Interview guides: orientation study

One semi-structured interview guide was used when conducting in-depth interviews with paedophiles.[12] A second semi-structured interview guide[13] was used when interviewing professionals who rendered services to sexually abused children and their abusers.

[12] Refer to Volume II, Appendix B.
[13] Refer to Volume II, Appendix F.

Interview guide: incarcerated respondents

A third semi-structured interview[14] guide was used when conducting in-depth interviews with incarcerated respondents. It acted as a guide for the researcher as it had questions and themes important to the research (Schurink, 1998c:299). The interview guide helped the researcher glean information about the demographic profile and the psychosocial history of convicted perpetrators during in-depth interviews. The term "guide" indicates a fluidity of the interviews whereby the researcher explored particular aspects of the respondents' lives. Respondents were encouraged to "share their feelings, experiences and beliefs" with the researcher (Schurink, 1998c:298). The interview guide comprised five broad sections: First, an introduction to the research; second, an exploration of biographical, personal and psychosocial data relating to childhood, adolescence and adulthood; third, incarceration; fourth, an exploration of the events leading up to the crime, the crime itself and consequent prison sentence, and finally, termination of the interviews.

Data collection

The researcher collected data by conducting face-to-face interviews with the respondents. This method of data collection was chosen for the present study as it was related to the objectives of the qualitative research methodology, that reality can be reconstructed from the world of the respondent (Schurink, 1998c:300). In addition, it enabled the researcher to glean an "insider view" of the social phenomenon under study, and facilitated open discussion of sensitive topics such as sexual behaviour (Schurink, 1998c:300). The qualitative interviews were conversations during which the researcher established a general direction to them and followed specific topics raised by the respondent (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:289). However, the researcher had "a general plan of inquiry", an interview guide that contained prompt questions, which did not necessarily require asking questions in a specific order (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:289).

First, the researcher conducted two 90-minute interviews with two paedophiles. Second, she conducted eight 90-minute interviews with eight professionals who rendered direct and/or indirect services to children. Third, between two and five interviews, varying between 90 minutes and four hours, were conducted with each

[14] Refer to Volume II, Appendix K.

incarcerated respondent. All interviews were audio-recorded, and then transcribed in-between interviews, so that researcher could revisit particular topics during the next interview.

Data analysis

After each interview, the researcher transcribed the audio cassettes and included in the transcripts non-verbal behaviours displayed by the respondent, such as eye contact, fidgeting and rubbing of hands. Raw data, in the form of transcribed interviews, was organized into conceptual categories, by creating themes or concepts, thereby coding the data (Neuman, 2000:420.) Three methods of coding, namely open, axial and selective (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:58), were used. By coding each series of interviews with individual incarcerated respondents, the beginnings of theory emerged (De Vos and Van Zyl, 1998:271).

7. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Some of the limitations of the current study are:

- Due to the difficulty in apprehending men who have raped children under the age of three, the potential sample was extremely limited.
- The sample size means that findings of the study cannot be generalized to all men who rape children under the age of three.
- Administrative procedures required by the Department of Correctional Services might have influenced access to potential incarcerated respondents.
- The researcher was dependent on gatekeepers to identify her respondents. Neuman (2000:353) notes that gatekeepers can "shape the direction of research". The researcher tried to establish rapport with gatekeepers and ensured that they were thoroughly briefed about the aims and methods of the research, to try to minimize their personal bias.
- It is possible that parts of the research were influenced by the researcher's subjectivity and bias, due to the highly sensitive and emotive nature of the research topic. Supervision guidance, and consultation with various academics and professionals, was paramount to minimize this possibility as was the researcher's attendance of regular de-briefing sessions with an experienced psychologist not involved in the research process.

- Interviews with incarcerated respondents could only focus on crimes that had appeared before the courts, since mandatory reporting requirements of even the suspicion of child abuse demands that professionals act on such a suspicion.
- Neuman (2000:97) cautions that incarcerated respondents may give inaccurate or misleading information in the hope that the researcher can reduce their sentence. The researcher made it quite clear at the beginning of the interviews with these respondents that there was no reward for assisting with the research, and that their participation was entirely voluntary.
- It is possible that there are perpetrators of the rape of infants and toddlers who have never been apprehended, or have died whilst serving their prison sentences, thus reducing the size of the sample.

8. LAYOUT OF THE STUDY

The research is presented as follows: **Chapter Two** discusses children, maltreatment and resilience. **Chapter Three** concerns men who sexually offend against children generally and then locates such offenders within the South African context. **Chapter Four** discusses violence in South Africa. **Chapter Five** explains the research design and methodology used in the current study. **Chapter Six** presents the psychosocial histories of the respondents. **Chapter Seven** discusses these histories. The final chapter, **Chapter Eight**, concludes the research with some recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO:
CHILDREN, MALTREATMENT AND RESILIENCE

1. INTRODUCTION

Varying forms of abuse and neglect, or the concept of "maltreatment", are critical issues with regard to developing children as its consequences are supported by an ever-increasing body of literature. However, children are not necessarily affected by maltreatment equally. Hence, the ability to garner resources in the face of adversity, or the concept of "resilience", means that some children will have a "good outcome" despite particular experiences associated with serious outcomes (Rutter, 2007:205). Consequently, the experience of "childhood" varies, as it is a period of development that is strongly influenced by cultural practices and levels of parental care, but is often accompanied by harsh and unrelenting socio-economic realities in many parts of the world.

The concept of "childhood" is an age-related period of development associated with play and education (Marshall, 1994:52). However, it is a Western notion that is not necessarily congruent with every cultural practice regarding child rearing in, for example, some societies within Africa. As girl children grow older in these societies, they are required to perform more tasks within the home, thereby depriving them of time to play and enjoy their childhood (Khalil, 2006:15). However, such tasks should be seen within the context of many cultures, and the harsh socio-economic difficulties faced by many families in Africa, including South Africa. In this regard, Jacobs (2005:12) notes some 66% of South African children are living in poverty and that this number is increasing.

A childhood relatively free from abuse is a late historical achievement, limited to a few children in a few modern nations (DeMause, 1998:1), despite international and domestic legislation as well as policies to protect children, including those in South Africa, from such acts.

2. INTERNATIONAL POLICIES AND THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1995 and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) in 2000. Such ratification requires South Africa to incorporate these rights into domestic laws and to comply with monitoring requirements (Gallinetti, 2004:210). Of particular importance to children and their protection from maltreatment are Articles 19[15], 34[16] and 36[17] of the UNCRC (Gallinetti, 2004:210). UNCRC Article 19, most particularly, obliges the state to do more than enact laws protecting children from sexual and other forms of abuse (Gallinetti, 2004:210). It requires that the state has "a holistic, substantive and procedural system" in place to prevent abuse, and support children who have experienced abuse (Gallinetti, 2004:210-211).

The ACRWC contains similar articles to those contained in the UNCRC, particularly Article 19(1), and includes "school authority" in addition to persons caring for children (Gallinetti, 2004:211). This places a particular emphasis and responsibility on schools to care for children in a manner similar to that of parents or care givers, an addition both "welcome and necessary" given the sexual abuse that occurs at schools (Gallinetti, 2004:211). In this regard, the Parliamentary Task

---

[15] ***Article 19 of the UNCRC***
1."States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has care of the child.
2. Such protective measures should, as appropriate, include effective procedures for the establishment of social programmes to provide necessary support for the child and for those who have care of the child, as well as for other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting, referral, investigation, treatment and follow-up of instances of child maltreatment described heretofore, and, as appropriate, for judicial involvement" (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989).

[16] ***Article 34 of the UNCRC***
"States Parties undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. For these purposes, States Parties shall in particular take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent: (a) The inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity; (b) The exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful practices; and (c) The exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials" (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989).

[17] ***Article 36 of the UNCRC***
"States Parties shall protect the child against all forms of exploitation prejudicial to any aspects of the child's welfare" (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989).

Group on the Sexual Abuse of Children (Parliamentary Task Group, 2002:80) quoted from a 1998 study, conducted by The South African Medical Research Council (Jewkes, Levin and Mbananga, 2002:319), that found 33% of children raped under the age of 15 years were raped by school teachers.

3. DOMESTIC LEGISLATION TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN IN SOUTH AFRICA

In addition to the protection given by international law, children in South Africa are further protected by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act (no. 108 of 1996), common law[18] and domestic legislation.[19]

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act (no. 108 of 1996) recognises that children have the right to grow up with dignity, a feeling of self-worth, are entitled to protection from any form of abuse, and are entitled to make decisions concerning their own lives (Skelton, 1998:32). Section 28[20] of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act (no. 108 of 1996) contains basic concepts pertaining to the protection of children developed in international treaties and focuses particularly on the rights of children (Skelton, 1998:32), including that:

> *28. (1) Every child has the right –*
> *(a) to a name and nationality from birth;*
> *(b) to family care, parental care, or appropriate alternative care when removed from the family environment;*
> *(c) to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services, and social services;*
> *(d) to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation; …*
>
> *28. (2) A child's best interest is of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child.*

[18] Common law is not contained in formal legislation as it is inherited from English, Roman and Roman-Dutch law (Gallinetti, 2004:211).
[19] Some of the domestic legislation, as it pertains to the protection of children, is discussed.
[20] The new Children's Act (no. 38 of 2005) clarifies and builds on the rights of children contained in section 28, as well as other international instruments ratified by South Africa, to protect children's rights (Donelly, 2008:3; September and Dinbabo, 2008:113). The Children's Act (no. 38 of 2005) was signed into law during 2006 and certain sections of the Act came into force in July 2007.

Common law

Common law crimes include rape, indecent assault, incest and crimen injuria. The incarcerated respondents who participated in the present research study were convicted for their sexual crimes against children under the age of three years, based on the definitions of "rape" and "indecent assault" noted below.

Rape

According to Snyman (1991, cited in Gallinetti, 2004:212), rape "consists of a male having unlawful and intentional sexual intercourse with a female without her consent". At the time of the respondents' convictions, rape was the penetration of a penis into a vagina, meaning that only a male could rape and only a female could be a victim. This definition of rape therefore excluded non-consensual anal or oral penetration, or sexual assault with a foreign object (Gallinetti, 2004:212).

Similarly, at the time that the incarcerated respondents who participated in the current study were convicted, legislation decreed that any other sexual crime beyond the definition of rape was "indecent assault", which included anal penetration of a female. Du Toit (2003, personal communication) notes that a charge of indecent assault carried a lesser penalty than a charge of rape, based on the premise that indecent assault was a lesser crime than the penetration of a vagina by a penis. This suggests that indecent assault did not receive appropriate condemnation and concomitant punishment by the state.

Indecent assault

According to Burchell and Milton (1997, cited in Gallinetti, 2004:212), indecent assault is "an assault that by nature or design, is of an indecent character". It is an unlawful and intentional act of a sexual nature, where "assault entails non-consensual bodily contact between two persons" (Milton, 1996, cited in Gallinetti, 2004:212). Hence, indecent assault covered most sexual acts, except rape, as follows:

- Failed rape (where penetration did not occur during an attempted rape);
- The forced penetration of an object (other than a penis), such as a bottle or fingers, into the genital organs;

- Molestation (touching or fondling), and
- Anal rape[21] and male rape (Gallinetti, 2004:213).

However, the aforementioned definitions of "rape" and "indecent assault" have since been broadened. The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (no. 32 of 2007) expands the definition of "rape" to include forced anal or oral sex - irrespective of the sex of victim or perpetrator - and includes sexual penetration with an inanimate object or animal genitalia. Similarly, the definition of "incest" has been expanded.

Incest

Incest is committed when two people who are prohibited by law from marrying one another engage in sexual intercourse (Gallinetti, 2004:213). "This prohibition results from their relatedness within certain degrees of consanguinity and affinity" (Gallinetti, 2004:213). Milton (1996, cited in Gallinetti, 2004:213) notes that the criminalising of incest is justified as it prevents a particular form of sexual abuse of children. The definition of incest was based on vaginal sexual intercourse and therefore could not be used in response to the homosexual abuse of children, or a female adult relative abusing a girl or boy child (Gallinetti, 2004:213). In response to this situation, the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (no. 32 of 2007) refers to "acts of sexual penetration" therefore making such offences gender neutral and broader in scope (Gallinetti, 2004:213).

Crimen injuria

According to Burchell and Milton (1996, cited in Gallinetti, 2004:213), crimen injuria is the "unlawful and intentional impairment of the dignity of another person". Crimen injuria extends beyond sexual offences and is therefore used when prosecuting cases of indecent exposure and "peeping toms" (Gallinetti, 2004:212).

[21] Gallinetti (2004:213) explains that male rape is not sodomy, the criminalization of which has been declared unconstitutional in South Africa, as sodomy refers to sexual intercourse between two consenting adult males.

Domestic legislation pertaining to child abuse and neglect

Three pieces of South African legislation are particularly pertinent to the protection of children against abuse and neglect. These are the Child Care Act (no. 74 of 1983); the Prevention of Family Violence Act (no. 133 of 1993), and the Sexual Offences Act (no. 23 of 1957). However, these Acts have been broadened since the respondents in the current study where convicted. Further legislation contained in the Children's Act of 2005 (no. 38 of 2005), when promulgated, will repeal much of the Child Care Act (no.74 of 1983) and the Prevention of Family Violence Act (no. 133 of 1993). The Sexual Offences Act (no. 23 of 1957) has since been updated with the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (no. 32 of 2007).

The Child Care Act

According to Gallinetti (2004:214), the Child Care Act (no. 74 of 1983) is a "piece of welfare legislation necessary for procedures to care for children who are neglected, abused, or in need of adoption or institutional care". Of particular importance is section 14 that concerns the circumstances under which a children's court (a civil court) may ascertain if a child is in need of care (Gallinetti, 2004:214). Section 42 of the Act makes it an offence for a dentist, medical practitioner, nurse or social worker not to notify the Director General of the Department of Social Development or his/her representative of the suspicion that a child with whom a professional has dealt has been ill-treated, injured deliberately, or is suffering from a disease caused by poor nutrition (Skelton, 1998:113). However, parts of the Act proved problematic. Skelton (1998:113) notes that there is no legal definition of the term "child abuse", but rather categories of abuse and neglect, including physical and mental abuse, incest and sexual molestation.

The Prevention of Family Violence Act

A subsection of the Prevention of Family Violence Act (no. 133 of 1993) concerns mandatory reporting of even the suspicion of ill-treatment of a child, or injury, if the probable cause was deliberate (Skelton, 1998:114). Section 4 of the Act expands the list of those professionals noted in the Child Care Act (no. 74 of 1983), to include teachers, mental health workers, and others who care for children. Skelton (1998:114) highlights that such acts must be reported to a

police official, a Commissioner of Child Welfare (i.e. any magistrate), or a social worker as referred to in the Child Care Act (no. 74 of 1983).

However, both section 42 of the Child Care Act (no. 74 of 1983) and section 4 of the Prevention of Family Violence Act (no. 133 of 1993) are difficult to enforce, as there is no monitoring procedure contained in the regulations of these Acts, and proving that a person did not report abuse might be difficult (Skelton, 1998:114). Should an allegation of abuse prove incorrect, section 42 of the Child Care Act (no. 74 of 1983) protects the person who made the report from possible litigation, providing that such a person was acting in good faith (Skelton, 1998:115).

The Sexual Offences Act

Gallinetti (2004:215) notes that the purpose of the Sexual Offences Act (no. 23 of 1957) is to "consolidate and amend the laws relating to brothels and unlawful carnal intercourse and other acts in relation thereto". Skelton (1998:56) explains that this Act "prohibits the attempt, commission of, or solicitation for indecent or immoral acts by any person with a girl or boy under 19". This Act does not define "indecent or immoral acts" but Skelton (1998:56) explains this has been interpreted to include homosexual relations.

The Sexual Offences Act (no. 23 of 1957) states that sexual intercourse, or attempted sexual intercourse, with any girl or boy child under the age of 16 is illegal, regardless of consent, unless the couple are married (Skelton, 1998:56). There are only two permissible defences for sexual intercourse, or attempted sexual intercourse, with a person under the age of 16. These are first, that if the young person is a prostitute and the accused is under 21 and has never been charged with such an offence before or second, that the accused was deceived into thinking that the person was over the age of 16 (Skelton, 1998:56).

The Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (no. 23 of 2007) sets the age of consent at 16 for both heterosexual and homosexual acts.

Child abuse and neglect continue despite legislation

Despite this plethora of legislation, child abuse continues the world over and in South Africa is part of the country's "culture of violence" (Loffell, 2004:250), or that "violence is an integral part of South African culture" (Vogelman, 1990:118). Those who are charged with the responsibility of dealing with reported cases of the neglect and abuse of South African children are referred to by Loffell (2004:252) as the "formal child protection system" operating within some of the legislative and policy frameworks outlined in this chapter. The "formal child protection system" includes social services, the South African Police Service, courts, medico-legal facilities, health care services, and schools (Loffell, 2004:252). However, Loffell (2004:253) notes that some commentators have highlighted that the system can be dangerous to children if interventions are carried out ineptly or without sufficient resources. Human resources are particularly concerning and are often associated with poor remuneration, difficult conditions of service, pervasive stress and burnout, inadequate training, and debilitating staff turnover (Loffell, 2004:253). She further notes the "inexplicable paralysis at national level when … addressing these matters". However, Loffell (2004:253) acknowledges that there are "pockets of quality in the system".

Defining "child abuse" remains problematic as there is no agreed definition of what constitutes child abuse. "Childhood" as a time of "innocence" is not the universal experience for all children.

4. "CHILDHOOD" AND "CHILD ABUSE"

The French historian Phillipe Ariès (cited in Archard, 1993:15) notes that the concept of "childhood" did not exist in medieval society and only emerged in the late 17th century. This did not mean that children were neglected or despised, but rather that an awareness was lacking as to the "particular nature of childhood" which distinguished children from adults. Infants were those under the age of seven and seen as vulnerable and fragile. Individuals over the age of seven were often depicted as smaller adults in paintings from this period. It is this awareness of childhood as a "separate nature" that is present in Western contemporary society and found in the literal and metaphorical division of the child and adult worlds (Archard, 1993:16).

Ariès (cited in Flandrin, 1991:132-3) also notes that the concept of "family" developed parallel to the concept of "childhood" more specifically after the 16th century. Ariès' work "touches on one of the most profound existential changes in Western society: that the child is there to be loved and educated, and the modern family has become the basic unit of society surrounding the child and conscious of the *duties* of love and education" (Flandrin, 1991:132). Modern Western childhood is "unique" in the sense that children are "quarantined" from adults' work and economic responsibilities. Western childhood, therefore, is associated with play and education (Marshall, 1994:52), in contrast to other cultural practices.

Cultural practices and children

Guma and Henda (2004:98) note that in many African societies, children are considered as gifts from the ancestors and God and every member in that society is responsible for their nurturing and well-being. However, nurturing in some African societies includes certain practices that other societies might view as maltreatment, such as facial scarification or cutting off the small finger of a child (Guma and Henda, 2004:98). Khalil (2006:13) notes that the definition of a child varies in African societies. Western cultures see that some African children, when able to walk and talk, are required to assume some responsibilities within the family, as abuse (Khalil, 2006:13). Similarly, Guma and Henda (2004:99) write about certain practices in Southern African societies that some could view as abusive including early marriage, initiation rites for young boy and girl children, the acceptance of physical abuse as a means of discipline, strict obedience to adults, the persistence of male domination, and gender-based power relations (Guma and Henda, 2004:99), all of which highlight the complexities of defining "maltreatment" within the context of different cultures and belief systems.

Similarly, the practice of female genital mutilation (FGM) is seen as an extremely contentious practice by some societies. Burstyn (1995:30) estimates that between 100 million and 130 million children in at least 40 countries have undergone one of four forms of FGM. The four types of FGM are discussed by Barstow (1999:503). The first and most common form is *sunna*, where the prepuce of the clitoris is removed. As this is the simplest, least invasive and least mutilating form of FGM

there are fewer sequelae. The second type is a clitoridectomy, the total removal of the clitoris. The third type is an excision, when the prepuce, clitoris, upper labia minora and possibly the labia majora, are removed. The fourth and most traumatic type of FGM is infibulation (or Pharaonic) when the prepuce, clitoris, the labia minora and labia majora are removed. Infibulation requires that the raw edges are then crudely stitched together, almost closing the vagina, except for a small hole through which menstrual blood and urine can pass. Girl children subjected to FGM vary in age from one week to 17 years, with the procedure done mainly on pubertal girl children. Opponents of FGM believe it should be prohibited, as it is an extreme form of child abuse with physical and medical sequelae (Barstow, 1999:507-8). Proponents of the practice assert that FGM is an important rite of passage that must be preserved to maintain cultural identity (Barstow, 1999:508).

In this regard, Archard (1993:151-2) writes that children who do not undergo certain rites of passage would feel abused as they are excluded from their own culture. He notes the crucial context that what harms a child must be balanced against those beliefs that influence the child's self-esteem and social identity, and argues that FGM is abusive as it mutilates the girl child and therefore gives her an "inferior sexual identity" (Archard, 1993:152). However, both proponents and opponents of FGM could argue about the implementation of “universal” standards for children, and begs the question whose needs are being served?

“The battered child syndrome” triggers awareness about abuse

Child abuse is not a new “problem” but has received increased awareness over recent decades thereby reflecting societal values attached to the rights of children, and bringing the problem of abuse into the public domain, in tandem with an increased recognition generally of human rights. Definitions of “child abuse” have evolved over time. The first type of abuse to be medically documented, and brought into the public domain, was physical abuse. During the 1940s, a radiologist, Caffey, recognised a syndrome of both old and new fractures due to non-accidental injury (Teddy Bear Clinic Medical Manual, 1999:2). C. Henry Kempe's (1968) article "The Battered Child Syndrome" triggered a surge of both literature and research. Kempe (cited in Gelles, 1987:30) defined “The Battered

Child Syndrome" as a clinical condition with diagnosable physical and medical symptoms, the result of deliberate injury by a parent or care giver of the child.

Korbin (1994:183) notes that the expression "battered child syndrome" was intentionally selected to attract the attention of public, professional and legislative sectors and gave rise to related terms such as "child abuse", "child abuse and neglect" and "child maltreatment". The term "abuse" addressed physical assault, non-accidental injury, malnutrition, failure to thrive,[22] sexual abuse, educational neglect, medical neglect and mental abuse (Gelles, 1987:31).

Some forty years after Kempe's (1968) article there is still no universal standard of what constitutes child abuse and neglect, despite the ratification by 191 countries, including South Africa, of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. This lack of consensus is closely linked to the multi-cultural nature[23] of many societies and global mobility. Korbin (2002:637-44) notes that culture is both variable and dynamic, with variability within a group often exceeding that between groups. Furthermore, as culture is not monolithic, it cannot be seen as uniformly distributed or having a homogeneous impact on all members (Korbin, 2002:637-44). To paraphrase Korbin (1994:182), the variations of defining culture in different historical epochs may be illustrated by the use of corporal punishment in South African schools.[24] Corporal punishment was legally banned in 1994, as it was regarded as offensive and humiliating for children, and hence a form of maltreatment. However, South Africa is a multi-cultural society and such legislation is not necessarily congruent with every cultural belief and parental practice concerning the discipline of children. But how does the state practically ensure that such legislation is enforced? What of parental rights with regard to the discipline of their children? What of religious doctrine concerning the chastisement of children, as noted in, for example, the Bible? Proverbs 13:24

[22] "Failure to thrive" refers to children who are "growth retarded secondary to malnutrition. Non-organic failure to thrive is a form of nutritional neglect". Children who do not thrive show long-term deficits in their physical growth, cognitive functioning as well as emotional and social development (Hobbs and Wynne, 2002:147).

[23] The discussion regarding culture is not intended to imply that abuse is culturally specific, but to highlight the complexities of defining child abuse.

[24] The Children's Act (no. 38 of 2005) similarly addresses the use of corporal punishment – now prohibited in all state-regulated children's facilities (such as children's homes and places of care), schools, and the criminal justice system.

states, “A father who spares the rod hates his son, but one who loves him keeps him in order” (The New English Bible, 1970:763). This is in marked contrast to the Children’s Act (no. 38 of 2005, s144) which does not ban the use of corporal punishment within the home but rather suggests parenting skills that promote “positive, non-violent methods of discipline”. This highlights that the state cannot legislate against every parental punishment of children, and that there is a boundary between state care and parental care of children. However, where does the ultimate responsibility lie for children’s well-being, and how is it enforced and monitored?

Possible criteria to formulate a definition of “child abuse”

Another way of addressing the problem of an “acceptable definition” of child abuse is to consider what such a definition of “child abuse” should contain. Archard (1993:148) discusses four criteria to formulate such a definition. First, it must be clear, unambiguous and substantive. Second, the definition should not make irrational demands on care givers of children. “It will not do to understand ‘abuse’ in such a way that the vast majority of parents cannot avoid being abusers of their children” (Archard, 1993:148). Third, any definition of abuse will probably serve a principle that 'abuse' is socially unacceptable and to be prevented where possible, and that ‘abuse’ is an issue to which society cannot be indifferent. Finally, 'abuse' as legally defined should call for state intervention and hence, such a definition must be serious enough to warrant such action, whilst separating bad parenting from parental 'abuse' (Archard, 1993:149). However, some children’s abusers are neither their parents nor their care givers. Furthermore, such criteria are not necessarily congruent with, for example, some African beliefs regarding children (Guma and Henda, 2004:99) and the socio-economic realities of their lives (Jacobs, 2005:12). And who determines the criteria for ‘bad’ parenting?

Types of child abuse and neglect

As noted, there are differences between the legal definitions of sexual, and other, acts against children and those definitions that have evolved in the literature (Dawes, Borel-Saladin and Parker, 2004:181). Different types of abuse and neglect are reflected in table 1 overleaf.

	Abuse	**Neglect**
Physical	Frequent/severe hitting, slapping, beating, shaking, punching, kicking.	Failure to provide regular and adequate food, warmth, clothing, medical care.
Emotional	Threats to injure or kill; constant sneering/sarcasm or belittling; throwing away or destroying toys; forbidden to speak or play; scapegoating;[25] favouritism to siblings; locked in room or confined space.	Ignoring emotional needs; failing to give affection or respond to child's cries of distress; failure to comfort or support when sad, hurt or worried.
Sexual	Interference with and needless touching of child's genitalia; forcing child to view/touch/sexually manipulate adult; attempted or achieved penetration of genital/anal area; sexual innuendo or threats; showing/making pornography.	Sex is "dirty/sinful/shameful" messages; no sex education for child; severe punishment if child is caught in sexual play or masturbation.

Table 1: Types of abuse and neglect
(Source: Pritchard, 2004:12).

Inherent in this definition of "abuse" are the deliberate, or non-accidental, actions by a parent, care giver or any third party towards a child. "Neglect" is associated with parental indifference or failure to protect a child. These actions or indifference towards a child often coincide (Lewis, 1999:86). Fundamental to "abuse" is the notion of "power" when an individual who is in a position of authority or older or bigger than the child (Lewis, 1999:98), involves the child in age-inappropriate activity. "Abuse" also implies that consent to the activity has not, or cannot, be given and that there is some consequence for the child. Townsend and Dawes (2004:58) note that when defining child sexual abuse, there is a distinction between "contact" sexual abuse (such as interfering with a child's genitalia) and "non-contact" sexual abuse (for example, forcing a child to watch pornography).

However, as noted earlier, some 66% of South African children live with poverty (Jacobs, 2005:12). Can a poverty-struck parent be deemed "neglectful" when unable to meet a child's needs for food? Or, is the South African government

[25] "Scapegoating" refers to an individual (unfairly) carrying responsibility for problems (Hepworth, Rooney and Larsen, 1997:331).

"neglectful" if some 66% of children (Jacobs, 2005:12) do not have their rights to basic nutrition and shelter protected, as reflected in section 28 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act (no. 108 of 1996)? Furthermore, there are many societies in South Africa that inhibit discussions with children about sexuality (Magwaza, 1997:161), thus highlighting that Western-styled definitions of sexual, and other forms of neglect, are not always congruent with socio-economic realities and other cultural beliefs and practices.

5. CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Ascertaining both the prevalence and incidence of child sexual abuse in South Africa is highly problematic[26] as there is no reliable method of calculating the prevalence of child sexual abuse (Loffell, 2004:250).

Prevalence and incidence

Dawes et al (2004:180) explain the terms "prevalence" and "incidence". "Prevalence" refers to the proportion of a population that has experienced child sexual abuse and is normally expressed as cases per 1 000 or 100 000. "Incidence" refers to the number of cases that are reported in a particular time period. Dawes et al (2004:181) note that data on the incidence of child sexual abuse are derived from two sources: first, from service providers who intervene with abused children; and second, from the South African Police Service (SAPS). However, data from service providers is neither co-ordinated nor reported on a national or regional basis. Data from the SAPS is a reflection of the reported crime incidence in terms of crime categories defined by legislative provisions that according to Dawes et al (2004:181) are not data on child sexual abuse. Furthermore, and as noted previously, there are marked differences in the literature relating to "child sexual abuse" as compared to definitions of crime contained in common law and South African legislation. Child sexual abuse is also under-reported.

[26] Section 119 of the Children's Act (no. 30 of 2005) makes provision for a Child Protection Register with a co-ordinated system of data collection.

Under-reporting of sexual abuse

Van Niekerk (2004:264) notes that the figures released by the SAPS are likely to under-represent the incidence of child sexual abuse for four reasons. Given the practical challenges of accessing the relevant authorities, first, many sexual acts against children, particularly those living in rural areas, are not reported (Van Niekerk, 2004:264). Second, as many sexual crimes against children are perpetrated by persons within their immediate family or neighbourhood, family members may prevent such reporting (Van Niekerk, 2004:264). Families, particularly those who live in poverty, might be persuaded or motivated to accept damages (compensation) from the perpetrator, hence finding another solution to the sexual assault (Van Niekerk, 2004:264), bringing into stark focus the difficult choices that those who live with poverty often confront. Third, as a result of feelings of shame, guilt and loyalty towards the family, as well as financial stresses, many children will not disclose details of their sexual abuse or the perpetrators (Van Niekerk, 2004:264), highlighting the fear and shame for the young victims of abuse. Fourth, some families and care givers of children believe that the criminal justice system will traumatise them further, without positive results for anyone (Van Niekerk, 2004:264), thus highlighting the complexities of prosecuting child sexual abuse, despite abundant legislation.

The under-reporting of sexual and violent crimes by adult victims is similarly noted. Jewkes and Abrahams (2002:1231) cite the 1995 Human Rights Watch (HRW) report on domestic violence and rape which dubbed South Africa as the 'rape capital of the world'. The HRW report noted that only one in 35 rapes are reported to the police, a figure frequently quoted by non-governmental organizations that intervene in rape (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002:1231). Cases that are reported to the SAPS do not necessarily end in the conviction of the sexual perpetrator, demonstrated in research undertaken by Andersson, Mhatre, Naidoo, Mayet, Mqotsi, Penderis, Onishi, Myburg and Merhi (2000). Andersson et al (2000:vi) conducted a "social audit" with 37 236 women, men and youth as well as 197 police officers, magistrates, prosecutors and service workers (including district surgeons, nurses, women's organisations, social workers and government officials) from 1998 to 2000.

The area covered by the study was the Southern Metropolitan Local Council, a section of the Gauteng province that spans 567 sq km and includes Soweto in the west to City Deep in the east, and the central business district in the north down to Orange Farm. The area is diverse in terms of communities and population. About 1,5 million people (41%) of Johannesburg's total population were living in this area at the time of the study (Andersson et al, 2000:v,1). An important finding of the study was that many cases of sexual abuse and violence remain outside the legal system, referred to as the 'registrations filter' (Andersson et al, 2000:xi). The researchers estimated that for every 394 women raped during 1997, 272 went to the police (Andersson et al, 2000:xi). Seventeen reports became "cases" of which five were referred by the police to the courts. One perpetrator was convicted for his sexual crime/s, which means the average rapist has a mere one in almost 400 chance of being punished for his crime (Andersson, 2000:xi). The result of this, according to Andersson et al (2000:xi), is that the majority of sexual violence cases remain outside the legal system, with such cases becoming part of "normal" life.

Incidence of the rape of children under the age of three years

In cases of the rape of children under the age of three years, it is debatable if all of the reasons regarding under-reporting apply, given the mandatory reporting of abuse demanded by intervening professionals, and the seriousness of the injuries sustained. Pitcher and Bowley (2002:274) state that such injuries inflicted on infants can "be immediately life threatening".

Ascertaining the reported incidence of sexual crimes against children under the age of three years, using statistics released into the public domain by the SAPS, is not possible. SAPS statistics for rape are disaggregated into two age categories: zero to 11 years old, and 11 to 18 years old. There have also been moratoriums on the release of crime statistics by the SAPS. In spite of this, Richter (2003:392) notes that, "In South Africa, the rape of infants and toddlers occurs at a low and consistent level". She elucidates the following:

> According to police statistics, in Johannesburg, more than a quarter of all rapes are committed against children of primary school age or younger. Of all rapes in the metropolitan area, 2% are of infants and 8% are of toddlers (neither age group is

> precisely defined in the [police] report.) From these statistics, one can conclude that roughly 10% of all rapes in South Africa are committed against children under three years of age. At least in South Africa, the conclusion has to be drawn that the rape of very young children is not uncommon (Richter, 2003:395).

Documented cases of the sexual abuse of pre-pubertal children occur with "unacceptable frequency" in South Africa (Richter and Higson-Smith, 2004:23). Some are noted below:

South African references to the sexual abuse and rape of children under the age of three years

Van As, Withers, Du Toit, Millar and Rode (2001:1035) undertook a retrospective review of the medical and social work case notes concerning sexually assaulted children seen in the trauma unit at the Red Cross Children's Hospital in Cape Town between January 1991 and December 1999. Records traced for 200 children showed that the ages of raped children, under the age of three years, were: five children aged less than one year; four children aged one year; 15 children aged two years; and 27 children aged three years. Two of the 200 children underwent HIV sero-conversion.

Swart, Gilchrist, Butchart, Seedat and Martin (2000:10) conducted a rape surveillance study through three district surgeons' offices in Johannesburg. Between January 1996 and December 1998, clinic staff completed a surveillance questionnaire when rape victims presented at the Hillbrow, Lenasia South, and Chris Hani Baragwanath clinics. Of the 1 273 rape victims registered during the surveillance period, seven victims of rape were aged one year, four were aged two years, and seven were aged three years.

De Villiers and Prentice (1996:147) reviewed all cases presenting at the Child Abuse and Neglect Clinic, Transvaal Memorial Institute for Child Health and Development,[27] in Johannesburg between May 1988 and April 1989. Sexual

[27] This clinic is now called The Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children. The word "Transvaal" was dropped after 1994.

abuse was the presenting complaint in 89,8% of the 227 patients, with 7% of these patients under the age of three years and 55% under ten years of age.

Jaffe and Roux (1988:65) documented 88 cases of suspected child abuse, presenting at the Red Cross War Memorial Hospital[28] in Cape Town during 1985. Twenty cases of rape, 15 of incest and 7 of sexual interference were confirmed, with 47% of cases unconfirmed. Victims ranged in age from ten months to 13 years.

It will be noted from these references that the rape of children under the age of three years occurred both before and after 1994, contrary to some media reports that suggested these acts only occurred after South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994. Similarly, such acts have not only occurred in South Africa, despite some media reports to the contrary, and are noted below:

References outside South Africa relating to the sexual abuse and rape of children under the age of three years

The following are some of the documented cases of the sexual abuse and/or rape of children outside South Africa.

Saidi, Odula and Awori (2008:87) analyzed the case notes of 342 children seen at the Gender and Violence Recovery Centre of the Nairobi Women's Hospital in Kenya between February 2003 and April 2004. Findings considered consistent with sexual assault, including perineal bruising and lacerations, hymeneal bleeds, abnormally patulous perineal orifices, anal laxity/dilation, and abnormal vaginal/anal discharges were seen in 18,5% (68) of children aged between one and five years.

Csorba, Aranyosi, Borsos, Balla, Major and Póka (2005:217) report on the characteristics of female child sexual abuse in Hungary between 1986 and 2001. The case notes of 209 sexually abused girls, under the age of 18 years, seen at the Medical and Health Service Centre at the University of Debrecen, were reviewed. The youngest victim was a two-year-old.

[28] This hospital is now called The Red Cross Children's Hospital.

An analysis of 1 076 cases of sexual assault presenting at an urban trauma centre (emergency department) in Denver was undertaken by Riggs, Houry, Long, Markovchick and Feldhaus (2000:358). Data from crime laboratory reports was retrospectively reviewed for the period January 1992 to December 1995. The youngest victim was a one-year-old.

Meursing, Vos, Coutinho, Moyo, Mpofu, Oneko, Mundy, Dube, Mahlangu and Sibindi (1995:1693) in a study carried out on reporting of child sexual abuse to hospitals and police in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe in 1992, note that the youngest victim was a two-year-old.

Nduati and Muita (1992:350) conducted a retrospective study on children admitted to the Kenyatta National Hospital in Nairobi, Kenya between 1984 and 1988, using records for rape or sexual abuse cases. The results revealed that 21 cases of the sexual abuse of children ranging in age from four months to 18 years were reported. One child in the zero to 11 month category, two children aged between 12 and 23 months, and two children in the 24 to 59 months category, presented with sexual abuse. The four-month-old infant sustained recto-vaginal fistulae and vesico-vaginal fistulae, after a perineal tear became infected. Examinations of three children aged four, six and seven years showed they had "previous coital experience". The youngest children sustained the most severe form of injuries.

Hobbs and Wynne (1989:195) describe the anal findings in a group of 337 children from Leeds, England between the calendar years of 1985 and 1986. Eighty-five girl children aged between zero and five years constituted 27% of the group and 30 boy children, 9%. The findings showed that more than 40% of girl children in the zero to five year age group, and 83% of boys of all ages, had suffered anal abuse. Hobbs and Wynne (1989:207) explain that anal abuse is common, as the anus and rectum are "distensible muscular organs which permit containment of the penis even in small children". The authors note that a six-week-old infant had "serious injury" following penetration of her anus which led to the rupture of her rectum.

Between the calendar years of 1985 to 1987, a two-year-old and a three-year-old were amongst some 500 children seen at the Paediatric Gynaecology Clinic in Shelby County, Tennessee (Muram, 1989:211). The two-year-old had a hymeneal-vaginal tear, or a "category three" finding, defined as "specific findings, the presence of one or more abnormalities strongly suggesting sexual abuse" (Muram, 1989:212). The genital findings of the three-year-old were noted as "inflammation", or a "category two" finding, defined as "non-specific findings, abnormalities of the genitalia that could have been caused by sexual abuse, but are also often seen in girls who are not victims of sexual abuse, for example, inflammation and scratching" (Muram, 1989:212).

Cupoli and Sewell (1988:151) reviewed the results of 1 059 children, aged between three months and 16 years, presenting with a chief complaint of sexual abuse at the Tampa General Hospital, Florida, between January 1982 and May 1985. The study population showed a high percentage of young victims with 42% under seven years of age. Results of the medical examinations showed that 391 (42,5%) of the girls were victims of vaginal intercourse with 44 (4,8%) of the girls under the age of six. The researchers note that "for the vast majority of the study children, sexual abuse is experienced as oral, anal or vaginal penetration. [One] myth states that sexual abuse for younger children is mild and consists of touching, fondling or exhibitionism. Not only are such contacts not mild to the child, we find that such contacts are rare. Most contacts in our population and over 41% in the sample from the state wide data base consisted of oral, anal or genital penetration, all severe, at all ages" (Cupoli and Sewell, 1988:160).

Dubé and Hébert (1988:321) conducted a retrospective study of 511 cases of alleged sexual abuse in children aged 12 years or younger, seen at the Hospital Sainte-Justine in Quebec, Canada between March 1979 and March 1986. The youngest victim of sexual abuse was a two-month-old.

Caniano, Beaver and Boles (1986:219) report that 1 512 cases of suspected child abuse were evaluated in the emergency department of a major children's hospital in Ohio between January 1982 and July 1984. Findings included that 246 (17%) of the children required hospitalization, of which nine (3%) presented with sexual

abuse. These nine children were eight girls and one boy who ranged in age from 18 months to 16 years. Three girl children required repair of vaginal lacerations. Another girl child had a darning needle removed from her vagina. An additional child had treatment for sexually transmitted warts around her perineal area and another treated for warts on his penis.

Hobbs and Wynne (1986:792) found that 18 girls and 17 boys in Leeds, England, ranging in age from 14 months to 8 years, had a history and physical signs of 'buggery' (anal penetration). In 27 children, there was disclosure of abuse by the child, or the perpetrator. The researchers concluded that "buggery in young children, including infants and toddlers, is a serious, common, and under-reported type of child abuse" (Hobbs and Wynne, 1986:792).

Mian, Wehrspann, Klajner-Diamond, LeBaron and Winder (1986:223) report that 125 children aged six years and less, presented between 1981 and 1983 at a Canadian acute care hospital as a result of sexual abuse. These children represented one third of the cases of alleged sexual abuse between infancy and 18 years of age referred to the hospital's multidisciplinary team. The group of children studied included two children under the age of one year; six children aged one year; 18 children aged two years, and 31 children aged three years.

Cantwell (1983:171) reports on the results of 1 000 female children inspected for sexual abuse over a period of two years at the Crisis Care Centre situated in Denver, Colorado. The Centre opened in October 1978. The vaginal inspection of a two-year-old revealed a vaginal opening of seven mm. The toddler's brother, aged seven years, explained that an uncle often baby sat and when drunk, played with the child's genitalia and inserted his finger. He put his penis between the toddler's legs.

De Jong, Hervada and Emmett (1983:155) undertook a retrospective review of the records of 566 children presenting at the Paediatric Sexual Assault Centre of the Thomas Jefferson University Hospital in Philadelphia. Over a three year period from October 1976, 566 children under the age of 16 years were seen at the Centre, including five girl children aged one; 13 aged two, and 27 aged three. The

presenting complaints of the children included vaginal assault (44%), vaginal assault plus anal or orogenital contact (4%), anal assault (22%), and anal assault plus orogential contact (6%). Evidence of trauma was present in 141 (24,9%) of the cases. The types of trauma included physical or non-perineal trauma in 56 children (9,9%), genital trauma in 39 children (7%) and anal trauma in 19 children (3,4%).

6. CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT: SYSTEMS THEORY AND THE ECOLOGICAL PARADIGM

Child abuse is a complex phenomenon and is multi-causal, with numerous factors in a child's life that can facilitate abuse (Killian, 1998:10). Systems theory is one frame of reference through which to understand the factors that increase a child's risk of abuse. Compton and Galaway (1999:28) explain that systems theory enables observation of the "total life situation" of a person, and includes cognitive, behavioural and affective aspects. A system is defined as:

> … A whole, a unit, composed of people and their interactions, including their relationships. Each person in the system is related to the others in a more or less stable way, within a particular time and space. However, the system is constantly changing as it moves toward its goals (Compton and Galaway, 1999:29).

Such a system is referred to as the "person-in-environment", or ecological paradigm (Whittaker and Tracy, 1989:22). For any individual, the "environment" comprises four levels, represented as a series of concentric circles. These four levels are the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem and the macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:22-26). Each level dynamically intertwines with the next with the functioning of each level largely influenced by the interactions at a higher level (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:22).

The microsystem

Bronfenbrenner (1979:22) defines the microsystem as "a pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting with particular physical and material characteristics". By "setting", Bronfenbrenner (1979:22) refers to places such as home or school where face-to-

face interaction occurs. The terms "activity", "role" and "interpersonal relations" form the elements, or building blocks, of the microsystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:22). Hence, the mesosystem is a system of microsystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:25).

The mesosystem

The mesosystem refers to the interrelations between two or more settings in which the developing child actively participates (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:25). These settings include the "relations" between home, school, and neighbourhood peer group (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:22). An important notion is that the stronger and more diverse the linkages between microsystems, the more powerfully the resulting mesosystem will influence development (Whittaker and Tracy, 1989:23).

The exosystem

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979:25), an exosystem refers to one or more settings that do not involve an individual as an active participant but can still influence that individual's development. For example, the amount of time parents can spend with a child is circumscribed by where they work and the hours of work.

The macrosystem

The macrosystem provides society with "blueprints" about the culture of a country, as well as belief systems or ideology (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:26). Pertinent to the ecological paradigm are the "structural problems" (Bozalek, 1997:17) within the context of the lives of many South African children, and infants and toddlers particularly.

South African ecological paradigm

Within the ecological paradigm, Richter (2003:395) highlights that the sexual abuse of infants and toddlers in South Africa occurs within a context of a general lack of safety and protection for children, also apparent during apartheid. McKendrick (1987a:21), writing during the apartheid era (from 1948 to 1994),

notes the abnormal situation pertaining to social welfare,[29] a reflection of the patterns of advantage and disadvantage entrenched in apartheid society. The bulk of the country's population, black people, received the least amount of welfare spending (McKendrick, 1987a:21). In 1984/85, the ruling Nationalist government of South Africa spent 20,9% of the "Welfare Services" budget on "unenfranchised Africans", some 65% of the country's population at the time (McKendrick, 1987a:28). In contrast, "enfranchised whites", constituting about 19,5% of the country's population, received 45,8% of the total "Welfare Services" budget (McKendrick, 1987a:28). During 1989, the mortality rate for white children was 9.3/1000. For black children, the rate was more than six times higher at 60.6/1000 (Dawes and Donald, 1994:3).

By the year 2000, the infant mortality rate was 59/1000 live births with the under-five mortality rate at 95/1000 live births (Bradshaw, Nannon, Laubscher, Groenewald, Joubert, Nojilana, Norman, Pieterse and Schneider cited in Abrahams, Berry and Hendricks, 2005:57). The leading causes of death during 2000 for children under five years of age were, HIV/AIDS (40%), diarrhoeal diseases (10%), lower respiratory infections (6%) and low birth weight (11%) (Bradshaw et al, cited in Shung-King, Abrahams and Berry, 2005:59).

Also at the level of the South African macrosystem are patriarchy, male dominance, gender socialisation, certain child rearing practices, the normalization of abuse and male violence, or socio-cultural factors that influence the sexual abuse of children (Townsend and Dawes, 2004:63-8). Research concerning male violence was undertaken by Abrahams, Jewkes and Laubsher (1999:1) using a random sample of 1 394 male workers employed by three municipalities in Cape Town. Respondents were asked to report on both current and past partners with whom they had meaningful relationships. The findings reflected that more than 40% of the men reported the physical abuse of their female partners within the last ten years. More than a third reported sexual abuse. Abrahams et al (1999:1) note

[29] The currently used definition of social welfare in South Africa is contained in the South African White Paper on Social Welfare, and is "an integrated and comprehensive system of social services, facilities, programmes and social security to promote social development, social justice and the social functioning of people. The objective of social welfare is to promote the well-being of families, individuals and communities" (Department of Welfare, 1999:5).

that there was evidence to suggest the reported use of physical violence was an under-estimate, as it was anticipated that some men would not report such violence due to expected criticism. One of the conclusions from the study was that there was an association between participants' abuse, and witnessing their own mothers' abuse, during childhood (Abrahams et al, 1999:16).

Loffell (2004:251), writing on policy responses to the sexual abuse of children in South Africa, cites Gil (1990) who believes that child abuse "arises from conditions in society which, as part of its way of life, obstruct the development of some of its members to the benefits of others". The result of this blocking of growth is redirected into interpersonal violence and other types of destructive behaviours (Loffell, 2004:250). Similarly, according to Gil (cited in Loffell, 2004:251), a society that fails to provide optimal conditions for the development of children is tantamount to structural abuse and neglect. Loney (1992, cited in Loffell, 2004:251) notes the opinion that child abuse is the result of "sick" behaviour within families allows society to avoid looking at the broader conditions that drive the abuse and neglect of children and thereby shift the responsibility to intervening professionals, even when they lack the necessary resources in terms of training and support. Therefore, argues Loffell (2004:251), the nation "shrugs off its responsibility" for the generation of conditions driving abuse and then seeks assistance from an under-resourced child protection system to "fix" the problem.

However, millions of South African parents who live with structural abuse and neglect do not abuse their children, and more affluent South Africans do abuse their children, similarly noted in the international epidemiology of child sexual abuse conducted by Finkelhor (1994:409). He found rates of abuse, in at last 19 countries,[30] including South Africa, comparable with North American research. Rates of abuse varied between 7% and 37% for women, and 3% to 29% for men, with most studies finding females experience abuse at 1,5 to 3 times more than the rate for males (Finkelhor, 1994:409).

[30] Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Rep., Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Great Britain, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States.

In addition to the influence of the macrosystem on children's development, at the level of the microsystem, all children have attachments with their primary care givers.

7. ATTACHMENT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN

Developmental psychology, conceptualized during the late 19th century in Europe, had a profound influence on constructions of "childhood" and "family" (Bozalek, 1997:17). Pertinent in this regard is attachment theory developed by John Bowlby (b.1907 d.1990). The concept of attachment is a relationship-based theory of personality development and is a reflection of individuals' psychosocial progress through life (Howe, 2005:10). "Psychosocial" refers to the interplay between individuals' psychological condition and the social environment (Howe, 2002:170).

Bowlby (1979:8) noted that, "If a baby and young child has the love and company of his mother and soon also that of his father, he will grow up without an undue pressure of libidinal craving and without an over-strong propensity for hatred". This assumes that the mother has no needs of her own, apart from caring for her child, the difficulties of which Bowlby (1979:8) acknowledged. As a result of this assumption, professionals identified inadequate mothering as the source of emotional problems in growing children so attention was deflected from structural problems such as poverty, racism and sexism (Bozalek, 1997:18). However, mothers who do not experience structural problems in South Africa and elsewhere also abuse and neglect their children. And surely not all "bad mothering" is attributable to poverty. And what of inadequate fathering? According to Bozalek (1997:17), writing about children in South Africa, such theories remain authoritative as the only "accredited knowledge" and represent children as "passive and dependant" requiring protection and nurturing. Such representations are similarly noted in the Western construction of "childhood". Theoretically, this includes all children but, practically, it is mainly white, middle class children who have been given such attributes (Bozalek, 1997:17), reflected in for example, the application of welfare systems during apartheid in South Africa (discussed in Chapter Four).

Despite the Eurocentric origins of attachment theory and its application as "central" to social work practice with children and families (Robinson, 2002:87), attachment is a universal feature of human development (Weiten, 1998:434). Robinson (2002:87) challenges issues such as colonization and migration and their effects on black families (discussed in Chapter Four), and their inherent strengths. Howe, Brandon, Hinings and Schofield (1999:33) note that:

> Cross-cultural and intercountry comparisons of attachment patterns confirm that the modal type is that of the secure attachment, typically around 55-60% infant-mother dyads showing the pattern. Although the proportion of insecure types is therefore similar between cultures, minor differences in the frequencies of the avoidant and ambivalent insecure patterns are sometimes observed.

As a further response to Bowlby's assertions, Rutter (1985:611) notes that his focus on the infancy stage and the "affectional components of mothering" constituted a shift of emphasis "as it is clear that [Bowlby's] claims went beyond the evidence available at the time, and evident that he overestimated both the universality and irreversibility of the damage to later mental health". But, Bowlby was right to highlight the importance of the parent-child relationship and family influences on children's development (Rutter, 1981, cited in Rutter, 1985:598-611). In this regard, Rich (2006:11) uses the word "attachment" to describe "the sense of social connection that one individual has to another *and* the sense of social relatedness or belonging that an individual has to a larger reference group" (italics in text), thus highlighting the role of social and community support systems.

In contrast with Western society, children in African families are often exposed to extensive networks of family relationships, multiple mothering and extended support systems (Magwaza, 1997:166), and give credence to Rutter (1985:598) about the importance of family influences on children's development. The African collective philosophy of *ubuntu*, based on the notion of "your child is my child", theoretically offers protection, nurturing and unconditional love to children, rooted in the collective African humanness which binds communities through mutual support and respect (Magwaza, 1997:165). However, this

assumes that all communities are cohesive. It also assumes that all individuals are capable of offering protection and nurturing.

As previously noted, the microsystem refers to situations in which children have face-to-face contact with others including the family (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:22). According to Howe et al (1999:9), the quality and character of children's close relationships is a central concept that links many factors influencing development. Within this dynamic interplay of relationships between the personal and social worlds of children, minds form, personalities develop, and social competence starts, or that "children find their minds in the minds of their carers" (Howe, 2008:9, 60).

Attachment theory is "a way of conceptualizing the propensity of human beings to make strong affectional bonds to particular others and of explaining the many forms of emotional distress and personality disturbance, including anxiety, anger, depression, and emotional detachment, to which unwilling separation and loss give rise" (Bowlby, 1979:127). Hence, the theory facilitates understanding of first, healthy personality development, and second, how social adversity places some children at greater risk of experiencing personal distress, interpersonal conflict, and the development of problem behaviours (Howe et al, 1999:11), particularly pertinent to the current research. Rich (2006:19) notes that attachment is a biological process, rather than a psychological one, initially driven by instinct, and becomes a psychological experience later on. However, there are some limitations to the theory.

Limitations of attachment theory

One limitation of attachment theory is that as the child's experience of the attachment bond is with an individual and not a couple, the mother (or care giver) "experiences a complementary care giver bond" (Rich, 2006:12). Hence, in an "ideal" relationship between infant and mother, the child demonstrates attachment behaviours, with the mother displaying care giver behaviours. This surely assumes that care giving behaviours are innate. Attachment theory only "understands and treats" certain relationships as attachments (Rich, 2006:12). Similarly, attachment theory does not elucidate what is meant by "attachment" in

adolescents, or the possible influence of attachment on other "affiliative relationships", or why or how some of these relationships might be transformed into adult attachment relationships (Rich, 2006:12). Furthermore, Rich (2006:12-3) notes that the exact meanings of "secure" or "insecure" attachment are not completely clear, more so in situations when a child might experience a secure attachment with one care giver but an insecure attachment with another. Despite these limitations, attachment is an important aspect of children's development and is one example of a psychosocial perspective that can be used to understand the quality of individuals' relationships with others (Howe, 2002:173), pertinent in the current research.

Attachment patterns

It will be seen that the work of Howe (2005:6) is used extensively in this section, as his concern is with attachment, care giving and the effects of child maltreatment. These are crucial concepts in convicted rapists' psychosocial histories in the current research.

Howe (2005:27-8) defines attachment as "the dyadic regulation of emotion". Attachment behaviour is activated when young children are separated from primary care givers, or feel frightened or distressed, and seek comfort. Pre-verbal children communicate their mental states and physical needs behaviourally, and process care giver responses to these behaviours at an increasingly cognitive level. Children gradually construct internal working models, or mental representations, of what usually happens, particularly in times of need (Howe, 2005:28). The main function of internal working models is to help children regulate fear, distress and anxiety when feeling insecure (Howe, 2005:29). Children then organize their attachment behaviour to increase the availability, proximity and responsivity of their care givers (Howe, 2005:29). There are three main types of attachment patterns: secure, insecure, and disorganized (Howe, 2005:30-41).

Secure attachment patterns

Howe (2005:31) notes that children develop secure attachments with parents whose care giving is "sufficiently sensitive, loving, responsive, attuned, consistent, available and accepting". These parents are interested in their

children's physical and emotional needs (Howe, 2005:31). Securely attached children can experience and express negative emotions. They have the capacity to regulate their distress by managing upsets themselves or getting help from attachment figures (Howe, 2005:31). Securely attached children develop high self-esteem and are the least likely to develop mental health problems (Howe, 2005:32). Rich (2006:109) notes that children with securely attached patterns have an "internalized positive sense of others and a positive sense of self". Securely attached children might experience uncertainty as to the whereabouts of their care givers but once the relationship is re-established, they experience feelings of "safety, containment and pleasure" (Howe, 2005:32). This is not so with insecurely attached children.

Insecure attachment patterns

There are two types of insecure attachment: avoidant and anxious/ambivalent (Howe, 2005:32). Care givers who are unwilling (avoidant patterns), or unable (ambivalent patterns), to respond to or satisfy a child's normally expressed attachment needs create anxiety in the parent-child relationship (Howe, 2005:33). Children learn that they cannot show attachment behaviour in its complete form to increase parental responsivity. They therefore develop secondary attachment behavioural strategies to attract parental availability and interest (Howe, 2005:33). However, there is some developmental cost to children with the use of such strategies. This includes the inability or reluctance to show their true selves to anxious care givers, and the concomitant reduction of availability, care and protection in times of need (Howe, 2005:33). In the case of avoidant strategies, children minimizing affect or, in the case of ambivalent strategies, exaggerating distress, defensively distort part of their own and others' psychological composition (Howe, 2005:33). Consequently, children using avoidant patterns fail to process, and understand, their emotions. Children using ambivalent attachment patterns fail to learn how thought and behaviour affects people and their feelings (Howe, 2005:33). Insecure individuals feel anxious whenever attachment-related experiences arise and are unable to use other people, including their attachment figures, to help them regulate their distress and re-establish equilibrium. In addition, they are unable to reflect on and consciously explore their internal working models of attachment (Howe, 2005:33).

Insecure individuals fail to reflect difficult attachment experiences. Any information that might lead to painful feelings of perceived or expected rejection is excluded by avoidant individuals (Howe, 2005:33-4). Ambivalent individuals are unreflectively preoccupied and anxious about other people's emotional interest and availability. Such people fear emotional abandonment, and in their anxiety make continual demands on all their relationships, become enmeshed with others, but unable to let go despite their doubts (Howe, 2005:34).

Avoidant attachment patterns

Carer givers who experience feelings of anxiety or anger cope with children's attachment behaviour by distancing themselves emotionally (Howe, 2005:34). Rather than attempting to soothe or understand, avoidant carers tend to impose their views of how "good" children should behave and only "accept" them when they behave accordingly (Howe, 2005:34). Children who develop avoidant attachments adapt to "rejecting" care giving by over-regulating their emotions, inhibiting their feelings of need, or deactivating their attachment behaviour to increase care givers' proximity and responsivity (Howe, 2005:34). Hence, avoidant children tend to be emotionally independent, self-sufficient, self-contained and compliant in the presence of care givers but do not learn how to obtain care and protection (Howe, 2005:34-35). Intimacy and emotional closeness, which previously had increased the fear of rejection and hurt, are often avoided by these children (Howe, 2005:35).

Anxious/ambivalent attachment patterns

Ambivalent attachments are marked by children's desire for increased parental responsiveness, and anger when it cannot be assumed (Howe, 2005:36). Care givers preoccupied with their own needs and uncertainties, and are under-involved with their children, are experienced as inconsistent (Howe, 2005:35). As a result of the care givers' preoccupation, children begin to hyper-activate their attachment behaviour (Howe, 2005:36). Ambivalent attachments are also referred to as resistant attachments, as children do not trust care givers to remain involved, even when they have sought and received their attentions. Howe (2005:36) notes that in this form of attachment, children's emotions are under-regulated. One

consequence of this is that these children find it difficult to absorb themselves in play and exploration (Howe, 2005:36).

Disorganized attachment patterns

Rich (2006:111) writes that disorganized attachment patterns reflect behaviours that are considered disconnected, sometimes bizarre, and lacking a coherent system behind the behaviour. Abusive, hostile, depressed, drunk, drugged or apparently helpless parents are frightening for children (Howe, 2005:37). For children who live in physically abusive homes, "love feels in short supply" (Howe, 2005:72). Care givers who are "panicky" with their own unresolved traumas make it difficult for them to empathize with their children's needs and distress (Howe, 2005:37-8). Children can experience distress for long periods of time and if left unchecked, become hyper-aroused with disassociation the most extreme form of defence (Howe, 2005:38). Co-regulation is therefore absent, as care givers fail to deal with children's distress whilst unmanageably aroused. These children lack a "coherent subjective sense of self" and cannot manage their own emotional arousal or in others (Howe, 2005:38).

Difficulties with attachment are compounded when children experience maltreatment. This can affect the ability to develop resilience.

8. MALTREATMENT AND RESILIENCE

For children to grow into competent and productive adults, they must learn a variety of tasks including the regulation of their emotions and behaviour (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:156). However, in "maltreating families" parental care does not meet the basic needs of children physically, emotionally and/or socially (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:156). In the case of maltreated children, Howe (2005:38) notes that these children need their parents to help them contain and regulate their escalating arousal. When these needs are not met, these children experience danger and psychological abandonment. This increases their feelings of intense fear, when the self is under threat, as well as shame, experienced from a young age, an emotion associated with ineffectiveness, feeling demeaned and not socially accepted (Howe, 2005:38). Fear and shame become extremely problematic if triggered by the attachment figure (Howe, 2005:38). Hence,

maltreatment during childhood has been identified as a "significant risk factor" for a range of emotional, behavioural, and social adjustment problems (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:157). These problems are cause for concern for two reasons: first, they are a reflection of a child's current adjustment, and second, they are predictors for problems later (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:157).

Crucially, resilient adaptation may be unlikely among children who are maltreated (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:157). Yates, Egeland and Sroufe (2003:249) define "resilience" as "an ongoing process of garnering resources that enables the individual to negotiate current issues adaptively and provides a foundation for dealing with subsequent challenges, as well as recovering from reversals of fortune". This highlights that children can cope with difficulties, despite maltreatment, under certain circumstances. According to Rutter (2007:205), the concept of "resilience" means that some individuals "have a relatively good outcome" despite suffering a number of risk experiences associated with serious sequelae. Yates et al (2003:250) highlight that resilience does not cause children to do well in the face of adversity, but reflects the developmental processes that they acquire to use internal and external resources in the face of adversity.

Research and resilience

Significant research into children and resilience was undertaken by Werner and Smith (2001:24-5) who conducted a 40-year longitudinal study with 505 Hawaiians born on the island of Kauai in 1955. The study "monitored the impact" of biological and psychosocial risk factors at six stages, when the participants were aged one, two, ten, 17/18, 31/32 and 40 years old (Werner and Smith, 2001:25). As the study progressed, the researchers took special interest in high-risk children, who in spite of exposure to "birth complications, discordant and impoverished home lives, and uneducated, alcoholic, or mentally disturbed parents, went on to develop healthy personalities, stable careers, and strong interpersonal relationships" (Werner and Smith, 2001:25), anticipated features of respondents' childhood lives in the current study. Rich (2006:104) notes that some of the difficulties experienced by the participants in the Werner and Smith study gave rise to insecure and/or disorganized patterns of attachment.

Findings from the data collected by Werner and Smith (2001:145) suggest that a lifetime exposure to parental alcoholism (i.e. from early childhood to the age of 18) had a "strong association" with poor adaptation at age 40 for the men in their study, particularly if an alcoholic father was present in the household. Similarly, there were "significant associations" between maternal alcoholism and poor midlife adaptation, with "a modest association" between mental health problems, such as chronic depression or schizophrenia, in the mother (excluding alcoholism) and poor midlife adaptation (Werner and Smith, 2001:145). These negative associations between chronic parental alcohol abuse and/or mental illness and adult adaptation were more pronounced for sons than daughters in the Werner and Smith (2001:146) study. This suggests that boy children are more vulnerable to the effects of parental alcohol abuse, or that girl children are able to garner more resources to counter the effects of such adversity.

Similarly, there were "negative associations" with adaptation by age 40 between low family income between birth and age two, the need for remedial education by the age of ten, problems at school during teenage years, and the number of visits to public health clinics for a variety of adolescent health problems (Werner and Smith, 2001:146). For the male respondents in the study, there were also "negative associations" between the number of children in the family by age ten, substance abuse between ages 18 and 40, and the quality of adaptation at age 40 (Werner and Smith, 2001:146).

Throughout the study, the researchers tried to identify protective factors that contributed to the resilience of troubled children and their "recovery" during adult life. Two of these factors, suggesting individuals' sense of worth, were first, high-risk children with a "positive social orientation" (based on adjectival descriptions after observations by psychologists and paediatricians), grew into adults without any major coping problems, and second, that these children had "higher expectations for their future accomplishments" when they completed high school education, and had more realistic future educational and vocational plans (Werner and Smith, 2001:151).

"A potent protective factor" amongst high-risk individuals who grew into successful adults was "a faith that life made sense, that the odds could be overcome" and "a more internal locus of control at age 18" when compared to their peers (Werner and Smith, 2001:151). Protective factors within the family included fewer than four children, a spacing of two or more years between siblings, and mothers being relatively older and better educated (Werner and Smith, 2001:152). Protective factors for high-risk individuals who made successful transitions into adult life within the community included the presence of caring adults or "surrogate parents" whom Werner and Smith (2001:153) list as grandparents, uncles, aunts, neighbours, parents of boy- or girlfriends, youth leaders, ministers and members of church groups, with "caring teachers and elder mentors also play[ing] a crucial role in the lives of high-risk boys and girls". With regard to the high-risk individuals in their study developing resilience, Werner and Smith (2001:173) concluded that what "mattered" was the emotional support from relatives, peers, and caring adults outside the home, especially teachers and mentors who became positive role models, most particularly those who had successfully "beaten the odds".

This finding is pertinent in South Africa for two reasons. First, it reflects the influence of "community" and positive proximal and distal role models for developing children, and second, demonstrates the potentially mediating role of "caring adults" within South Africa's "culture of violence" (Loffell, 2004:250).

Other research concerns the various characteristics that distinguish resilient from non-resilient maltreated children, including stressors within neighbourhoods.

Jaffee, Caspi, Moffitt, Polo-Tomás and Taylor (2007:231) conducted research on individual, family and neighbourhood characteristics that distinguished resilient from non-resilient maltreated children. Their research also investigated if the individual strengths of children promoted resilience despite their exposure to multiple family and neighbourhood stressors. Participants in this study were members of the Environmental Risk Longitudinal Study that investigated how genetic and environmental factors shape the development of children. The sample was drawn from two consecutive birth cohorts (1994 and 1995) in a birth register

of twins born in England and Wales (Trouton, Spinath and Plomin, 2002, cited in Jaffee et al, 2007:235). Of the 15 906 twin pairs born in 1994 and 1995, 71% joined the register. Findings included that children's resilience was "severely compromised" when exposed to family and neighbourhood stressors, despite children who had individual strengths that would have protected them from the adverse effects of maltreatment under lower-stress conditions. The findings of the study are consistent with other findings with regard to the factors associated with resilience to maltreatment, according to Jaffee et al (2007:246). The study identified, first, factors associated with persistent resilience over a minimum of two years, and second, gender differences in the correlates of resilience. The researchers noted that individual strengths "played a more important role in distinguishing resilient from non-resilient boys rather than girls" (Jaffee et al, 2007:246). Boys who are "bright, sociable and self-controlled" attracted more attention and support from their school teachers and other adults compared to girls who had similar strengths. This was particularly so when adults knew or suspected that the boys came from difficult home circumstances, and when such strengths were normally less characteristic of boys than girls (Jaffee et al, 2007:247-8). The researchers interpreted this as individual strengths making girls resilient in other ways and that family risk factors had stronger effects on boys.

Similarly, a study conducted by DuMont, Widom and Czaja (2007:255) examined the predictors of resilience in adults who were abused and neglected as children, and the role of individual and neighbourhood characteristics. The retrospective data were based on a sample of 676 participants obtained from an American Midwestern country area between the years 1967 and 1971. All the participants had court-substantiated histories of abuse and/or neglect.

The findings of DuMont et al (2007:268) suggest that both individual characteristics, and the fit between individuals and their environments, are important to the development of resilience. Nearly half of the participants who had experienced abuse and neglect during their childhood were resilient in adolescence. However, by young adulthood, this figure dropped to roughly 30% (DuMont et al, 2007:268). In response to this, the researchers examined predictors of resilience at adolescence and young adulthood. The "fixed"

individual characteristics of race and gender have prominent roles in understanding resilience but are difficult to evaluate due to the differences of study design and participant populations (DuMont et al, 2007:268). Their finding is that women and African-American individuals who experienced maltreatment during childhood appear to be more resilient in adolescence compared to men and white, non-Hispanic individuals who were similarly maltreated during childhood (DuMont et al, 2007:268). In an attempt to understand this finding, DuMont et al (2007:269) cite Rutter (1987), who suggests that gender differences to trauma may be the result of responses from the event by the child and surrounding adults, as well as an underlying vulnerability to the risk. DuMont et al (2007:269) quote Jarrett (1993), who used ethnographic research to explore the different strategies that African-American adolescents or their parents used to promote resilience. These strategies included "tightening curfews" in high crime areas or creating links with people who have possible resources and opportunities for success, again highlighting the influence of caring adults who "beat the odds" similarly noted by Werner and Smith (2001:173).

Another finding from the DuMont et al (2007:269) study was that "a stable living situation", defined by these researchers as living with either both parents, or a long foster care placement, at least triples the odds of resilience in adolescence. Growing up in an advantaged neighbourhood did not appear to contribute directly to resilience during adolescence in abused and neglected children (DuMont et al, 2007:269). Instead, growing up in an advantaged neighbourhood along with other characteristics such as cognitive ability and household stability, apparently influence the likelihood of resilience (DuMont et al, 2007:269). The findings of the study also suggested that individuals who have supports in place, or individual factors such as cognitive functioning and household stability, establish resilience early on, and are more likely to sustain resilience over their life span (DuMont et al, 2007:270).

9. CHAPTER SUMMARY

Key issues noted in this chapter include:

- There are differences between Western and African belief systems concerning children. Western developmental psychology determined that the modern family

has one mother (Flandrin, 1991:132). In contrast, African culture is associated with multiple mothering and extended support systems (Magwaza, 1997:166), which suggests an abundance of care and protection.

- Western and African children's experience of "childhood" is often vastly different (Marshall, 1994:52; Khalil, 2006:13-15).
- Western definitions of "neglect" are not necessarily congruent with socio-economic realities (Jacobs, 2005:12), or cultural practices and beliefs (Guma and Henda, 2004:98; Burstyn, 1995:30; Barstow, 1999:503), in other parts of the world. This highlights that culture is neither uniformly distributed nor homogenous (Korbin, 2002:637), and brings into sharp focus the challenges of enforcing "universal" standards.
- Despite the Eurocentric nature of attachment theory, attachment is a universal feature of human development (Weiten, 1998:434) as all human beings form bonds with others (Bowlby, 1979:127).
- Attachment difficulties are possibly compounded when children experience maltreatment (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:157).
- Maltreatment may impact negatively on children's ability to develop resilience (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:157).
- External factors that hamper the development of resilience in boy children possibly include exposure to parental alcoholism and maternal health problems (Werner and Smith, 2001:145).
- Family risk factors affecting the development of resilience possibly have a stronger effect on boys (Jaffee et al, 2007:247-8).
- External factors that may influence the development of resilience in boy children include families of less than four children, spacing of two or more years between children, and older, better educated mothers (Werner and Smith, 2001:152) as well as caring adults (Werner and Smith, 2001:153; DuMont et al, 2007:269).
- Internal factors that promote resilience possibly include a positive social orientation and high expectations for future accomplishments (Werner and Smith, 2001:150).
- The abovementioned studies were conducted outside South Africa with its legacy of apartheid and structural neglect. However, the findings of these studies highlight the potentially important mediating roles of mentors and "caring adults" on vulnerable children who live with difficult parental, neighbourhood and socio-

economic circumstances, experienced by many children in many parts of the world.

- The rape of children under the age of three years is neither new nor unique to South Africa with documented cases in Kenya (Saidi et al, 2008:87; Nduati and Muita, 1992:350), Hungary (Csorba et al, 2005:217), United States (Riggs et al, 2000:358; Muram, 1989:211; Cupoli and Sewell, 1988:151; Caniano et al, 1986:219; Cantwell, 1983:171; De Jong et al, 1983:155), England (Hobbs and Wynne, 1989:195; Hobbs and Wynne, 1986:792), and Canada (Dubé and Hébert, 1998:321; Mian et al, 1986:223).
- It is possible that some 10% of all rapes are committed against children under the age of three years (Richter, 2003:395), highlighting the enormous vulnerability of particularly young children, and their parental level of supervision and monitoring.

Clearly, there are multiple positive and negative influences on children's development, with maltreated children often unable to develop sufficient resilience to adversity in the absence of internal and external coping resources, and support systems. The following chapter discusses men who were maltreated during childhood and sexually offend against children.

CHAPTER THREE:
MEN WHO SEXUALLY OFFEND AGAINST CHILDREN

1. INTRODUCTION

Sexual acts involving children often evoke feelings of revulsion and disgust in many sectors of society. The rape of infants and toddlers raises the greatest outrage. It is possible that some of this outrage is rooted in the often erroneous belief that all acts of rape are driven by sexual gratification. How therefore is such gratification obtained by having "sex" with infants or toddlers? How can individuals transgress such social boundaries of sexual behaviour? Others believe that such brutal acts are motivated by the "virgin-cleansing" myth (discussed on page 74). These understandable sentiments and beliefs reflect the need to try and understand why particularly young children are raped. Given the enormous damage inflicted by a perpetrator raping a child under the age of three, it is possible that such dysfunctional sexual behaviour serves a particular function, such as an extreme expression of power or anger (Faller, 1988:17).

Men who commit sexual acts against children are often referred to as "sexual offenders" with the term "sexual offending" referring to rape, molestation, paedophilia and indecent assault. Current terminology used to describe sexual acts against children can be bewildering, often the result of confusing behaviour with diagnosis (Greenberg, 1990:5), who believes that "child molestation" is a behaviour performed by people with different diagnoses, such as paedophilia, mental disability, or Antisocial Personality Disorder. Current psychiatric definitions of child sexual offenders have not necessarily addressed the many problems faced by them (Marshall, Marshall, Serran and Fernandez, 2006:7). Whilst there is no single empirically derived theory of a disposition to sexually offend, most practitioners and researchers agree on a set of aetiologically important factors (Marshall et al, 2006:12).

2. SHIFTING UNDERSTANDINGS OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSERS

Smart (1999:393) observes that during the first half of the 20th century there was no "unifying definition" of a child sexual abuser – a possible reflection that it was not before the 1960s that the awareness of child abuse was brought to fore. The terminology used to describe those who have acted sexually against children has changed in different epochs, thereby shifting responsibility for such acts.

"Psychotic degenerates"

Brownmiller (1975:11) notes that Krafft-Ebing, a 19th century Austrian police doctor and psychiatrist, seen as a pioneer in the study of sexual disorders, viewed most rapists as "degenerate imbecilic men". In response to this, Finkelhor (1979:20-3) pointed out that sexual offenders were often friends, relatives or neighbours of the children they sexually abused, were rarely brutal or sadistic and "used their authority or charm to gain children's confidence, co-operation, or at least, passive consent". More recently, Marshall (2004:149) notes that "few rapists are characterized by the sort of evident psychopathology that the public expects in these offenders". In support of this statement, he cites Abel, Rouleau and Cunningham-Rathner (1986) and Seghorn, Prentky and Boucher (1987) who found that" no more than 5% to 8%" of rapists suffer from psychosis, serious brain dysfunction, or mental disability. This is in stark contrast to the sometimes misleading, and inaccurate, stereotypes reflected in some media that 'normal' people do not sexually abuse children.

There have also been shifts in responsibility to the victims for their abuse.

The child as seductress

Writing in an era limited in the awareness of children's rights, Barnes and Teeters (1959:99) argued that sex offenders did not represent "as serious a menace to society as one would gather from the public outcry against them, generated by sensational newspaper and magazine articles". They noted that most of the cases dealt with statutory rape[31] where the girl had lied about her age, or "the girl has drawn the man into the relationship". Barnes and Teeters (1959:99) further noted

[31] "Statutory rape" refers to sexual intercourse with a female below the age of consent usually at age 16 or 18.

that forcible rape "has been much overrated. In many cases, the female has offered little resistance and, in others, she has 'framed' the male. In other cases, the female has reported the man only after he has jilted or abandoned her". This places the responsibility for rape onto women and suggests that if women do not resist, forced sex is not rape, and that reporting "rape" is often a form of revenge. The authors then turned their attention to the sex offender who "shows signs of suffering from such emotional difficulty or who is abnormal in his lust for sexual gratification. Such persons go to shocking extremes, and may assault little girls or elderly women. These individuals have passed the borderline of normality and entered the realm of the pathological. Some are obviously infantile in their sex lives; all gain sex satisfaction in an allegedly abnormal manner" (Barnes and Teeters, 1959:100). The latter statements appear to be contradictory, suggest that such acts were motivated by sexual gratification, and that rape is driven by psychopathology, again reflecting some inaccurate media reports. Furthermore, many of the above statements continue to pervade myths associated with rape in some parts of contemporary society.

"Seductive mothers"

Another way of understanding an individual's sexual interest in children was the result of a disturbance in his parental relationship (Finkelhor, 1979:21). Child molesters were viewed as men with overly "seductive mothers" whose advances aroused incest anxiety (Finkelhor, 1979:21). Glueck (1954, cited in Finkelhor, 1979:21) maintains that incest anxiety gave rise to a fear of adult women and adult sexuality, and hence children were used for adults' sexual needs, as children did not present these threats. However, many men experienced "disturbed" or "seductive" parental relationships and do not sexually offend. Furthermore, these beliefs suggest no personal responsibility on the part of individuals who do sexually offend and shift responsibility to their "seductive mothers".

Sexual fixation

Sexual fixation theories focused on early childhood sexual trauma as the source of later deviant behaviour. McGuire et al (1965) and Nabokov (1965, cited in Finkelhor, 1979:21) believed that a sexual preoccupation with children was the result of an unusually pleasurable childhood sexual experience, leaving the

individual fixated or conditioned to respond to that early stimulus. A negative sexual experience was regarded as having a similar effect by inhibiting the individual from normal sexual maturation, or driving him to compulsively repeat the situation to try and change the outcome. Finkelhor (1979:21) described these psychoanalytical theories as "imaginative" as they had not received much empirical confirmation, and only a minority of offenders showed "childhood traumas and the warped parental relationships that the psychoanalytic approach would predict". For example, Ivey and Simpson (1998:15) undertook open-ended interviews with six paedophiles undergoing therapy on an out-patient basis at the "Durban Child and Family Treatment Unit Child Molester Psychotherapy Groups" in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa. They note the recurring themes of deficient parenting, as well as unmet needs for emotional intimacy and physical affection during the paedophiles' childhood years.

The sexual fixation theory does not necessarily explain why children who were not sexually abused become adult sexual offenders, or that those who did experience such trauma, did not become adult sexual offenders.

The aforementioned theories reflect society's struggles to understand those who sexually abuse children, often using simplistic cause-and-effect explanations.

Child sexual offenders are often referred to as "paedophiles" or "child molesters" thus reflecting the psychopathological (based on nomological systems of psychological types or mental disorders) and sociolegal (based on offence types) classifications (Feelgood and Hoyer, 2008:33). The psychiatric taxonomies of paedophiles have also changed over time.

3. SHIFTING PSYCHIATRIC TAXONOMIES OF PAEDOPHILES

Since the 1950s, the descriptions and classifications of paedophilia have changed. Howitt (1995:14-6) reviews paedophiliac definitions contained in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders'* first, second, third and third (revised) editions (DSM-I, DSM-II, DSM-III and DSM-III-R) of the American Psychiatric Association.

The first edition of the DSM-I was published in 1952. Paedophilia was listed as one of several "sexual deviations" and was seen as sociopathic, and a "deviation" against society's values and other persons (Howitt, 1995:14-5). The second edition of DSM-II was published in 1968. Paedophilia was still described as a "sexual deviation". The concept of a sociopathic disorder was replaced with "non-psychotic[32] mental disorder" (American Psychiatric Association, 1968, cited in Howitt, 1995:15), reflecting a change from earlier beliefs that only "mad" people sexually abuse children. Kellerman (1999:42) notes that the use of term "psychopath" changed to "sociopath" during the 1960s and 1970s. This implies a shift in responsibility for abusive acts from the individual to society, and that abusers of children were not necessarily "bad and mad" people. "No longer ill, they were now judged to be victims of persecution" (Kellerman, 1999:42). This surely denies all personal responsibility for the abuse of children.

In 1980 the publication of DSM-III listed paedophilia in the category of paraphilia, with paedophilia limited to activities or fantasies between adults and pre-pubescent children (American Psychiatric Association, 1980, cited in Howitt, 1995:15). This suggests that adult sexual activity with adolescents was not classified as paedophilia or that an adult fantasy involving a younger child could be classified as paedophilia.

In 1987 the revised DSM-III-R was published. The notion of "repeatedly preferred" was abandoned (American Psychiatric Association, 1987, cited in Howitt, 1995:15). The categorisation of paedophilia was used even when men displayed sexual arousal to other stimuli, such as different paraphilia and adult-to-adult homosexual or heterosexual intercourse, a change that occurred with an increasing awareness that paedophilia was often associated with other sexual crimes and activities (Howitt, 1995:15). By categorising paedophilia as a paraphilia, it was included in categories that many regard as perversions (Howitt, 1995:16).

[32] Barlow and Durand (2005:458) note that the term 'psychotic,' despite its usage to describe a range of unusual behaviours, strictly "involves delusions (irrational beliefs) and/or hallucinations (sensory experiences in the absence of external events)".

The essential features of a paraphilia, including paedophilia, are "recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviours generally involving (1) non-human objects, (2) the suffering of oneself or one's partner, or (3) children or other non-consenting persons that occur over a period of at least six months" (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:566). This could suggest that a "one-off" sexual act involving a child is not paedophilia and that all acts of child molestation include fantasies.

Current psychiatric diagnosis and clinical features of paedophilia

The current psychiatric definition and understanding of paedophilia is contained in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, fourth edition, text revision (DSM-IV-TR, American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571-2):

> [The paraphiliac focus on paedophilia] … involves sexual activity with a pre-pubescent child (generally aged 13 years or younger). The person with paedophilia must be aged 16 years or older and at least five years older than the child. For individuals in late adolescence with paedophilia, no precise age difference is specified and clinical judgement must be used; both the sexual maturity of the child and the age difference must be taken into account. Individuals with paedophilia generally report an attraction to children of a particular age range. Some individuals prefer males, others females and some are aroused by both males and females. Those attracted to females usually prefer 8- to 10-year-olds, whereas those attracted to males usually prefer slightly older children. Paedophilia involving female victims is reported more often than paedophilia involving male victims. Some individuals with paedophilia are sexually attracted only to children (Exclusive Type), whereas others are sometimes attracted to adults (Non-exclusive Type). Individuals with paedophilia who act on their urges with children may limit their activity to undressing the child and looking, exposing themselves, masturbating in the presence of the child, or gentle touching and fondling of the child. Others, however, perform fellatio or cunnilingus on the child or penetrate the child's vagina, mouth, or anus with their fingers, foreign objects, or penis and use varying degrees of force to do so (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571).

The disorder usually begins in adolescence. However, some individuals with paedophilia have reported that their arousal to children commenced during middle

age. "The frequency of paedophiliac behaviour often fluctuates with psychosocial stress. The course is usually chronic, especially those attracted to males. The recidivism rate for individuals with paedophilia involving a preference for males is roughly twice that for those who prefer females" (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571).

Many sexual abusers of children use a method called "grooming", an often long and subtle process, to prepare the child for a sexual encounter (Travers, 1999:11). Grooming concerns the development of trust and the need for secrecy between the child and the person perpetrating the abusive act, and can include giving the child money and sweets as rewards. If a person who is perpetrating an abusive act against a child is anxious that the child will "tell" psychological coercion is used to prevent a child from disclosing (Travers, 1999:11). However, the emotional "grooming process" cannot occur with children under the age of three years, as infants and toddlers do not have the verbal or cognitive skills for a person who is perpetrating an abusive act to engage with and manipulate.

Furniss (1991:22-4) uses the term "syndrome of secrecy" to refer to the relationship between sexual perpetrators and their child victims. The "syndrome of secrecy" is frequently characterized by the lack of medical evidence and forensic proof of sexual abuse, disbelief when a child does disclose the abuse, and threats made by the abuser to keep the child silent (Furniss, 1991:22-4). These factors are not present in the rape of children under the age of three years, as the resultant serious physical injuries themselves are medical evidence of abuse. Furthermore, very young children cannot name or identify their abusers or be coerced or threatened into silence by them.

However, according to Marshall et al (2006:7), the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM) has not served those who intervene with sexual offenders "at all well" and has excluded many offenders, such as rapists and many child molesters, with clear problems needing treatment. Similarly, the DSM is not clear why those adults who engage in sex with pre-pubescent children are paedophiles, whilst those who molest post-pubescent children are not considered paedophiles (Marshall et al, 2006:9). Furthermore, the complex

problems facing sexual offenders, such as a lack of empathy, low self-esteem, poor coping styles and skills, difficulties with emotional and behavioural regulation as well as dysfunctional attachment styles, are not noted in the DSM criteria (Marshall et al, 2006:11). These problems highlight that there is no one accepted model (Marshall et al, 2006:12), or single empirically derived theory (Townsend and Dawes, 2004:61), of a disposition to sexually offend. Furthermore, Faller (1988:17) notes that dysfunctional sexual behaviour serves various functions, including as an outlet for sexual feelings, an expression of anger, an opportunity to express power, and as an effort to express and receive affection. These functions suggest there are many factors that can lead to sexual offending and hence, a multifaceted aetiology.

4. THE AETIOLOGY OF SEXUAL OFFENDING

There are however a set of factors that appear "aetiologically significant" (Marshall et al, 2006:12), including cognitive distortion, physical abuse during childhood, and a lack of empathy.

Empathy

Howe (2005:19) explains that empathy is the ability to view how things may look and feel from the perspective of the other and forms the foundation of relationship skills and moral behaviour. The notion that sexual offenders are deficient in empathy is a popular view, and facilitates some understanding of how abusive behaviours are maintained (Marshall, Hudson, Jones and Fernandez, 1995:106), in for example, paedophiles, who see their abusive acts as having "educational value" for a child (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571). However, the Marshall et al (1995:109) study excluded rapists. A South African study conducted by Delport and Vermeulen (2004:41-7) with 48 incarcerated sexual offenders convicted of rape, attempted rape and indecent assault against children under the age of 18 years, found that 72,9% of the respondents felt no remorse, suggesting that rapists have greater deficits in empathy compared to child molesters and paedophiles.

Cognitive distortion

The predominant feature of "cognitive disorders" is the impairment of cognitive abilities such as memory, attention, perception and thinking (Barlow and Durand, 2005:521). Marshall et al (2006:76) re-frame cognitive distortions, from the perspective of sexual offenders, as "understandable ways of construing or representing events, actions, or people, in a way that protects the self". Research that examined cognitive distortions and blame attribution in 66 sexual offenders serving prison sentences in England was conducted by Blumenthal, Gudjonsson and Burns (1999:129). Offenders were separated into two groups. The first group consisted of 36 men who had sexually perpetrated against children who ranged in age from four to 15 years. The second group comprised 30 offenders who had sexually perpetrated against adults. Findings included that child sex offenders endorsed more cognitive distortions relating to sex with children. There were no group differences in cognitive distortions relating to rape. Men who had sexually offended against adults reported more external attribution (causal explanations for their behaviour located in social and environmental factors).[33] Men who had sexually offended against children reported more guilt feeling attributions (the extent to which offenders report feelings of guilt, remorse of regret). Mental element attribution (the extent to which an offender blames his offences on factors such as mental illness, low mood or loss of self control) was related to alcohol intoxication and use of violence in the offence, but not related to group differences. Blumenthal et al (1999:129) concluded that child sex offenders support their actions by "more enduring distorted cognitions, while those who offend against adults use blame attributions associated with the particular offence".

A South African study, aimed at "extending previous research" on sexual offender cognitions, was undertaken by Collings and McArthur (2000:11-2). The participants were 82 convicted incarcerated males consisting of 24 child molesters, 33 rapists, and 25 perpetrators of non-sexual crimes of interpersonal violence such as murder or aggravated assault. For the purposes of their study, these researchers defined a child molester as any male over the age of 18

[33] Santrock (2003:447) explains, "Attribution theory views people as motivated to discover the underlying causes of behaviour as part of their efforts to make sense of the behaviour".

convicted of a crime involving sexual contact with a child under the age of 14. A rapist was defined as any male over the age of 18 involved in coercive or non-consenting sexual intercourse with a female aged 18 years or more. All of these participants were randomly selected from inmates at a high security prison in the Durban area. A community comparison of 149 males, recruited through media appeals, was used. All participants were required to complete 15 items on the Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) Myth scale, developed by Collings in 1997. Not surprisingly, the researchers' findings included that the child sexual offenders in their study were more likely to endorse child sexual abuse myths and stereotypes in comparison to the groups of men who had no identified problems with child sexual abuse (Collings and McArthur, 2000:13). "The fact that there was no significant difference between rapists [whose sexual activity involved females aged 18 years or more], non-sexual offenders and community controls on any of the CSA Myth scale factors, suggests that the deviant attitudes reported by child sexual offenders cannot easily be attributed to family background factors or an involvement with the criminal justice system". Collings and McArthur (2000:13-4) note that much of the research on offender cognitions tends to focus largely on why men want to have sexual contact with children, with little attention given to offender cognitions that may "serve to override individual and social proscriptions against abuse". Their research concerns men who have raped women aged 18 or more and men who molested children under the age of 14.

It is not surprising that this, and the Blumenthal et al (1999:129) study, found that child sexual abusers had greater cognitive distortion, and endorsed more myths and stereotypes about their offences against children, as surely such thinking and endorsement enabled their abusive behaviours? Pertinent to those who rape very young children is their possible use of cognitive distortion, and how they override their own and societal proscriptions whilst committing such brutal acts.

There has been much research into physical punishment during childhood, as another factor that could facilitate understanding of sexual offending, thus highlighting the outcome of one of many developmental influences on children.

Physical abuse during childhood

Lee, Jackson, Pattison and Ward (2002:76) note that childhood sexual abuse is "uniquely associated" with paedophiles and child molesters. This suggests that different types of childhood adversities are possibly associated with varying forms of sexual offending. Lee et al (2002:88) conducted their research on 64 sex offenders and 33 non-sexual, non-drug related and non-violent property offenders in Australia. Findings of the study included the "unexpected … failure to identify" physical abuse during respondents' childhood as a specific developmental risk factor for rape. There was an association between childhood physical abuse and other developmental risk factors, with the relationship between physical abuse and any particular type of sexual offender inferred from the relevant studies (Lee et al, 2002:77). This finding demonstrates the complex aetiology of sexual offending, with many developmental risk factors, and pertinent to the current research to understand some of the factors which may have led some men to commit brutal acts against children under the age of three.

Straus, Sugarman and Giles-Sims (1997:761) undertook research to address the relationship between corporal punishment and antisocial behaviour, using data from interviews with 807 American mothers of children aged six to nine years. The researchers concluded that when parents use corporal punishment to reduce antisocial behaviours, the long-term effect tends to be the opposite and that if parents use non-violent methods of disciplining their children, the risk of antisocial behaviours, and level of violence in American society, could be reduced. The study highlights the severe societal outcomes of the use of corporal punishment, equally pertinent in South Africa with violence a central facet of daily life (Vogelman, 1990:118).

Similarly, Widom and Ames (1994:303) assessed the long-term criminal consequences of childhood sexual abuse to cases of physical abuse and neglect. The researchers used a matched cohort design, with 908 substantiated cases of physical and sexual abuse and/or neglect, processed by the American courts between 1967 and 1971. Their findings, despite a caution on the interpretation, suggest "an association for males between physical abuse and arrests for violent sex crimes (rape and/or sodomy)" (Widom and Ames, 1994:303).

The consequences of the use of physical punishment are also reflected in the study conducted by Straus and Kantor (1994:543). They report that teenagers who experienced corporal punishment have an increased risk later in life for depressive symptoms, suicidal thoughts, alcohol abuse and wife beating. Their findings were based on subsets of 6 002 American families, part of a 1985 National Family Violence Survey. One of the conclusions of this study was that "for some children, being hit by those they love and on whom they depend for their very existence, may be a traumatic event with consequences similar to other traumatizing events; … and that corporal punishment tends to create a feeling of helplessness and powerlessness" (Straus and Kantor, 1994:558), highlighting the emotional affects of corporal punishment.

Similarly, Fergusson and Lynskey (1997:617) report that harsh or abusive childhood experiences increase the risk for violent offending and alcohol abuse, after examining the relationships between retrospective reports of physical punishment/maltreatment and rates of adjustment difficulties at age 18. These researchers gathered data during an 18-year longitudinal study of a birth cohort of 1 265 children born in New Zealand.

The above studies demonstrate an association between childhood physical abuse and violent adult sexual offending. However, it could be argued that many men experienced physical abuse during childhood and did not become violent adult sexual offenders, suggesting that such men developed resilience to cope with their abuse. The above studies also demonstrate first, that not only African societies "discipline" their children by often physically abusing them (Guma and Henda, 2004:99), and second, that physical abuse, or maltreatment, includes emotional rejection and emotional abuse (Pritchard, 2004:16). This is also reflected in research.

Combinations of abuse and neglect

Ney, Fung and Wickett (1994:705) undertook research concerning the impact of various kinds of abuse and neglect on children's perceptions of themselves and their futures. The researchers identified "the worst combinations of child abuse and neglect" based on a long-term study that followed 167 Canadian children and

adolescents from seven to 18 years of age. After delineating combinations of various forms of maltreatment, Ney et al (1994:705) concluded that a combination of physical neglect, physical abuse and verbal abuse had the "greatest impact on children". This study also demonstrated that psychological conflicts can result from any type of abuse or neglect:

> Having been deprived of the necessary ingredients to their normal development, children never seem to accept the loss of the childhood that could have been. They keep on searching as adolescents and adults, only to find that those they search among are usually themselves deprived people who not only cannot provide them with what they needed as children, but also tend to abuse them, partly out of their own frustrations in encountering somebody who they thought would give to them when they were so hungry (Ney et al, 1994:711).

The psychological impact of such physical maltreatment is disordered attachment and is "the common thread defining the harms caused by child abuse and neglect" (Pritchard, 2004:11, 27).

Attachment difficulties

As noted, Howe (2005:27) defines "attachment" as "the dyadic regulation of emotion". From a biological perspective, attachment is a means of survival and a way to control anxiety (Howe, 2005:27). Traditionally, three types of attachment have been described (Hudson and Ward, 1997:324). The first type of attachment, secure attachment, results from sensitive and affectionate parenting. Two types of insecure attachment are associated with different developmental experiences. First, the development of an anxious/ambivalent attachment style, the result of inconsistent responding by parents, and second, an avoidant style, with detached and unresponsive care giving.

Rich (2006:13) notes that attachment is not the same in adulthood as it is in infancy and early childhood. He notes further that when using attachment theory in the context of sexual offenders, the construction of the theory refers to "a very limited and very specific relationship" with primary attachment figures, with little flexibility regarding the use of terms and ideas (Rich, 2006:13). Hence, the current definition, the "bedrock" of the theory, is one of the difficulties in

applying the theory to sexual offenders (Rich, 2006:13). Attachment theory is developmental with its application largely based on observation and analysis, with a focus on explaining and understanding the processes of early childhood development, rather than treating later conditions such as pathology (Rich 2006:13).

A significant limitation of attachment theory is that it is unclear how the transference of infant to adult attachment occurs, and what "attachment" means in an adult relationship (Rich, 2006:13-4). What is clear is that "attitudes and ideas" in adult relationships are affected, and in part determined, by early attachment relationships (Rich, 2006:14). Furthermore, Rich (2006:17) highlights that "disrupted or damaged" attachment, is not the only "cause" behind sexually abusive behaviours, but rather attachment difficulties are one vulnerability, along with others, from which sexually abusive behaviours emerge.

The outcomes of different attachment styles are demonstrated in research.

Smallbone and Dadds (1998:1) investigated attachment in incarcerated male sex offenders. Four hypotheses were tested on three groups: the first group comprised 48 sexual offenders - stranger rapists, intra familial and extra familial molesters. This group was compared with the second and third groups, comprising 16 non-sexual offenders, and 16 non-offenders. The first hypothesis, that sex offenders would report less secure childhood and adult attachment, when compared to non-offenders, was supported by the results of the study. The second hypothesis predicted that incarcerated sex offenders would report less secure childhood and adult attachment than incarcerated offenders with no documented history of violent or sexual offending. These researchers' findings suggest "tentative evidence" for the specificity of insecure maternal attachment with regard to sexual offending, in addition to its more general influence on criminality (Smallbone and Dadds, 1998:9).

The third and fourth hypotheses explored attachment-related differences between various types of sex offenders. Intra familial child molesters experienced particularly problematic relationships with their mothers, such as childhood

relationships involving both anxious (mothers inconsistent and unresponsive) and avoidant (mothers rejecting and abusive) patterns. Rapists, however, experienced particularly problematic relationships with their fathers, whom this category of sexual offenders regarded as uncaring, unsympathetic, abusive and violent (Smallbone and Dadds, 1998:10). These early experiences of paternal abuse and violence, which Smallbone and Dadds (1998:10) note are features of disorganized childhood attachment behaviour, may add "critically to rapists' already exceptionally low levels of secure maternal attachment by confirming their expectations that they are unworthy of close relationships." If such men do look for intimate adult relationships, they could adopt an uncaring, unsympathetic approach to their partners with their sexual behaviours "readily activated or at least fail to be inhibited in the context of abuse and violence" (Smallbone and Dadds, 1998:10). They concluded that insecure childhood attachments may be related to offending behaviour generally with certain combinations of childhood attachment experiences related more specifically to different kinds of sexual offending.

Similarly, Marshall and Marshall (2000:250) propose that the origins of sexual offending can be traced to the offender's experience of poor quality relationships with his parents. This is thought to increase the risk of the child being sexually abused, which feeds into any sexual fantasises held by the offender, particularly during adolescence. The juvenile history of adult sexual offenders is marked by "significantly higher frequencies" of masturbating as a way to cope with stress. High rates of masturbation, coupled to a lack of self-confidence in relationships, increase the likelihood that sexual fantasies will have elements of power and control and will become more deviant over time. This possibly creates a disposition to offend, released when the male's social constraints are disinhibited and there is an opportunity to offend (Marshall and Marshall, 2000:250).

Craissati, McClurg and Browne (2002:909) undertook research on the parental bonding experiences of sex offenders. Their sample comprised 76 men (57 child molesters and 19 rapists) referred to a community-based assessment and treatment programme for sex offenders in London. Findings included that an affectionless control style of parenting was "highly prevalent" amongst the sex offenders.

McCormack, Hudson and Ward (2002:85) conducted research into sexual offenders' perceptions of their early interpersonal relationships with participants from the Kia Marama Sex Offender Treatment programme in New Zealand. The study participants were 55 men who had sexually offended against children, 30 men who had sexually offended against adult women, 32 men with violent offences, and 30 men incarcerated for neither sexual nor violent offences. Using grounded theory,[34] the researchers derived 14 categories that accounted for participants' perceptions of their early interpersonal experiences. The derivation of the categories suggested that "most of the offenders described their interactions with care givers as involving high levels of neglect and rejection, and low levels of supervision and discipline" (McCormack et al, 2002:91). Participants appeared to manage their emotions in a defensive or avoidant manner. Another finding was that the fathers of rapists were less responsive compared to the fathers of the other groups of participants, with both mothers and fathers providing looser boundaries. Rapists experienced more physical abuse and felt less safe. McCormack et al (2002:92) conclude that their research suggests that higher rates of physical abuse during childhood are related to greater perceptions of danger and higher levels of coercive and aggressive behaviour, or features that are more characteristic of rape and violent offending than child molestation and non-violent offending. Such aggressive and hostile behaviour may also reflect the existence of a dismissive attachment style (McCormack et al, 2002:92). The researchers concluded that early interpersonal experiences for rapists and violent offenders were most negative with their fathers (McCormack et al, 2002:92).

Salter, McMillan, Richards, Talbot, Hodges, Bentovim, Hastings, Stevenson and Skuse (2003:471) conducted a 19 year longitudinal study with 224 male victims of sexual abuse. Data were gathered from male children who had been referred to a sexual abuse clinic in a teaching hospital in England between January 1980 and December 1992. Respondents were older than 18 years in May 1999, and had been abused either within or outside the household at the time of the referral, but had not, at that time, been known to have committed sexually abusive acts. Salter et al (2003:471-6) found that 26 of the 224 former victims had subsequently committed sexual offences in almost all cases with children mainly outside their

[34] Grounded theory was also used in the current study and is discussed in Chapter Five.

families. Risk factors during childhood for offending as an adult included material neglect, lack of supervision and sexual abuse by a female person. The findings were interpreted thus: "Most male victims of child sexual abuse do not become paedophiles, but particular experiences and patterns of childhood behaviour are associated with an increased risk of victims becoming abusers in later life" (Salter et al, 2003:471). Included in the study were the selection of risks, including the experience of physical abuse and neglect, witnessing intra familial abuse, rejection by carers (including evidence of emotional abuse), and discontinuity of care (Salter et al, 2003:476).

Simons, Wurtele and Durham (2008:549) identified the developmental experiences of 132 child sexual abusers and 137 rapists, serving sentences at the Colorado Department of Corrections, during March 2003 to March 2004. Findings supported the role of specific developmental experiences as aetiological factors in different types of sexual offending. Child sexual abusers' developmental histories were characterized by heightened sexuality, compared to rapists, whose childhood histories were more indicative of violence. This violence included that rapists reported more frequent experiences of physical abuse, parental violence, emotional abuse, and cruelty to animals.

The use of alcohol

The use of alcohol is often a precursor to the maltreatment of children and rape of women. Famularo, Kinscherff and Fenton (1992:475-83) conducted research into parental substance abuse and child maltreatment based on 190 randomly selected records of American children taken into care. Their examination of the data suggested that 120 of these cases involved various form of maltreatment as follows: 36 cases involved both physical and sexual maltreatment; 66 cases involved physical maltreatment; 18 cases involved sexual maltreatment, and 70 cases involved neither of these forms of maltreatment. Cases involving physical maltreatment were associated with alcohol abuse, with sexual maltreatment associated with the abuse of cocaine. The researchers explain that alcohol intoxication or withdrawal many contribute directly to maltreatment, with affective and behavioural disinhibition, impaired judgement, irritability, preoccupation whilst intoxicated, or the irritable and depressive quality of a

'hangover' may increase the risks of physical maltreatment by those who abuse alcohol. Similarly, the disinhibition and hyper-sexuality associated with the use of a stimulant, such as cocaine, may place children at greater risk for sexual maltreatment (Famularo et al, 1992:481).

Other research concerning the use of alcohol and sexual crimes was undertaken by Aromäki and Lindman (2001:94), who conducted research, in 1998, on ten convicted rapists and ten child molesters, serving prison sentences in Finland. The majority of both groups of sexual offenders were assessed as heavy drinkers. All reported that they were intoxicated when they committed the sexual offences for which they were incarcerated, suggesting the behavioural disinhibition noted by Famularo et al (1992:481). In contrast, the Crime Information Analysis Centre (2001:12) of the South African Police Service report that the use of alcohol by perpetrators of rape, for the period January to September 2001, varied between 20% and 30%. Hence, alcohol was not a contributory factor in 70 to 80% of rapes in South Africa, and again suggests other contributory factors, one of which might be poverty.

The role of poverty in abuse and neglect

Much of the research cited in this chapter is at the levels of the micro-, meso- and exosystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:22-26). It also emanates from "developed" countries - America, England, Australia and New Zealand - with higher rates of employment and lower levels of poverty when compared to South Africa. Hence, poverty is not necessarily a precursor to the neglect and abuse of children. However, South Africa, as a "developing" country, has higher levels of poverty and unemployment, and according to Hobbs and Wynne (2002:144), neglect is "strongly associated with poverty" with neglecting parents unable to meet their children's needs socially, intellectually, emotionally and physically. Some would argue that poverty leads to child neglect and others that parental characteristics lead to poverty and child neglect (McSherry, 2004:727). These positions are highly controversial in any country with vast socio-economic differences, and inadvertently reduce a complex aetiology of sexual offending to a simple "cause-and-effect" situation.

The research presented earlier in this chapter demonstrates that physical, sexual, and emotional abuse and neglect occur in many social classes and cultures. Pritchard (2004:83) emphasizes that the vast majority of families who experience chronic poverty do not abuse or neglect their children, a point particularly pertinent in South Africa. However, the role of socio-economic factors associated with poverty, including overcrowding, unemployment and its concomitant financial stress, could increase some individuals' vulnerability to abuse children, given that unemployed men have free time (Townsend and Dawes, 2004:69-71). Londt (2008:97) notes that many sexual offenders in South Africa share the following characteristics. They come from communities with inadequate resources. General profiles of these offenders suggest "a highly compromised quality of life" that includes unsatisfactory parental supervision. Similarly, such offenders appear to have histories of substance abuse, inadequate support networks, are unemployed and experience "extreme poverty". The socio-economic profile of the children most vulnerable to harm and sexual brutality mirrors that of the sexual perpetrators (Londt, 2008:97). This highlights the close proximity of perpetrators and their relationships with their young victims, and the opportunity to offend, that then raise questions about parental supervision of very young children.

One South African study that explores the possible association between poverty and sexual violence was undertaken by Vogelman (1990:12), who conducted research on 27 coloured men. The various acts committed by these men "fitted" them, by Vogelman (1990:12), into three groups – rapists, physically violent men, and non-violent men – using the following criteria:

- The rape group: "The committal of a violent act by a man whereby a woman is coerced into having sexual intercourse with him alone".
- The physically violent group: "The committal of a physically violent act against a woman. This act has no explicit sexual component".
- The non-violent group: "Men who have never committed an act of sexual or physical violence".

The groups enabled study of why some men are only physically - rather than sexually - aggressive (Vogelman, 1990:13). In working class homes crowded living conditions tend to aggravate stress, noted in his study as "most subjects" who reported living in two-bedroom houses that accommodated six or seven people (Vogelman, 1990:119-120). Many of the subjects in the rape and physically violent groups had witnessed their fathers assaulting their mothers in "squalid living conditions" (Vogelman, 1990:120,126). However, one of the conclusions from Vogelman (1990:200) was that "membership of the working class, or living under poverty-stricken conditions, are not the causes of rape. Differences in emotional functioning, family socialisation patterns and perceptions of women help to account for why some working class men rape and others do not".

Two studies from "developed" countries address socio-economic circumstances and the abuse of children. Whipple and Webster-Stratton (1991:279) examined the role of several components of parental stress in physically abusive and non-abusive families. A parenting clinic saw 123 American families aimed at improving child-parent relationships with a "highly oppositional child". Findings included that parental stress was found to play an important role in abusive families. Physically abusive families were significantly more often low income, had younger mothers with less education, and were more likely to abuse alcohol or drugs. This suggests the abuse of alcohol and drugs as a way of coping with desperate physical and social conditions - a coping method also used by many in South Africa - increases the child's risk of physical abuse (Parliamentary Task Group, 2002:72-3).

Similarly, Briggs and Hawkins (1996:221), after comparing the childhood experiences of Australian convicted male child molesters, sexually abused as children, with men who were also sexually abused in childhood and claimed to be non-offenders against children, found that the first group were more socially disadvantaged than the non-offenders and received less physical affection but more physical beatings and verbal abuse. Briggs and Hawkins (1996:229) note that their findings do not suggest that child molesters originate from the poorest strata of society but indicate such men are the most likely to be reported,

convicted and incarcerated – an important distinction when considering the role of poverty in maltreatment.

The rape of women and children is often associated with certain myths.

5. RAPE MYTHS

Lewis (1994:13) notes that myths about rape continue to pervade understandings of sexual violence, including that rapists are sex maniacs or psychotic, that women encourage rape, enjoy being raped, and accuse men of rape to get them into trouble. Vogelman (1990:62) writes that by propagating a false account of what rape is, it gives men tacit permission to rape and helps them to rationalise and evade responsibility for their violent behaviours. There are some who believe that rape is the result of women's sexual provocation, suggesting that men's sexual appetites are perceived as so powerful and volatile that they may be uncontrollably aroused by a woman's dress, presence or movements (Vogelman, 1990:62). Hence, that rape is the "fault" of women, similarly noted by Barnes and Teeters in 1959, reflects the sustainability of certain myths. In the context of the rape of children under the age of three years, such myths cannot apply. Rather, there has been much debate as to whether these sexual acts are motivated by the "virgin-cleansing" myth.

The "virgin-cleansing" myth

One myth that often pervades "understandings" of child sexual abuse in South Africa is that of "virgin-cleansing". Despite a flurry of South African media reports that link the sexual abuse of very young children to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and despite the conviction with which this connection has been espoused by journalists and politicians (Jewkes, 2004:130), the "virgin-cleansing" myth is neither new nor peculiar to South Africa. This myth pervaded, for example, Victorian England where it was suggested that "intercourse with a virgin could cure a venereal disease" (Tannahill, 1980:364, 370). In 1913, medical witnesses testified before the high court in Glasgow that "a common belief among lower classes [is] that connection with a virgin will cure venereal disease" (Davidson, 2001:62). The researcher notes that the propagation of the myth flourished in an era with limited medical treatment for sexually transmitted

illnesses. Hence, the younger the sexual victim, the less likely s/he was to have a venereal disease.

In the context of indigenous healing systems, Jewkes (2004:131) notes that healing through sexual intercourse with a virgin has featured in many countries for centuries. Jewkes (2004:131) explains that in Southern Africa, the virgin myth encapsulates three ideas common in indigenous healing systems. The first idea is that illness is conceptualised as a state of bodily dirtiness (pollution). Healing involves cleansing or removing physical, magical or ritual dirt. The second idea concerns the cleansing or healing powers of sex, seen, for example, in ritual sexual intercourse after bereavement to cleanse a widow or widower of symbolic pollution. The third idea concerns "sympathetic associations" in the processes of healing or the transfer of desirable properties. In the case of the "virgin-cleansing" myth, the purity of the virgin confers purity on the person being healed (Jewkes, 2004:131).

Treger (2002:1) presented findings concerning rape and HIV myths from Galeshewe in the Northern Province of South Africa. Galeshewe is a township with both formal and informal settlements (squatter camps). The area has high rates of unemployment, an almost complete absence of job opportunities, poverty and high rates of alcohol and drug use (Treger, 2002:2). She explored three theories and beliefs related to HIV and the "increased number of rapes, including child rapes". These theories and beliefs were prevention, cleansing, and, vengeance. A sample of 338 Galeshewe residents was used (Treger, 2002:5). Findings included that 47,8% of the study population had heard of the cleansing theory, or that "having sex with a virgin will cleanse HIV" (Treger, 2002:9). Of those that had heard the myth, 28% thought that people in their community believed that having sex with a virgin would cleanse them from HIV (Treger, 2002:9). However, this finding could be seen as "hearsay" as it is a belief. Jewkes (2004:133) highlights that extrapolating behaviour from beliefs is extremely unreliable. Other findings from the Treger (2002) study would support the Vogelman (1990) and Lewis (1994) comments concerning rape myths, including that 12,9% of the Galeshewe study population thought that women "asked" to be raped and 25,3% agreed with the statement, "People in your

community believe that a man who is sexually aroused by a woman wearing revealing clothes has the right to rape her" (Treger, 2002:7). Nearly two out of ten respondents believed that sex with a child under the age of ten was not an act of rape (Treger, 2002:7), thus suggesting that eight of ten respondents in the study viewed such acts as rape.

In the context of the rape of children under the age of three years, it is unclear if these acts are motivated by the "virgin-cleansing" myth as there are conflicting conclusions from various studies (Jewkes, 2004:133-4). What is clear is that the risk of HIV transmission for girl children, irrespective of whether the sexual act is consensual or coerced, is thought to be higher. The small size of girl children's vaginas and immature nature of the mucosa increases the possibility of tearing (Jewkes, 2004:140) who concludes that it "seems very unlikely" that "virgin-cleansing" is a common motive for child rape, despite the spiral of the HIV pandemic and HIV-related deaths.

6. THE RAPE OF CHILDREN UNDER THE AGE OF THREE YEARS

Richter and Higson-Smith (2004:24) note that all cases of rape involving children under the age of 12 years require varying degrees of force:

> If the child submits to penetration, then the penetration of the anus or the vagina itself is forceful and, inevitably, painful for the child. If the child is physically precocious, the damage to the child's sexual organs may not be as severe. However, considerable force has to be applied against the child if the child is unwilling and the child has to be prevented from crying out. This means that the sexual act takes place while the perpetrator hits, hurts, smothers or threatens the child at the same time as forcing penetration of the child's small mouth, anus or vagina. The younger the child, the more brutal the physical act becomes.

The rape of an infant is the most extreme physical (Richter and Higson-Smith, 2004:24) and brutal (Pitcher and Bowley, 2002:274) act:

> To penetrate the vagina of a small infant, the perpetrators first need to create a common channel between the vagina and the anal canal by forced insertion of an implement … rape in this manner can be immediately life threatening. The

> tearing of the perineal body, rectovaginal septum and anterior anal sphincter can cause infants to die from haemorrhage or abdominal sepsis despite medical care, especially in deprived rural communities (Pitcher and Bowley, 2002:274).

Such penetration depicts an act of extreme brutality and callousness. It is therefore possible that individual and social and proscriptions (Collings and McArthur, 2000:13-14) are overridden as the act is driven by such intense anger (Faller, 1988:17). Similarly, Marchetti-Mercer (2003:10) notes that by violating an infant, a "message" of anger and punishment is sent to the mother. "Anger rapists" are one of two typologies of rapists, based on a random sample of 133 convicted rapists committed for clinical assessment to the Massachusetts Centre for the Diagnosis and Treatment of Sexually Dangerous Persons, and 92 adult rape victims, by Groth, Burgess and Holmstrom (1977:1239). These researchers note that power, anger and sexuality are present during all acts of rape, in varying intensities. They further note that either power or anger dominates the act, rather than the expression of sexual desire. Hence, rape is a "pseudo-sexual" act with the use of sexuality to express feelings of power and anger. The researchers also note that "anger rapists" use excessive force on the victims who are used to vent rage and retaliation for the wrongs experienced from women. If indeed the motivation of men who rape children under the age of three is to "punish" the mother, suggesting a displacement of anger, it is possible such motivation is rooted in revenge, given that "anger rapists" relationships with women are associated with conflict, irritation, irrational jealousy and often associated with physical violence (Groth et al, 1977:1241). Earl-Taylor (2002:2) identified common characteristics in two South African cases of infant rape and noted that "the offence is situation specific … impulsive, opportunistic and does not … appear to contain elements of premeditation." Similarly, Groth et al (1977:1241) note that "anger rapists" offences tend to be episodic and sporadic, triggered by relationships with women, with satisfaction and relief following the venting of anger. These offenders' experience of rape is conscious anger or sadistic excitement. Their intention is to hurt and they are motivated by revenge and punishment (Groth et al, 1977:1241).

The Groth et al (1977:1241) typology was based on 133 incarcerated rapists and 92 adult victims. It could be argued that the sample size is too small for such a

typology and generalisation to all rapists, particularly those who rape children under the age of three. However, their findings offer possible insights into incarcerated men who have raped very young children, as the 92 victims were able to verbalize their experience of rape, impossible in the current research.

There is a paucity of research concerning the psychosocial histories of men who rape children under the age of three years. One study, undertaken by Greenberg, Bradford and Curry (1995:63), conducted research with men who had sexually offended against very young children. The men were assessed at the Sexual Behaviours Clinic of a psychiatric teaching hospital in Canada. Ten men who had reported sexually offending against children under the age of five years (referred to as infantophiles) were compared with 28 men whose victims were aged between eight and 12 years (referred to as paedophiles). Findings included that the median age of the infantophile group was 23,5 years, compared to a median age of 32 years for the paedophile group. The marital status of the two groups did not differ, with 63,2% of the sample single, 21,1% either married or in common-law marriages, and 15,8% divorced. About half of the total sample was employed at the time of the assessment (Greenberg et al, 1995:66). Two individuals from the infantophile group reported their own sexual victimization at the age of six years, a younger age than the paedophile group, a finding "may be attributable to chance" (Greenberg et al, 1995:68, 70). In contrast, Delport and Vermeulen's study (2004:41) with 48 incarcerated South African respondents found that the majority of offenders were under the age of 20 when they committed their crimes, 72,9% were single – reflecting the younger age of the offenders.

7. CHAPTER SUMMARY

The main points from this chapter include that:

- Few rapists are psychiatrically disturbed. This implies a far more complex aetiology for rapists who are not so disturbed.
- Sexual offending serves different purposes (Faller, 1988:17) and hence, there are different types of sexual offenders.
- Rapists appear to have less empathy compared to child molesters and paedophiles (Delport and Vermeulen, 2004:41), which facilitates some understanding of their ability to commit extremely violent crimes, particularly as rapists appear to use

less cognitive distortion than child sexual abusers (Blumenthal et al, 1999:129; Collins and McArthur, 2000:14).

- There is a possible association between childhood physical abuse and later violent offending (Widom and Ames, 1994:303; Fergusson and Lynskey, 1997:617; Lee et al, 2002:77). Given that many children are physically abused and do not later behave in sexually violent ways, it is possible that the experience of physical abuse, in conjunction with other childhood factors, influences adult sexual offending.
- The possible associations between childhood attachment and adult attachment behaviours are another factor in understanding sexual offending. Rapists often experience poor quality parental relationships (Craissati et al, 2002:909; McCormack et al, 2002:85), and adopt uncaring and unsympathetic approaches to their partners (Smallbone and Dadds, 1998:10), reflecting the continuum of "attitude and ideas" (Rich, 2006:14) of poor attachment.
- In addition to experiencing physical abuse and neglect, factors that might influence adult sexual offending include witnessing intra familiar abuse, rejection by carers, and discontinuity of care (Salter et al, 2003:476; Simons et al, 2008:549).
- The use of alcohol in reported adult rapes in South Africa is lower when compared with a study from Finland (Aromäki and Lindman (2001:94), suggesting that other factors contribute to rape.
- It is possible that the stressors associated with poverty, rather than poverty itself, are precursors to the abuse of children.
- The extraordinary brutality used by perpetrators who rape children under the age of three (Pitcher and Bowley, 2002:274) suggest motivations of revenge and punishment (Groth et al, 1977:1241; Marchetti-Mercer, 2003:10) in contrast with some paedophiles or child molesters, whose motives suggest sexual gratification and "sexual education" directed towards pre-pubertal and pubertal children (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571).

Children under the age of three years are raped within a context of violence. South Africa's current levels of reported sexual crimes are possibly rooted in historical uses of violence and form the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR:
VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. INTRODUCTION

The history of South Africa is marked by wars, famines, discoveries of great mineral wealth, rapid urbanization, increasing levels of violence, and a government that systematically denied the vast majority of its citizens' access to basic human needs. For more than forty years, the apartheid government believed that individuals had to assume responsibility for their own well-being (McKendrick, 1987a:22), whilst deliberately and systematically denying access to the most basic needs – with the exception of white South Africans.

Despite major shifts in the country's welfare policy, contemporary South Africa is marked by extremely high levels of violence, and sexual violence most particularly. The focus of this chapter is to explore possible reasons how a country that had some of the world's most oppressive and demeaning legislation during the apartheid era, and now has one of the most progressive Constitutions in the world, continues to experience very high levels of violence.

Social welfare has changed dramatically since the demise of apartheid, with certain rights, denied under apartheid, now contained in the country's present Constitution. Yet, reported crimes, such as rape, indecent assault and the maltreatment of children, have increased in the country, bringing into sharp focus the possible association between poverty and crime, and that political freedom does not necessarily mean that all of the country's citizens can meet their basic needs.

2. POSSIBLE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF CONTEMPORARY VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

The rape of infants occurs within a South African context marked by violence, and extremely high levels of reported sexual crimes. Two interrelated explanations are explored to try and understand this. First, and as noted in Chapter One, many

believe that dwindling social and community cohesion is at the core of violence against children most particularly (World Report on Violence against Children, 2006:285). Second, that societal violence triggers a vicious cycle of counter-violence and repressive violence (Gil, 1992:288).

Dwindling social and community cohesion

The disruption of social and community cohesion can be traced to at least two events in South Africa's history. The first event was the establishment of a refreshment station by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 at the Cape of Good Hope. At the time Dutch settlers arrived in South Africa, black people lived in tribal groups underpinned by an agricultural economy (McKendrick, 1987b:7-8). Custom determined how black people lived their lives with clear roles in economic, social and political practices with measures to assist individuals affected by life's challenges and setbacks (McKendrick, 1987b:7-8). This way of life suggests both self-sufficiency and self-regulation as communities acted as social support systems, with the presence of older positive role models. However, the arrival of Dutch settlers, and the perception that their cultural and social ways were superior (Patel, 2008a:66-7), profoundly effected indigenous social structures, the political and economic development of the region, as well as relationships, in an increasingly complex racial situation (Boucher, 1986:61).

The second event was the discovery of minerals during the late 19th century. This resulted in British industrial imperialists exploiting the mineral wealth of the region using cheap black labour by establishing the antecedents of the homeland system in Southern Africa (Amin, 2001:vii). The homeland system decreed that different black tribal groups lived in separate areas and thus ensured a constant supply of cheap labour for the mining industry (Amin, 2001:vii). This ultimately affected the self-sufficiency and power of black communities (Grundlingh, 1986:185). Labourers' families, forced to remain in these homelands, became increasingly impoverished (Patel, 2008a:67), and it is argued, without role models and greatly reduced social and community support systems – a legacy that permeates South Africa today.

Societal violence

Such deliberate and pervasive disruptions to social and community life could be termed "societal violence", defined by Gil (1992:288) as "systemic obstructions to human development and self-actualization inherent in a society's institutional order; its policies, practices and human relations; its circumstances of living and quality of life; its values and ideology". Societal violence and systematic obstructions to ways of life (Gil, 1992:288) were intensified in 1913 when the South African government passed the Native Land Act that further dismantled black peasantry and communities, but ensured a continuous supply of cheap, unskilled labour for the mining industry (Marais, 2001:8). This resulted in 87% of South Africa's land going to the white minority, with the balance to the vast black majority (Kuzwayo, 2006:23). As a result, thousands of communities and individual land owners were "uprooted, outlawed and dispossessed" of their heritage and ownership of land in their country of birth (Kuzwayo, 2006:23). The notion of "community" was "lost between its old heritage and that of its colonisers" (Kuzwayo, 2006:18).

During the second half of the 19th century, South Africa experienced rapid industrialization. The resultant, and increasing, poverty was the major human welfare issue in South Africa during the first four decades of the 20th century (McKendrick, 1987b:10). This highlights how massive economic change creates and perpetuates human vulnerability. Furthermore, the depression of the 1920s increased poverty levels amongst all racial groups in South Africa and saw the emergence of the "poor white problem" - an outcome of industrialization from the 1860s that resulted in many skilled immigrants arriving in the country. However, white South Africans, descendants of Dutch, French and British settlers, were neither sufficiently skilled nor prepared to work as poorly paid manual labourers (McKendrick, 1987b:9). The "poor white problem" resulted in the Dutch Reformed Church persuading the Carnegie Corporation in New York to fund research into the causes of white poverty whilst disregarding the poverty affecting other racial groups (McKendrick, 1987b:11-12). The resultant report (The Poor White Problem in South Africa: 1932) of the Carnegie Commission of Enquiry recommended first, the establishment of a state bureau with responsibility for people's social welfare, and second, the preparation of university-trained social

workers (McKendrick, 1987b:11-12). This led to the establishment of the Department of Social Welfare in 1937, and the emergence of the social work profession (Gray, 1998:10), in South Africa.

Similar origins of the social work profession were noted in, for example, North America during the 1890s, with the work of Jane Addams and the settlement house movement, a response to the human welfare issues associated with rapid urbanization, industrialization, and influx of immigrants (Shulman, 1992:17-8). These issues similarly suggest an outcome of dwindling social and community cohesion.

The services of the South African Department of Social Welfare were directed primarily at whites, who received more services than any other population group (McKendrick, 1987b:12-3). The emerging social work profession was heavily influenced by casework and the psychiatric domination of the diagnostic school (Howe, 1992:19). The diagnostic, or Freudian, school was deterministic with individuals' behaviour seen as rooted in early childhood experiences (Howe, 1992:19). This approach excludes the social and historical contexts of individuals, and is therefore both inappropriate and inadequate to address the structural inequalities of poverty. But, the concern for "poor whites" only was a legacy from the Dutch settlers, with their belief in the superiority of their social and cultural systems that strongly influenced the development of South African social welfare (Patel, 2008a:66-67). Equally, formidable thinkers such as Freud and Jung have directly or indirectly asserted the superiority of European races over non-European races (Robinson, 2002:85). To paraphrase Fook (2002:19), in South Africa, these multiple contexts clearly shaped the emerging social work profession, and emphasized the needs of whites only.

Apartheid and socially constructed denial to "ways of life"

The Nationalist Party came into power in 1948 - three years after World War II - and promulgated apartheid, "a system of segregation or discrimination on the grounds of race" (Tulloch, 1997:60). Apartheid and its overt racist legitimating ideologies (Amin, 2002:viii), profoundly and invidiously, permeated every facet of life in South Africa for 46 years. The extreme social engineering of apartheid was

influenced by Nazi Germany (Barnett and Whiteside, 2002:150). In this regard, Gil (1992:288) notes that Germany, under Nazi rule, was an extreme instance of a way of life shaped by societal violence and "systematic obstructions". Similarly, the apartheid state also created "systematic obstructions", or what could be termed "socially constructed denial" (Wetherell, 1997:315), to ways of life for the vast majority of South Africans, by controlling voting, ownership of land, employment, education, health care, as well as sexual, married and family relationships. Such control, decreed by apartheid legislation, denied blacks, coloured and Indians control of their own lives, or what Wetherell (1997:315) refers to as agency. Societal violence, of which apartheid was one form, inhibits the innate potential of individuals by interfering with their natural biological, psychological, and social needs, with unemployment, poverty, hunger and discrimination becoming "normal" aspects of life (Gil, 1992:17, 288), similarly experienced in other parts of the world.

Biological needs

Gil (1992:17) refers to biological-material needs as the stable provision of biological necessities, sexual satisfaction and regular access to life-sustaining and enhancing goods and services. "Life-sustaining services" concerns living conditions, welfare, education, and sexual relationships.

Living conditions

During apartheid, many "biological-material" needs (Gil, 1992:17), including housing, food, education and recreational activities, of black people most particularly, were largely disregarded in a white-orientated culture serving white needs (Gray, 1998:10). Simkins (1986, cited in Cock, 1990:67) estimates that 80% of blacks in the homelands lived in dire poverty. Ramphele (1992a:14) observes that there was a deliberate under-provision of services, and infrastructural development, in townships (established on the outskirts of cities and towns for labour supply) to discourage family settlement, thus further eroding social and community support systems, and is a social and infrastructural legacy that pervades many parts of contemporary South Africa. By discouraging family settlement, family life was weakened. The living conditions for South Africans in townships, during apartheid, are described by Straker (1992:7-8):

> [The township] is relatively small, but particularly squalid. As one approaches it in the early morning, a blanket of smog enshrouds the area. Very few of the houses have electricity, and even these are not very large or particularly attractive, but they are at least functional. In this way they differ from the hundreds of cast-iron shacks [of squatter camps] that surround them. These have no running water, electricity or piped sewerage. They are reliant on the bucket system and given the level of the overcrowding, the overflow of night-soil is a frequent occurrence. This adds to the mess of garbage which litters the streets. At almost any time of the day people can be seen with large plastic containers on wheelbarrows or laboriously carried to and from communal taps. They pick their way through the garbage and litter down paths which are either dusty or muddy, depending on the season. In summer it is oppressively hot; there are few trees to provide shade. In winter it is often bitterly cold. Regardless of the season, however, much of [the township] remains a health hazard and an eyesore, ugly, dirty and smelly. In short, it is a thoroughly unpleasant place to live in.

Access to life-sustaining services, such as social welfare, was also racially-based.

Welfare

The apartheid policy of separate development affected welfare legislation (Gray, 1998:10) and decreed separate service delivery. The Nationalist government only granted full professional status to social workers in 1978 (Patel, 2008a:73), three decades after they assumed power. Nonetheless, many social workers disagreed with the application of apartheid to the social welfare system (McKendrick, 1987b:15), clearly against the social work principles of social justice and human rights, as those with the greatest needs received the least welfare assistance. Furthermore, social work, as an emerging profession, was still dominated by casework, one "traditional" intervention with European origins (Gray, 1998:19), but with little relevance to the problems faced by many South Africans in both urban and rural areas. The principles of the casework relationship[35] and the individualized notion of personal problems (Fook, 2002:5), are socially constructed and historically specific, with references to these principles found in many contemporary social work texts (Dominelli, 2002a:16, 18). However, these

[35] The casework relationship is associated with individualization, purposeful expression of feelings, controlled emotional involvement, acceptance, non-judgmental attitude, client self-determination and confidentiality (Biestek, 1961:17).

principles are criticized for being highly individualistic and culturally specific, with a bias towards Western culture, and used in ways that claim universal validity and application (Dominelli, 2002a:18), pertinent criticisms in both pre- and post-apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, Robinson (2002:85) highlights that the conventionally accepted views of Western psychology, often incorporated in the "traditional" methods of casework, do not necessarily facilitate understanding of black children, adolescents and older individuals, as the psychological literature spanning the last 100 years is based on observations - primarily on predominantly male and middle class Europeans - hardly relevant to impoverished rural women. The belief of the superiority of European races over non-European races (Robinson, 2002:85) that permeated colonization and apartheid was similarly reflected in social welfare spending in South Africa. Blacks, with the greatest needs, received the least welfare assistance (McKendrick, 1987a:21). This is highlighted in the table below:

Racial group	% of total population	% of total welfare services
Black	65,0	20,9
Coloured	12,1	26,3
Indian	3,4	7,1
White	19,5	45,8

Table 2: State expenditure on welfare services 1984/1985, by race
(Source: McKendrick, 1987a:28).

These figures reflect that socially, the Nationalist government believed the onus for human well-being was within individuals and not the state (McKendrick, 1987a:22) - with the exception of the white population. Hence, a residual system of social welfare existed for blacks, associated with minimal state intervention for the provision and financing of social welfare services when normal systems of support, such as the family and community, break down (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1965 cited in Patel, 2008b:24), a cruel irony given the origins of such break down and the apartheid state's exacerbation thereof. In contrast, whites enjoyed the "Welfare state" or institutional approach with social welfare seen as a function of modern industrial societies (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1965, cited in Patel, 2008b:22).

Education

The education system perpetuated the apartheid economic system, with school education for black children legislated by the heinous Bantu Education Act of 1953 (Morris and Hyslop, 1989:260). This Act had the explicit aim of ensuring that black children received grossly inferior education, leaving them suitable for unskilled work (Wolpe, 1993:7). It was also designed to ensure that they were subordinated, with the acceptance of such subordination as "natural" and fitting for "racially inferior" people (Wolpe, 1993:7). Apartheid also segregated education for Indian, coloured, and white children, thus teaching all children that first, their race socially divides them, and second, constructing their identities as superior or inferior.

Sexual relationships

The Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 prohibited marriage; and the Immorality Act of 1950 prohibited sexual relationships, between whites and other racial groups. Sexual relationships between black couples were profoundly affected with the use of migratory labour practices and influx control, [36] which made it illegal for black wives and husbands to live together in cities without "permission" often stamped into a "pass" book. The outcomes of effectively destroying normal sexual/family relationships included the breakdown of families, reflected in increasing rates of divorce, separation, single-parenthood and teenage pregnancy as well as high levels of alcohol and drug abuse (Ramphele, 1992a:11). Clearly, substance abuse was a way of coping with the state-sanctioned denial, and loss, of family and community life.

Sexuality is also linked to psychological needs.

Psychological needs

(Gil, 1992:288) writes that societal violence can inhibit individuals' ability to meet their psychological needs. "Psychological" is defined as "of, relating to or arising in, the mind" (Tulloch, 1997:1231). Masculinity, social identity, sexuality, power and self-esteem, and their interrelationships, could be seen as part of the

[36] Influx control was a system designed to keep black people in rural areas (Pelser and de Kock, 2000:86).

psychological, and are pertinent issues in the current study as the sample consists of ten males. Masculinity is a set of choices, including behaviour in various settings, and is highly personal, private and individual as well as collective, historical and social (Wetherell, 1997:321, 322). Power is closely linked to social identity as individuals' ranking in a system of social organization determines their access to resources (Wetherell, 1997:315), particularly pertinent for those who live with poverty, or cannot access resources, in many parts of the world. In many cultures, including South Africa, masculinity is associated with patriarchy, or male-dominated relationships that are unequal in power. Pertinent here is mention of the feminist approach to social work, a response to women's experiences of oppression (Lee, 1994:108). The feminist approach is concerned with the oppressed position of women in many societies, as well as political, social and cultural forms of domination including patriarchy (Payne, 2005:252). In South Africa, paradoxically, coloured, Indian and most particularly black men, had little status or value during apartheid, the same attributes often accorded to women in patriarchal societies.

Wetherell (1997:327) notes that men's occupations influence their sense of masculinity. Black men were "mere labour units" with their feelings and needs concerning custom and family ignored (Gray, 1998:10). This, surely, profoundly affected such individuals' self-esteem or evaluation of their self-worth or self-image (Weiten, 2003:493). The "mere labour units" (Gray, 1998:10) earnings are reflected by *Hansard* (1984, cited in McKendrick, 1987a:28), who estimated in 1984, that the top 10% of tax payers contributed 50% of individual income tax, with the bottom 50% contributing 5% of the total.

Social needs

Societal violence interferes with social needs (Gil, 1992:288). Tulloch (1997:1472) defines social as "relating to society". The social needs of families include their functions of rearing children, meeting needs for affection, and passing on the values of greater society (Hoffman and McKendrick, 1990:8). However, during apartheid, the values of greater society concerning family and social needs were profoundly skewed, distorted and denied to the vast majority of the country's population. Apartheid and poverty eroded the ability of families to act as adequate

support structures for the nurture and development of children (Dawes and Donald, 1994:5). Influx control and migratory labour practices controlled many families, and hence social life, by making it illegal for black wives and their children to live with their husbands and fathers in cities (Kuzwayo, 2006:19). This meant that many women in rural areas had the sole responsibility for raising children, caring for the elderly, and managing the home (Kuzwayo, 2006:20), all within ever-dwindling social and community support systems. Children were denied access to their male role models. For mothers working in cities and earning meagre wages for long hours of work, influx control made it illegal for their children to live with them (Kuzwayo, 2006:21). Hence, influx control also made it illegal for black men to fulfil their roles as husbands, parents, uncles, and sons, and denied them access to normal social and community life.

Equally, the appalling wages earned by migrant labourers highlighted the notion of underemployment, or the suboptimal use of labour (Marshall, 1994:544), and "shattered social functioning" (Briar, 1988:xii). The migrant labour system contributed towards social disorganization, by dislocating the family, contributing to prostitution, illegitimacy, alcoholism, juvenile delinquency and other indices of social disintegration, ironically noted in The Carnegie Report of the 1930s with a large proportion of poor whites displaying similar tendencies (Ramphele, 1992a:12).

Societal violence, counter-violence and repressive violence

To paraphrase Gil (1992:288), societal violence, experienced in South Africa as colonization and apartheid, resulted in counter-violence from its victims, and repressive violence from the state. However, what constitutes violence is socially constructed, with acts of violence seen as legitimate in one society and illegal in another (Hoffmann and McKendrick, 1990:3). Butchart, Terre Blanche, Hamber and Seedat (2000:32) point out that during the 1960s, violence was a legitimate method of political struggle in South Africa. Violence was used by the apartheid state, for example, during 1960 when the South African Police (SAP) shot 69 people dead during protests against the "pass laws" in Sharpeville near Johannesburg. Thereafter, the Nationalist government declared a state of emergency, and banned both the African National Congress and its breakaway

group, the Pan-Africanist Congress (Marais, 2001:25). This left blacks without lawful organizations to act as their representatives (Coetzer, 1986:288). The banning of the ANC also forced the organization to shift from its strategy of legal, non-violent resistance, seen from the period 1948 to 1960, to a period of "illegality" and armed struggle with the use of guerrilla war, from the period 1961 to 1973 (Marais, 2001:25-6), reflecting counter-violence from victims of societal violence (Gil, 1992:288).

At the individual level, Ramphele (1992a:17) notes that the Sharpeville massacre marked the end of an era whereby young people were "beholden" to black leadership. This highlights the importance, and influence, of older role models within political and other groups. Paralysis, based on fear of the repressive Nationalist government, resulted in children losing respect for their parents who were unable to offer protection against police harassment and poverty (Ramphele, 1992a:17).

From about 1975, the South African Defence Force referred to the "total onslaught" against the South African state (Cock, 1990:47). The "total onslaught" was the basis of the resultant "total strategy" and the legitimization of increasing military-involvement in many spheres of South African society (Cock, 1990:47). The greater use of violence, and displays of the intimidating power of the state, justified controlling parts of society that the state perceived as out of control, rather than responding to unmet needs experienced by many of the country's citizens.

On June 16, 1976, thousands of school children in Soweto protested against inferior education (Straker, 1992:1) in the Afrikaans language, again highlighting the cycle of violence referred to by Gil (1992:288). Other protests across the country followed. As a result, hundreds of children were killed and thousands were wounded (International Defence Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF), 1980:95). This demonstrates how violence was used in the context of the "life-sustaining service" of education (Gil, 1992:17), and the invidious creep of violence into every sphere of South African life, most particularly against impressionable and vulnerable children.

"Unprecedented intensity" of violence

South Africa adopted a new Constitution in 1983 which excluded black people. Such was their anger that violence erupted across the country "with an unprecedented intensity" (Straker, 1992:1), or anger rooted in the continued denial of political rights or representation from its citizens. The country was "in a state of civil war" between 1984 and 1986, with black youth at the forefront of the unrest (Straker, 1992:1). In many areas of South Africa, people engaged in boycotts and protests, initiated by community-based organizations (Swilling, 1987:1-6). The boycotts included rent, purchasing goods from shops owned by whites, state transport systems, adults going to work and children attending school. The protests, for basic economic rights and against the appalling living conditions in townships, became increasingly violent (Swilling, 1987:1-6) and again reflect the use of violence to try and meet basic needs, including decent shelter, water and sanitation, but repeatedly denied by the state.

Hoffmann and McKendrick (1990:4) note that structural or institutional violence elicits counter-violence. The actions of the state, responding to counter-violence, are sanctioned by law and therefore described as legitimate force or control (Hoffmann and McKendrick, 1990:4). State violence included: capital punishment, with South Africa leading the world in the use of the death penalty; the use of death squads, responsible for the murder and disappearance of anti-apartheid activists; legal police killings; detention without trial, and torture (Cock, 1990:59-63). However, those who perpetrated brutal acts in the name of the state, such as policemen, soldiers and government officials, were also brutalized by their violent acts (Ramphele, 1992b:ix). Cock (1990:50) notes that by 1985, thousands of members from the South African Defence Force (SADF), and the South African Police (SAP), were deployed into townships across the country to contain the violence. However, the SADF and SAP were also used to suppress black resistance (Cock, 1990:51). The youth were exposed to brutal retaliation (Straker, 1992:1) during many violent confrontations between township residents, and the SADF and SAP.

During the first few months of 1985, the apartheid government admitted that it had lost control of scores of the townships across South Africa, many of which were

completely ungovernable (Swilling, 1987:4). The apartheid state's response to the massive uprising in townships across the country was the declaration of a state of emergency in July 1985, or what could be seen as a show of brutal, and intimidating, state power. The emergency regulations were intended to break the escalating violence. However, many analysts believe that such regulations, coupled to conditions of extreme material deprivation, exacerbated the violence in some parts of the country (Cock, 1990:55), highlighting the vicious cycle of societal violence, counter-violence and repressive violence (Gil, 1992:288).

Ramphele (1992b:ix) contends that violence is an acceptable survival strategy amongst the oppressed. Counter-violence was seen from the "comrades", mainly unemployed youth, who committed cruel acts under the guise of the liberation struggle, such as 'necklacing' and stoning to death police informers (Cock, 1990:56). The practice of 'necklacing' with a rubber tyre soaked in petrol, placed on an individual's neck and set alight became widespread (Straker, 1992:1). Cock (1990:56) estimates that there were almost 400 'necklace' murders between 1984 and 1987. However, the committal of these and other violent acts suggests that young people who identified with a particular group had opportunities to enhance their reputations and become "good comrades" by committing a violent act, if necessary, and demonstrating their bravery (Dawes, 1994b:214). Van Deventer and Jordaan (1998:766) note that identifying with the aggressor is a survival strategy, suggesting that youth who did not participate in violent acts would be victimized by their peers, a situation replicated in many other parts of the world.

Towards the end of 1985 "street committees" were formed, and 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, 1987:5-6). It is possible that within the street committees were older, positive role models that the militant youth respected and hence, they responded positively.

3. RESPONSES TO VIOLENCE AND POVERTY

Gil (1992:288) explains that state, or societal violence, often results in counter-violence from its victims that is not necessarily directed towards the institutional

order. It is often displaced, and expressed both directly and indirectly, as domestic violence, violent crime, suicide, addictions and mental illness. To observers such acts often appear senseless and irrational, but in the context of individual and social history, they are neither senseless nor irrational, but reveal "counter-violence" in response to violent societal practices and conditions. In South Africa, this displacement is noted by Sathiparsad and Gray (1998:187), who observe that during the 1980s, political violence shifted to intra-community violence, with the divide increasingly blurred (Simpson, 1993:4).

Similarly, Simpson (1993:1) notes that those who feel powerless or helpless in the face of dramatic social and economic upheaval, similarly experienced in other parts of the world, will frequently and symbolically exert their power with violence in areas of their life in which they believe they still have control. "Dramatic social upheaval" also suggests the erosion of social and community support systems. The perpetrators of violence feel powerless, with powerlessness often rooted in unemployment, poor education, and no political voice (Simpson, 1993:6). By re-asserting their power, the perpetrators re-affirm their manhood (Simpson, 1993:6). Unemployment and poor education are two contributory factors in South Africa's slide in the Human Development Index, noted in Chapter One.

By way of example, it is possible that the "kangaroo courts" where South African community members dispensed their own, and often brutal, forms of punishment to others, was partly a response to feelings of profound emasculation and powerlessness.

Straker (1992:3) notes that professional and mental health organizations were not prepared for the crisis of the 1980s as they were staffed by mainly white, middle class personnel, trained to treat those who were disturbed and problematic by inappropriate Western-styled methodologies, and not equipped to cope with large numbers of people requiring diverse forms of assistance during and after the civil strife. It could also be argued that as the Nationalist government only granted full professional status to social workers in 1978, the legislation resulted in suspicion and credibility concerns for social workers, as many believed that this legislation

was an attempt to try and control the political activities of social workers, particularly those who were anti-apartheid activists (Patel, 2008a:73).

The biological, social and psychological needs of many black South Africans remained unmet, despite the violence seen during the 1980s, and reflect the outcomes of "societal violence" as continued unemployment, hunger, poverty and discrimination (Gil, 1992:288). Unmet needs and their outcomes for the majority of black youth are described by Vogelman and Simpson (1991:1-2):

> They lived – and still live – their lives amidst 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 give them little time or attention. Many lost parents to alcohol or workplace injuries. They have lived their lives without political rights, and parliaments and other institutions of peaceable change have little meaning for them. They have never known a formalized institution that could bring a better life to them and their parents through non-violent means. They are also the children who had little schooling. They were part of the school boycotts of the 1980s. Without an education and with few skills, they have little to offer an economy that is more in recession than out. Their hunt for employment has ended in repeat rejections; for this generation of South Africans, the formal economy does not exist. Such experiences do not build confidence or optimism about the world. They breed a view of the world as an uncaring place. For this lost generation of South Africans, South Africa is a place where others benefit and they do not. Apartheid has dehumanized their existence.

On an individual level, Straker (1992:71) writes about a youth on whose behalf she had intervened after the turmoil of the 1980s. She described him as one of the thousands of South Africa's children who surrender to misery, poverty and hardship. The youth was described as slow, possibly the result of early adversity which included malnutrition. "He was not the apple of anyone's eye during his early childhood" and unable to engage with any of his caretakers. There was little opportunity for secure attachments, or a special individual in his life, and he had no particular talent that might have facilitated his resilience. His early family life and circumstances undermined rather than facilitated his resistance to stress (Straker,

1992:71). Clearly, this child, and many others like him, had no role models located within social and community support systems.

4. SOCIO-POLITICAL-ECONOMIC LEGACY OF APARTHEID

In 1990 the Nationalist government removed the ban on various political organizations, and opened negotiations to settle the conflict that had permeated South Africa for more than three centuries (Patel, 2008a:85). The resultant fear and elation about the future of South Africa reflected the divide between those who supported, and those who opposed, apartheid, and thus reflected how apartheid met the needs of different racial groups. South Africa was a "divided country" racially, politically (Whiteside and Sunter, 2000:118) and economically. The ravages of apartheid left South Africa one of the most unequal countries in the world in terms of wealth distribution. Despite the massive political changes, unemployment increased most particularly after 1994 when South Africa joined the World Trade Organization and import tariffs ceased. A million jobs, mostly unskilled, were lost between 1993 and 1997 (Barnett and Whiteside, 2002:154), further adding to South Africa's "economic stagnation" in the Human Development Index (United Nations Human Development Report, 2005:22). This highlights that political freedom does not necessarily equate to freedom from poverty. Escalating social disintegration was reflected in increasing domestic violence, crime, delinquency, addiction, and trauma (Patel, 2008a:85). The 1990s also saw the prevalence of HIV explode (Barnett and Whiteside, 2002:146) - a further factor for South Africa's slide in the HDI rankings (United Nations Human Development Report, 2005:22). The new government was met with increasing expectations that the backlog of basic needs would be addressed (Patel, 2008a:85). At the time the African National Congress was about to assume the responsibilities of governing South Africa, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was formulated.

Reconstruction and Development Programme

The RDP was a framework for an "integrated, coherent socio-economic policy" and was the response to the "single greatest burden" affecting the people of South Africa - poverty - the direct result of apartheid's skewed business and industrial development policies (African National Congress, 1994:1, 14). The ravages of apartheid and its policies of "separate development", seen even at the level of basic

amenities, left some 30% of South Africans without access to safe water near their homes, and more than 60% of homes without electricity (Marais, 2001:190). Such poverty was experienced particularly amongst black people, who constitute some 40% of the poorest South Africans (Marais, 2001:194). One of the key programmes of the RDP was the meeting of basic needs, including jobs, land, housing, water, electricity, telecommunications, transport, a clean and healthy environment, nutrition, health care and social welfare, thus reconstructing family and community lives (African National Congress, 1994:7-8). Clearly, the RDP reflected redress and support for the most disadvantaged in society (Patel, 2008:c). However, the RDP, as a socio-economic policy, could not address the enormous social damage caused by apartheid, despite its noble sentiments. The targets of the RDP programmes were very ambitious, given the inadequate institutional systems, a lack of capacity within the government, limited funding, and an over-loaded agenda for transformation, coupled to restructuring of the public sector and the high expectations for the new government to fulfil its promises (Patel, 2008d:93). In 1996, the RDP was closed and coincided with the adoption of the government's macro-economic policy, GEAR, or Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Patel, 2008d:93-4).

Political violence shifts to criminal violence

As noted, since South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, political violence has "largely made way" for criminal violence. In this regard, Pelser and de Kock (2000:80) note that the apparent absence of social control mechanisms has resulted in "unacceptably" high levels of crime against individuals. Abolishing influx control has resulted in "almost abnormally high levels of urbanisation" and concomitant unemployment, with few or no social support networks in the form of extended family, or a subsistence economy, to support individuals (Pelser and de Kock, 2000:86). This statement first suggests that abolishing influx control "caused" these social problems, rather than chronic underdevelopment in the rural areas, and a lack of adequate services and infrastructure in the urban areas. Second, the statement also reflects the belief held by many that dwindling social and community cohesion is at the heart of violence (World Report on Violence against Children, 2006:285).

Particularly affected by the apartheid legacy are African youth, whom according to Marais (2001:198) are denied understanding, empathy, and validating roles in economic and social life, their plight compounded by "scorn, stereotypes and neglect". Such stereotypes are reflected in the term "the lost generation" that Dawes (1994b:200) explains is used, derogatively, when describing young black men who are left-wing, unemployed, potentially violent, poorly educated and of low moral standards. The potentially adversarial meeting of youth, unemployment and poverty are noted by Branson and Wittenberg (2007:313), who concluded that young people left school earlier whilst better educated than their elders, for the period 1994 to 2004. However, these young people are not absorbed into employment at a faster rate, leading to a spike in youth unemployment. Such deprivation is juxtaposed alongside "the most pervasive and ostentatious … consumer capitalism on the African continent" (Marais, 2001:198). The chances of such youth changing their situations through education were unlikely. A 1998 survey of schools revealed that normal teaching in some schools occurred about ten per cent of the time, and fewer than five in every 100 school leavers will find employment (Marais, 2001:198), again highlighting South Africa's "slow progress in education" and concomitant slide in the HDI (United Nations Human Development Report, 2005:22).

The Constitution and social welfare

In May 1996, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act (no. 108 of 1996) became the supreme law of the country. Its Founding Provisions include the values of human dignity, non-racialism, non-sexism and universal adult suffrage. The Bill of Rights "enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom." Included as Constitutional rights are health care at state hospitals and clinics, available free to pregnant women and children under the age of six, and education. The Bill of Rights states that, "Everyone has the right to sufficient food and water; and social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependents, appropriate social assistance". Clearly, these and other provisions and rights reflected in the country's Constitution originate from the legislated deprivation of the past.

A key task facing the democratically elected government was that of nation building, partly achieved through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which heard of the atrocities committed during the apartheid era (Whiteside and Sunter, 2000:118). The social work profession made a submission to the TRC (Patel, 2008a:78) that included acknowledgement of the "hurt and anger caused by a welfare system that was racially discriminatory, inequitable, undemocratic and unresponsive to the needs and rights of the majority of the people. … The system of social welfare [during apartheid] had far reaching implications for the lives of all South Africans …".

Patel (2008a:85) writes that social welfare required re-orientation in order to respond to the social situation in the country, and to become an instrument of national reconstruction and social development. On March 26, 1999 South Africa formally adopted the social development approach to social welfare (Department of Welfare, 1999). This approach was a profound shift from previous remedial and rehabilitative approaches to social work intervention and social welfare during apartheid. Social development is defined as "a process of planned social change designed to promote the well-being of the population as a whole in conjunction with a dynamic process of economic development" (Midgley, 1999:25). The approach of social development concerns the promotion of people's welfare, or social well-being (Midgley, 1999:12), but is an emerging approach (Patel, 2008c:202).

According to Payne (2005:9), the social development approach forms part of the individualist-reformist views towards social work. Dominelli (2002b:4) refers to these views as maintenance approaches, with social work seen as maintaining the social order and social fabric of society, and maintaining people during difficult periods. These views convey the liberal or radical economic political philosophy that personal freedom is in economic markets, supported by the rule of law, is the best way of organizing services (Payne, 2005:9). However, in South Africa, the inclusion of the social development approach in the "individualist-reformist" views of social work might be seen as controversial, and therefore better suited to the "reflexive-therapeutic" view. This view links economic and social development in order to achieve individual and social improvement (Payne, 2005:8). The most

distinctive feature of social development is the attempt to link social and economic development efforts (Midgley, 1999:23).

This is an enormous challenge with the social and economic deprivations in contemporary South Africa, similarly noted in the White Paper for Social Welfare (Department of Welfare, 1999, Chapter Two). There have also been difficulties in implementing the provisions for social welfare contained in the country's Constitution. Leatt and Berry (2005:61-2) found that by 2004, only 57% of South African children lived with adequate water, 51% with adequate sanitation, and 76% with an electricity connection. Other statistics for 2004 reflect that 66% of children were living in poverty and that the figure was increasing (Jacobs, 2005:12). Marais (2001:207) writes that the welfare department spent less than one per cent of the ZAR 204 million (about USD 32 million at the time) allocated for poverty relief during the 1998/9 financial year. The Minister for Social Development admitted that the welfare system had failed those in the greatest need, "the poorest of the poor" (Marais, 2001:207-8). Despite this, Altbeker (2005:260) reports that the value of social grants has grown at more than double the rate of inflation, from ZAR 14,1 billion in 1995/6 to ZAR 41,4 billion in 2004/5, a reflection in the increase in the number of grants paid.

Clearly, for many South Africans, "systematic obstructions" and the cycle of societal violence, counter-violence and repressive violence (Gil, 1992:288) continues, and is reflected in the country's crime statistics. Despite South Africa having a Constitution that has earned the envy of people across the world (Marais, 2001:1), crimes such as rape, incest and indecent assault have increased between 1994/1995 and 2002/2003. These increases, with the exception of murder, are reflected in the table overleaf:

Crime Category	1994/ 1995	1995/ 1996	1996/ 1997	1997/ 1998	1998/ 1999	1999/ 2000	2000/ 2001	2001/ 2002	2002/ 2003
Murder	25 965	26 877	25 470	24 486	25 127	22 604	21 758	21 405	21 553
Rape	44 751	49 813	51 435	51 959	49 679	52 891	52 872	54 293	52 425
Attempted Murder	26 806	26 876	28 576	28 145	29 545	28 179	28 128	31 293	35 861
Assault*	215 671	223 097	231 497	234 819	237 818	261 804	275 289	264 012	266 321
Common assault	200 248	206 006	203 023	201 317	203 678	232 024	248 862	261 886	282 526
Robbery **	84 785	77 167	66 163	73 053	92 630	98 813	113 716	116 736	126 905
Common Robbery	32 659	45 683	50 676	54 932	64 978	74 711	90 215	90 205	101 537
Indecent assault	4 009	5 127	5 224	4 920	4 968	6 106	6 652	7 683	8 815
Neglect, ill-treatment of children	3 070	2 634	2 264	2 297	2 173	2 497	2 487	2 648	4 798

***** **Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm**
****** **Robbery with aggravating circumstances**

Table 3: Crime in South Africa for the period 1994/1995 to 2002/2003
(Source: Crime Information Analysis Centre, South African Police Service, 2009) [37]

It is possible that more South Africans are reporting crime, as post-1994 the SAPS task concerns crime, rather than upholding the draconian laws of apartheid. However, and as noted, many sexual crimes against children and adults are under-reported and these figures cannot represent the incidence of such crimes. In the context of sexual crimes against women, Jewkes and Abrahams (2002:1238) note that some of these contributory factors include gender power inequalities, status within male peer groups and a climate of male sexual entitlement, rape as one of the manifestations of a very violent society, poverty, alcohol and drug use, and at a societal level, a general climate of tolerance towards rape (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002:1238).

[37] Post-1994, the "South African Police" (SAP) are now referred to as the "South African Police Service" (SAPS).

The table also reflects that reported rapes have increased. In this regard, Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle (2009:1-3) report South Africa has one of the highest rates of rape reported to the police in the world, and the largest number of people living with HIV. Their study was conducted in rural, urban and city areas of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu Natal. Interviews followed a questionnaire and were administered using Audio-Enhanced Personal Digital Assistants. Thereafter, a finger prick of blood was requested for HIV testing. Interviews were completed in 1 738 households with men from all racial and socio-economic groups. Half of the men were under the age of 25, and 70% were under the age of 30. Results include that 27,6% of the men interviewed had raped a woman or girl. Nearly one in two of the men who had raped said they raped more than one woman or girl.

It is argued that the principle of non-sexism contained in the Constitution directly conflicts with patriarchy. It is further argued that despite the provisions to address poverty in the country, many of the disenfranchised remain as such. It is therefore highly possible that men, and unemployed men particularly, who feel emasculated (Wetherell, 1997:327), will assert their power in other ways in South Africa. It is also argued that dwindling social and community cohesion, as reflected in the World Report on Violence against Children (2006:285) is a further explanation for extremely high levels of sexual crime against children most particularly. In response to these situations, it is no surprise that those who continue to experience "societal violence" respond with violence, with one form of violence manifested in sexual crimes where emasculated men, who live without positive role models in dislocated social and community support systems, believe that they can regain their power, and ameliorate low self-esteem, through acts of rape. Despite South Africa's massive political, social and economic changes, Marais (2001:7) highlights that South Africa is one of the most unequal societies on earth. Consequently, the role of poverty as a factor in sexual crimes cannot be disregarded. According to the World Bank, the poorest 40% of South Africa's citizens earn less than 4% of the income circulating in the economy, with the wealthiest 10% earning more than 51% (Marais, 2001:7). Nearly two decades later, these figures remain similar to those quoted by *Hansard* (1984, cited in McKendrick, 1987a:28), that estimated in 1984, the top 10% of tax payers contributed 50% of individual income tax, with the bottom 50% contributing 5% of

the total, again highlight that political emancipation does not necessarily equate with freedom from poverty, and the enormous socio-economic challenges facing in South Africa.

5. CHAPTER SUMMARY

Key points from this chapter are:

- It is highly possible that the erosion of family life in South Africa, and other parts of the world, has left many without cohesive social and community support systems, as well as positive role models.
- Apartheid interfered with innate biological, psychological and social needs. This resulted in a cycle of violence from the state, experienced as societal and repressive violence. Many possibly responded with counter-violence (Gil, 1992:288) against the state, and displaced violence between South Africans.
- The use of violence was "normal" and saw a shift from political violence to intra-community violence.
- Apartheid has left South Africa one of the most unequal nations in the world (Marais, 2001:7).
- Despite the provisions for social welfare reflected in the country's Constitution, levels of poverty are increasing (Jacobs, 2005:12), and for many South Africans, the inability to meet basic needs, despite massive increases in social grants.
- Many South African men were emasculated during apartheid. Many men possibly feel emasculated, as a result of poverty and unemployment, despite the enormous political changes in South Africa since 1994.
- The increase in reported sexual crimes suggests that one of the ways some men feel powerful is through the act of rape, and other sexual crimes, and also highlighted in research that found one in four South African men has raped a woman or girl (Jewkes, et al, 2009:1).
- South Africa has dropped in the HDI rankings over the past two decades. This could challenge the country's attempts to link social and economic with adoption of the social development approach to social welfare.

The following chapter describes how the researcher designed and conducted the current study.

CHAPTER FIVE:
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study is qualitative and exploratory (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:279). It is concerned with the insider perspective of human action of a relatively unknown social phenomenon - the rape of very young children - without specified theory (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:270, 499). Much of the research literature cited in this chapter is of Western origin. Its relevance in the current study could be challenged given the differences between African and Western cultures, and the socio-economic, educational and cultural differences within South Africa. The current study also has marked differences between the researcher (a white female) and the respondents (coloured and black males), all of whom have vastly diverse experiences of the social and historical contexts of South Africa. However, all human beings are born into a world of meaning, bestowed by culture (Creswell, 2003:9). In response to these situations, the framework for the current study follows socially constructed knowledge claims, or social constructivism (Creswell, 2003:8), as the researcher attempted to understand the world that the respondents lived and worked. Social constructivism, despite its Western origins, is extremely relevant to the current research as it enabled the researcher to present authentic interpretations of the respondents' lives, whilst remaining sensitive to their specific social and historical contexts (Neuman, 2000:122), as well as gender, class and cultural differences.

To paraphrase Babbie and Mouton (2001:499), the use of grounded theory, an approach that facilitates the study of a relatively unknown social phenomenon without specified theory, enabled the researcher to build a theory, inductively, by creating concepts of the factors in the respondents' lives which may have led them to commit such violent acts (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:499). This required that the researcher was the main instrument during the research process and her exploration of her research topic, rather than proving a theory or hypothesis (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:270, 499). In order to build her theory, the researcher used open-

ended questions so that the respondents could express their views (Creswell, 2003:9), and focused on process rather than outcome, and rich, in-depth descriptions of their lives (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:270).

.

2. AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

The overall aim of the present study was to identify and describe the demographic profile and psychosocial history of a group of convicted perpetrators of the rape of children under the age of three years, in order to develop an understanding of factors which might influence them to commit such acts.

The overall aim of the study was divided into three sub-aims, each of which reflected a particular stage of the study. The sub-aims are:

Sub-aims of the study relating to the orientation process

1. To begin to orientate the researcher towards the challenges of undertaking research with sexual offenders by conducting semi-structured interviews with two convicted paedophiles.
2. To gain broad insights into the behaviour of perpetrators who have sexually offended against children under the age of three years by consulting with professionals who have intervened with such offenders.
3. To explore, from the perspective of professionals who intervene directly and/or indirectly in such cases, some of the factors that might influence sexual perpetrators who commit crimes against children, with particular reference to children under the age of three years.

Sub-aims of the study with reference to incarcerated respondents

4. To explore the psychosocial histories of perpetrators from birth to adulthood.
5. To identify factors in the psychosocial histories of perpetrators that could facilitate an understanding of their motivation to rape children under the age of three years.
6. To contextualize violent sexual acts committed against children under the age of three years within a South African context marked by violence.

7. To provide an overview of local and international literature that documents cases of the rape of children under the age of three years in order to clarify whether or not such sexual acts are unique to South Africa.

Sub-aims of the findings

8. To disseminate the findings to professionals at the Department of Correctional Services.
9. To propose to the Department of Correctional Services to forward the findings to:
    (a) The Department of Social Development for possible use by professionals involved in the rehabilitation of sexual offenders; and
    (b) The Department of Education for possible use in sexual education programmes.

3. RESEARCH DESIGN

Implementation of the above aims in the form of research required a strategic framework, or research design, which linked the aims of the research to its execution (Durrheim, 1999:33, 29). The term "research design" defined the current study in its broadest sense (Rubin and Babbie, 2001:107). The present research was qualitative, as all of the data came from words, impressions and sentences, rather than the "hard" data most often associated with quantitative research (Neuman, 2000:122). Guba and Lincoln (1998:196) note that the social sciences are often referred to as "soft" sciences, as they are less quantifiable when compared to "hard" sciences such as physics and chemistry. Babbie and Mouton (2001:270) write that a qualitative study attempts to describe and understand human behaviour rather than to explain it. Qualitative researchers emphasize the socially constructed nature of reality, the relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape enquiry (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003:13).

Fouché (2005:269) highlights a major difference between qualitative and quantitative research designs. In quantitative research, the design of the research determines the researchers' actions whereas in qualitative research, researchers develop the most appropriate research design as the research process unfolds. This

might suggest that the current study was without a strategy of enquiry to guide the research process. However, the researcher used one qualitative research strategy of enquiry - grounded theory - the "discovery of theory from data" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:1), suggesting a "bottom up" approach, or the derivation of theory inductively (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:23). She commenced her study with no preconceived ideas of what she may find, but rather let the findings emerge as the respondents discussed their lives that enabled later study of representative phenomena (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:23). The theory in the current study was discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:23). Hence, data collection, analysis and theory were in a "reciprocal relationship" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:23).

Research paradigms

Despite the seemingly fluid nature of a qualitative research design, inherent in this type of research are research paradigms, a set of beliefs that guide the actions of the researcher (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998a:185). The research paradigm reflects the researcher's ontological (theoretical), epistemological (methodological) and methodological (analytical) assumptions (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998b:26). "Ontology" refers to the nature of reality, "epistemology" to the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the known, and "methodology" concerns how knowledge is gained about the world (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998a:185). There is a distinction between the terms "method" and "methodology" (Henning, 2004:36). The term "method" indicates a way of doing, while "methodology" refers to a logical set of methods that complement one another and have "the goodness of fit" for the data and findings that reflect the research question and match the research purpose (Henning, 2004:36).

Epistemology: the search for truth and knowledge

Epistemology, or the philosophical theory of knowledge (Marshall 1994:153), implies that researchers commence a study with certain assumptions about how and what they will learn during the study (Creswell, 2003:6). Mouton (1996:28) writes about research "as the pursuit of valid knowledge", with the predominate purpose of research to have results that are as near to the truth as possible. However, the search for truth and knowledge is an elusive ideal, for three reasons related to

particular aspects of the social world (Mouton, 1996:29). These reasons are: first, sociological constraints, or shortcomings that might originate with the researcher, including a limited knowledge about the enquiry and strong prejudices that could bias the interpretation; second, ontological constraints, meaning the ways of understanding the world (Marshall 1994:367), given the complexity of human behaviour (Mouton, 1996:29), and third, methodological constraints or the use of inappropriate methods, that might overlook the limitations unique to a particular approach (Mouton, 1996:29). For those involved in knowledge production in the social sciences, ontological constraint suggests researchers have to settle for results that are "approximations" of the truth (Mouton, 1996:29-30). It could be argued that an "approximation" of the truth means qualitative research should not be conducted at all if the ontological argument suggests that a final research study is an "approximation of the truth".

In the context of the present research, Mouton's (1996:29) "search for the truth" is noteworthy and captured in the term "epistemic imperative" (Mouton, 1996:29). "Epistemic" refers to truthful knowledge which is well-substantiated and provides an accurate depiction of reality, rather than substantiation by mere opinion (Mouton, 1996:29). "Imperative" suggests the entering of a moral contract for the broader good (Mouton, 1996:29). Hence, the term "epistemic imperative" refers to the "intrinsic moral and binding character that is inherent in the pursuit of truthful knowledge" (Mouton, 1996:29).

Social constructivism

The present study follows socially constructed knowledge claims and the social constructivism perspective, based on the assumption that individuals "seek understanding" of the world in which they live and work (Creswell, 2003:8). This perspective is similar to the knowledge framework of social work and is encapsulated in the concept "person-in-environment". Despite the Western origins of these claims and concepts, surely all individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences, with meanings both varied and multiple (Creswell, 2003:8), particularly in a country such as South Africa? These subjective meanings enabled this researcher to look for the "complexity of views" rather than trying to narrow meanings into a few categories or ideas (Creswell, 2003:8). Subjective meanings

are often negotiated socially and historically - again, pertinent to South Africa's past and present, as social and historical contexts have been experienced very differently by different racial groups, and within racial groups - formed through interactions with others, hence the term "social constructivism" (Creswell, 2003:8). For this researcher, this perspective enabled focus on the specific contexts in which the research respondents, black and coloured males, lived and worked in order to facilitate an understanding of their historical and cultural settings (Creswell, 2003:8), all of which were extremely different to those of the researcher, a white, middle class, female.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Qualitative researchers closely study a small group in order to "clarify and deepen understanding" and "illuminate social life" (Neuman, 2000:196). But, given the complexities of human behaviour, what is "admissible knowledge" (Everitt, Hardiker, Littlewood and Mullender, 1992:84)? Hence, this is an open-ended question, with data the "building blocks for knowledge" (Everitt et al, 1992:84). Researchers use the process of collecting data to generate theory by accessing a small group of respondents (Schurink, 1998b:254). Different forms of data have advantages and disadvantages with various challenges during the data collection process (Everitt, et al, 1992:84-5). The researcher collects, records, codes and analyses data, constantly deciding where and what data should be collected in order to develop a grounded theory as it emerges (Schurink, 1998b:254). Data are methodically collected and analyzed until the sample is theoretically saturated (Schurink, 1998b:254). "Saturated" means that no new or relevant data has emerged and that the researcher has established and validated relationships between categories (Schurink, 1998b:254), or classifications of concepts (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:61).

Sampling

The present study used purposive and theoretical sampling - two types of non-probability sampling (Neuman, 2000:196) - that are based on the judgment of the researcher (Strydom and De Vos, 1998:198). Purposive sampling was appropriate in the current study for three reasons (Neuman, 2000:198). First, it enabled the researcher to select unique cases that were particularly informative, second, it

enabled selection of members from a "difficult-to-reach" population, and finally, as she identified particular cases for "in-depth" investigation. Theoretical sampling is "the process of data collection to generate theory" (Schurink, 1998b:254). The researcher collected, coded and analyzed data in order for a grounded theory to emerge (Schurink, 1998b:254). She decided when and where data would be collected as the research process unfolded (Schurink, 1998b:254). She stopped looking for cases when other cases would not change the findings and saturation was reached (Rubin and Babbie, 2001:392).

Collection and analysis of data

The researcher collected data using semi-structured interviews and open-ended questions. Grinnell (1997:118) explains that on a continuum, semi-structured interviews rest between structured[38] and unstructured[39] interviews and allow for follow-up questions that can vary from respondent to respondent. Flexibility of interviews is in keeping with the qualitative approach and highlights that the researcher had no preconceived ideas before and during collection of her data. Interviews are conducted as a "conversation" (Rubin and Babbie, 2001:404) with the researcher establishing a general direction for the conversation. All the interviews in the current research were conducted by the researcher, audio-recorded, and transcribed by her. During the interviews, specific topics raised by respondents (Rubin and Babbie, 2001:404) were explored in detail in order to reach understanding between the researcher and the respondents (Silverman, 1993:94-5), as they can seldom give explanations of their actions, only accounts or stories (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998b:24).

The researcher then analyzed and interpreted her data by a conceptualization process known as "coding". Coding is defined as "the operations by which data are broken down, conceptualized, and put back together in new ways" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:20, 61). For example, in the current study, data broken into, "We never heard from our father again" was conceptualized, by the researcher, as abandonment. "My father was killed in an accident" was conceptualized as loss.

[38] A structured interview schedule has specific questions and directs each respondent to reply in a structured predetermined way (Grinnell, 1997:117).
[39] An unstructured or conversational interview allows for greater variation in responses as there is no list of questions (Grinnell, 1997:118).

The concepts of "abandonment" and "loss" were "put back together in new ways" by the researcher as "parental absences". Coding is the central process by which theories are built from data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:57). The coding process in the current research was informed by grounded theory, or the "discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:2). Grounded theory is an approach of the qualitative research methodology using a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived theory about a phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:24). Using these procedures - making comparisons and asking questions - enabled the development of concepts (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:62, 74). For example, the concept of "parental absences" enabled comparison of all respondents' relationships with their parents noting differences in abandonment due to death or their fathers' reported disappearance permanently ("My father didn't come back no more"), and how these absences affected respondents' lives. "My father just left us when I was seven. … It's where we start to suffer".

The purpose of grounded theory is to generate a theory that accounts for a pattern of problematic behaviour (Strauss, 1987:34). To paraphrase De Vos (2005:340), examining her data using the grounded theory approach helped the researcher to develop an explanation of the factors in the psychosocial histories of respondents which may have led them to rape very young children. Grounded theory is a method of analysis that facilitates examination of the interactive nature of events (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:159). An event is a central idea (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:100), for example, corporal punishment. In the present study, grounded theory started with observations (Rubin and Babbie, 2001:392). The researcher observed that when a respondent spoke about his childhood, he spoke about beatings at home. He also spoke about beatings at school and in the community. The researcher noted that the theme of "corporal punishment" was common to all respondents, by constantly comparing respondents' experiences of such punishment that was both frequent and severe in its administration (Rubin and Babbie, 2001:392). By enabling the respondents to speak freely about their experiences of corporal punishment, an inductive approach (Rubin and Babbie, 2001:392), and using open-ended questions, data relevant to the study emerged (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:23), rather than the researcher presuming that all the

respondents had experienced "frequent and severe corporal punishment". Thereafter, the researcher studied the literature about the effects of high levels of corporal punishment on children, and if respondents' experiences of corporal punishment at school were higher or lower than that reported by other school-going children in South Africa.

The researcher, using grounded theory, did not begin with a theory which she set out to prove (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:23), or disprove, such as "virgin-cleansing". The theory generated in the current research used concepts with similar data grouped together and given conceptual labels, by placing interpretations on the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:29). Concepts were the basic "building blocks" of theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:74). The researcher constantly compared her data with emerging categories, one of the main features of the design (Creswell, 2003:14).

Ethical, legal and psychological considerations

The present research posed particular ethical, legal and psychological considerations from its conceptualization.

Ethical considerations

Neuman (2000:90) explains that ethical issues require balancing of two values: the pursuit of knowledge, and the rights of those studied or of others in society. "Those studied" (Neuman, 2000:90) included the respondents' rights to physical and emotional well-being during and after their participation in the research was paramount. In the context of this research, "others in society" (Neuman, 2000:90) included the researcher and her physical and emotional well-being during the research process.

Well-being of the respondents

Regarding the well-being of the incarcerated respondents serving very long prison sentences for the rape of young children, Neuman (2000:92) asks if researchers are justified in risking physical harm or emotional harm. The potential for harm was a possibility for incarcerated respondents in this study. Gear and Ngubeni (2002) published a South African research study entitled, *Sex, sexual violence and*

coercion in men's prisons, and document the same concern. They discuss the difficulty of "holding meetings" within the confines of the prison, on its own a virtual impossibility, and the resultant potential harassment of respondents by non-participating prisoners as to the content of the meetings (Gear and Ngubeni, 2002:9).

Another concern regarding the physical well-being of incarcerated respondents was that the present research might draw attention to the reason for their imprisonment – the rape of very young children. Perkins (1994:153) highlights that incarcerated sexual offenders are subject to verbal and physical abuse from other prisoners, and will often "hide" their sexual crimes from them and even the prison staff. The researcher, an "outside" visitor, seeing the same incarcerated respondent up to six times, was likely to draw immediate attention to the latter and could exacerbate the potential for physical harm. Lee (1993:2) notes that researchers conducting research on sensitive topics must be extremely aware of their ethical responsibilities to their respondents compared to those who conduct studies of a less sensitive nature.

Regarding the emotional well-being of incarcerated respondents, research interviews are not therapy sessions (Henning, 2004:66), despite role conflict concerns for many researchers (Bloor, Fincham and Sampson, 2007:26). The risk of emotional harm is a situation potentially exacerbated by incarcerated respondents' compounded vulnerability, rooted in their experiences of "loss, hardship and discrimination" (Everitt et al, 1992:79). Also, on what basis should incarcerated respondents offer perspectives on their lives that in the past may have led to a "bitter" consequence following such disclosure (Everitt et al, 1992:79)? Johnson (2002:114-5) raises the concern of how far a researcher should probe respondents' answers, without always fully anticipating the possible consequences, particularly as "in-depth interviewing commonly elicits highly personal information about specific individuals". The researcher therefore believed it was ethically appropriate to conduct semi-structured, rather than in-depth, interviews. Henning (2004:66-7) summarizes the dilemma raised by the type of interviews conducted by questioning where an interview would go if there was no focus or

direction, with a fine line existing between the researcher being too authoritarian and allowing the respondent too much latitude.

The researcher realized that certain of her questions might unwittingly trigger feelings of distress in some respondents, despite her efforts to safeguard the emotional well-being of all respondents. Rubin and Babbie (2001:75) state that social work research should never harm the respondents. The researcher planned to safeguard the emotional well-being of all respondents in three ways. First, at the commencement of the study, she informed all respondents that she would discuss with them how they felt at the end of each interview. Second, she would offer de-briefing herself at the conclusion of the interviews with all respondents. Third, if necessary and with the consent of respondents, she would ensure that respondents consulted with a Department of Correctional Services (DCS) social worker at the conclusion of the interviews. Strydom (2005:67) writes that de-briefing sessions at the conclusion of interviews, when respondents have the opportunity to work through the research experience and its aftermath, are one way that a researcher can assist respondents in minimizing possible harm, despite all the precautions taken to prevent such harm.

Well-being of the researcher

In the context of conducting research on "deviant" members from a "hidden" population, what of the potential for physical and emotional harm to the researcher? Regarding her physical well-being, the Research Ethics Committee of the Department of Correctional Services, Pretoria, required that the researcher entered into an "Agreement regarding conditions applicable to research done in institutions which are under the authority of the Commissioner of Correctional Services" (Agreement, Department of Correctional Services, 2003). The Agreement stated that interviews "must be done … within viewing distance of a member(s) of the Department" (Agreement, Department of Correctional Services, 2003:3, clause 1.3.3). Hubbard, Backett-Milburn and Kemmer (2001:119, 120) write that there is little in the literature that provides an in-depth understanding of the emotions raised for the researcher. However, the researcher is part of the interview process and is not immune emotionally most particularly in the current study as she was the main instrument during the research process (Babbie and

Mouton, 2001:270). Pritchard (2004:6) notes that "the understandable human response to people who have laid aside their humanity in their brutalizing behaviour of children, is always likely to be one of abhorrence" but still requires "a restrained reaction … from the detached professional". Pennebaker (1990, cited in Bloor et al, 2007:26) cautions that researchers repeatedly exposed to respondents' traumatic events can experience "vicarious traumatization".

Legal considerations

The researcher was mindful that during the data collection process of the present study there was a possibility that some respondents *might* have committed crimes that were unknown to the relevant authorities. Neuman (2000:94) points out that if participation in research increases respondents' risk of further prosecution, they will distrust the researcher. In the context of this research, the researcher addressed such risk by explaining to all respondents during the introduction phase to the research that her registration as a social worker with the South African Council for Social Service Professions mandated her to report even the suspicion of child abuse.[40] Interviews for the current research would therefore focus on incarcerated respondents' convicted crimes.

Psychological considerations

Prior to the commencement of the present study, the researcher was fully aware that she might experience "stigma contagion" (Kirby and Corzine, 1981, cited in Lee, 1993:9) experienced by some researchers who study "sexual deviance". An assumption might be made that the researcher's interest in researching sexual

---

[40] **"Notification of injured children and children who suffer from nutritional deficiency disease.**–(1) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law every dentist, medical practitioner, nurse, social worker or teacher, or any person employed by or managing a children's home, place of care or shelter, who examines, attends or deals with any child in circumstances giving rise to the suspicion that the child has been ill-treated, or suffers from any injury, single or multiple, the cause of which probably might have been deliberate, or suffers from a nutritional deficiency disease, shall immediately notify the Director-General or any officer designated by him or her for the purposes of this section, of those circumstances" (Child Care Act no.74 of 1983:s42).

Obligation to report ill-treatment of children. -Any person who examines, treats, attends to, advises, instructs or cares for any child in circumstances which ought to give rise to the reasonable suspicion that such child has been ill-treated, or suffers from any injury the probable cause of which was deliberate, shall immediately report such circumstances-

(a) to a police official or, (b) to a commissioner of child welfare or social worker referred to in section 1 of the Child Care Act, 1983 (no. 74 of 1983)" (Prevention of Family Violence Act, no. 133 of 1993:s4).

behaviour derives from her own psychological disturbance (Troiden, 1987, cited in Lee, 1993:9). Before the researcher began her data collection, she realized that she was likely to listen to some difficult and highly emotive material from respondents, but that she needed to remain non-judgmental, respectful and empathetic. Furniss (1991:14) notes that expressing empathy for sexual offenders often provokes angry reactions from some members of the public and professionals. However, remaining empathetic towards sexual abusers does not take away their responsibility for the abuse they have committed (Furniss, 1991:14). Thus, a central question for the researcher was how she would manage her feelings.

In light of these considerations, and for the researcher's orientation to the complexities of the study, she undertook a two-step orientation process before she commenced interviews with incarcerated respondents. The orientation process comprised first, conducting an orientation study with two convicted paedophiles and second, consulting professionals who have intervened directly and indirectly in cases of child sexual abuse. This highlights that the methodological ingenuity of social scientists is taxed when undertaking research on sensitive topics (Lee, 1993:2).

In order to commence with the study, consent was required from a number of different institutions.

Consent for the study

Three institutions scrutinized the research proposal and granted consent for the researcher to commence her research. In each instance, particular attention was given to the interplay of the research design and methodology and the ethical issues these raised. The institutions were:

- University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: the Committee for Research on Human Subjects (Medical); and, the Graduate School for Humanities;
- South African Police Service, Pretoria: the Strategic Research Unit; and
- Department of Correctional Services, Pretoria: the Research Ethics Committee.

Orientation process

The orientation process took the form of an orientation study.

Orientation study

Aims: orientation study

The orientation study had four aims:

1. To help the researcher begin to familiarize herself with the life situations and experiences of paedophiles.
2. To enable the researcher to develop her interview skills.
3. To enable the researcher to continue developing an interview guide for data collection from incarcerated respondents.
4. To facilitate greater understanding of the coding process and the grounded theory approach with respect to the main study.

Sampling: orientation study

Theoretical sampling (Schurink, 1998b:254) informed the identification and selection of two respondents. Potential respondents were located after the researcher had undertaken a personal visit, followed by written application, to the director of an organization that intervenes with convicted paedophiles undergoing court-ordered rehabilitation. The director facilitated contact between the researcher and the head social worker. The researcher requested that the head social worker handed out, in confidence, subject information sheets from the researcher, to convicted paedophiles (Volume II, Appendix A). The subject information sheet included the mandatory caution. With the assistance of the head social worker, two convicted paedophiles agreed to participate in the orientation study, one of whom had served time in prison for his crimes against young children.

Research tools and data collection procedures: orientation study

The researcher used a semi-structured interview guide (Volume II, Appendix B) to conduct the interviews (Volume II, Appendix C). Before the interviews commenced, the researcher reminded the respondents of the mandatory caution. She gained their signed consent to (a) participate in the study and (b) audio-record the interviews (Volume II, Appendices D and E respectively). All interviews were audio-recorded. Two interviews were conducted with each of the respondents.

The researcher terminated each interview, and undertook de-briefing with the respondents at the conclusion of interviews. She also discussed with them if further de-briefing was required.

During one of the interviews, one of the respondents disclosed a recent experience involving a young child to the researcher. This required that the researcher firmly draw the respondent's attention to the mandatory caution, discussed prior to the interview.

Data analysis: orientation study

The researcher coded the four transcribed interviews. She did this as follows:

(i) She typed out the interviews, verbatim.

(ii) The interviews were placed into one of three columns.

(iii) Using coloured highlighter pens, she grouped together respondents' statements into categories, such as "Childhood", "Thoughts about childhood", "Discipline at school" and "Discipline at home".

(iv) In the second column, the researcher developed these categories further. For example, under the heading "Childhood", the researcher identified the theme of "Loss". This theme was expanded to "Loss of status", "Loss of parental contact", "Loss of freedom", "Loss of recreational time" and "Loss of social contact".

(v) In the third column, the researcher integrated theory to substantiate and facilitate her understanding of the themes and categories she had identified.

Two central issues emerged during the process:

- The cognitive distortion used by the respondents when justifying their sexual activities against children.
- The blunt and extremely graphic manner in which the respondents described their sexual activities with children.

Limitations: orientation study

- Neither of the respondents had raped a child.
- Neither of the respondents had committed a sexual crime against a child under the age of three years, according to the head social worker.

- One respondent received a prison sentence for his sexual crimes against children. He served this sentence in a medium-security prison.

Interviews with professionals who render direct and/or indirect services to children who have been sexually abused

The second stage of the orientation process was to conduct interviews with professionals who have intervened directly and/or indirectly in cases of child sexual abuse.

Aims: interviews with professionals

There were two broad aims for the interviews with professionals:

- To identify possible factors from the perspective of these professionals that they considered might influence sexual perpetrators committing crimes against children under the age of three years.
- To gather data from the perspective of these professionals as to their experience and understanding of perpetrators, for possible comparison with data gathered from incarcerated respondents.

Sampling: interviews with professionals

The researcher used theoretical sampling to identify professionals from media reports and academic journals. Theoretical sampling required her to find cases that were theoretically important to her topic (Neuman, 2000:196). The professionals interviewed were:

- Two senior members from the Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences Unit (FCS) of the South African Police Service (SAPS).
- One social worker from the FCS.
- One trauma surgeon.
- One paediatric surgeon.
- One prosecutor specializing in prosecuting offenders of sexual crimes against children.
- Two child rights' activists.

Research tools and data collection procedures: interviews with professionals

A semi-structured interview guide was used (Volume II, Appendix F). The researcher invited the professionals to discuss, and as appropriate, in an individual face-to-face open ended interview (a) their experiences of sexual crimes against children, (b) their specific professional interventions with children who had been so traumatized, and (c) their experiences with, and assessment of, the perpetrators.

Data analysis: interviews with professionals

The interviews (Volume II, Appendix G) with the professionals served two central purposes:

- To help sensitize the researcher when interviewing incarcerated sexual offenders, and
- To understand the experiences of the various professionals in their different disciplines when directly and/or indirectly intervening with children who have been sexually abused.

During the orientation process, the twin issues of gaining "informed consent" and obtaining "voluntary participation" from respondents emerged as central. In the context of sensitive research, these issues became even more complex ethically and would require careful attention during the data gathering process of the main study.

Voluntary participation and informed consent

The researcher's Agreement with the Department of Correctional Services stated that, "Participation in the research by prisoners must be voluntary", and that, "No prisoner may be given the impression that his co-operation could be advantageous to him personally" (Agreement, Department of Correctional Services, 2003:2, 11, clauses 1.2.2 and 1.3.11). "Informed consent" emphasizes that the researcher cannot coerce an individual into participating in a research study and that his participation is voluntary (Neuman, 2000:96). In addition, potential respondents must be aware of the nature of the research, and any potential risks or consequences relating to their participation, before they are in a position to give their "informed consent" (Neuman, 2000:96). In the context of this study, potential respondents who are incarcerated prisoners are vulnerable and despite giving their "informed consent" may agree to participate in a research study in the hope of a

reduced sentence (Neuman, 2000:97). In an attempt to address this complex issue, the researcher explored the meaning of "voluntary participation" with each respondent. She emphasized that "voluntary participation" precluded the receipt of any "reward" such as telephone calls to family members or gaining the attention of the Parole Board through participation in the study.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Prior to the first interview conducted with each of the incarcerated respondents, the researcher explored individually their rights regarding confidentiality and anonymity.

Anonymity

Neuman (2000:99) notes that anonymity means that research respondents remain "nameless", even after completion of the research. In the context of this research, such anonymity was not possible, as some DCS staff and the researcher knew the names of the incarcerated respondents. However, the researcher could protect the respondents' privacy. She assured prisoners who agreed to participate in the study that their privacy would be protected as they would remain "nameless" with no identifying details in the completed study.

Confidentiality

Neuman (2000:99) explains that "confidentiality" means that while information may have names associated with it, the researcher withholds such information in confidence from the public domain. However, an ethical dilemma, discussed by Warren (2002:89), arose in this regard, namely the researcher's obligation to obtain signed written consent prior to the commencement of the first interviews, yet some DCS staff and the researcher would know the identity of incarcerated research respondents. To this end, the researcher requested, verbally and in writing, an assurance from the head of each prison and the social workers who had facilitated her access to incarcerated respondents, that confidentiality regarding the nature of her research and the privacy of the respondents would be maintained. In addition, the researcher assured incarcerated respondents that she would not disclose the contents of the interviews to staff members, other than if they disclosed even the suspicion of an unreported crime.

The above dilemmas reflect the complexity of access. The researcher addressed the above concerns with each respondent at the beginning of the interviews, by explaining that she had to abide by the professional ethics mandated by the social work profession and those of the Research Ethics Committee of the University under whose auspices the study was being conducted. Thereafter, the researcher informed all respondents of the following: First, she would never show the consent forms to a third party. Second, she explained that as DCS social workers were also registered with the South African Council for Social Service Professions, they too were legally required to keep the nature of the interviews confidential. Third, only the researcher would listen to the audiotapes and transcribe them. Fourth, she would keep all of the audiotapes of the interviews secure during the transcription process and destroy them herself on completion of the study. Fifth, she explained that in the final research document, she would use an alphanumeric code, known only to herself. Finally, the researcher and each respondent agreed on a process through which questions from guards and other prisoners as to her frequent visits might be fielded.

Huysamen (1993, cited in Strydom, 1998:29) notes that the more sensitive the information gathered during data collection, the greater the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that this information is treated as "extremely confidential". However, the researcher forewarned all 10 incarcerated respondents of one central exception to "confidentiality".

Limit to confidentiality: mandatory caution

In terms of the mandatory caution, the researcher explained the central exception to "confidentiality" to each respondent very carefully prior to the first, and at the beginning of subsequent, interviews. Should, during the course of an interview, a respondent disclose even the suspicion of a crime for which he had not been apprehended, the researcher was mandated by her professional registration to report this information to the relevant authorities. To further highlight this issue, the researcher emphasized that the interviews would only focus on *convicted* crimes. This issue was addressed in the "Subject information sheet" (Volume II, Appendix H) a copy of which the researcher discussed with and gave to seven of the 10 incarcerated respondents prior to the commencement of the first interview. Four

respondents were illiterate[41] and declined copies of the subject information sheet. In each of these instances, the researcher read this sheet out loud and line-by-line to the respondents. All the respondents were encouraged to ask questions if they did not understand any of its contents. The mandatory caution was highlighted in the "Consent form for participation in the research: incarcerated respondents" (Volume II, Appendix I). All respondents were required to sign this form, and the "Consent form for the audio-recording of the interview" (Volume II, Appendix D) before the interviews commenced. The researcher provided both of these consent forms and explained this documentation to incarcerated respondents before they signed it. Illiterate respondents signed these with a cross or affixed their thumbprints.

Use of translators

Five of the respondents spoke English. Six respondents spoke limited or no English. Three of these respondents spoke Afrikaans, two spoke Zulu[42] and one Xhosa. The researcher required the assistance of translators who were also professionally mandated to maintain confidentiality about the content of the interviews. Four DCS social workers, each of whom spoke the same first language as these respondents,[43] served as translators. They explained to respondents that they could not break confidentiality regarding the nature and content of the interviews. There was one exception to these translators. There were no social workers at the maximum-security section of the prison at the time the researcher conducted the interviews with the sixth incarcerated respondent. A senior, female guard acted as the translator. The researcher and the Area Commissioner's office discussed the issue of confidentiality, the necessity of which was conveyed to the guard by this DCS office and the researcher, both in writing and verbally.

Interviews with convicted perpetrators

The researcher conducted interviews with 10 incarcerated respondents.

[41] One respondent withdrew from the study after two interviews.
[42] One of these Zulu speakers was the respondent who withdrew from the study after two interviews.
[43] Two respondents, both of whom spoke Afrikaans, were serving their sentences at the same prison. The same DCS social worker acted as the translator for both series of interviews.

Summary of criteria for inclusion in the study

Convicted incarcerated prisoners currently serving sentences for the rape of a child under the age of three years.

Sampling and sampling procedures: convicted perpetrators

A summary of the research sites contacted by the researcher and the outcome of contact is contained in the table below. (More details are contained in Volume II, Appendix J).

Research site	***Outcome of contact***
Site 1	Two respondents identified and interviewed.
Site 2	Two potential respondents identified. One did not meet research criteria after face-to-face meeting with the researcher. The second was deemed mentally unfit for interviews by the prison psychologist.
Site 3	No respondents found.
Site 4	One respondent identified and interviewed.
Site 5	Three potential respondents identified. Two interviewed, and one withdrew from the study after two interviews.
Sites 6, 7, 8, 9	No respondents found.
Site 10	Two potential respondents identified. One declined to participate in the study, second interviewed.
Sites 11, 12	No respondents found.
Site 13	One respondent identified and interviewed.
Site 14	Three potential respondents identified. Two interviewed, third released from prison the day before the researcher was due to make face-to-face contact.
Sites 15, 16, 17, 18	No respondents found.
Site 19	One respondent identified and interviewed.

Table 4: Summary of research sites contacted and outcome of contact

Noteworthy in this table is that out of 19 research sites contacted, the researcher found ten out of 15 potential respondents, highlighting the difficulty of locating such offenders and their 'rarity' within prisons.

Research tools: convicted perpetrators

The research instrument, a semi-structured interview guide, aimed to facilitate the researcher's descriptions of the psychosocial histories of convicted perpetrators during the interviews (refer to Volume II, Appendix K). The interview guide comprised five sections with a list of follow-up probes to be used, if necessary

(Grinnell, 1997:118). The semi-structured interviews commenced with less threatening issues, such as biographical information, which aimed to build rapport between the researcher and the respondents (Grinnell, 1997:117). The researcher asked open-ended questions that were more sensitive during later interviews. When a respondent raised an issue, she followed the lead of the respondent (Rubin and Babbie, 2001:404).

The semi-structured interview guide comprised the following sections:

Section A: An introduction to the study, including the mandatory caution.
Section B: The exploration of biographical and psychosocial experiences relating to childhood, adolescence and adulthood.
Section C: Incarceration with "prompts" to help the respondent discuss prison life and acted as a link between the introductory issues and the central issue concerning the respondent's conviction, as suggested by Schurink, Schurink and Poggenpoel (1998:319).
Section D: Conviction. An exploration of the events leading up to the crime, the crime itself and the resultant prison sentence. The respondent's perceptions of his sexual acts involving a child.
Section E: Termination of the interview, including obtaining feedback from the respondent relating to the research interview experience, and if there was a need for post-research interview counselling.

The researcher and respondents covered all the sections contained in the semi-structured interview guide. She also addressed issues raised by them. For example, the interview guide did not address the possible use of violence in respondents' intimate relationships, or how political turmoil affected school attendance. When respondents' raised these issues, the researcher followed and is an example of how she remained sensitive to respondents' social contexts (Neuman, 2000:122) and the research process (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:270).

Data collection: convicted perpetrators

Using semi-structured interviews for data collection purposes permitted the use of follow-up questions which varied from respondent to respondent (Grinnell,

1997:118) and ensured that in-detail data about the lives of the respondents was gathered. This approach enabled reconstruction of the world from the perspective of the respondents (Schurink, 1998c:300). Thus, the respondents provided an "insider view" of the social phenomenon under study, with the aim, in turn, of facilitating the researcher's exploration of deviant sexual behaviour (Schurink, 1998c:300).

Henning (2004:86) notes that the researcher is the main "instrument" gathering data. However, she must also manage and observe the interview process at all levels. This can include taking notes (Henning, 2004:86). De Vos (2005:334-5) writes that in some situations note-taking by the researcher can inhibit research participants. In the context of the present research, such detailed note-taking was circumscribed first, by the guards, who were extremely cautious of the researcher being in possession of a pen which could be used as a weapon in the context of a maximum-security prison and second, by the wary reactions of the respondents. In response to this situation, the researcher then captured, for example, a respondent fidgeting, or smiling, by commenting directly into the tape recorder.

Challenges of accessing data with incarcerated respondents

Data collection amongst a group of incarcerated respondents posed unique challenges when conducting the present research. Convicted perpetrators of the rape of children under the age of three years form part of "hidden populations" who have engaged in clandestine, deviant or concealed activities and are difficult to find and study (Neuman, 2000:511). The researcher was faced with two main challenges: (a) identifying and locating respondents within a complex administrative system, and (b) conducting interviews with respondents held in maximum-security prisons.

The challenges of accessing respondents within a complex administrative system

In terms of South African law, when an individual commits a violent sexual crime, he is potentially subject to investigation, prosecution, sentencing, and incarceration by the South African Police Service (SAPS), the Department of Justice (DoJ) and the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) respectively. The word "potentially" is a reflection of the very low conviction rate for perpetrators of

violent sexual crimes such as rape. In 2000, Andersson, Mhatre, Naidoo, Mayet, Mqotsi, Penderis, Onishi, Myburg and Merhi (2000:xi) found that for every 394 South African women raped during 1997 only one perpetrator was convicted. With regard to sexual crimes against children, Lee (1993:47) writes that child sexual abuse is an activity that often occurs in secret. Furthermore, and as noted in Chapter Two, such crimes may not be necessarily reported to the SAPS (Van Niekerk, 2004:264).

In cases of rape, the younger the child, the more brutal the act, with the rape of an infant the most extreme form of child abuse (Richter and Higson-Smith, 2004:24). The rape of an infant "can be immediately life-threatening" (Pitcher and Bowley, 2002:274) with resultant injuries requiring urgent medical attention. This brings such acts to the attention of the relevant authorities. Intervening medical, and other child care, professionals are legally required to report even the suspicion of child abuse and/or neglect. As these cases are in the statutory domain, it could be assumed that the apprehension and conviction rate for the perpetrators of such sexual crimes would be higher and driven by the concomitant "emotional reaction" which calls for swift action from the SAPS (Dawes, Richter and Higson-Smith, 2004:1). However, during the orientation study, senior members of the Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences Unit (FCS) of the SAPS explained to the researcher that apprehending perpetrators of the rape of very young children is an extremely difficult undertaking. Very young children are pre-verbal, there are rarely witnesses to these crimes, and the resultant physical damage from rape leaves victims bleeding profusely, often with no forensic evidence available that could secure a conviction in the absence of verbal testimony. The potential sample size for the present study was therefore *very* limited indeed.

When the SAPS arrest an individual for committing a violent sexual crime, the apprehended individual becomes a prison detainee awaiting-trial before a court and, if found guilty, is sentenced to a prison term. The individual has four reference numbers whilst being processed by the administrative systems of each of the police, justice and prison systems. The DCS has two reference numbers: one for an awaiting-trial detainee and one for a sentenced prisoner. However, the three separate computer systems used by the SAPS, DoJ and DCS do not interface with

each other, with the result that arrested and awaiting trial-detainees, as well as sentenced prisoners, cannot be "tracked" through these three computer systems. In response to this situation, the researcher used five different ways to identify potential respondents. Some of these methods were used simultaneously.

Method I: Assistance from the Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences Unit (FCS) of the South African Police Service (SAPS)

The first method used by the researcher was to enlist the help of senior members of the FCS. Despite ongoing assurances to the contrary, and after a period of 12 months, members of the FCS ultimately informed the researcher that as perpetrators sometimes use different names at the time of their arrest, and when tried by the courts, providing the names of potential respondents was pointless.

Method II: Working directly with the Head Office of the Department of Correctional Services (DCS)

The second method used by the researcher to identify potential respondents involved liaising directly with the Head Office of DCS. Potential respondents were located amongst some 190 000 individuals (with about one third of this number awaiting-trial detainees)[44] held in about 240 prisons across South Africa (Department of Correctional Services, 2006a). This method of identification was suggested by the researcher's internal guide[45] who alerted her to the fact that all convicted individuals sentenced to a prison term are committed to prisons with warrants issued by the sentencing courts for their detention (Correctional Services Act no. 111 of 1998:s6(1)*a*).

To facilitate the researcher's attempt to access potential respondents, the computer staff of DCS Head Office wrote a customized computer programme through which the names of convicted perpetrators currently serving sentences for the "rape"

[44] This is a necessary distinction as the researcher could only interview *convicted* respondents in terms of the consent granted by the Committee for Research on Human Subjects (Medical) of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg to conduct the study.

[45] The Department of Correctional Services appoints an internal guide to all researchers conducting studies in prisons. His/her function is "provid[ing] guidance on a continual basis" (Agreement, Department of Correctional Services, 2003:2, clause 1.1).

and/or "indecent assault"[46] of children under the age of three years could be accessed. Four potential respondents were identified through this method,[47] two of whom the researcher interviewed. The third potential respondent was released on parole the day before the researcher was due to meet him for the first time. The researcher only learnt that the fourth potential respondent did not meet the criteria for inclusion in the study when she met with him.

Method III: Contacting prisons directly

Following limited success in accessing respondents through the use of Method II, the researcher's internal guide advised her to contact social workers directly who worked at specific prisons. Since prisoners' warrants are stored at the prisons where they serve their sentences, potential respondents could be identified with the assistance of these social workers ***if*** the ages of the victims of sexual crimes were reflected on the warrants of detention. However, this would necessitate social workers themselves examining the warrants of all convicted sexual offenders. Thus, the researcher began a process of approaching the head social workers at individual prisons directly. To do so, the researcher had to conform to a complex process of obtaining consent by first contacting the Head Office of DCS to request their consent to contact a specific prison. The Head Office of DCS then alerted the office of the Area Commissioner under whom a particular prison is located. The office of the Area Commissioner then alerted the Head of the specific prison. The researcher then received her consent and contacted the head social worker of this prison. Garnering the assistance of social workers was crucial as they were also the gatekeepers to the research sites and therefore in a position to facilitate access to potential respondents from "hidden" and incarcerated populations on behalf of the researcher (Neuman, 2000:511).

[46] As noted in Chapter Two, the respondents in the current study were convicted under previous definitions of "rape" and "indecent assault" which included anal rape. The current definition of "rape" includes anal rape.

[47] DCS staff alerted the researcher to the fact that whilst warrants contain the nature of the crimes committed, such as "rape of child" or "indecent assault of a minor", the warrants do not necessarily reflect the *ages* of the victims.

Given the shortage of social workers in prisons at the time of data collection,[48] their concomitant workloads, and the manual process required to identify potential respondents, research requests exacerbated existing workloads. Despite this, many social workers willingly undertook the lengthy exercise to identify potential respondents. DCS statistics reflected a prison population of 18 194 individuals who had been convicted for sexual crimes in December 2005 (Department of Correctional Services, 2006c). While the researcher used this method over a 32-month period in conjunction with other methods, it did not lead to the identification of any potential respondents.

Method IV: Liaising directly with social workers employed by the Department of Correctional Services

The researcher used a fourth method to identify potential respondents. This involved the researcher liaising directly with the head social workers at potential research sites in order to ascertain whether their social work colleagues had prisoners on their caseloads that they knew were serving sentences for the rape of children under the age of three. The researcher followed the same consent process discussed in Method III whilst attempting to identify potential respondents. This fourth method led to the identification of four potential respondents, three of whom participated in the current research. However, this method of identifying potential respondents requires further explanation. DCS social workers informed the researcher that prisoners serving very long sentences usually only participate in social work programmes when they approach the completion of their sentences or when they are receiving consideration for parole.[49]

Method V: Perusing public records

The researcher also identified potential respondents by the perusal of public records, for example, newspaper reports. The researcher identified, located and

[48] At the time of data collection, DCS employed 500 social workers, and had a total of 134 vacant social work posts (Department of Correctional Services 2004/2005). This shortage of social workers is reflected across South Africa: Statistics South Africa (2005) estimated the mid-2005 population of the country as 46,9 million people. The South African Council for Social Service Professions (2006) reports that 10 676 social workers were registered as at August 2005.

[49] DCS social workers who do render professional services to inmates before reduction/completion of sentences only do so after referrals from the courts, professional or custodial staff, at the inmate's own request or at the request of an external social worker (Department of Correctional Services, 2006b).

interviewed five respondents using this method, following the same consent process discussed under Method III.

Noteworthy is that half of the sample was accessed through public information.

The five methods used by the researcher to identify potential respondents are represented diagrammatically below:

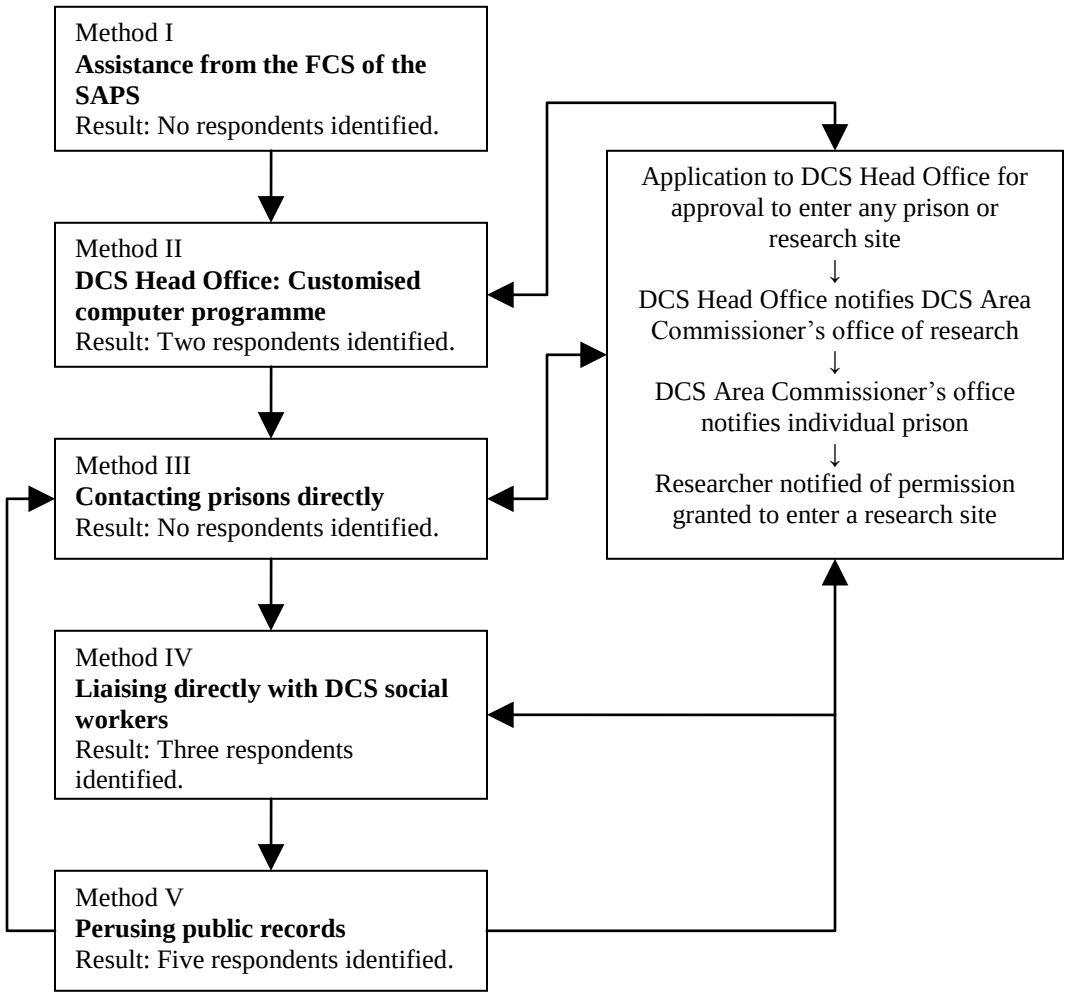


Figure 1: Summary of five methods used to identify potential respondents

The challenges of conducting interviews with respondents held in maximum-security prisons

Conducting interviews with sexual offenders serving life sentences in maximum-security prisons presented a myriad of challenges for the researcher. These included the mandatory security arrangements, the unmet social needs of incarcerated respondents, and their vulnerability.

Mandatory security arrangements

As noted earlier, guards observed the interviews, often through large viewing windows (Agreement, Department of Correctional Services, 2003:3, clause 1.3.3). When such facilities were not available, DCS staff warned both the researcher and the respondent that regular security checks would occur. Security checks were also undertaken when guards observed the interviews. These security checks took the form of unannounced, random, and frequent entries by guards into the interview room.

In the interests of safety, guards had to set limits on what Grinnell (1997:349) refers to as the "spirit of affinity". For example, the researcher would try to convey a non-judgemental attitude to a respondent and establish the "spirit of affinity" (Grinnell, 1997:349), by shaking his hand at the initial and subsequent interviews. Guards could not always allow this. During the period of data collection (2004 – 2006), there were media reports of four hostage situations in different prisons across South Africa. Showing "the spirit of affinity" (Grinnell, 1997:346) was in one instance physically impossible, as the respondent, held in a "high" maximum-security prison,[50] was handcuffed to a concrete bolster in order to ensure "the safety of the prisoner or any other person" (Correctional Services Act no. 111 of 1998: Chapter III, s31 ss1).

[50] Certain categories of prisoners are incarcerated in "high" maximum-security prisons (i.e. prisons with greater physical security measures than maximum-security prisons), and have stringent safety procedures when inmates have "contact" interventions with DCS staff and visiting professionals. "Contact" refers to a direct, face-to-face consultation without safety glass between the inmate and DCS staff or a visiting professional.

The unmet social needs of incarcerated respondents

Another challenge concerned the unmet social needs of incarcerated respondents reflected by limited, or in some cases, no contact with their families and friends. In response to this, all the incarcerated respondents tried to garner the researcher's assistance to contact their families, in writing or telephonically. Some respondents asked if they could maintain contact with the researcher after the conclusion of the interviews, a situation the researcher managed by explaining to all respondents the expected duration of the interviews. The researcher's Agreement cautioned that "… researchers must be careful of manipulation by prisoners" (Agreement, Department of Correctional Services, 2003: 4, clause 1.13.10).

The greatest need and one expressed by all incarcerated respondents was a meeting with members of the Parole Board, regarding a possible reduction of their sentences. To this end, all the respondents asked the researcher to write letters on their behalf to this Board, advising of their participation in the study. She transparently and respectfully managed these requests in terms of her Agreement, which highlighted that "No prisoner may be given the impression that his/her co-operation could be advantageous to him/her personally" (Agreement, Department of Correctional Services, 2003:4, clause 1.3.11). The researcher also explained that a letter to the Parole Board meant that their identities as research respondents would become common knowledge and their right to privacy negated.

The vulnerability of incarcerated respondents

To paraphrase Everitt et al (1992:79), incarcerated respondents are vulnerable as a result of their experiences of loss, hardship and discrimination – what do they gain when discussing their life experiences? Given the emotional vulnerability of incarcerated respondents, coupled to their potential for manipulative behaviours partially rooted in their unmet social needs, as well as the unequal power between the researcher and respondents (Henning, 2004:66), the distinction between 'helping' and 'interviewing' could have easily become blurred. Because of these factors, there was an increased potential for the researcher inadvertently slipping into a therapeutic role. Grinnell (1997:349) notes that the researcher is collecting data, not offering professional assistance. The researcher was aware never to raise any expectations that she or DCS social workers could not fulfil. She adopted the

stance advised by Howells and Hollin (1994:312), who note that professionals who conduct research with sexual offenders require "the capacity to tread a middle path between blinkered engagement and excessive detachment". Senior DCS social workers highlighted that suicide attempts, some fatal, particularly amongst long-term prisoners, are constant concerns. In this regard, the Department of Correctional Services (2004/2005:38) recorded 75 unnatural inmate deaths during the 2004/2005 financial year.

5. GENERATING GROUNDED THEORY

The purpose of the current research was to generate grounded theory with "significant" findings (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:256-7), using the grounded theory approach from the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967), Strauss (1987), and Strauss and Corbin (1990). Strauss and Corbin (1990:254-7) list seven criteria, or guidelines, against which a grounded theory should be judged, and are listed below:

1. Are concepts generated?
2. Are the concepts systematically related?
3. Are there many conceptual linkages and are the categories well developed? Do they have conceptual density?
4. Is much variation built into the theory?
5. Are the broader conditions that affect the phenomenon under study built into its explanation?
6. Has process been taken into account?
7. Do the theoretical findings seem significant and to what extent?

These seven criteria are indicated alongside the processes used by the researcher to generate her grounded theory.

Collecting data

The researcher collected data by following her semi-structured interview guide. The five sections of the guide were covered. In addition, when respondents spontaneously gave information that was not on the guide, such as their relationships with siblings, the researcher followed their lead (Rubin and Babbie, 2002:404). All interviews conducted between the researcher and respondents were

audio-recorded. The researcher documented her observations in writing and/or into the tape recorder after she left the research site. After each interview, the researcher listened to the audiotapes, summarized the data collected, and noted broad, but tentative, themes. This highlighted what she needed to focus on during the following interview with a respondent and with subsequent respondents (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:72-3). It also highlighted what topics required further exploration to obtain greater understanding (Silverman, 1993:94-5).

Once the researcher had completed interviews with a respondent, she transcribed them. She included respondents' silences, pauses and stuttering, as well as changes in vocal tones, and volume, in the transcripts. Similarly, her reflections of non-verbal gestures, recorded during the interviews, were included. Any identifying details were excluded. The researcher completed the transcripts of the series of interviews with one respondent before commencing those with another. When she had completed transcribing each set of interviews with a respondent, she printed them out. The transcripts were securely stored. The researcher made three electronic back-up copies. She kept these copies and the audiotapes, securely and separately, from the transcripts.

As the researcher commenced interviews with the next incarcerated respondent, she referred to her notes collected during and after interviews with previous respondents. This was in keeping with the process of theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:45). When the researcher generated no new insights with the ninth and tenth incarcerated respondents, she assessed that the point of saturation had been reached (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:288).

Open coding

The researcher commenced the interpretation of 2 500 typed pages of raw data using open coding, the part of analysis specific to naming and categorizing phenomena (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:62). For example, respondents' comments such as "There is no money for meat" and "The shack was not a nice place" were named as "Poor socio-economic circumstances".

However, the researcher first needed to recall her experiences in the field (Henning, 2004:76). She listened to the audiotapes of the series of interviews conducted with the first respondent, whilst following the transcripts. As she listened to them, she wrote down detailed information about the respondent's life history. The researcher highlighted any "pause" and "silence" on the transcripts noting what had been said before as what a respondent does *not* say is equally important (Henning, 2004:54). Similarly, she noted the interview context when a respondent giggled or laughed.

The researcher listened to the audiotapes for a second time, for four reasons. First, it enabled her to clarify and verify the life history of the respondent. Second, it enabled the researcher to think beyond descriptive data and start conceptualizing it (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:62-3). For example, the description "We never heard from our father again" was tentatively conceptualized as "abandonment". Third, the researcher reviewed her tentative categories identified during the data collection stage of the research, by comparing and questioning the phenomena reflected in the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:62). Fourth, it enabled her to examine how the interview developed, a further aid to the interpretation of the data (Henning, 2004:52).

Generating categories

Thereafter, the researcher grouped similar concepts into categories. Names of possible categories were written onto the transcripts with coloured pencils to represent different categories. Strauss and Corbin (1990:254) note that the basic building blocks of any grounded theory are a set of concepts grounded in the data, one of seven criteria against which a grounded theory should be judged. Concepts were generated during careful analysis of each word, phrase, and sentence of 2 500 pages of raw data.

The researcher looked for similar incidents or phenomena and gave them the same category, based on the appropriateness of the data represented (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:67). For example, "My father left us when I was seven" and "I don't know my father" were categorized as "Paternal absences". Some of the categories used by the researcher appear in the literature. She named these categories using

commonly held understandings such as "Suppression of feelings", "Unemployment" and "Hunger" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:68). Some categories originated from the respondents by their use of a particular phrase, termed "in vivo" categories (Strauss, 1987:33), such as "I don't have money".

The second criterion for judging a grounded theory is the systematic generation of concepts through conceptual linkages (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:254), for example, alcohol use and childhood witness of violence in the family home, and alcohol use and respondents' adult sexual behaviours. These linkages were grounded in the data, and "woven" into the findings of the study.

Once the researcher had named concepts and linked them to categories, she wrote the detailed life history of each respondent. Thereafter, and based on the life history, she generated code notes, a type of memo (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:73) and listed the categories noted in each respondent. The researcher then developed the categories in terms of their properties, the characteristics or attributes of a category, and dimensionalized them, with the locations of categories along a continuum (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:69). The development of categories forms part of the third criterion to judge a grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:255). For example, using the category "Corporal punishment", the researcher noted its properties and dimensional range (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:72). The properties of "Corporal punishment" included its frequency and duration, and the person who administered it, on a continuum or dimensional range. For example, the frequency and duration of "Corporal punishment" reported by one respondent varied from "daily" with one or more slaps in the face from his mother, to "hardly ever", with six strokes with a cane on another respondent's buttocks from the school principal, administered twice a year.

Properties and dimensions formed the basis of relationships between categories and subcategories (other concepts), and later, major categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:69, 78). For example, the researcher extended the category of "Maltreatment" to include "Parental absences" and "Deprivation of school education". This ensured that the categories were "theoretically dense", and by

dimensionalizing properties, gave the theory explanatory power, part of the third criterion of judging a grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:255).

To minimize the researcher's own biases whilst coding the data, she used "theoretical sensitivity" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:75-95), particularly as the researcher was from a different culture to that of all the respondents. Theoretical sensitivity forms part of the seventh criterion to judge a grounded theory, noted by Strauss and Corbin (1990:256). Assumptions based on cultural perspectives are difficult for researchers conducting analyses to recognize, as people from the same cultural background tend to think the same way (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:92). By way of example, there were marked differences between the researcher and some respondents in their cultural understandings towards the use of "corporal punishment". Coding therefore required an even greater awareness of cultural differences and the need to avoid analytical assumptions (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:92).

The open coding process is demonstrated in the table overleaf, using an extract from an interview. The first column contains the verbatim transcript, the second the concepts identified by the researcher, and the third column, the categories. It demonstrates how the researcher took raw data from the verbatim transcripts, identified concepts, and then grouped the various concepts into categories.

EXTRACTS FROM TRANSCRIPT	CONCEPTS	CATEGORIES
R: Respondent I: Researcher … Parts of interview excluded		
R: I can remember my father. My father he was so abusive. … *Ja*[51] abusing to my mother you see. … I was, I was still young then but I can still remember you see, *ja* when they fight. They fight a lot. You see, my father, he was aggressive guy, he would come inside the house, we are eating. … We are eating all of us. And it would not be right for him, the food. I: What would happen? R: We just, you see, we didn't feel to eat. We just leave the food, all of us, because we know he's just going to start a problem, you see, *ja*. And to fight my mother a lot. … Even … all my brothers.... he used to beat them a lot. … *Ja* and my mother you see. … Maybe, he was going to beat me if er … er I do something very wrong. … … R: From Friday … we suppose to go to the neighbours and hide with my mother and the neighbours, they gonna, they, they, they, they, they becoming scared to hide my mother because they are scared of him. I: Of your father. R: You see, *ja*. Even in the, on my village, they were scared of my father. … [My father] did drink you see; even … make the, the, the home made beer. I: Okay. R: You see, *ja* and my mother used to, because always, *ja*, they need to fight for that, for my mother, she didn't make that (Zulu name for beer). … He would beat her even if er … my mother she didn't cook him meat you see. … There was no money for meat you see. *Ja*. Then he gonna beat her you see. Always he was wanting meat. … He wanted meat, quarrel with my mother and fight her.	Abuse from father Fights between parents Aggression Food "not right" Hunger Anticipation of "problem" Aggression Witnessing and experiencing violence Running away from violence Fear Fear Alcohol use Fights between parents "No money for meat" Aggression	Use of violence to solve problems Violence in family home Poverty and deprivation Use of violence to solve problems Corporal punishment Response to violence Use of alcohol and family violence Poverty and deprivation Witness of violence

Table 5: Raw data and the coding process

[51] "*Ja*" means "yes" in Afrikaans.

Axial coding: putting data back in new ways

Whilst open coding enabled the researcher to identify some categories, their properties, and dimensional locations, axial coding enabled the researcher to put the data back together in new ways, after making connections between a category and its subcategories (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:97). Although open and axial coding are distinct analytical procedures, in reality she alternated between both procedures (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:98). The researcher could specify a category, or phenomenon, with reference to the conditions that led to it, the context or specific set of properties in which it was rooted, how respondents addressed the phenomenon, and subsequent outcomes[52] (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:97-8), with the use of the paradigm model.

The paradigm model

The components of axial coding are encapsulated in the paradigm model (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:99). The paradigm model, or coding paradigm, enabled the researcher to think methodically, and to link her data in more complex ways (De Vos, 2005:343). The researcher used the paradigm model for each phenomenon she identified, such as the category "Family violence and alcohol abuse":

(a) Contributing factors:[53] the events or incidents that gave rise to a phenomenon often denoted by phrases such as "when", "whilst" and "due to" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:101) for example, payday for a respondent's father.

(b) Phenomenon: a central idea, event or happening (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:100), such as the use of alcohol by a respondent's father.

(c) Context: the specific set of properties that related to a phenomenon along a dimensional range. Context also refers to the particular set of conditions within which action/interactional strategies are used to manage and respond to a particular phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:101). For example, on

[52] Strauss and Corbin (1990:106) use the word "consequences". However, the researcher believes that the word "outcomes" is more appropriate to the qualitative approach and has therefore substituted the word "consequences" with the word "outcomes" in her use of the paradigm model.

[53] Similarly, Strauss and Corbin (1990:101) use the term "causal conditions". The researcher has used the term "contributing factors" instead as it is better suited to the qualitative approach.

paydays, a respondent's father had money so he drank in a shebeen,[54] came home under the influence of alcohol, and beat the respondent's mother.

(d) Intervening conditions:[55] the broader structural context, such as time, space, status, individual biography and culture that effect action/interactional strategies, including proximate and distal conditions (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:103). Only those conditions that have facilitated or impinged upon action/interaction strategies were used in the analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:103). In the example of payday and the use of alcohol, Peltzer and Ramlagan (2009:9) note that South Africa has one of the highest levels of alcohol consumption in the world.

(e) Action/interaction strategies: responses to the phenomenon, using cues in the data that pointed to strategies, indicated by action-orientated verbs or participles (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:104), such as the respondent tried to intervene between his parents when his father was drunk and beat his mother. This resulted in the respondent also receiving a beating and verbal abuse from his father.

(f) Outcomes: the results of action and interaction in response to a phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:106). The respondent's mother sent the respondent and his siblings to the neighbour when the father arrived home drunk. Thereafter, the father went to the neighbour's home and "caused problems". The neighbours then refused sanctuary to the respondent and his siblings, so they stayed at home and were beaten by their father when he was heavily under the influence of alcohol.

The emerging grounded theory in the current research was done using the above features of the paradigm model, part of the third criterion for judging a grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:255). In addition to the use of the paradigm model, the researcher also linked with her analysis proximate (or "microscopic") and distal (or "macroscopic") factors impinging on the intervening conditions (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:103; De Vos, 2005:348). For example, an illiterate

[54] A shebeen is an informal tavern.

[55] The researcher has not constructed a separate category termed "intervening conditions" but rather has included them throughout the respondents' psychosocial histories, and has thus followed the approach noted in Pomrenke (2007:356-74).

respondent's inability to find employment (microscopic factor) was linked to the apartheid education policy (macroscopic factor). Strauss and Corbin (1990:255-6) note that the fifth criterion for judging a grounded theory requires that the broader explanatory conditions are brought into the analysis and addressed in terms of their effect on action/interaction strategies and outcomes. Continuing with the example of unemployment, informal trading was an action/interaction strategy, with an outcome of insufficient income to meet basic needs.

Comparing and linking categories

The researcher began to compare and link categories by asking herself questions that denoted a type of relationship (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:107) for example, the links between "violence" and "alcohol abuse", part of criterion three for judging a grounded theory study (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:255). As the researcher posed these questions, she performed four analytic steps simultaneously: (1) she hypothetically related subcategories to a category; (2) she verified the hypotheses against the data; (3) she continued her search for categories and subcategories, with their dimensional locations, and (4) explored the variation in phenomena, by comparing categories and subcategories (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:107). When the researcher had related one category to another, she could state a relationship between the two, whilst looking for instances where such relationships did not seem to stand up (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:108).

The researcher examined the transcripts again to verify or refute these relationships, which provided the foundation for selective coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:109). She also looked for patterns or "repeated relationships between properties and dimensions of categories" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:130). These were identified, and the data grouped accordingly to give the theory specificity, the fourth criterion for evaluating a grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:130, 255).

Similarly, the researcher also looked for "process", or changes in respondents' lives, with linkages to the conditions that gave rise to them, the sixth criterion for judging a grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:256). In some instances, process was not always recognizable from the data. The researcher then thought

deductively, hypothesized about situations of change - such as a respondent who used alcohol heavily but denied that he lost his job as a result - and revisited the data to support her hypothesis (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:148-9).

Selective coding: identification of core category

The researcher was then ready to identify one core category, or the central phenomenon that integrated all the other categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:116). The core category was identified by its frequent appearance in the data, related easily to other categories, had clear implications for a more general theory, and allowed for maximum variation in the analysis (Strauss, 1987:36), the fourth criterion for the evaluation of a grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:255). The researcher related the core category to other categories, validated these relationships, and filled in categories that required more refinement and development in a process called selective coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:116).

The researcher was then in a position to write a descriptive narrative, or story line, concerning the central phenomenon of the research study (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:116). The story line required the researcher to name the core category and relate it to other categories (De Vos, 2005:344). The core category was similarly developed in terms of its properties, with other categories related to the core category becoming subsidiary categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:123). By using the paradigm model, the researcher related other categories to the core category (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:125). The researcher then moved beyond description to conceptualization of the story line, and recounted the story line analytically, related subcategories around the core category with the use of the paradigm model, related categories at the dimensional level, validated these relationships against the data and filled in those categories that needed further development or refinement (De Vos, 2005:344).

The use of a conditional matrix helped the researcher to consider the outcome of a phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:158). A conditional matrix is a series of circles that depict proximate and distal conditions (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:163), and is similar to the “person-in-environment” focus of social work. The researcher used the conditional matrix when tracking an event or incident from the level of

action/interaction through the various conditional levels to see how they related (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:166). For example, respondents' childhood poverty and its effect on school attendance, coupled to apartheid policies of inferior school education for black children most particularly, and extremely limited employment opportunities during their adulthood.

The researcher reached "theoretical saturation" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:61-2) when no new or relevant data emerged about a category and the category development was "dense", and all the elements of the paradigm model were accounted for with the relationships between categories well-established and validated (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:188).

The final criterion: significance

Strauss and Corbin (1990:256-7) note that the seventh and final criterion for a grounded theory concerns significance. Unless a researcher uses insight into what the data are really reflecting, without using "trivial or well-known phenomena", findings cannot meet this criterion (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:257). The core category of the current research was revealed through careful and thorough analysis, rather than using a well-known phenomenon or being "named" directly by any of the incarcerated respondents.

Generating significant findings also required creative interplay between the researcher and the data, and three characteristics from the researcher. The first characteristic was analytic ability (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:256-7). During the data analysis of the current research, the researcher "drew on the fuller resources of her data" which enhanced her analytic ability, in six ways. First, she "immersed" herself in her data by working with her observation notes and transcripts (Terre Blanche and Kelly, 1999:141). Second, she remained "close" to her data, and used empathetic understanding to facilitate her interpretation (Terre Blanche and Kelly, 1999:139). Third, she searched for multiple meanings and the "complexity of views" embedded in the historical and cultural settings of the research respondents (Creswell, 2003:8). Fourth, she consulted extensively with a range of literature, some of which is recorded in the current research. Fifth, she consulted with senior academics to facilitate greater understanding of the data. And sixth, she only

stopped collecting data when saturation was reached, or by "push[ing] data collection far enough" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:257).

The second characteristic concerning interplay is theoretical sensitivity (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:257). Theoretical sensitivity concerns the ability to "see" with analytic depth (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:76). In the current research, this originated from the literature, from the personal and professional experiences of the researcher, and from the analytic process (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:42-3). During the data analysis stage of the current research, the literature was used in two ways. First, to explain some phenomena identified by the researcher, and second, as the grounded theory evolved, relevant parts of the previous theories documented in the literature were included, but only if they were pertinent to the current study (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:49-50).

The last characteristic of interplay requires sensitivity to the subtleties of action/interaction (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:257), or process. Process explains change and gives a sense of flow of the events in respondents' lives over time (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:147-8). During her data analysis, the researcher noted changes in conditions, with corresponding changes in action/interaction strategies (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:157). These changes were conceptualized as "Coping" and discussed in the respondents' lives as both children and adults.

Measures to ensure reliability and validity

Simply put, "reliability" means "dependability or consistency" and "validity" means "truthfulness" (Neuman, 2000:170). Reliability does not ensure accuracy, or that the same technique, repeatedly applied, will yield the same result but is easier to realize than validity (Rubin and Babbie, 2001:189-90). However, qualitative researchers have a greater interest in authenticity than validity (Neuman, 2000:171). Authenticity means giving a candid account of social life from the perspective of the person who lives it everyday, rather than the researcher matching "an abstract concept to empirical data" (Neuman, 2000:170). During the present research, the researcher focused on capturing respondents' views of their lives and how they understood them (Neuman, 2000:170). However, the researcher had to remain sensitive to the fact that some respondents did not want to "lose face" and

possibly presented their preferred selves (Henning, 2004:77). Furthermore, it was difficult for some respondents to reveal information that was "intimate or personally discrediting" (Lee, 1993:97). For respondents who did reveal such information, the researcher remained supportive, non-judgemental and empathetic.

In addition, the researcher revisited pertinent events raised by incarcerated respondents, and sometimes respectfully challenged them to obtain more information and "prove the validity" of some of their statements (Greeff, 2005:290).

One of the issues concerning validity is the "conflation between method and interpretation" (Lincoln and Guba, 2003:274). According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:275), triangulation, or the use of multiple methods, enhances reliability and validity in qualitative research. One such method is the use of member checks, that requires a researcher to take transcripts and analyzed texts back to respondents and check if what has been constructed from the data is correct (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:275-6). In the current study, using this method was not possible. Furthermore, Rubin and Babbie (2001:204) refer to this as a limitation of the qualitative approach to validity and reliability, as some respondents may not like the way they have been portrayed, or may not understand the researcher's theoretical perspective, or "may not be aware of patterns that are true but which only emerge from the mass of data". However, in the context of the current research, there were many patterns that were true and emerged from the 2 500 pages of raw data (Rubin and Babbie, 2001:204). The researcher used a second method to enhance the validity of her study and subjected her findings to an audit trail by an independent researcher (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:276)

The trustworthiness of qualitative research

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001:276) trustworthiness, or the neutrality of findings, is a key criterion for "good" qualitative research, and that the research is worthy of attention. Threats to trustworthiness in the present study were reactivity, researcher biases, and respondents' biases (Padgett, 1998, cited in Rubin and Babbie, 2001:431). Reactivity refers to a researcher's presence in the field and the consequent

distortion of the research setting (Grinnell, 1997:99). Respondents' biases are concerned with their needs to appear socially desirable (Rubin and Babbie, 2001:431). To try and reduce these threats, the researcher had prolonged engagement with incarcerated respondents, with subsequent interviews making it easier for her to detect distortion, and also enabled respondents to disclose sensitive information (Padgett, 1998, cited in Rubin and Babbie, 2001:431). The researcher addressed her potential for biases that might have distorted what she perceived or observed (Rubin and Babbie, 2001:431) by regular psychological de-briefing (Padgett, 1998, cited in Rubin and Babbie, 2001:432) with an experienced professional who was not connected to the study, as well as rigorous academic supervision.

There are differences between quantitative and qualitative criteria for objectivity thus reflecting the assumptions of the qualitative paradigm more appropriately (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, cited in De Vos, 2005:346). These four criteria are compared in the table below:

Quantitative criteria	**Qualitative criteria**
Internal validity	***Credibility***
External validity	***Transferability***
Reliability	***Dependability***
Objectivity	***Confirmability***

Table 6: Quantitative and qualitative criteria for objectivity
(Source: Babbie and Mouton, 2001:276)

Credibility

The first criterion for objectivity is credibility and requires demonstration that the subject of a research study was accurately identified and described (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:277). Credibility was enhanced in the current study in three ways. First, the researcher interviewed incarcerated respondents until data saturation occurred (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:277). Second, the ways the researcher used to document her findings, or "referential adequacy" (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:277).

In the current study, the researcher audio-recorded all the interviews, and checked the transcripts against the audio-recordings at least twice to ensure accuracy. In addition, she established a record keeping system for her notes, journal articles, and discussions with senior academics. Third, she discussed and reviewed her perceptions and analyses with a colleague, separate from the current study, with extensive experience in intervening with sexual offenders (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:277).

Transferability

The second criterion, transferability, refers to the extent to which the findings of a study might be applied to other contexts or respondents (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:277). The transferability of the findings from a qualitative study to other settings could be seen as problematic and quantitative researchers see this as a weakness of the qualitative approach (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, cited in De Vos, 2005:346). A qualitative researcher can counter this by referring to the original theoretical framework and showing how concepts and models guided data collection and analysis (De Vos, 2005:346). However, qualitative researchers do not claim that the knowledge gained from one context will necessarily have relevance for other contexts (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:277).

Lincoln and Guba (1985, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001:277) discuss "thick description" and purposive sampling as strategies for transferability. The researcher was the "main instrument" of the research and made meaning from the data, interpreted as findings (Henning, 2004:7). This does not suggest that the researcher was biased in her interpretation, the potential for which was high in the present study given the extremely emotive nature of the research topic. The "thick descriptions" are presented in the current study and its Appendices (contained in Volume II), in conjunction with credible literature review resources (Fouché and Delport, 2005:127), and show the "articulated interpretation" of the understanding and the explanation of phenomena, not by the presentation of "rearranged data" (Henning, 2004:7).

Purposive sampling, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001:277) is another strategy for transferability, as this type of sampling

helped the researcher to seek, purposely, typical and divergent data (Strydom and Delport, 2005:329). The respondents who participated in the current research were clearly identified from criteria established by the researcher – convicted incarcerated prisoners currently serving sentences for the rape of children under the age of three years.

Dependability

The third criterion, dependability, asks whether the findings of the current study would be confirmed by another study (Guba and Lincoln, 1985, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001:278). However, according to Guba and Lincoln (1985, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001:278), since there can be no validity without reliability (and hence, no credibility without dependability), "a demonstration of the former is sufficient to prove the existence of the latter".

Confirmability

The last criterion, confirmability, is "the degree to which the findings are the product of the focus of the inquiry and not the biases of the researcher" (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:278). Lincoln and Guba (1985, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001:347) ask if the findings of the study could be confirmed by another, thereby removing "some inherent characteristic of the researcher (objectivity)" to the data. The current research study concerned a highly emotive topic. The findings had the potential to be skewed by personal bias from the researcher, or by those who served as translators, or during the researcher's interviews with professionals who have intervened with the victims and perpetrators of child sexual abuse. In order to minimise such biases, rigorous academic supervision and attending regular psychological de-briefing were paramount.

6. LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Sampling

- Given the low conviction rate for the rape of children under the age of three years, and the challenges of locating potential respondents within a complex administrative system, the sample of respondents is diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, age and when they committed their offences. However, common to all respondents was their rape of very young children.

- The conviction rate and challenges of finding respondents also left the researcher with a very small sample. She could not filter out respondents who spoke little or no English. Arrangements were therefore made for translators. It was possible that an incarcerated respondent initially felt inhibited to speak freely, and/or the subtle nuances of language were lost or missed in translation.
- Grinnell (1997:32) notes that "captive populations", such as prisoners, may take part in a study to alleviate boredom.
- In terms of DCS regulations, the researcher was unable to view the files of incarcerated respondents and use this information as a method to ensure the veracity of some of the respondents' statements.[56]

Data collection

- The present study focused on *crimes for which the respondents had been convicted* and therefore excluded any unreported or unknown crimes that incarcerated respondents *might* have committed prior to their incarceration.
- During the data collection[57] of the main study, the researcher remained sensitive to the fact that some respondents presented their preferred selves (Henning, 2004:55). However, the researcher noticed "half-truths" when there was "synchronicity" lacking throughout the interview (Henning, 2004:55).
- It is possible that the respondents told the researcher what they believed she wanted to hear. However, she frequently asked similar open-ended questions about certain topics to check the consistency of their narratives, and gave them considerable latitude in their responses. Furthermore, the themes identified by the researcher were common to all 10 respondents.
- Henning (2004:66) notes that the process of interviewing occurs between people who are unequal in power. In the context of conducting interviews with convicted sex offenders, power inequalities are even greater, and exacerbated by race, sex, educational level, and language. In an attempt to address this, the

[56] However, DCS social workers answered the researcher's questions about the respondent's families, visitors in prison, etc. and also confirmed respondents' levels of educations, possible previous convictions and so on.

[57] Some of the respondents in the current study committed their crimes a few years before these interviews were conducted. It is possible that some of their recall was post-factum rationalization and some was accurate. However, all respondents' accounts of their psychosocial histories had the same themes.

researcher ensured that she phrased her questions clearly and simply. She frequently asked for clarification of the respondents' answers.

- Similarly, gender, class and cultural differences between the researcher and the respondents cannot be ignored. It is possible that the respondents felt uncomfortable being interviewed by a white, middle class woman. However, the respondents spontaneously gave extremely detailed accounts of their lives.
- It is also possible that had all the interviews been conducted by a male from the same ethnic background as the respondents, they may have reacted differently. For example, the respondents sometimes giggled when they were embarrassed. However, some respondents giggled when the interviews were conducted by the researcher without a translator, *and* some respondents giggled when the interviews were translated by a male or female DCS social worker who spoke the same first languages as the respondents.
- The security checks often interrupted the concentration and thoughts of the researcher and the respondents. The researcher revisited a topic later on in an interview.
- It is possible that respondents sometimes experienced discomfort and felt inhibited at times, due to the constant observation of the interviews. To try to minimize this, the researcher suggested to respondents to sit with their backs against the viewing window/s and/or doors to the interview rooms.
- Noise levels both in and outside the interview room were often very high, affecting the concentration of both the researcher and the respondent. The noises included air conditioners, singing from prisoners in courtyards, and noises accompanying the routines of prison life. The researcher would explain to a respondent that the noise levels would affect the recording of the interview and position herself and the respondent to sit close together. She also used extra microphones and raised them so that they were extremely close to the faces of herself and the respondent to minimize the recording of extraneous noise.
- It is possible that some incarcerated respondents were wary of those who served as translators and that their presence was initially inhibiting for respondents and affected what they wanted to say to the researcher. Grinnell (1997:349) notes that a researcher who has a short conversation with a respondent before the interview commences will "often be rewarded with more

accurate and informative responses". This was also done, by those who served as translators, at the commencement of every interview.

Data analysis

- Those who served as the translators were not professionally trained as translators. The researcher explained at the beginning of interviews that they needed to translate exactly what was said but she not in a position to assess if this occurred.
- The subtle nuances of language were lost in their translation to and from English.
- It is possible that the biases of the researcher influenced some of her findings. Rigorous supervision and consultation with academics and professionals attempted to minimize this.

Grounded theory

- In developing a grounded theory, the researcher tried to capture as much as was possible of the "complexity and movement" of the real world with evidence to support and qualify the statements of relationships through the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:111). The final theory is limited to the categories, their properties and dimensions and statements, that exist in the actual data collected (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:112). What cannot be found in the data is a limitation of the study (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:112).

The next chapter presents the findings from the 10 respondents who participated in the current study.

CHAPTER SIX:
PSYCHOSOCIAL HISTORIES OF RESPONDENTS

INTRODUCTION

The term "psychosocial" refers to the creation of human experience and is the resultant interplay between an individual's psychological condition and social environment (Howe, 2002:170). In the current study, the term "psychosocial histories" refers to how the findings of ten respondents, as both children and adults, are presented. The incarcerated respondents are referred to as respondents A to J, [58] all serving long prison sentences for the rape of children under the age of three years at the time of data collection. Respondents C, D and E are coloured males. The remaining respondents are black males. They ranged in age from 19 to 61 years when they raped children under the age of three years.

The findings are presented as categories and follow the Strauss and Corbin (1990:99) paradigm model. The categories used to present the findings are both constructed and delineated by the researcher and are therefore artificial. In order of presentation, these categories are (A) Context, (B) Action/interaction strategies, (C) Outcome of strategies, (D) Contributing factors, and (E) Central phenomenon. The first three categories concern the respondents' psychosocial histories as children and adults.

Quotes from the data are included throughout the chapter and have been edited for brevity and clarity. Editing is indicated with ellipses and brackets. Some of the quotes are used more than once as they have relevance in more than one category. The researcher has not constructed a separate category termed "intervening conditions" or the broader structural conditions that effect action/interactional strategies (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:103). Rather, intervening conditions are used throughout the findings to convey the socio-political-economic contexts of the respondents' psychosocial histories. Some are reflected overleaf and contextualize the respondents' lives between the decades of the 1910s and the 2000s.

[58] See Volume II, Appendices L to U, for the sequential life histories of respondents A to J respectively.

Decade	Some South African socio-political-economic events
1910s	Native Land Act of 1913 passed and resulted in 87% of South Africa's land going to the white minority. Thousands of black communities were dispossessed. The notion of "community" was lost (Kuzwayo, 2006:23, 18).
1920s	Increasing poverty levels in South Africa. Black poverty ignored.
1930s *Respondent F born*	World War II (1939 to 1945). Increased movement of rural, landless black people to towns in cash economy (McKendrick, 1987b:14).
1940s and 1950s	Nationalist party came to power in 1948. Passed legislation that enforced white privilege and domination in every sphere of life.
1960s *Respondents C, D and E born*	**1960:** Sharpeville massacre that ended the era of young people "beholden" to black leadership who offered no protection against police harassment and poverty (Ramphele, 1992a:17). Nationalist government declared a state of emergency and banned black liberation organizations, leaving blacks without any lawful representation (Coetzer, 1986:288). **1964:** Nelson Mandela and others are sentenced to life imprisonment after the Rivonia trial.
1970s *Respondents A, B, H, I and J born*	**1976:** Soweto riots. More protests followed across South Africa. **1977:** Steve Biko died in police detention.
1980s *Respondent G born*	**1983:** Exclusion of blacks in a new Constitution. **1984 to 1986:** South Africa was in a state of civil war (Straker, 1992:1) with widespread boycotts and protests. "Common human needs" of black people continued to be disregarded (Gray, 1998:10). Country affected by world wide recession, and increasingly isolated internationally due to apartheid policies. Mortality rate for black children comparable with the poorest nations on earth (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989, cited in Dawes and Donald, 1994:3).
1990s	**1994:** South Africa's first democratic elections. **1996:** The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act (no. 108 of 1996) became the country's supreme law. Violence shifted from political to criminal with the "culture of violence" normal (Simpson, 1993:1). A 1998 survey revealed that fewer than five in 100 school leavers found employment (Marais, 2001:198).
2000s	South Africa is one of the most unequal societies on earth, the legacy of apartheid (Marais, 2001:7). The poorest 40% of South Africans earn less than 4% of the income and the wealthiest 10% earn more than 51% (Marais, 2001:7). Spending on social grants grows at more than twice the rate of inflation in the ten years from 1995/6 (Altbeker, 2005:260).

Table 7: Respondents' births and some events in South African history

PSYCHOSOCIAL HISTORIES

The psychosocial histories of respondents in the current study begin with their lives as children. Their childhood was characterised by a context of maltreatment.

A. CONTEXT OF MALTREATMENT

The term "context" refers to the set of properties or characteristics that relate to a phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:101). The phenomenon of "maltreatment" refers to children whose basic needs for physical sustenance and protection, emotional security and social interaction, are not met (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:156). In the current study, construction of the term "maltreatment" to describe respondents' childhood contexts comprises five properties or characteristics, categorized by the researcher as: (1) Poverty and deprivation; (2) Parental absences; (3) Frequent and severe corporal punishment; (4) Absence of positive role models, and (5) Deprivation of school education.

A. (1) Poverty and deprivation

Poverty and deprivation were noted in the respondents' very poor socio-economic living conditions as children.[59] These living conditions, and the concomitant overcrowding, were experienced by the respondents as normal, with poverty an aspect of "normal" social life (Gil, 1992:288).

Overcrowding as normal

The respondents' childhood living conditions were associated with two or three generations living and sleeping in one or two rooms. Rooms also took the form of shacks, assembled from corrugated iron and scrap metal or other discarded material, by the respondents and their families. The respondents referred to their shacks as "tin" or "metal houses". These conditions were seen as normal (Gil, 1992:288).[60] "It was common practice. It was the way of life in our community for people living in such a condition. So it was normal" (respondent H). There were "a lot" of

[59] Whiteside and Sunter (2000:64) note that in 1993, the richest 10% of the South African population earned 47,3% of the income, with the poorest 40% of the population earning only 9,1%.

[60] Poverty, slavery, unemployment, hunger and discrimination by race, sex, age and social class form part of "normal" social life, past and present, or what Gil (1992:288) refers to as "societal violence".

shacks (respondent A) in the communities that the respondents lived, also suggesting that such living conditions were "normal" (Gil, 1992:288). These shacks were part of the rapid urbanisation seen in South Africa, most particularly after the abolishment of influx control in 1986 (Pelser and de Kock, 2000:86). However, the government spent very little on upgrading infrastructure.

Similarly, overcrowding was experienced as normal.[61] Four families, spanning three generations, consisting of paternal and maternal grandparents, parents and four or more children, "stay[ed] together" in one or two rooms (respondent E) or, three rooms with 15 children sleeping "under the beds" of four female adult relatives (respondent G). However, despite such living conditions being normal, "The house was a small space but you gonna live there" (respondent G), and "I don't want to go there again. It was not a nice house (respondent A)" These comments also convey the stress associated with overcrowded living conditions, noted in for example, the noise from too many people sharing a confined space, and loud music, that some respondents (D and E) reported "worried" them. "There was noise many times in the house … because the house is small" (respondent E). Noise was also experienced from neighbours, as rows of houses were built very close together (respondent E). These overcrowded, and noisy, living conditions are common for many South Africans.

Lack of privacy

Inherent in the overcrowding was a lack of privacy whilst, for example, attending to personal ablutions. "There was no privacy … and people would only wash those areas that are not private and leave out the private parts, especially the older people" (respondent H). "Everybody can see everybody else. When older people washed, they used to chase the boys away" (respondent G) a response to the lack of privacy and boys watching adults performing personal ablutions. Ramphele (1997:1192) notes that

[61] Township houses are "small and bare" and typically have four rooms, occupied by, for example, seven and 14 people in Soweto (South Western Township) on the outskirts of Johannesburg (International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF), 1980:67).

many households have large numbers of extended family, spanning two or three generations, all of whom share limited physical space resulting in individuals having no private space. Inclement or cold weather would also result in individuals abandoning private space.

The lack of privacy also extended to sexual activities between adults. The respondents, as children, sleeping in the same space as adults, or in the close confines of a shack, were exposed to adult sexual activities. "Why is my father lying on top of my mother" (respondent E)? "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" (respondent H). This suggests that parents did wake their children up during sexual activity. "When my mother used to bring a boyfriend, I can't sleep at home because we fight" (respondent I). This comment implies that when boyfriends did stay over, the respondent made alternative sleeping arrangements, or that the activities between the respondent's mother and her boyfriend disrupted him.

The respondents lived without electricity, sanitation, or running water, situations common for many South Africans. The toilet, outside the house, was "self made and did not flush" (respondent G). Living without such amenities made day-to-day life physically grinding.

Physical grind of daily survival

Respondents' assisted with household chores, including collecting water and firewood, essential for survival. These chores were time-consuming and physically demanding, such as collecting water in four 25-litre drums from a river about one kilometre away, using a wheelbarrow (respondent A) and collecting firewood for cooking (respondent E).

Preparing for work and school were similarly protracted processes. "It was not easy living in a one-room place as a family of seven especially that we had to attend school and others were working and so on and so we would take turns having a bath [in metal dishes] and we also used a *Primus*

stove.[62] So it used to be a slow process in the mornings" (respondent H). This again indicates that people living in a confined space had to forego their privacy whilst attending to ablutions. "Not easy" suggests that childhood living conditions were difficult and demanding. "Slow process" implies that the respondents and their families had to get up very early. However, it is debatable if these were the respondents' thoughts as children given that such conditions were "normal".

The physical grind of daily survival included hunger.

Hunger

Bolger and Patterson (2003:156) note that the unmet need of physical sustenance is maltreatment. As children, the respondents experienced hunger, and uncertainty about the availability of food, further indicating that their childhood was "not easy" (respondent H). "Life was tough" (respondent J). "Often, there was no food" (respondent A). "Food was a problem" (respondent G). "We didn't always have enough food in the house for everyone. … There were times that we went to sleep with no food" (respondent E), a comment that also denotes little routine and structure in day-to-day life. "Food was a problem" (respondent G), reflects the inability of respondents' families to meet the basic need of physical sustenance (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:156).

The hunger experienced by respondents' parents led to fights and domestic violence. "My father was another man if he was hungry" (respondent E), and "There was no money for meat. My father would beat my mother if she didn't cook him meat" (respondent G), highlight the emotional affects of hunger. IDAF (1980:16) report that many black families, who lived in the homelands, had no land on which to grow food, an outcome of the 1913 Native Land Act. Families who lived in townships and squatter camps, with low incomes, ate unbalanced diets. Staple items were crushed maize, bread and tea, and luxury items included meat, milk and eggs (IDAF, 1980:16). However, the storage of perishable "luxury" items required

[62] Paraffin stove with one burner.

refrigeration that for the respondents, and many South Africans, impossible without electricity.

A. (2) Parental absences

The category "parental absences" is a term constructed by the researcher in response to apartheid policies, or the structural violence (Gil, 1992:288), that resulted in dislocated home lives and shattered relationships (IDAF, 1980:57). The term also reflects parents who worked and travelled long hours and hence, were away from their families for long periods, a situation common to many South African, and other, families across the socio-economic spectrum. In the current study, "parental absences" reflect the respondents' experiences of their relationships with their day-to-day care givers, who were their fathers, stepfathers, mothers, and stepmothers, with "parental absences" rooted in migratory labour practices and influx control that made it illegal for black families to live together (Kuzwayo, 2006:19), thus prohibiting "available" parental care giving (Howe, 2005:31). The term is also used in response to care givers who were unable or unwilling to address the respondents' attachment needs (Howe, 2005:32), often the result of care givers' long working and travelling times, the multiple demands made on them, and their use of alcohol. The category "parental absences" refers to paternal and maternal absences.

Paternal absences

The respondents described their relationships with their paternal care givers, or their fathers and stepfathers. These relationships were categorized by the researcher on a continuum of "paternal absences", the result of fathers who worked far away from their families and spent long hours getting to and from work, with little time left for family. Some fathers left the respondents and their families permanently. Paternal absences in their most extreme form were experienced by respondents who never knew their biological fathers or the death of a father.

The employment status of respondents' fathers or stepfathers is noted in the table overleaf:

Respondent	Fathers/(stepfathers) employment status
A	Unemployed
B	Father unknown (Stepfather) Pastor[63]
C	Father employed (Stepfather) Part-time gardener
D	Part-time machine operator
E	Labourer on farm
F	Cleaner at hospital
G	Mine labourer
H	Machine operator
I	Father unknown
J	Father unknown (Stepfather) Mine labourer

Table 8: Employment status of respondents' fathers/stepfathers

Paternal absences, the result of getting to and from work and working long hours, were seen in two respondents (F and H). These fathers left very early in the morning and returned late at night.

When two respondents (A and G) were aged seven, their fathers left their families permanently. "My father just left when I was seven. … He didn't come back no more" (respondent G). This comment implies abandonment and loss, and uncertainty as to the reason his father "just left".

Three respondents (B, I and J) have never met their biological fathers. "I don't know my really father" (respondent B). "I don't know my father. … I don't know whether my brothers and I have the same father" (respondent I), suggesting uncertainty and doubts about paternity. Two of these respondents (B and J) also expressed their confusion about their paternity as these respondents, as children, thought that their stepfathers were their biological fathers. "I never met my really father because I grow up at another family and then that father, I think it was my father but at a certain stage, I discovered it's not my father" (respondent B). "I was staying with my stepfather. I was still a child … I was sure that stepfather was my

[63] The term "pastor" was used by the respondent in the context of an African indigenous church.

father" (respondent J), hinting at betrayal of the respondent's paternal origin.

Loss was the experience of one respondent (E) when his father was fatally stabbed by his mother in an "accident".

For the respondents who did have contact with their fathers or stepfathers, their relationships were suggestive of what the researcher has termed an "emotional absence" noted in, "My stepfather, a pastor, was interested in the things of the members of his church. … It was not easy to make him see how things were going, what was happening" (respondent B). The respondent suggested that his stepfather was more interested in the lives of the members of his church, and that efforts to change this situation had proved futile. "My stepfather and I did not talk to each other. My stepfather did not talk to anyone else in the family" (respondent C). "I never did anything with my father, compared to my siblings who had frequent outings with our father" (respondent D). These comments imply that the respondents' emotional needs were ignored by their fathers and stepfathers. Pritchard (2004:12) refers to ignoring emotional needs as emotional neglect.

Respondents' feelings towards their paternal care givers were, at times, ambivalent. "We would sometimes feel it would be better if our father were jailed for his acts or deeds. But we would also feel that it would have been more difficult without him and with him in prison … because no one in the house would assist our mother providing for the family financially" (respondent H). This comment also highlights the financial vulnerability of families who live in very poor socio-economic circumstances, often leaving them feeling "trapped". The comment could also be a response to the lack of emotional security, an unmet need of maltreated children (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:156). "My father got cross, very, very, very angry. He was very angry sometimes and then he could kill you if he's getting cross" (respondent E), suggests fear, and awareness of the unpredictability of a parent's moods.

Similar absences were noted in respondents' relationships with their mothers.

Maternal absences

The term "maternal absences" is a term constructed by the researcher to describe the respondents' relationships with their mothers. These absences were attributed to the young age of some respondents' mothers conveyed as, "She makes us while she was still young" (respondent I), little spacing between the respondents and their siblings expressed in, "Every year there is a child"[64] (respondent E), respondents' mothers who spent long hours getting to and from their places of work, the multiple demands made on respondents' mothers, as the only, or second breadwinners, for their families, and respondents who did not always live with their mothers. In this regard, Magwaza (1997:166) explains that children in African families are often exposed to multiple mothering through extended support systems and extensive networks of family relationships.

The respondents' surviving siblings, and ages of their mothers (where known) when the respondents were born, are noted in the table below:

Respondent	Number of surviving siblings	Age of mother when respondent born
A	None	12
B	Two	25
C	Five	15
D	Five	31
E	Seven	Unknown
F	Six	23
G	Four	35
H	Four	Unknown
I	Two	16
J	Five	Unknown

Table 9: Respondents' surviving siblings and mothers' ages

[64] Duncan (1997:191) notes that the apartheid government's response to the malnutrition of black children was espousing the view of parental "ignorance" and "uncontrolled breeding" rather than the structural violence that forced the majority of citizens into abject poverty.

Respondents' mothers, who were employed, travelled and worked for long hours as domestic workers or cleaners, earning extremely low wages (Kuzwayo, 2006:21). Their work was often physically demanding and exhausting. "My mother was a domestic worker. She returned home on Sundays and the weekends"[65] (respondent F). "My mother worked in a hospital kitchen. She was gone for 12 hours a day. Sometimes she would get a weekend off" (respondent C). Respondents verbalized that their mothers "worked hard … daily … as a domestic worker" (respondent G), returning home late and tired, the result of long travelling times and physically demanding work such as "cleaning rooms" (respondent H). The employment status of respondents' mothers is reflected below:

Respondent	Mothers' employment status
A	Unemployed
B	Cleaner
C	Cook in hospital kitchen
D	Unemployed
E	Labourer on farm
F	Domestic worker
G	Domestic worker
H	Cleaner
I	Informal trader on streets
J	Unemployed

Table 10: Mothers' employment status

The parental absences experienced by respondents were encapsulated thus: "You need that love from your parents. I see other people, other mothers, the fathers who are giving love to a child. I remember my father didn't give me that love, same with my mother. I don't remember she gave me that love" (respondent J), suggestive of an unmet need for parental love. Pritchard (2004:12) notes that "failing to give affection" to a child is emotional neglect. However, for parents who live with poverty, emotional withdrawal and emotionally distant parenting is common (Townsend and Dawes, 2004:76). Vogelman and Simpson (1991:1) write that black youth are often the children of large families and their parents work long hours and cannot give them attention, also noted in the current study. "… When

[65] Influx control made it illegal for black children to live with their mothers in cities.

I get home, they can't look for me if I'm back or what. They just sleep and see me in the morning" (respondent I). Townsend and Dawes (2004:76) report that many parents affected by poverty have difficulties with child monitoring and supervision - also noted in the current study. Such difficulties included the working and travelling hours of mothers who returned home daily "late" and "tired" or at the weekends. Despite these difficulties, mothers still had to attend to their families and household chores. "Daily, she worked hard" (respondent G).

Some respondents spoke of similar "absences" with their fathers who also worked and travelled for many hours a day. "My father never worried about me or asked where I had been or spoke to me" (respondent D). These unmet needs for physical protection and emotional security are, according to Bolger and Patterson (2003:156), maltreatment.

The respondents' childhood was also associated with family violence and alcohol use.[66]

Family violence and alcohol use

All the respondents reported fights between their parents, step-parents, or their mothers' boyfriends. "My father hit my mother" (respondent A). The comments, "They fight a lot" (respondent G), and "From when I was still young, my father beating my mother continued" (respondent H), both reflect frequent violent behaviour between parents during the respondents' childhood. According to Angless and Shefer (1997:182), witnessing violent behaviour in the home is not an abnormal experience for many children, but is part of daily life, similarly reflected in the current study.

According to three respondents, their parents/mothers did not use alcohol, but fights were reported. Respondent D reported that his parents, and respondents C and I reported that their mothers did not use alcohol. For the remaining respondents, fights between their parents/step-parents/mothers'

[66] Parry (2005:426) reports that the levels of foetal alcohol syndrome in South Africa are the highest ever recorded.

boyfriends were often associated with alcohol. "My mother and her boyfriend would fight around payday" (respondent A). "When my stepfather was drunk, my mother would smack him through the face" (respondent C). "My father normally quarrelled with my mother and then he normally was aggressive towards her" (respondent E), whose parents daily use of alcohol was exacerbated by the *dopstelsel*.[67] "My father did drink. He even made homemade beer. They [parents] always need to fight for that beer when my mother didn't make that beer" (respondent G). "Both my father and mother 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"[68] (respondent H).

These comments imply that drunken fighting between many parents and other care givers resulted in an unpredictability of care giving and no reliable adult to attend to the needs of children and hence, the unpredictability of a day-to-day routine, associated with chaos and fear, during violent, drunken behaviour between adults. It is possible that some of the respondents' parents were dependent on alcohol noted in, "My mother worried with alcohol" (respondent E), and "My father had big problems with wine" (respondent C). According to the American Psychiatric Association (2000:98), children presenting with Conduct Disorder are more likely to have biological parents with alcohol dependency.

Townsend and Dawes (2004:75-6) note that parents who are burdened by poverty may be inclined to be too punitive and regularly abusive towards their children. Respondents spoke of their beatings in the home.

[67] *Dopstelsel* is an Afrikaans term that refers to "payment with alcohol" often used on wine farms during apartheid.
[68] Ramphele (1992a:11) refers to "social disintegration" when families break down, seen in violence at all levels of social interaction.

A. (3) Frequent and severe corporal punishment

Holdstock (1990:343) explains that discipline concerns behaviour directed from within rather than compliance with demands made by others, compared to punishment, particularly corporal punishment, which generates fear. Guma and Henda (2004:99) note that in some southern African societies, discipline takes the form of physical abuse. However, this also occurs in many other societies. Physical abuse is defined by Pritchard (2004:12) as "frequent/severe hitting, slapping, beating, shaking, punching, kicking". What the researcher has termed "frequent and severe corporal punishment" refers to the disproportionate administering of punishment experienced both in the home and the school by the respondents. The term "frequent and severe" is reflected in a study conducted by Rakitzis (1987:23), who found that from a sample of 300 students in their first year at university, 267 received physical punishment at school. The reported incidence of physical punishment was higher in schools for white Afrikaans-speaking children, and black children, than for white English-speaking children. Black pupils were hit most often. Thirty per cent of the black pupils in Rakitzis' (1987) study reported being hit on a daily basis.

Beatings from parents and care givers

"At that time, discipline was by beating, not by telling you" (respondent I), which suggests that the respondent's perceptions of parental strategies for disciplining children have changed. "At that time" also suggests that beating, rather than talking to a child about inappropriate behaviour, was common practice. In the current research, one respondent (J) reported that his mother beat him for using her first name. Another reported, "I would break a cup. That's when my father's going to beat me" (respondent G). "It wasn't a nice thing to be beaten" (respondent H). These comments suggest resentment towards parents for disciplining "mistakes". The father's response could also highlight that items such as cups were in short supply in homes with poor socio-economic circumstances.

It is also highly likely that respondents were also beaten whilst their parents/care givers were drunk. In this regard, Famularo, Kinscherff and Fenton (1992:475) found specific associations between parental alcohol abuse and physical maltreatment of their children in 67% of 190 randomly selected records from a North American juvenile court.

The respondents reported that they all received corporal punishment from their mothers (and in the case of respondent B, his stepmother as well). Many mothers appeared to vent their frustrations on them. Such acts highlight the vulnerability and helplessness of children. "My mother had many frustrations … she was short tempered … if she hit you, she hit you" (respondent E). "My mother … she's a very harsh person for her child" (respondent B). "My mother punished me when I was still young by pinching my thigh continuously" (respondent H). These comments suggest that physical punishment was often used by adults to express their feelings rather than administering discipline (Lewis, 1999:113), and that the respondents' mothers were often associated with frustration, harshness and punishment.

The respondents reported being "beaten" and "hit" by their mothers when they had done "wrongs" (discussed on page 171 under Respondents' misbehaviour). "Hits" ranged from "thrice … for breaking things" (respondent G) to more severe punishment such as weekly "hits" with a cane that left "blue marks" all over the child's body (respondent E). Beatings were administered by hand or "anything" (a phrase used by respondent B) that was available, such as a shoe, a stick, a hand bag, or a *sjambok* (a whip made from animal hide), on the respondents' faces, backs, buttocks, or all over their bodies. Using "anything" further suggests that such acts were often done in anger and/or frustration (Lewis, 1999:113). Punishment was often delayed and administered when parents came home from work late in the evening or at the weekend "tired" (respondent H), possibly leaving children even more vulnerable to the physical venting of the financial worries and employment frustrations of exhausted parents.

However, only four (A, G, H and J) of the respondents reported receiving corporal punishment from their fathers/stepfathers. Five respondents (B, C, D, E and F), who lived with their fathers/stepfathers, reported that they were not hit by them. "I was hit not even once by my stepfather" (respondent B). Respondent I lived with neither father nor stepfather.

Three respondents (B, C and H) said that they received different punishment when compared to their siblings.[69] "Just I was smacked. I was the trouble man. But they (siblings) could hear me crying and my mother smacking me" (respondent C). "My younger brother got the least punishment or was treated fairer than me. This brother was the most favoured child" (respondent H). "They (siblings) were beaten, sometimes maybe once a year" (respondent B). These statements suggest scapegoating[70] and respondents' resentment to the different responses from their parents, perceived as unfair. The respondents were unable to introspect as to why this was so, suggesting a lack of insight into their behaviours compared to those of their siblings. It is possible that the respondents' behaviours were also the response to the lack of attention from parents, and that misbehaving attracted their attention, negatively, noted in "I was the trouble man" (respondent C) and, "I liked to do my own thing" (respondent E).

Beatings from their mothers have left respondents with ambivalent feelings. "It wasn't a nice thing to be beaten. … 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. She was always kind and thoughtful of her young" (respondent H), highlighting the unpredictability of a mother's responses, and possibly a reflection of the respondent's maternal ideal. The comment further suggests that everyone else in the house was neither humane nor kind. "I felt that my mother did not like or love me when she

[69] According to Pritchard (2004:12), favouritism to siblings is emotional abuse.
[70] Scapegoat refers to an individual who carries responsibility, unfairly, for problems (Hepworth, Rooney and Larsen, 1997:331).

hit me" (respondent I) highlights the emotional outcomes of physical punishment rather than discipline.

Some respondents' mothers (A, E, G, H and J) were also hit by their partners. "My father was an aggressive guy. … He was so abusive. Abusing my mother. I can remember when they fight. They fight a lot" (respondent G). "It pierced my heart because I don't like to hear the sounds of people crying and the fact that the person who is being beaten cannot defend them self. That makes it worse" (respondent H). These comments suggest a lack of emotional security and physical protection, the unmet needs of maltreated children (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:156). They also suggest fear, helplessness, and highlight the inconsistency of care givers' behaviour.

According to the American Psychiatric Association (2000:96), inconsistent child rearing practices associated with harsh discipline, similarly reported in the current research, are some of the factors that may predispose individuals to the development of Conduct Disorder.

Angless and Shefer (1997:181) note that children do not want to identify with the violence of the abuser, or the helplessness of the victim, noted in "people crying during and after fights" (respondent H). Children may equate violence with being male and hurting women, and female with helplessness and hurt from a male (Angless and Shefer, 1997:181), a situation noted in the current study with fights between respondents' parents. Children are often taught that the woman has brought the violence on herself by her own behaviour or because she is a woman (Angless and Shefer, 1997:181). "My father would beat my mother if she didn't cook him meat" (respondent G), suggesting that had the mother cooked meat, she would not have been beaten, and that her beating was "punishment" for not cooking meat.

Family members also beat the respondents. "My uncle beat me with a big belt when I am making a mistake. He was so aggressive" (respondent A),

which suggests the respondent's sense of a disproportionate response to his mistake. "My brother hit me with a *sjambok* because I lent a bicycle tyre to a friend. Even now, my shoulder hurts and I can still see the stripes" (respondent I), and "My brother-in-law that time he broke my rib. … He beat me sore that time after I pinched some *liqueur* during a family *braai* (barbeque)" (respondent G), also suggestive of disproportionate responses by those in positions of authority and power over children. "That time" could imply that such a beating had occurred before, or that this beating was particularly painful, and sufficiently brutal to break a rib. Such a response highlights that the respondents' experiences of discipline were harsh punishment.

Some respondents (A, B and H) reported hunger as a form of punishment, with parents/step-parents deliberately withholding food. "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" (respondent H), and similarly reported by respondent B. Respondent A reported that his mother withheld food as a form of punishment when he did not attend school, with food given as a reward for attending school.

The respondents spoke about their beatings at school.

Beatings from teachers

All the respondents who attended school[71] reported being "hit", "smacked" and "beaten" by male school principals, and male and female teachers. Holdstock (1990:343, 345) notes the implicit assumption in the apartheid educational policy was that corporal punishment was necessary to instil or maintain discipline, and that there was a law condoning corporal punishment, similarly noted in other societies and cultures. "In school at that time, the teachers were hitting us" (respondent G). The respondents reported being physically punished for absenteeism, truancy,[72] arriving late

[71] Respondents D and F did not attend school.
[72] Children with Conduct Disorder may often play truant from school, beginning before the age of 13 years (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:94).

at school, and not listening or giving incorrect answers during class - common to many children attending school. Respondents said that school principals and teachers used various items, including part of a broomstick, a blackboard duster, a *sjambok*, a car fan belt, a cane, a metal-edged ruler, or an animal fly swatter, to administer daily "hits" and "smacks" on their hands and buttocks. These findings are higher than Rakitzis (1987), who found that 30% of the black pupils reported being hit on a daily basis.

Some respondents (B, G and I) reported receiving further punishment that was administered monthly. This required two of these respondents to stand in their underpants in front of the children in their class. A third respondent (I) had to remove his underpants. "I was naked!" Thereafter, the respondents were required to bend over and hold onto a chair whilst their buttocks were beaten "eight or ten times" (respondent B), or assume a position called "a chair on air" (respondent G). The respondent had to position his body like a chair whilst other children held his wrists and ankles. Then the teacher "gonna hit you". Respondent I reported that he was beaten without his underpants whilst bending over and holding his ankles. Children in his class held his arms during the beating. "That teacher beat me, beat me, beat me … naked" (respondent I), suggestive of extreme humiliation and indignity for the child. Such acts are physical abuse (Pritchard, 2004:12).

The respondents were not the only children who received hits at school. "I was not alone but maybe with three or five other children" (respondent B). "Others also got smacked" (respondent C). "When the law[73] was not there, boys at school would be caned on their backs, and girls would be hit on their hands or under their feet" (respondent H), which suggests that such

[73] The caning of boys was allowed in the principal's office and undertaken by the principal or a delegated person. Regulations limited corporal punishment (caning) to the buttocks, with specifications for the cane that was used. Punishment was not to be "cruelly administered", and had to be recorded in a punishment book. Corporal punishment could be administered for bullying, indecency, gross insubordination, lying, and continued or grave neglect of work, truancy and other grave breaches of discipline (Holdstock, 1990:342-3). The use of corporal punishment in South African schools was banned during 1994.

hits were normal and occurred without favouritism, compared to some of their descriptions and perceptions of physical punishment in the home.

The researcher explored respondents' "wrongs" (a term used by respondents B, D and I) that resulted in punishment.

Respondents' misbehaviour

Respondents discussed their misbehaviour in the home, school and community that resulted in punishment. It is debatable if these were their thoughts as children, or retrospective, as adults. What is clear is that the respondents' continued their misbehaviour despite being punished. "Sometimes at school we do the wrong things … [like] not go to class" (respondent B), a comment which suggests that the respondent was aware of his "wrong things" and their consequence, reflected in, "I would get beatings at school if I don't do things" (respondent B). This pattern was also seen in the home. "My mother always hit me if I did something wrong. … I always did wrong things. I was *los*"[74] (respondent C). *Los* is also a reflection of insufficient parental attention (Vogelman and Simpson, 1991:1).

When respondents were older and bigger physically, the items used for their punishment increased in size. *Sjamboks* and sticks were then used. "Smacks with her hand didn't work anymore. I was older and I still didn't want to listen" (respondent C), which suggests that the use of physical punishment did not change respondents' behaviour.[75] However, respondents understood that some of their actions in the home also had consequences in the form of physical punishment. "My mother hit me because I had done wrong. … I did not do very much good" (respondent D). "My mother hit me as I liked to do my own thing. She would ask me to fetch firewood and I would first finish playing and then fetch firewood. Late firewood meant late food and food had to be on the table when father

[74] *Los* is an Afrikaans word meaning roaming, up to nonsense.
[75] Straus (1991:133) notes that parents who do not use physical punishment will generally have better behaved children.

came home" (respondent E). The respondent's behaviour suggests defiance towards his mother, more so as he was aware of what would happen if he did not follow as she requested. "There was nothing wrong when my mother hit me because I made a mistake by letting the cows go" (respondent F).

According to the American Psychiatric Association (2000:96), harsh discipline and physical abuse are some of the factors that may predispose individuals to the development of Conduct Disorder.

Holdstock (1990:352) notes that those who have experienced corporal punishment often claim that it has done them no harm. "At times I apologized [to the teacher and school principal] because I knew that I was wrong … but I continued my truancy from school" (respondent H), which also suggests that physical punishment did not stop the respondent's truant behaviour. "The teachers hit me when I was doing wrongs" (respondent I).

School teachers could be seen as role models, noted in the comment, "They were teaching me something" (respondent I). Other role models within respondents' families and communities were also noted. The respondents' comments suggested no evidence of positive role models.

A. (4) Absence of positive role models

Ramphele (1992a:15) refers to professional and skilled people who are positive role models for young people. The respondents spoke of proximal and distal older males, or role models, in their families and communities who were in a position of power over the respondents, due to their age, position in the family or, the financial dependence on them by respondents' mothers/families. "My brother-in-law helped financially" (respondent G). "I lived with my uncle" (respondent A). Such males could be seen as role models, particularly in the absence of respondents' fathers, noted in the use of the term "my little father" (respondent A) used to describe his maternal uncle. The explanation of the term "little father" was, "We say it is a young father, if he is a boy. He is not a man" (respondent A). Magwaza

(1997:167) explains that in most traditional families, single, young, dependent mothers have a very weak power base in the family, a situation common in the current research, and in South Africa. Traditionally, uncles assume the role of adoptive fathers to the children of single mothers, as demonstrated by the use of the term "little father" (respondent A) in the current study. However, the role is culturally imposed, and according to Magwaza (1997:167), is experienced by most uncles as "coercive". This might facilitate understanding of the disproportionate punishment that uncles meted out to their nephews as the resentful response to their financial, and other, obligations of assisting relatives.

Proximal role models

According to some of the respondents, the actions of older males in their families resulted in respondents' separation from their families. When respondent A was ten, the family's possessions were taken for loans incurred by his mother's boyfriend for "drinking with *chommies*" (friends). Thereafter, this respondent went to live with his uncle who possibly assumed the "coercive role" of an adoptive father (Magwaza, 1997:167). One of respondent B's maternal uncles sold his single mother's home "without informing anybody", a reflection of her weak power base as a young, single mother in the family (Magwaza, 1997:167). Thereafter, the respondent lived with "another family" suggestive of what could be termed "passed-around" parenting. The comment, "We were forced to leave our grandmother's home, after quarrels about my brothers' drinking and taking things. My mother must take her children and go" (respondent G), similarly highlights the vulnerabilities of those who live with desperate socio-economic circumstances and most particularly single parent families and, for the children, the unpredictability of where and with whom they lived.

Older males in respondents' lives used alcohol heavily and were often abusive towards them and their mothers. "Three of my uncles used alcohol heavily and they all died in their early fifties" (respondent C). "Most of my family relatives were abusing alcohol" (respondent H). "When my

mother's boyfriend was drunk, he beat me and my mother" (respondent E). These comments suggest that in addition to the chaos and unpredictability of respondents' home lives, and the erratic behaviour of their care givers, similar conditions prevailed when respondents visited their relatives.

These experiences, often rooted in limited material resources and unemployment, result in huge stress on family life and child-parent relationships, and also affect women's ability to protect themselves and their children against an abusive father or partner (Parliamentary Task Group, 2002:72-3). "My uncle fought with me and my friends and cousins. He used to do that … while he was drinking" (respondent G).

Role models were similarly noted in respondents' communities.

Distal role models

Comments from the respondents reflected actions of distal role models in their childhood lives that were also associated with alcohol abuse and violence, the same patterns noted in respondents' homes and those of their relatives."I saw this guy kill my relative with an iron rod after my relative tried to stab him. My relative had been drinking in a shebeen" (respondent H). [My mother and other mothers waited for money from their partners, who gambled but] "more and more *chommies* (friends) came to my grandfather … perhaps they are going out to drink beer … and enjoy parties" (respondent A), suggestive of purchasing alcohol rather than meeting basic needs. The comment also highlights the powerlessness of mothers "waiting" for money in financially unequal relationships.

Alcohol abuse and violence were also noted in the respondents' communities.[76] "People were all drunk on the farm. … These kinds of things happened when people were always under the influence of alcohol. Then there's always fighting and stabbing" (respondent E).

[76] According to the American Psychiatric Association (2000:96), exposure to neighbourhood violence may increase the risk for the development of Conduct Disorder.

However, according to the respondents, "beatings" were part of their social life and used to resolve conflict. "They beat me in the street" (respondent I). "The social life of the area I lived in was beatings. They were part of the life there because beatings happened all the time" (respondent H). These comments suggest that the use of violence was normal, frequent, and used in a variety of situations.

Despite the respondents' desperate socio-economic conditions, almost all of the respondents went to school.

A. (5) Deprivation of school education

Schools are sites for social interaction. Unmet needs for social interaction are forms of maltreatment (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:156). What the researcher has categorised as "deprivation of school education" refers to the heinous and discriminatory Bantu Education Act of 1953 that ensured black children received grossly inferior education and were subordinated, with such subordination being positioned as "natural" for "racially inferior" people (Wolpe, 1993:7). IDAF (1980:36) point out that many black children never attended school, particularly those living in rural areas, as the apartheid government did not provide sufficient schools in these areas. Such structural insufficiency denied many black children even the most basic of school education. Schools that were provided were inadequate, overcrowded, had poor or no infrastructure, and high pupil-teacher ratios (IDAF, 1980:35-7). Black children, therefore, had appalling school-going conditions requiring payment of compulsory school fees (IDAF, 1980:35-7). As a result, at least half of black children who attended school dropped out for financial reasons by the end of their fourth school year (IDAF, 1980:36).

A similar pattern was noted in the current study. One way of evaluating the effects of apartheid education is the matric examination written at the completion of 12 years of school education. The South African Institute of Race Relations (1992:208) records that of the candidates who passed matric in 1990, 8,3% were black, 20,1% were coloured, 45,5% were Indian

and 41,5% were white. Hence, the largest racial group of South Africa's children, blacks, recorded the lowest matric pass rate for 1990. The respondents' level of school education, and age that they left school, are noted below:

Respondent	Years of school education completed	Age left school
D E F J	0 to 3	Never attended 14 Never attended About 13
A	4 to 5	14
I	6 to 7	19
H	8 to 9	22[77]
B C G	10 plus	16 18 About 18

Table 11: Respondents' school education

Poor school education resulted in the respondents having no or limited literacy and numeric skills, further compounded by black teachers insufficiently trained by the apartheid state:

Respondents attended school erratically, the result of poverty and the concomitant inability of their families to pay compulsory school fees. School attendance was also hampered by hunger, inappropriate school clothes and shoes, availability of schools and their distance, respondents' ages relative to those of the children in their class, and the "school boycotts" associated with the political turmoil most particularly during the 1980s.

"When I want the school fees, I've got to pay them" (respondent A, who worked alongside his grandfather as a gardener to earn his school fees).

[77] The apartheid education system also resulted in some young people attending school at an abnormally high age.

However, White children's families did not have to pay for compulsory and superior school education under apartheid (IDAF, 1980:35).

"I was older than the other children in my class" (respondent C). "I remember I looked at the other children next to me and I was the only big one" (respondent J), suggesting that the respondent started school later than other children in his class.

"School was terrible. … I was hungry. I went to school with an empty stomach! I can look to the teacher but my mind is not there" (respondent G), highlighting that hunger affects a child's ability to concentrate. "I didn't like school when I was poor at home, having no money to eat. Sometimes I don't have shoes. I'm wearing trousers that are patch patch" (respondent I), suggestive of humiliation and "difference" compared to other children at the school, and that if the respondent was not "poor at home" his attitude towards school might have been different.

School attendance was also interrupted because of "the prevailing struggle"[78] (respondent H). Ramphele (1997:1189) notes that South African children are burdened by the legacy of apartheid and the lack of basic need provision, and by their participation in political struggles, with children giving up their childhood, family life, and education to fight against the apartheid system. "For three years … we couldn't continue our studies because there was that fear that our house would be burnt down. … So we had to stay … and guard our property. … I aligned myself more with those kids who didn't attend school" (respondent H). The fear referred to by the respondent is possibly clarified by Ramphele (1997:1189), who reports that during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings, it became apparent that violence also occurred within the liberation movements.

[78] The respondent is referring to the political turmoil and school boycotts of the 1980s discussed in Chapter Four.

Despite the difficulties faced by respondents' families, their mothers "tried to keep us in school. She used to say, go to school, go to school" (respondent G). Respondents' mothers tried, in a variety of ways, to get their children to attend school, including withholding food or hitting them. Such acts suggest almost desperation to get children to attend school and highlight the awareness of respondents' mothers about the importance of education. However, given the appalling shortfalls of the apartheid education system for black children most particularly, it is also possible that working mothers reasoned that their children would receive some form of supervision at school, rather than being left unattended at home. "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" (respondent E) who walked three to four km each way to attend a "farm" school.[79] "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" (respondent H).

According to the respondents, their mothers' efforts to get them to attend school were in spite of their own illiteracy. These mothers grew up in a patriarchal society with clearly defined gender roles that included not educating girl children. "My mother used to say she didn't go to school at all. She didn't know how to write" (respondent I). "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" (respondent H). "At that time, only boys went to school. The girls must work at home in the field" (respondent I).

[79] The respondent's attendance at a "farm" school refers to schools that were provided by local farmers in former "white only" areas for the families of black farm workers, who also lived, for example, on agricultural and wine-producing farms in the Western Cape. Farmers who provided schools were partially reimbursed by the apartheid government. These schools were one or two-room buildings. Teachers, paid by the state, taught up to 55 children in a class (IDAF, 1980:36).

SUMMARY OF MALTREATMENT

The context of "maltreatment" describes the respondents' childhood with five characteristics, categorized by the researcher as: (1) Poverty and deprivation; (2) Parental absences; (3) Frequent and severe corporal punishment; (4) Absence of positive role models, and (5) Deprivation of school education. Bolger and Patterson (2003:156) note that "maltreatment" refers to children whose basic needs for physical sustenance and protection, emotional security as well as social interaction, are not met. These circumstances characterised the childhood of all the respondents in the current research. Common to these categories was the experience of violence at the levels of home, school, community, and "societal violence", from the state, experienced as poverty, hunger, and discrimination (Gil, 1992:288).

B. COPING WITH MALTREATMENT AS CHILDREN

Coping with adversity (Dawes, 1994a:184) or action/interaction strategies (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:104), noted in the current study are the respondents' childhood responses to their various forms of maltreatment. Maltreatment during childhood has been identified as a "significant risk factor" for emotional, behavioural and social adjustment problems later in life (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:157), and possibly the development of Conduct Disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2001:96). Swart-Kruger and Donald (1994:115) refer to "coping" as meeting the basic material needs of survival that are normally met within the family, such as food, shelter and clothing, as well as the emotional needs for companionship, protection and support. According to Moen and Erikson (2001:170-1), coping resources comprise personal and social resources. Social resources concern social integration or connectedness and include social bonds, a confidant relationship, good relationships with friends and family as well as access to support networks. Personal resources include self-reliance, self-understanding, empathy, altruism, maturity, basic values and priorities, and mastery, or how well an individual deals with stressful situations (Moen and Erikson, 2001:170). Coping with "life's setbacks and challenges" facilitates the development of resilience (Moen and Erikson, 2001:170-1).

In the current study, respondents developed ways to cope with their childhood maltreatment in various situations, categorized by the researcher as: (1) Coping with poverty and deprivation; (2) Coping with parental absences; (3) Coping with family violence and alcohol use; (4) Coping with frequent and severe corporal punishment, and (5) Coping without positive role models. The last category (6) discusses Childhood sexuality.

B. (1) Coping with poverty and deprivation

In response to the deprivation of poverty, or "the systematic obstructions to human development … in a society's institutional order" (Gil, 1992:288), the respondents, as children, worked to meet their basic needs.

Working outside the family home

Respondents started working aged between 10 and 14 as a means of survival. Although it was illegal even during apartheid to employ children under the age of 16, many black children were forced to work as a means of survival (IDAF, 1980:45), thus leaving them *extremely* vulnerable to exploitation.

"When I want the school fees, I've got to pay them" (respondent A, who worked alongside his grandfather as a gardener). This reflects the desperate socio-economic situation of the family, further exacerbated by apartheid legislation that required black children to pay school fees for non-compulsory school education. Some respondents also left the family home to work. Aged about 12 "I worked as a garden boy" (respondent F), who gave his wages to his parents when he came home at the weekends. "I left school as I was suffering. …I don't have shoes, I don't have clothes" (respondent J). "I was forced to go and work because of the situation I was in … to buy my things" (respondent B). These comments highlight the desperate choices faced by those who live with poverty, and the further disruption of family life. "My parents didn't know where I was" (respondent J, working on a vegetable farm away from his family). This comment describes a disrupted, and therefore poor, relationship with family. Moen and Erikson (2001:170) note that good relationships with

family are social coping resources that promote social integration and connectedness.

Working was also necessary to counter hunger. In this regard, Richter and Griesel (1994:66) note that nutritional deficiencies cannot be isolated from other socio-economic, environmental and psychosocial stresses, with the effects of poor growth on child development rooted in poverty and deprivation.

Hunger: "Make a plan"

Respondents coped with hunger in three ways. The first way was "to make a plan" (respondent J) such as selling home-grown fruit at the local taxi rank. The money from the sale of this fruit was used to buy *mielie meal* or eggs. A second way to cope with hunger was to work part-time, such as selling ice creams illegally on trains, "so that I might eat" (respondent I). A third way of coping with hunger was stealing. "I was hungry … You are not living the life just like other children at school" [so I tried to take their pies at school] (respondent G), and "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" (respondent I), highlight the desperate acts of hungry children. "Some of the (school) children talked, others just looked at me, and others said, I am suffering. … Sometimes you don't have money to eat at school" (respondent J) suggestive that these respondents perceived other children's lives as "easier" compared to their own. It is therefore possible that as respondents perceived themselves as living a different life compared to that of other children, they did not have good relationships with their peers. Good relationships with friends are social coping resources that also promote social connectedness (Moen and Erikson, 2001:170).

B. (2) Coping with parental absences: shifting of responsibilities

One of the outcomes of poverty is the compromised ability of many families to act as adequate support structures for the nurture and development of children (Dawes and Donald, 1994:5), noted in "parental

absences" accompanied by the necessary shifting of some parental responsibilities. Pertinent are the differences between African and Western cultures concerning children, with Western culture representing children as "passive and dependent", requiring protection and nurturing (Bozalek, 1997:17). "It's me alone" (respondent A), who aged 14 to 16, nursed his ailing grandmother until her death, suggestive of developmentally inappropriate responsibilities. "I was doing jobs that children don't do … wash the dishes … cleaning. I was doing everything" (respondent B). The shifting of responsibility, in the most extreme form, was noted in, "My mother said your father is no longer here and you must now stand as a father in the house. … I didn't have a choice because I was the eldest and it was my duty to help my mother" (respondent E, aged 14).

One respondent (D), a member of a gang, explained that, "My family didn't want to take the responsibility because of the behaviour learnt in the gangs because I was always putting the family in a bad name". Association with a delinquent peer group may increase the likelihood of an individual developing Conduct Disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:96).

A shifting of responsibility was also noted in some fathers, who according to four respondents (B, G, I and J) never met them, or left their families permanently, and had no contact with them.

B. (3) Coping with family violence and alcohol use

Respondents coped with violence in the family home, or tried to stay safe,[80] in three ways by running away, seeking refuge at the neighbours, or summoning help from relatives.

Respondents reported running away from violence in the family home and returning when things were "cooler" (respondent C). "I would run away

[80] Parkes (2007:117) reports that the same methods to stay safe were used by 36 children, aged between eight and 14, from an impoverished, working class township in Cape Town. The study was conducted during 2001.

when my mother wanted to beat me" (respondent F). "I would go next door when my stepfather was fighting as he was going to beat me" (respondent J). The most extreme form of running away was noted in one respondent (G) who lived on the streets for six months in response to the "fighting and beatings" from his older brother.

Another way of coping when respondents' parents/care givers fought was to seek refuge at the neighbours. Ramphele (1997:1192) notes that in the context of difficult economic circumstances, relationships with neighbours often develop into sharing limited material resources and providing social support in many ways. However, respondents seeking refuge at the neighbours sometimes resulted in further violence. "Even when you go next door, my father is going to beat you" (respondents G and J), indicating the failure of a high-risk strategy to try and avoid violence.

The last way to cope with family violence was to summon help from relatives. "There were times when I realized that I cannot continue with this … and break the fight between my parents. I have to get my mother's family" (respondent H).

Gil (1992:288) notes that societal violence often results in counter-violence from its victims, including violence in the home. One respondent (D) "caused" some of the violence that he ran away from. He attempted "several times" to burn down the family home. He smashed all the windows in the house two or three times a year.[81] His family said they would call the police and the respondent ran away when this threat was made. However, his family neither fulfilled this threat nor sought professional assistance. In this regard, Marais (2001:197) notes that affordable and accessible counselling services are at a premium, despite warnings from psychiatric workers that as a country, there are South Africans who are exhibiting symptoms suggestive of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder.

[81] These behaviours are associated with Conduct Disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2000: 96).

Using alcohol and drugs

Respondents discussed their use of alcohol and drugs during their childhood.[82] [83] Some respondents (D, F and G) reported their use of alcohol before they were teenagers. Such behaviours reflect poor parental supervision and monitoring of children's activities, sometimes the result of parental use of alcohol, noted in "Both my father and mother drank alcohol" (respondent H). Morojele (1997:207) notes that South African adolescents may only purchase and consume alcohol when they are aged 18. Explanations for engaging in such unlawful behaviour include rebellion, attempts to show maturity, or modelling parents' drinking behaviours (Morojele, 1997:207, 217), all of which are reflected in the current study.

"When I was drunk, it was nice" (respondent D, who also used marijuana and Mandrax). "I started drinking when I was ten … and I haven't stopped" (respondent F). "I was 11 when I had my first drink and I became addicted" (respondent G). This respondent also reported that he smoked glue to ease his hunger pangs when he lived on the streets for six months. "I liked alcohol and dagga" (respondent J). Morojele (1997:207) notes that in general, adolescents drink less than adults. However, when adolescents do drink, they do so with more intensity, are more likely to become intoxicated, and more liable to harm (Morojele, 1997:207). Ramphele (1992a:11) notes that alcohol and drug abuse are indicators of social disintegration.

B. (4) Coping with beatings at home and school

Respondents coped with beatings in the home and at school in two ways. The first was by suppressing their feelings, the second, by inflicting pain on others of the same, or smaller, physical size.

---

[82] In a study conducted during August 2002, a third of 90 adolescents aged 11 to 17 years from nine communities in Cape Town indicated that they been drunk at least once. Older adolescents and adolescents whose friends drink were "significantly more likely to have been drunk" (Parry, Morojele, Saban and Flisher, 2004:369).

[83] According to the American Psychiatric Association (2000:96), Conduct Disorder is often associated with an early onset of drinking, smoking and the use of illegal substances.

Suppression of feelings

Respondents coped with beatings at home by suppressing their feelings of anger, sadness and fear, and withholding their need to cry. "The beatings from my little father left me feeling cross and too scared to discuss my problems" (respondent A), which suggests an absence of social support systems (Moen and Erikson, 2001:170-1) in whom the respondent could confide. "I was very, very scared [of my stepmother]. … I'll never cry" (respondent B). "I felt a little bit sore in my heart. I was scared" (respondent C). "I felt unhappy when my mother hit me" (respondent D). "If you cry you are not a man. … Even if your mother hits you hard … you mustn't make a noise or they'll laugh at you" (respondent F). "I can't cry when people hurt me. … I cry on my own" (respondent G). These comments suggest that for boys, crying, and showing their feelings, were not considered part of being masculine and men may not cry for fear of ridicule. Suppressing feelings was therefore seen as masculine.

Similarly, in response to the physical pain of beatings received at school, respondents suppressed their feelings and their need to cry. "You are going to feel the pain but … I am not crying" (respondent A). "I always don't want other people to see my feelings. … I never cry" (respondent B). "That teacher beat me. … I didn't cry and they say to me 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" (respondent I). These comments suggest the fear of ridicule for showing feelings. It is also possible that "the cheek" the respondent refers to was the teacher's surprise that he did not cry, a response that was perceived as defiant. Holdstock (1990:352) notes that children who live under stress are the most vulnerable to the effects of corporal punishment. The respondents' comments about their relationships with teachers and other school children imply no confidant relationship, or support network, and further imply poor social integration and connectedness (Moen and Erikson, 2001:170).

Respondents said that they felt they were unfairly treated when beaten at school and that their punishment was wrong. Lewis (1999:113) notes that

children who have been hit often feel angry and humiliated. "The principal and the teacher … they are treating people the wrong way. … The principal he was punishing me … without justice. … 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" (respondent A). These comments suggest that as the farm school was physically isolated and had no inspectors, principals and teachers acted unfairly towards the children, and that such isolation left the children powerless. "That teacher beat us a lot! I don't know what kind of a mother she was! … *It's painful*! … They beat us like we are donkeys" (respondent G). This comment suggests that mothers should not hit their children, and that mothers should be empathetic towards children, in marked contrast to the respondents' experiences of beatings from their mothers. Furthermore, it also suggests that for this respondent, as a child, he felt he was treated no better than a beast of burden. In the context of the current study, Holdstock (1990:343) notes that principals and teachers knew that they functioned in a society that condoned violence. By using violent methods to resolve conflict they felt that they had the approval of the community reflected in, "All the parents they gonna agree – why do you do the wrong things in school" (respondent G). This also highlights the vulnerability and powerlessness of children, and the absence of social support networks (Moen and Erikson, 2001:170).

The respondents inflicted pain on others who were the same, or of smaller, size, possibly to ease their feelings of powerlessness and helplessness. Lewis (1999:114) notes that children model themselves in the same way that their parents behave.

Inflicting pain on others

Inflicting pain on others took the form of "playing" with other children and, for two respondents, "disciplining" their dogs. Such "play" and "discipline" could be seen as aggressive behaviours towards people and animals, also associated with Conduct Disorder, a pattern of antisocial behaviours that continue into adulthood (American Psychiatric

Association, 2000:93). Becker and French (2004:401) note that animal abuse is part of a continuum of abuse within the family.

"Disciplining" dogs

Two respondents (H and I) reported how they "disciplined" their dogs, "discipline" that their fathers also used on animals. "I had seen my father doing this" (respondent H). Respondent H said he never beat a dog excessively. "I just beat it nicely and not overdo it", a somewhat paradoxical approach to beating. If the dog took an egg from the neighbour's chickens, "I would cook an egg and take it hot and put it inside the dog's mouth so that the dogs would know in future they shouldn't do that" (respondent H). The respondent made no mention of the pain that the animals endured during this process, or the physical restraint of the animals required by him, suggestive of the respondent exercising his power over a smaller, defenceless, and helpless other - a pattern similar to the respondent's experience of frequent and severe corporal punishment from his care givers.

Respondent I said he had "fifty, sixty dogs" during his childhood. He punished his dogs by holding the dog's face with one hand and repeatedly slapping the dog's face with his other hand, a similar pattern to the indignity and pain inflicted on the respondent from his care givers. So too, if his dog ate eggs from the neighbours' chickens, respondent I would boil an egg and force it, whilst still hot, into the dog's mouth and keep the dog's mouth closed for "three minutes" until the egg was cold. Respondent H spoke about beating his dogs to "punish or discipline ... just like I would do with human beings". These comments suggest behaviours that were without empathy, and an objectification of animals and people. Empathy and how well an individual deals with stressful situations are personal coping resources (Moen and Erikson, 2001:170).

"Playing" with children

Respondents reported "playing" with same-aged or younger children. Lewis (1999:112) emphasizes that physical punishment makes children

angry and increases their aggressive behaviour, as well as teaching them that violence is an acceptable form of behaviour for controlling others and solving problems. Physically punished children are therefore more likely to bully other children (Lewis, 1999:112). The reported responses from respondents' mothers suggest that respondents' "play" was bullying[84] or fighting. Dowdney (1993:76) writes that there is not a single accepted definition of bullying, but rather it is a process, distinguished by being unprovoked, repetitive over time, intended to hurt or damage, and there is a power difference with children picking on other children whom they perceive as weaker. "My mother smacked me … not to make the play with some children. … I smacked other children at school and other children hit me" (respondent A), indicating the use of bullying as a way to resolve conflict, and that this practice was common amongst respondents and their peers. Respondents "played" with children, sometimes without consequence, possibly inflating their feelings of power over others. "If somebody … laughs at me, he make me *cry*[85] … then I will respond by hitting him or doing things for her or him" (respondent B), which suggests that as the respondent felt humiliated, his revenge, or "doing things" was justified, similarly noted in, "If someone hurt me, I must hurt them back" (respondent I). "I liked to bully the younger children. … I was always hitting them" (respondent C). "I was always older than the other children. So I'd hit them first" (respondent D). Such acts suggest that the respondents felt in a position of power as they "liked to bully" smaller or younger children. "Other children were scared of me because I was always hitting them" (respondent C) implies that bullying left the respondents without friends of the same age. Bolger and Patterson (2003:159) note that friendship is a potentially important protective factor for maltreated children. The respondents made few references to friendships and those that were mentioned were problematic, noted in, "I had only one friend. I think he used to say I was the best one. … We would provoke each other

[84] Pritchard (2004:47) notes that the most common extra-family abusers of children are "perhaps" other children and adolescents, and takes the form of emotional and physical bullying.
[85] The respondent said the word "cry" with great emphasis.

… and we fight. We were punching. … Then I pick another friend" (respondent I).

Shifting of responsibility to "the other"

Respondents explained that their "wrongs" and "naughtiness" were the result of actions from others, thereby justifying their responses, and shifting responsibility for their acts away from themselves. "You made me do the wrong things by laughing. But I am very sorry. Just please forgive me and I'll never do this again" (respondent B). A conditional apology was attached to an explanation of the "naughty" behaviour. "You know what caused me to be naughty? … I didn't get the things. You are not living the life just like other children at school" (respondent G), which implies the respondent perceived that other children had things easier compared to him. It also suggests that had this respondent got "things" he would not be naughty and his behaviour was therefore conditional on receiving material items in short supply in poor families, similarly noted in, "At school, they are laughing at me. … That make *(sic)* me not go to school" (respondent I). Such comments suggest an external locus of control (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:159), and that the respondents saw themselves as "victims", thereby justifying their behaviours, similarly expressed in "I have a very short temper. And I would easily get angry" (respondent C). An internal locus of control is a protective factor against the negative effects of maltreatment (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:159).

B. (5) Coping without positive role models: "I'm a helper"

Angless and Shefer (1997:179) note that children of violent relationships experience generational boundaries. This was similarly noted in the current study, when a respondent reported that he said, "Mother, you can't hit your husband. It isn't right for you to do this" (respondent C). Role reversal is common to children who live with violence in the home (Angless and Shefer, 1997:179), and also noted in the present research. "I must now stand as a father in the house" (respondent E, aged 14) and "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 are suffering"

(respondent I, aged 14). Furthermore, children who live in violent families can feel responsible for the situation, experience guilt and therefore try to make things better and prevent further violence (Angless and Shefer, 1997:179), reflected in: "I tried to stop the fighting between my sister and her husband by trying to be an advisor for my sister" (respondent B); "I protected my mother many times from her boyfriend" (respondent E); "We just leave the food, all of us because we know my father is going to start a problem" (respondent G), and "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" (respondent H).

Possibly in response to their own feelings of powerlessness and helplessness, six respondents (A, B, C, G, H and I) portrayed themselves as "helpers" or "advisors" during their childhood. "No one helped my grandmother … it's me alone" (respondent A). "I was looking forward to being an advisor of the President" (respondent B). "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" (respondent C). "I was the person who always used to talk to my mother and I was the person who [went] to the hospital … for three or four months" (respondent G). "I would tell my father it was not right [that he beat my mother] and ask my mother why she didn't get a divorce. … I would advise [my parents against using alcohol]. I liked to do that when I noticed something. I would talk about it and advise accordingly" (respondent H). "My neighbour used to beat his wife. I used to help there. … I was … a helper" (respondent I). "Respect", "guidance", and "advice" were some of the characteristics apparently lacking in the respondents' childhood. These characteristics could be associated with a role model, or confidant, relationship. According to Moen and Erikson (2001:170), a confidant relationship is a personal coping resource that was apparently unavailable to the respondents in the current study.

B. (6) Childhood sexuality

Magwaza (1997:161) explains that as discussions about sexuality are inhibited in African cultures, children are left without essential knowledge regarding the nature of sexual activities and their consequences. This was also reflected in the current research.

Sexuality and culture

Respondents witnessed sexual activity between adults in overcrowded living conditions, the result of adults having no private space (Ramphele, 1997:1192). Despite respondents' hearing and/or seeing sexual activities, they said that they could not discuss sexual matters with their parent/s. "Intimate issues were really taboo to discuss with parents. So we didn't" (respondent H) and "against their culture" (Magwaza, 1997:161).[86] "We blacks we don't allow to ask about sex" (respondent B). This "taboo" was highlighted by one respondent (G), who was told by his mother that he "mustn't look" when he saw a couple kissing on the street.

Respondents discussed their childhood sexuality with the researcher. "We used to play.[87] I became a father, she will be a mother. I was doing sex … You just tell that lady you are my wife. … I have sex with you. … 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" (respondent B). Such play suggests that respondents acted out what they had witnessed in overcrowded living conditions. "Just tell" implies an order - rather than agreement - and is therefore a coercive element to the sexual "play". Furthermore, "just tell" is a possible reflection of the respondent's witnessing of non-consensual sex between his parents. The respondent's use of the word "wife", rather than "girl" or "woman", suggests that sexual consent was not required even in a married relationship. "You are my wife" could convey that marital oaths of fidelity do not need to be

[86] Pritchard (2004:12) writes that not giving a child sexual education is sexual neglect. However, in the context of African cultural beliefs regarding sexuality and children, this could be seen as both contentious and highly debatable.

[87] Pritchard (2004:33) notes that an age gap of more than five years is "too sanguine" an attitude towards 'sex play' and normal sexual development.

respected by men, or that sex, even within marriage, does not require mutual consent.

"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. … We know we are supposed to take our clothes off …" (respondent G), thus copying sexual behaviour between adults. The use of the word "play" also suggests that sex, for the respondents as children, was seen as a game, with the implications of sexual relationships not understood. "I started sex at a young age, as soon as I had a feeling or interest that now I felt like having a woman. … There was a game called hide-and-seek whereby kids would engage in intercourse" (respondent H), suggestive of other children similarly acting out what they had witnessed in overcrowded living conditions. The phrase "having a woman" also conveys a non-consensual sexual encounter with the man's needs paramount.

Masturbation

Some respondents (A, D, G, E, H and J) discussed their masturbatory practices as children. These practices ranged on a continuum from "I took no action" (respondent E) to group masturbation.[88] Marshall and Marshall (2000:250) note that the juvenile history of adult sexual offenders is marked by "high relative rates" of masturbation that become a preferred way to ameliorate stress.

Two respondents said they did not masturbate, as "The mind was too cross" (respondent A). "The sexual feelings always came[89] … but I took no action" (respondent E, who shared a bed with his grandmother and six siblings). In this regard, Pritchard (2004:157) observes that there is still much ambiguity in society concerning child and adolescent masturbation, with religious families who may interpret the Bible to believe that

[88] Richter and Higson-Smith (2004:26) note that genital play and masturbation occur in early childhood.

[89] The researcher acknowledges that these issues were extremely sensitive, and at times difficult, for some respondents to discuss.

masturbation is against scripture, and thus imposes feelings of guilt. Similarly, this respondent made frequent references to his "conversion" to Christianity since his imprisonment.

Some respondents (D, G and H) disclosed that they practised group masturbation, possibly their response to the lack of privacy at home, noted in, "I am not sure if [my parents] saw me masturbating" (respondent J), as well as pressure from peers. Respondent D said he practiced group masturbation "often", from the age of nine, with other gang members. Respondent G said that after swimming, "we supposed to play our game. We gonna put soap down there (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". Respondent H said that he masturbated with his peers.

Penetrative sexual intercourse

Respondents reported that they were aged between 10 and 25 years when they commenced penetrative sexual intercourse with a member of the opposite sex.[90] Most of the respondents were under the age of 18. Three respondents (A, E and F) reported that they were older than 18. Wood, Maforah and Jewkes (1998:236) report from their study with 24 Xhosa-speaking adolescent women that their first sexual encounters started at about age 13 or 14 years "but as young as 11", similarly noted in the present research.

Other childhood sexual experiences

Three respondents (D, E and G) reported other childhood sexual experiences, including voyeurism, bestiality, and the passive partner during anal sex.[91]

---

[90] Pritchard (2004:33) notes that it is "increasingly recognized" that the earlier a young person becomes sexually active with a younger child, the more likely that this will continue into later adolescence and adulthood as "a core part of psychosexual identity" and fixation on children as sexual objects.

[91] Lee, Jackson, Pattison and Ward (2002:87) report that there was no evidence to suggest that 64 sexual offenders who participated in their research exaggerated self-reports of childhood abuse due to the influence of social desirability.

Respondent D reported that he spied, through keyholes, on couples engaged in sexual activity.[92] He masturbated whilst he watched. "I'd actually go and look. It wasn't just something I was walking past and saw".

Respondent G disclosed an incident of bestiality with a dog[93] when he was aged 14. "No one told me" [about having sex with an animal] indicating both the "taboo" of sexual discussion, and the absence of a confidant to discuss what he had witnessed when "I saw the donkeys having sex. … It's here I feel to make sex. … I used to like that dog. And that dog, it like me. …It's here I release myself, heh! I'm ejaculating now". These comments suggest that as the dog "liked" the respondent, the sexual act was "consensual". His reference to ejaculating also suggests that the sexual act was "normal" as he ejaculated.

Respondent E described his first sexual encounter as "another experience" at age 15 or 16. He giggled and said that his first sexual experience was "painful", that something broke in him, and "the physical pain was sore".

When he was aged seven, respondent G reported that "An old man used to play with our penises … maybe five times".[94] "Our" refers to other boys. The respondent did not appear to interpret this experience as abusive, or felt that given the "taboos" concerning sexual discussion, he could not discuss it with his mother/family, and had no other confidant to whom he could turn. The man was arrested after one of the boys informed his mother and she called the police. The same respondent, aged about 16, was anally penetrated[95] on three occasions by different men whilst he lived on the streets for six months. The respondent was paid by these men. The

[92] According to the American Psychiatric Association (2000:575), voyeurism is the act of observing ("peeping") usually strangers who are undressing, naked, or engaged in sexual activity. "Peeping" is for the purpose of achieving sexual excitement. Masturbation usually accompanies the "peeping". Onset of the behaviour is usually before 15 years.
[93] Tannahill (1980:71) writes that zoophilia, or sexual intercourse with cattle or a larger domesticated animal, was not uncommon in pastoral societies.
[94] Pritchard (2004:12) notes that "interference with and needless touching of a child's genitalia" is sexual abuse.
[95] Similarly, achieved anal penetration with a child is sexual abuse (Pritchard, 2004:12).

> 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" (respondent G), reflecting his cultural and moral stand towards anal sex, compromised in the face of desperate economic need, and his resultant guilt.
>
> Townsend and Dawes (2004:76) point out that the lack of monitoring and supervision of children whilst parents work long hours can leave children vulnerable to sexual abuse. Furthermore, children who live with difficult conditions at home may spend as much time as possible away from home, thus increasing their vulnerability for sexual abuse (Townsend and Dawes, 2004:76).[96]

SUMMARY OF COPING WITH CHILDHOOD MALTREATMENT

All of the respondents experienced childhood within a context of maltreatment which included poverty and deprivation, parental absences, frequent and severe corporal punishment, an absence of positive role models, and deprivation of school education. Furthermore, the respondents' childhood was within a context of violence in their homes and communities, high levels of alcohol use, and a lack of parental attention and supervision.

In response to the five situations of childhood maltreatment categorized by the researcher, the respondents (1) Coped with poverty and deprivation by often working outside the family home and "making a plan" to address hunger; (2) Coped with parental absences by undertaking responsibilities - some of which were age-inappropriate - that parents had to shift to them; (3) Coped with family violence and alcohol use by trying to stay safe whilst violence occurred; (4) Coped with frequent and severe corporal punishment by suppressing their feelings during beatings, with concomitant feelings of helplessness and powerlessness eased by bullying; (5) Coped without positive role models with some respondents portraying themselves as "helpers" and "advisors". The last category (6) discussed childhood sexuality, with respondents unable to discuss their developing sexuality, and sexual behaviours, with their parents and care givers as this was "taboo" in their cultures.

[96] However, there are parents who live with poverty but supervise their children and monitor their whereabouts (Townsend and Dawes, 2004:76).

B. COPING WITH MALTREATMENT AS ADULTS

The context of maltreatment experienced by respondents as children continued into their adult lives. The respondents, as adults, experienced grinding poverty and unemployment (Gil, 1992:288), despite the enormous political changes in the country since 1994. Poverty remains significantly concentrated amongst black people, with some 20 million South Africans living below the poverty line (Marais, 2001:194, 207), and reflects the socio-economic status of the respondents as adults.

In response to this situation, respondents used similar coping strategies that they had used during their childhood, noted in the categories of "coping" as adults. These categories, created by the researcher, are: (7) Coping with unchanged poverty and deprivation; (8) Coping with deprivation of education; (9) Coping through the use of alcohol and drugs, and (10) Coping through religious beliefs. The last category discusses (11) Adult sexual practices.

B. (7) Coping with unchanged poverty and deprivation

The socio-economic conditions that respondents lived with as children continued into their adulthood, reflecting the "cyclic poverty" referred to by Van Deventer and Jordaan (1998:766-7), with poverty a way of life over several generations. Respondents continued to experience poor living conditions, often in "shacks" in "squatter camps" (informal settlements), without amenities, the outcome of rapid and unmanaged urbanisation. Respondents also lived in what they termed "rooms", or rented shacks in backyards, also without amenities. Marais (2001:194) notes that the separate development of apartheid left some 30% of South Africans without access to safe water near their homes, and more than 60% of homes without electricity. Respondents' "rooms" were often shared with others, resulting in the same overcrowding, noise and concomitant lack of privacy experienced during their childhood. One respondent reported that his room was so small and crowded that the occupants often slept in the order that they had to leave in the morning (respondent G). Another respondent (C, aged 30) continued to share a room with his four brothers. Marais (2001:194) notes that slightly less than half of the country's

population live in informal housing, a situation common to the respondents in the current research.

Respondents tried to find work to cope with their deprivation.

B. (8) Coping with deprivation of education

As noted previously, not one respondent completed his school education.[97] This left all the respondents with insufficient skills and only their manual labour to offer potential employers. The respondents' ability to find work was further compounded by high unemployment rates in South Africa, most particularly amongst the unskilled. Despite the massive political changes in the country since 1994, unemployment increased, with a million unskilled jobs lost between 1993 and 1997 (Barnett and Whiteside, 2002:154), when many respondents in the current study searched for employment.

Competition for unskilled employment

Respondents' searches for work reflect the competition for casual or short-term employment, their lack of competitive skills, and repeated rejections, situations common for many South Africans. "There are no jobs" (respondent A). "I saw there were too many adults trying to get work" (respondent J), reflecting the competition for employment. "My temporary job lasted three or four months and then they chased me away. They say I am not qualified to work there" (respondent B). "My employment ended as there were no [building] sites where we could work" (respondent E), demonstrating a lack of competitive skills, and thus limiting employment possibilities. "I wasn't lucky enough to get hired" (respondent H), suggesting that employment was based on luck, rather than suitable work experience, or that he was one of the people who stood in queues hoping for casual work as a labourer, but wasn't "lucky" enough to be closer to the front of the queue for selection. "I would always be told that … they've got people working for them or they are not looking for anyone"

[97] Marais (2001:194) points out that only 16,4% of South Africans have completed their school education, and 6,2% of South Africans have higher education.

(respondent H), with "always" highlighting frequent rejections, and the same excuses attached to the rejections. "I begged [a potential employer] to make a plan as I must work. … I can't read. I'm not perfect at those things" (respondent J). This comment highlights the particular vulnerability of those who are illiterate and searching for employment in a formal economy. Marais (2001:194) reports that one in five South Africans has no formal education.

Searches for work were also accompanied by humiliation and "scorn towards African youth … deprived of understanding and empathy" (Marais, 2001:198), recounted as, "Many people told me to fuck off when I asked them for a job, money for bread, or taxi fare. People would call me a *tsotsi*"[98] (respondent J).

The importance of work

Despite respondents' difficulties in finding employment, they spoke of the importance of work. "If people are working … they are not making problems. If they are not working, they are making problems" (respondent A), indicating the "validating role of economic life" (Marais, 2001:198) associated with employment. "I loved to work" (respondent I), and "It is really hurting or not good for you when as a man you don't get a job" (respondent H), suggest the role of men as providers, the self-esteem attached to work, and the consequences of unemployment.

Respondents did not sit idle despite the challenges they faced in finding work. "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" (respondent G). The respondents' employment histories were characterized by vulnerability, noted in their tenuous, menial, casual employment as cleaners, labourers on building sites, or farms and hardware stores, or employment in the informal sector as "hawkers", or informal traders on the streets. Their vulnerability was compounded as workers in the informal sector have no job security and few benefits, whilst working long hours in poor conditions (Marais,

[98] A gangster.

2001:179). Respondents' employment was accompanied by low wages. "My salary was low and my employer supplemented it with *mielie meal* and beans" (respondent F). "I was trying to make some good living for me" (respondent B). Marais (2001:179) notes that full time employment, whether in formal, semi-formal or informal settings, is not necessarily a solution to poverty, the result of extremely low wages, also experienced by respondents in the current research. "My mother was not satisfied with the money I gave her but she took it" (respondent E), and "I gave my wages to my mother on alternate weeks. She bought food" (respondent D) reflecting that wages are shared by many families (Marais, 2001:176).

Respondents also turned to precarious self-employment by informally trading/"hawking" clothing or fruit and vegetables on streets and trains, or selling tinned foods, door-to-door. These strategies did not always enable respondents to meet their needs, often the result of intense competition with many informal traders selling identical products (Marais, 2001:178). However, diversifying and taking risks are inhibited by the lack of access to finance and credit (Marais, 2001:176). "My mind was always on the money, always on the money. … I don't have money to eat" (respondent I), highlights the stress, and indignity, associated with inadequate financial situations. The respondents were part of one of the most unequal societies on earth, with the poorest 40% of South Africans earning less than 4% of the income circulating in the economy, and the wealthiest 10% of South Africans earning more than 51% (Marais, 2001:7).

However, two respondents (B and C) did not always show much interest when they did find work, a reflection of "desperate passivity" as the dominant outlook on life, the result of poverty (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:767). "Desperate passivity" was seen in one respondent who always lived with his family and could have done his apprenticeship with a 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" (respondent C). Another respondent also appeared to experience "desperate passivity" (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:767). "I hated that job with [a large

supermarket chain]. I just leave the work" (respondent B). These comments suggest that conditions of social deprivation add substantially to the attrition of self-esteem and increase feelings of powerlessness (Parliamentary Task Group, 2002:72-3).

All of the respondents experienced unemployment.

Unemployment

Marais (2001:198) notes that unemployment in South Africa is juxtaposed alongside "the most pervasive and ostentatious … consumer capitalism on the African continent". Respondents experienced unemployment, a reflection of the unemployment rate in the country, calculated between 22,9% and 37,6% during the 1990s, with unemployment rates highest amongst young blacks (Marais, 2001:175). These statistics cannot reflect the resultant "personal and social tragedies" (Marais, 2001:176).

As a way to meet their financial needs, two respondents (C and H) who still lived with their families reported that they got money from them. "I felt very lucky with my mother when ... I don't have money, she give me money" (respondent C). "I would get money from my parents though it was never enough. … It was not a good thing and it was never easy" (respondent H), suggestive of the humiliation and powerlessness of an adult unable to meet his financial needs or that such requests exacerbated his family's economic stress (Townsend and Dawes, 2004:71).

All of the respondents used alcohol. Some respondents reported their use of marijuana.

B. (9) Coping through the use of alcohol and drugs

Peltzer and Ramlagan (2009:1) note that there is tremendous variation in patterns of drinking between societies, and that in the developing world the predominant pattern is infrequent heavy drinking, particularly by men. South Africa has one of the highest levels of consumption of alcohol in the world (Peltzer and Ramlagan, 2009:4). The respondents used alcohol,

possibly to mitigate their feelings of helplessness, "There are no jobs" (respondent A), emasculation, "It is really hurting … when as a man you don't get a job" (respondent H), low self-esteem, "I can't read" (respondent J), as well as to "pass the time" in the absence of employment, "I stay two or three months at home. I can see I can't just stay at home" (respondent J). Respondents admitted their excessive use of alcohol and spoke about their behaviour, and the behaviour of others, that accompanied their use of alcohol.[99] Some respondents did not directly disclose their use of alcohol, seen in their socially correct answers.

Socially correct answers

Four respondents (A, B, C and H) gave socially correct answers about their use of alcohol[100] and/or drugs, noted first in their unlikely or contradictory responses, and second, when their responses were located within the context of their family histories that were associated with very high levels of alcohol use. "I don't like it" (respondent A, with a family history of high levels of alcohol use). "I used only beer … a little bit on certain occasions such as Christmas. ... I can drink as much as I can but as long as I want to drink I can stop anytime. … I smoked dagga a little bit" (respondent B). "I was 27 when I took my first drink. … My father had big problems with wine. … I met my father in shebeens[101] (respondent C). "I started drinking when I was 25" (respondent H who was incarcerated from the age of 24. Both of his parents used alcohol heavily).

Effects of alcohol

Respondents reported varying effects from their use of alcohol, including aggression, "feeling good", and sexual arousal.

---

[99] Peltzer and Ramlagan (2009:4) synthesized the prevalence data from five national and local surveys concerning alcohol use in South Africa over a period of 12 years and report that binge drinking is highest among coloured males (41%) and black males (41%), followed by white males (25%) and Indian males (18%). Lower levels of education were associated with higher levels of binge drinking – similarly reflected in the current study.

[100] London (2000:202) notes that self-reported data about alcohol consumption is subject to information bias and is more likely to result in underestimation.

[101] Shebeens (informal taverns) or "illegal outlets" increased during the second half of the 20th century, and were a form of resistance to apartheid policies (Parry, 2005:426).

Aggression

Respondents' use of alcohol was often accompanied by violence, the same pattern of their childhood care givers' use of alcohol and violence. "We liked to fight with each other, to get into arguments, to go into a fight" (respondent C), demonstrating that the use of alcohol resulted in aggressive behaviours. The respondents' use of alcohol also left them vulnerable to aggression from others, noted in "I was attacked twice by *skollies* (gangsters) whilst drunk" (respondent D), and their own aggression towards others expressed as, "I tried to take a bottle of beer from someone in the street" (respondent E). This extremely provocative behaviour, presumably less likely to happen had the respondent been sober, resulted in "The person stabbed me in the face with the beer bottle" (respondent E).

Respondents also witnessed aggression when others used alcohol.

"People were all drunk on the farm.[102] … Things happened when people were always under the influence of alcohol. Then there's always stabbing and fighting so I'm used to it" (respondent E), implying that the use of alcohol and accompanying violence were normal. This was also noted in the respondents' aggression that accompanied their use of alcohol. "Me and my brother were both drunk and fighting for a bed. My brother bit me on the lip. He took a piece of flesh" (respondent G). "Whenever I drank alcohol, I just go mad and … fight with people" (respondent F). "People would warn me or tell me that I should drink responsibly because of the things I did when I had taken alcohol" (respondent H), reflecting that the use of alcohol had resulted in problematic behaviours that the respondent was unable to recall.

[102] The respondent is referring to a deciduous fruit and wine farm, where labourers were partly paid with alcohol. London (2000:199) notes that this practice, the *dopstelsel*, or the *dop* system (Afrikaans for payment with alcohol), is unique to the Western Cape agricultural economy. During the period January to March 1993, London conducted a cross-sectional analytical survey on 113 farms in the Western Cape, and reports that 87% of labourers, from a sample of 247, were potentially alcohol dependent.

"Feeling good" and sexual arousal

The use of alcohol was associated with "feeling good" and sexual arousal. Drinking often occurred in shebeens, places where people had "parties and wine" (respondent D), and for sexual encounters, "I was not in the mood for sex unless I was under the influence of alcohol and went to shebeens" (respondent D). This suggests the use of alcohol to increase flirtatiousness, sexual appeal and courage, as well as lowering inhibitions about sexual desire to other people, likewise reported by Morojele, Kachieng'a, Mokoko, Nkoko, Parry, Nkowane, Moshia and Saxena (2006:222).[103] "If I used alcohol, then I always get the feeling to have sex" (respondent E). Morojele et al (2006:222) note that alcohol consumption is believed to increase levels of sexual desire particularly when casual sexual partners or sex workers are involved, also noted in the current study. "If I'm sober, I won't go to a prostitute. If I'm drunk, I don't have the patience" (respondent G), reflecting the ensuing risky sexual practices, with drinking and risky sex becoming a vicious cycle likewise documented by Morojele et al (2006:224).

Respondents also asked their friends about the use of alcohol. "I asked my friends how it felt to be high on alcohol, and they would say that all the things that trouble them, alcohol is 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" (respondent H), suggesting that alcohol temporarily boosted self-esteem and feelings of social inadequacy. Morojele et al (2006:221) note that for the unemployed, feelings of hopelessness and emasculation are temporarily absent during heavy drinking and "drunken sex" encounters. "I liked drinking. I spent a lot of time in shebeens. When I had money, I spent it on alcohol forgetting that I'm suffering. Because I wanted to live free, laughing with people, then I decided to buy beers" (respondent I). This demonstrates that alcohol numbed feelings of

[103] These findings are from the South African component of a World Health Organization multi-site rapid assessment and response project trying to develop a methodology to study factors associated with alcohol use and related sexual risk behaviour in diverse cultural settings. Included in the study were two groups of eight participants aged between 25 and 44 years from a township and a city in Gauteng.

helplessness. Wanting to "live free" suggests that the respondent's experience of the world was neither "free" (possibly meaning "living without worry"), nor filled with laughter, without the use of alcohol.

Heavy drinking is most characteristic of unemployed people (Morojele et al, 2006:220), similarly noted in the current study. Furthermore, drinking appeared to be an important social activity for respondents to pass the time, "Shebeens were places were people had parties and wine" (respondent D), and foster a sense of identity and camaraderie amongst similar aged males, also noted by Morojele et al (2006:221). "We were partying and we all clubbed together and bought alcohol" (respondent C).

Use of drugs

Four respondents (B, E, I and J) reported that their use of marijuana, or dagga, often accompanied their use of alcohol. Respondents' comments suggest dependency. "I cannot be still in one place and I look for more alcohol … and dagga. I used dagga but not often" (respondent E). "I was alone … so I started taking dagga" (respondent I). "I was busy drinking alcohol and smoking dagga" (respondent J). Respondent D, a member of a gang, reported that he started smoking Mandrax, aged 15, through a broken bottle, with members of the gang. "It left me feeling drunk in my head". He continued to use Mandrax whilst working as a labourer for a building company. His use of Mandrax was often accompanied with alcohol.

The researcher explored the respondents' religious beliefs.

B. (10) Coping through religious beliefs

The respondents' reported religious beliefs were on a continuum from not believing in God to being "reborn". These differing beliefs follow the same categories developed in a study conducted by Eshuys and Smallbone (2006:288) into self-reported religious affiliation and official offence histories amongst 111 Australian incarcerated adult male sexual offenders. The four categories developed by Eshuys and Smallbone (2006:288) are: "atheists" (low levels of religious affiliation as both child and adult);

"dropouts" (high levels of religious affiliation during childhood but not during adulthood); "converts" (low levels of religious affiliation during childhood but high in adulthood), and "stayers" (maintained religious involvement from childhood to adulthood).

"Atheists"

In the current study, one respondent (D) reported that he believed, as a child, what his parents taught him about God. He went to church "a couple of times" and "sometimes". As an adult, he did not believe in God.

"Dropouts"

For one respondent, religion was no longer part of his life as an adult. As a child, this respondent attended church but as an adult, "fell along the way" (respondent I).

"Stayers"

For four respondents (A, B, C and F) religion has always been a part of their lives, either through their own beliefs or by extension of their families' beliefs and practices. Two respondents (A and F) were members of the Zionist Christian Church (ZCC)[104] "since … young" and regularly attended ZCC services with their families. Respondent B described himself as a Christian and a religious man. His interest in the church was the result of his family's involvement with the church. His stepfather was a pastor. Respondent B went to church as "a little boy" until he went to prison. Respondent C said that he believed that God is Almighty and his beliefs remained very important. His mother is a member of the Congregational church and she has always been a church sister.[105] This respondent said that church was important.

---

[104] 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.

[105] The DCS social worker who acted as the translator during the interviews explained that a church sister is a member of a sister organization within the church that reaches out to those in need of spiritual or practical assistance.

"Converts"

Four respondents (E, G, H and J) are categorised by the researcher as "converts" before and during their incarceration. Respondent J's father and stepfather were pastors at an African Evangelical church. This respondent accompanied his mother to church but had not "accepted Jesus". The respondent said he was "reborn" at an African Evangelical church, whilst out on bail for the rape of a toddler. Since their incarceration, three respondents (E, H and G), reported that they have converted to the Christian, Anglican and Muslim faiths, respectively. According to Eshuys and Smallbone (2006:285), such religious conversions could be seen as acts of repentance. This is reflected in the current study by all four "converts". Respondent J, "reborn" shortly before he went to prison, said that, "Everyday now [in prison], I just talk to Him, God. … I feel bad but because I am repenting, I'm repenting, I'm repenting. I don't want to feel bad". "My time in prison is spent in the service of God" (respondent E). "When I [went] to prison, I became Anglican … I also have the Bible and read it sometimes so that people could know I am a Christian" (respondent H).

That all categories of religiosity in the current study have sexually offended against very young children differs from the findings of Eshuys and Smallbone (2006:279). Their study found that "stayers" (those who maintained their religious involvement from childhood to adulthood) had more sexual offence convictions, more victims and greater numbers of younger victims when compared to the "atheists", "dropouts" and "converts". In the current study, only two respondents E (a "convert") and F (a "stayer") had previous convictions for sexual offences (discussed on page 221). Common to all the respondents in the current study, irrespective of their religious affiliations, was their rape of particularly young children.

Seven of the respondents could be broadly classified as "Christian". This finding reflects the religious beliefs of the population of South Africa:

according to South African Government Information (2010:1), almost 80% of the country's population follow the Christian faith.

B. (11) Adult sexual practices

Townsend and Dawes (2004:67) report that the "natural virility" of men is a common assumption in many cultures. In the current study, "natural virility" was reflected in the respondents' reports of their multiple girlfriends and one-night stands. Some respondents also reported their use of prostitutes and pornography.

Use of pornography

Five respondents (E, G, H, I and J) disclosed their use of pornographic material. These respondents reported that their use of pornographic magazines and videos was "a lot" (respondents H and I) or "too much" (respondent J), and were possibly "socially correct" responses to the researcher. However, respondent J said, spontaneously, that he enjoyed "cassettes of the ladies". Respondent G said he looked at pornographic magazines, but "not to pay attention to it. Just to look. But I didn't use to put it inside my head. … I would go to my girlfriend. … Sometimes I put that picture inside my head. … So we gonna carry on and make love. After that, if I'm finished, I will forget about that picture" (respondent G), clearly a contradictory explanation. Respondent H reported that he and a friend, who had a video player at home, hired gay, lesbian and heterosexual pornographic videos and then, "I would go out and look for my girlfriend". Respondent I said he used pornographic magazines, obtained from taxi drivers, "for the styles I needed". Respondent E reported that, "I enjoyed watching child pornography". [106]

Use of prostitutes

Two respondents (D and G) disclosed that when they were drunk, they used prostitutes. "When I'm drunk it's better then the woman always says

[106] September (2004:327) notes that post-apartheid legislation concerning adult pornography is in marked contrast to the censorship laws of the past. However, current legislation prohibits the possession or distribution of material containing child pornography, bestiality or excessive violence.

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" (respondent D). "If I'm sober I won't go to a prostitute. … 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" (respondent G). These comments appear to justify the respondent's sexual actions, shift the responsibility for his acts to the other, and assume that a woman is in a state of constant sexual readiness. These respondents' judged the prostitutes' behaviours in their statements, "It is not good for women to sleep with a lot of men" (respondent D), and "She is not supposed to do this thing" (respondent G). However, the same judgements did not apply when respondents spoke about their numerous one-night stands and multiple girlfriends.

Multiple girlfriends

Respondents, with the exception of respondent A, reported having multiple girlfriends in concurrent relationships in addition to many one-night stands. Respondents explained these sexual behaviours thus: "If I have a girlfriend my aim is not about sex. But I associate that sex is part of our lives. We are supposed to do sex. … But I'm not that type who always wants to have sex all the time" (respondent B), suggesting that many of his acquaintances did have sex all the time. "I liked to have a steady girlfriend and then *fluffies*[107] 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" (respondent C). "… I just think about sex not you love that girl. … I would try … to get a place … to have sex with her" (respondent G).

Magwaza (1997:161) highlights that voluntary consensual sexual relationships are complex in patriarchal African culture, due to restricted sexual knowledge and power imbalances inherent in the culture. Wood et al (1998:236) report from their study of 24 Xhosa-speaking women that their male partners said sex was the purpose of being in love, and people who are in love must have sex as often as possible. This was also noted in the current study, "… If you meet a girl, and you know or think that you

[107] Inconsequential girlfriends, one-night stands.

love them, you have to …sleep with them" (respondent H), "We supposed to do sex" (respondent B), and "I not only want sex" (respondent G).

All the respondents (except respondent A, who disclosed very little information about his relationship with his reported only girlfriend) had simultaneous sexual relationships that displayed emotional immaturity and attachment difficulties. "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. Because I will ask her – 'do you still love me?' When she's supposed to answer me, she pause *(sic)*. 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" (respondent G). "She wanted to see if I would stay or go" (respondent J), and "My girlfriend was not at home when I visited. She was somewhere with somebody. I would tell her, 'I don't love you any more'" (respondent I). These comments suggest insecure attachment patterns, with any information that might lead to painful feelings of perceived or expected rejection, excluded (Howe, 2005:33-4).

All the respondents appeared to view women and sex as commodities. "I go to my girlfriend twice a week [for sex]" (respondent A). "Sometimes I would have a girl, break up with her. After a few days or after some time I'd have another one" (respondent H). "You make sex, you enjoy yourselves" (respondent J), suggestive of the use of sex to have some fun and possibly to boost self-esteem. "Tomorrow, the lady goes home from my room. The next day … you get another lady" (respondent J). "And then after sex, I will leave her" (respondent G). Wood et al (1998:238) note in their study with 24 Xhosa-speaking women that their partners projected themselves as entitled to several partners should one girlfriend not be available. This was similarly noted in the current research.

Sexual identification

This was seen in respondents' ideal notions of relationships and the concomitant status of manhood associated with multiple girlfriends. Respondents' idealized notions of relationships with girlfriends were in marked contrast to their sexual behaviours. "A girlfriend is like a gift from heaven. A girlfriend is just supposed to be part of your life and then we need to be straight with each other and then we need to respect each other" (respondent B). "When two people have sex, they normally share their feelings together and their hearts together" (respondent E). "I wanted somebody, a shoulder to cry on, somebody who can't leave you, whether it's rain or a storm, she can't leave you" (respondent I).

At least one respondent (F), the only married respondent in the study, reported that he "copied" his father's sexual behaviours. "I loved women. I was having lots of girlfriends. … I was enjoying it because they called me a playboy, because I was having many girlfriends. And my father did the same. He was having many girlfriends, at once" (respondent F). This could mean that "loving women" justified extra-marital affairs, and that the respondent associated his "playboy" status and multiple girlfriends as signs of his sexual prowess and manhood.

Girlfriends and sex defined respondents' manhood. "We supposed to do sex" (respondent B). "I would be regarded in another fashion if I didn't have a girlfriend. It was important for me to have sex so I would be taken as a real man by others and sex defined my manhood" (respondent H). "I had too many girlfriends. My friends laughed at me if I failed to get a girlfriend" (respondent I).

Some respondents reported that they hit their sexual partners, a similar coping strategy seen in childhood by inflicting pain on others, or the inter-generational "cycling of violence" (Jewkes, Levin and Penn-Kekana, 2002:1611).

Use of violence in sexual relationships

Wood and Jewkes (1997:44) report that whilst male violence against women is a problem throughout the world, South Africa is considered to have one of the highest rates of such violence for a country that is not at war. This "background of violence" is part of everyday life (Wood and Jewkes, 1997:42). Jewkes et al (2002:1603) report that domestic violence is "most strongly related" to the status of women in society, the use of violence during conflict as 'normal', or as a demonstration of power.[108] In South Africa such violence is experienced by many women who are involved in marital, co-habiting, and dating relationships (Jewkes et al, 2002:1611), a situation common for the women who were involved in such relationships with the respondents in the current study.

Some respondents (F, H, I and J) reported their use of violence to "correct" partners' behaviour and infidelity. Respondent F, the only married respondent in the current study, said that he hit his wife. "I corrected my girlfriends … by beating them, disciplining them" (respondent H), suggesting that masculinity must be respected. "I would beat my girlfriend … if she had another boyfriend. Then we've solved the problem" (respondent I), or using violence to solve problems similarly noted by Jewkes et al (2002:1605). Respondents sometimes made no attempt to hit their girlfriends on parts of their bodies covered with clothing, thus leaving visible markers of their manhood and power. "I would hit the girlfriend on her face. Sometimes I would punch her face for three minutes. That means she must see that I am beating her strategically. Then she feels hurt and cries" (respondent I). This respondent said beatings showed a girlfriend that he loved her but she did not want to understand that he loved her. When the researcher said she was confused by this, the respondent said, "To beat somebody, you show her love". This comment suggests love made beating an acceptable behaviour. It is possible that respondents' beatings from their parents were similarly perceived as expressions of love, noted in "As an adult, now I can see that to beat me is to show love"

[108] This cross-sectional study on violence against women was conducted during 1998 in three provinces of South Africa and included interviews with 1 306 women.

(respondent I). Wood et al (1998:223) report from their qualitative study conducted with 24 Xhosa-speaking adolescent women that violent and coercive practices dominate sexual relationships. Being beaten was so common an experience that for some, it was perceived as an expression of love (Wood et al, 1998:223).

Another respondent (J) would sit on the chests of two of his girlfriends whilst he beat their faces using his belt. The buckle of the belt struck their faces. The respondent did this after he had asked the women for sex and "they did funny things". One "funny thing" was a girlfriend "denying" the respondent sex as she was menstruating, which suggests that respondents are not taught at home or school to respect women's rights to withhold their consent to sex (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002:1240), and that masculinity must be obeyed. The respondent said he was "a big man", meaning he had a large sexual appetite. Respondent J laughed as he recalled, "I'm gonna hit her! I'm gonna hit her! I'm beating her!" Such comments reflect no understanding of his abusive and painful acts towards his girlfriend, and are possible childhood re-enactments of his own abusive, humiliating and painful acts. In this regard, Abrahams, Jewkes and Laubsher (1999:16) note that there is an association between boy children who witness their mothers' abuse during childhood and their own adult abusive behaviours towards their intimate partners. One respondent in the present research made reference to this association. "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".

Respondents shifted responsibility for some of their actions during adulthood, a similar pattern noted during their childhood.

Shifting of responsibility by respondents

Shifting of responsibility was seen on a continuum from respondents denying responsibility for their sexual behaviours, to shifting responsibility for the results of their actions to others. Some respondents blamed their problems on their girlfriends or women generally. "The thing that she

wants is only sex" (respondent G) - a contradictory statement to his multiple sexual partners. "My girlfriend is the one who drive me to get other girlfriends" (respondent G). Hence, "other girlfriends" were not the fault of the respondent. "She loved the taxi drivers so I got drop"[109] (respondent I), and "You couldn't really tell which one of the three or two (girlfriends) infected you" (respondent H), also indicating risky sexual behaviours (Morojele et al, 2006:224). "Nowadays girls push us into trouble" (respondent I) suggesting that girls previously did not push men into trouble, and therefore blaming girls for current trouble. It is also possible that the respondent is referring, indirectly, to the Constitution[110] of the country which legislates equal rights between the sexes, and his resentment of such legislation which conflicts with patriarchal belief systems. "Even now, to be here [in prison] I can say it's [my older brother's girlfriend] who make me to be here" (respondent I).

Some respondents also shifted responsibility for their problems to others. "I think my uncle contributed to my problems as I've got so many problems now" (respondent B), and "It's not my fault I am in prison" (respondent A). Respondents also denied responsibility for their actions. "The devil was so strong" (respondent J), suggesting that the devil and hence the other, is stronger than the respondent and is therefore responsible for his actions. These comments would suggest that the respondents see themselves as victims of life with an external locus of control, similarly found by Olivier, Roos and Bergh (1998:273-4). These researchers conducted a qualitative study, during May 1995, with 85 South African convicted incarcerated offenders, including 19 rapists. The personality profiles of the 19 rapists included that they were inclined towards having an external locus of control, and avoided their responsibilities by taking on an attitude of being a victim of life.

The context of maltreatment and respondents' coping strategies as children and adults are summarised in the table overleaf:

[109] "Drop" is a euphemism for penile discharge associated with a sexually transmitted illness.
[110] The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act (no. 108 of 1996).

SUMMARY OF MALTREATMENT AND COPING

CONTEXT OF MALTREATMENT	**COPING METHODS USED**
Poverty and deprivation	
Overcrowding, noise and lack of privacy ***Physical grind of daily survival*** ***Hunger***	***AS CHILDREN*** ***Working outside the family home to meet needs for food, school fees and clothing***
Parental absences	
Physical and emotional parental absences ***Family violence and alcohol use***	***AS CHILDREN*** ***Parental shifting of responsibilities*** ***Using alcohol and drugs*** ***AS ADULTS*** ***Dependency on alcohol and drugs*** ***Shifting of responsibility for sexual behaviours to others*** ***Use of violence in sexual relationships***
Frequent and severe corporal punishment	
Beatings from parents and care givers ***Beatings from teachers***	***AS CHILDREN*** ***Suppression of feelings*** ***Inflicting pain on others*** ***Shifting of responsibility to "the other"***
Absence of positive role models	
Proximal and distal role models associated with violence ***Some of these role models also associated with alcohol abuse***	***AS CHILDREN*** ***"I'm a helper"*** ***Witness, and experience of the use of violence at home, school and in community***
Development of sexuality	
Discussion of childhood sexuality "taboo" with parents/care givers ***Witness of adult sexual activity*** ***Use of masturbation to ameliorate stress*** ***Early onset penetrative intercourse***	***AS ADULTS*** ***Use of pornography and prostitutes*** ***Multiple girlfriends and "one-night" stands*** ***Idealized notions of intimate relationships***
Deprivation of school education	
AS CHILDREN ***Discriminatory education policies*** ***Inadequate/insufficient schools and teachers*** ***Poverty*** ***Payment of compulsory school fees*** ***Political turmoil***	***AS ADULTS*** ***Cycle of poverty continues*** ***Search for unskilled employment*** ***Inability to meet most basic physical needs*** ***Use of alcohol/dependency on alcohol***

Table 12: Context of maltreatment and coping

C. OUTCOME OF COPING: DIMINISHED CAPACITY FOR RESILIENCE

This category is concerned with the outcome of coping strategies (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:106) in the face of adversity. Social adversity results in some children being at greater risk of experiencing personal distress, interpersonal conflict, and the development of problem behaviours (Howe, Brandon, Hinings and Schofield, 1999:11). Respondents did not have the capacity to deal with the challenges and setbacks of their childhood lives. Hence, their capacity for resilience diminished (Moen and Erikson, 2001:170). Similar outcomes were replicated in the respondents' adulthood. These outcomes for the respondents as children and adults were categorized by the researcher as: (1) "The situation of the poorest"; (2) Attachment difficulties; (3) Aggressive behaviour becomes normal; (4) Conflict with the law; (5) Violence as normal; (6) Alcohol-related problems; (7) Unplanned children, and (8) Child care responsibilities.

C. (1) "The situation of the poorest"

The category "The situation of the poorest" was a phrase used by respondent I. The researcher has used it to describe the eroding effects of poverty or the personal distress associated with social adversity (Howe et al, 1999:11). However, it is the factors associated with poverty, such as malnutrition, overcrowding and stress, rather than material deprivation itself, that are the risk factors for vulnerability to adversity (Howe et al, 1999:231-2).

Initially, respondents appeared positive and hopeful about their lives.

Optimism

The respondents were initially optimistic about their lives as children. "I was really clever" (respondent A). "I was a good scholar" (respondent B). These comments suggest that the respondents believed they could have done well at school and felt part of school. Some respondents described their non-academic talents that got them "noticed" at school. "I was a friendly boy" (respondent A). "I got talent in Zulu dancing. I went on a school trip. I enjoyed that trip. I felt like a star. They want me! Heh, I'm important" (respondent G), indicating a sense of belonging and being

needed. As adults, the respondents spoke about their future possibilities. "My girlfriend and I would talk about the future" (respondent C), suggestive of hopes and dreams. "I always believed or dreamt that I would study until I got qualified then have my own employees, not be employed like somebody else" (respondent H), an aspiration that implies tertiary education is the key to self-employment. "You would get married, have kids and settle down" (respondent H), suggestive of a "normal" trajectory of life. "The time is now to stand up for myself and find a job" (respondent G), implies assertiveness and taking personal control, and responsibility. These statements all suggest social and personal coping resources (Moen and Erikson, 2001:170).

Adversity erodes optimism

However, the desperate socio-economic conditions[111] experienced by respondents were exacerbated by factors such as abandonment, parental death and unemployment, leaving respondents and their families extremely vulnerable to adversity. "After my father's death, it was difficult in our house. … He was not there to provide for the family" (respondent E). "My father just left when I was seven. … It's where we started to suffer" (respondent G). "When I want the school fees, I've got to pay them" (respondent A). These comments reflect social adversity. Social adversity results in some children at greater risk of experiencing personal distress (Howe et al, 1999:11). Similarly, the respondents' resilience to manage life's challenges (Moen and Erikson, 2001:10) was diminished in the face of adversity, with few personal and social coping resources, expressed in, "It was like I don't have any family" (respondent I), "All the people who spoke about me made me very cross" (respondent D), and "I had no one to talk to" (respondent E). According to Howe et al (1999:231) parental neglect decreases a child's experience of "good-quality social interaction", thus increasing the risk for vulnerability to adversity. "Life there was tough when I was staying at home. [I left to work on a farm]. That job is

[111] Olivier et al (1998:269) identified a poor socio-economic background as a factor that could be associated with extremely violent and aggressive behaviour. The qualitative study included 19 South African rapists.

tough for me. If you want to eat, you don't sit down. … The manager wanted to beat me and told me to fuck off" (respondent J), thus profoundly minimising the respondent's experience of "good-quality social interaction" (Howe et al, 1999:231), and parental neglect, noted in "When my mother used to bring a boyfriend, I can't sleep at home" (respondent I).

Deprivation of school education left respondents without sufficient skills to find gainful employment, and more vulnerable to adversity and increased stress (Howe et al, 1999:231), highlighted in, "There were no [building] sites where we could work" (respondent E), and "I'm poor but I must do something to get the success" (respondent I). However, some respondents rejected employment possibilities. "They wanted me to go further but I wasn't interested" (respondent C). "I just decided to leave the work" (respondent B). According to Freire (1996:29) the oppressed, having internalized the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of freedom. Freedom would require them to abandon such an image and replace it with "autonomy and responsibility". Some respondents, for varying reasons, shifted their responsibilities - including meeting their own needs - to the other, noted in "I just leave the work" (respondent B) and "I would get money from my parents but it was never enough" (respondent H). The abandonment noted by Freire (1996:29) is suggestive of the despair and acceptance of the victim image, an element of social disintegration (Ramphele, 1992a:11).

The victim image, in the current study, was also associated with powerlessness.

Powerlessness

Howe et al (1999:11) note that interpersonal conflict is an outcome of social adversity. In the context of the current study, one experience of interpersonal conflict for the respondents, as children, was powerlessness. "My family, they would tease me very early in my life" (respondent D). "I wanted to complete school but … my mother took me out of school" (respondent E). "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" (respondent H). "They beat me in the street. It was hard! I don't have that power. When I go back home, they beat me" (respondent I). This suggests that respondents experienced powerlessness in the home and in the streets of their communities, and that home was neither refuge nor safe and merely reinforced the powerlessness experienced elsewhere. "Bigger boys always hit me. … I wanted to cry when I was hit. It wasn't nice to be hit" (respondent D). Powerlessness left respondents "feeling sad and unhappy with the way they discriminated against me" (respondent D), further suggestive of the victim image. "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" (respondent H). These comments also convey powerlessness and helplessness, similarly noted in respondents' feelings when they were beaten by their parents. "I normally felt unhappy when I got beaten by my mother" (respondent D), "The cane was my mother's weapon" respondent E), and "It wasn't a nice thing to be beaten" (respondent H). Straus and Kantor (1994:558) note that "for some children, being hit by those they love and on whom they depend for their very existence, may be a traumatic event with consequences similar to other traumatizing events; … and, that corporal punishment tends to create a feeling of helplessness and powerlessness". This was similarly noted in the present research.

Respondents, as adults, also experienced powerlessness, the result of unemployment. "For a man, it's not easy to just sit and not have a job" (respondent H). "Just sit" implies boredom. "Not have a job" reflects the importance of work, with work crucial "for a man" and his sense of masculinity.

C. (2) Attachment difficulties

Marshall, Marshall, Serran and Fernandez (2006:15) note that the early childhood experiences of males who become sexual offenders include poor child-parent attachments. Furthermore, Olivier et al (1998:270-4) report on

the personality profiles of 19 South African rapists, including that these offenders came from homes where they were emotionally deprived, similarly noted in the current study as: "You need that love from your parents" (respondent J); homes characterized by poor parent-child relationships, "My brothers would brag about how our father had spoilt them and bought them things [whilst I stayed at home]. I normally felt like the black sheep because the others got all the attention" (respondent D); a lack of support from the mother figure, "My mother told me I had to leave school. She gave no reasons for her decision" (respondent C); revolt against male authority, "My older brother didn't trust me or listen to me" (respondent G); a tendency to suppress emotional needs as a result of rejection in early childhood and a fear of being hurt again, "I can't cry when people hurt me. … I cry on my own. … I was very hurt by my girlfriend. She is the one who drive me to get other girlfriends" *(sic)* (respondent I).

In their study conducted with 137 North American incarcerated rapists, Simons, Wurtele and Durham (2008:558) concluded that 76% of the sample reported avoidant parental attachments. Similarly, McCormack, Hudson and Ward (2002:91) concluded that over 75% of 55 men who had sexually offended against children, and 30 men who had sexually offended against adult women, all incarcerated in New Zealand, reported insecure attachment styles as adults. Respondents in the current research similarly reported adult attachment difficulties. Their adult sexual relationships reflected little intimacy, and they possibly found intimacy very threatening, expressed as, "The main intention behind me having girlfriends was that as you were growing up, you reach a stage that you have to have somebody that you are close with. … I wasn't really looking for a woman that I could marry" (respondent H), and "A girlfriend is supposed to be part of your life … don't tell lies to each other. … I am so secretive that I always try not to show other people my feelings" (respondent B). Marshall (1989:491) writes that failing to achieve intimacy can result in emotional loneliness and a tendency to seek sex with various partners to try and find intimacy through sexual, or less threatening, means. In the present study,

respondents' seeking intimacy is reflected in, "I was with plenty girlfriends" (respondent B), "I was having lots of girlfriends" (respondent F), "I just think about sex, not you love that girl" (respondent G), "I liked … *fluffies* (one-night stands) on the side" (respondent C), "I used sex workers. When I'm drunk it's better then the woman always says yes. … A woman is there for sex" (respondent D). These comments suggest that as a woman was "there" for sexual needs only, the emotional and more intimate aspects of relationships were avoided. These comments also reflect Marshall et al (2006:15), who note that as sex rewards both immediately and powerfully, a young male is likely to seek sex with whomever and by whatever means are available, likewise reflected in the current research as, "I liked sex and had sex seven days a week" (respondent I), and "Hey, the prostitutes [I used] they are a lot! … I didn't have sex twice with the same prostitute" (respondent G).

As noted, some respondents (F, H, I and J) discussed their use of violent and coercive practices in their sexual relationships, likewise reported by Wood et al (1998:233). The comments, "This lady don't want to make sex with me. And I'm hungry for sex. … I'm gonna hit her" (respondent J), "I don't argue with a woman" (respondent D), and "There have been instances or cases where I've beaten other girlfriends" (respondent H) reflect "extreme aggression towards adult female sexuality" and adult attachment difficulties, also noted by Olivier et al (1998:274) in their study with South African incarcerated rapists.

C. (3) Aggressive behaviour becomes normal

Howe et al (1999:231) note that maltreated children appear to be more aroused by aggression, and view aggression as a solution to interpersonal problems. Similarly, respondents in the present research spoke of aggressive behaviour as normal, a situation reflected in South Africa's culture of violence, seen at the level of the home, school and street as a "product" of the environment (Smit and Cilliers, 1998:204). "My mother beat me till I cried. … Now … I know that beatings made me to be wiser some where" (respondent I). Aggressive behaviour was condoned by the

respondents' families, even when used by respondents to stand up for themselves. "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" (respondent H). Aggressive behaviour was also responded to with further aggression. "I would be beaten by people in the township … when I go back home, they beat me" (respondent I). If a respondent went home and told his mother that a teacher had beaten him, according to the respondent, she would agree with the teacher's actions therefore condoning aggression. "All the parents they gonna agree – why do you do wrong things in school?" (respondent G). Aggressive behaviour was therefore the experience of the respondents in the home, school and community.

Inadequate parental supervision and an inability to meet certain needs resulted in the development of "problem behaviours" (Howe et al, 1999:11). Some respondents were in conflict with the law prior to their charges for the rape of very young of children.

C. (4) Conflict with the law

Pritchard and Butler (2000, cited in Pritchard, 2004:56) write it is established that adolescents who are excluded from school are amongst the most socially outcast with few preventive services available unless they commit a serious crime, the same situation for the respondents in the current study. As noted, two respondents did not attend school and three left aged about 13 or 14. All the respondents who went to school had erratic attendance.

Six of the ten respondents, as children and adults, were charged and convicted for various crimes, noted in the table overleaf:

Respondent	Age	Criminal charge	State-ordered punishment
D	15	Theft	Court-ordered lashes
J	15	Theft	Court-ordered lashes and one year in Industrial school
	20	Theft	"One or two months" in prison
	21	Possession of a firearm	None - charges dropped
G	18	Murder	Four months in prison then charges dropped
E	19	Indecent assault of minor	Six months in prison
	28	Housebreaking	Three years in prison
F	18	Rape of a minor	One year in prison
	? *	Stabbing	One month in prison
	30s*	Rape of a woman	One year in prison
H	24	Assault and stock theft	None - charges dropped

* This respondent is innumerate.

Table 13: Respondents' criminal charges

Ramphele (1997:1189) notes it is no surprise that violence is a part of the lives of children given the context of a brutal and brutalizing system, the same context and system in which the respondents in the current study were also children. Some South African children, aged between 7 and 17, are convicted daily for the following crimes: 54 for theft; five for theft involving force or the threat of force; 29 for breaking and entering domestic or business premises; one for murder or attempted murder; three for rape or attempted rape; and three for assault. The vast majority of these children are adolescent males and African, and the victims of their crimes, most commonly other Africans (CSS, 1995, cited in Ramphele, 1997:1189). Van Deventer and Jordaan (1998:767) report that criminality is "a recurring hazard" associated with poverty.

Pertinent is the "shift" noted in one respondent's' perceptions of the police. Initially he experienced respect for them, based on fear and the action of running away, the same coping strategy used to respond to violence in the home. "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 respect, we respect cops, serious" (respondent G). The respondent's term

"that time" refers to the political turmoil of the 1980s when the police were linked to suppressing black resistance to apartheid (Cock, 1990:51), and youth were exposed to brutal retaliation (Straker, 1992:1). In this regard, Butchart, Terre Blanche, Hamber and Seedat (2000:31, 37) refer to "militarised governance based on violently enforced social partitioning" of apartheid, the culmination of which were the "dark years" of the 1980s. At the same time, it is also possible that the respondents lost respect for their parents who could offer no protection against poverty (Ramphele, 1992a:17), expressed in, "I got angry with my mother as she couldn't give me all the things I wanted" (respondent G), and "That's the problem at home. Sometimes you need something. … It cost. Sometimes you [thought] 'why does somebody else get something' and I get nothing" (respondent J). Families were unable to act as adequate support structures for children (Dawes and Donald, 1994:5), experienced as, "… Sometimes it would happen my mother wouldn't be home by nine pm [from work]. My father would send us out, throw us out of the house and my mother isn't even home" (respondent H), and "There were times that we went to sleep with no food but it was not the only reason" (respondent E).

C. (5) Violence as normal

Respondents' exposure to, and their own use of, violence increased during their childhood and adulthood. However, they apparently did not perceive themselves as people who used violence. "I'm a nice person. I don't like to fight or make useless arguments. I don't like that" (respondent B). "I was a friendly boy" (respondent A). Respondents spoke of their pain when they saw violence. "Always I see people killing people. … I have seen that and it hurt me a lot" (respondent I). The use of the word "always" suggests that for the respondents, their worlds were constantly associated with violence. "Hurt me a lot" implies that the respondent was affected, deeply, by his witnessing of violence.

However, respondents used violence themselves. In this regard, Howe et al (1999:231) insist that children who suffer physical abuse have an increased risk of developing aggressive behaviour.

During their childhood, the respondents were exposed to violence with the use of violence and aggression as a solution to "solve" problems (Howe et al, 1999:231). "My father was so abusive … abusing my mother. He even tried to shoot my mother" (respondent G), suggestive of extreme objectification of the father towards the mother, and terror and confusion for the children witnessing such an act. According to Freire (1996:37), "violence is initiated by those who oppress, who exploit, who fail to recognize others as persons – not by those who are oppressed, exploited and unrecognized". Similarly, the respondents' failed to recognize others as persons, with their own use of violence as a way to "solve" problems. "We liked to fight each other, to get into arguments, to get into a fight" (respondent C). "When I had a problem with a neighbour or something like that, I just went to the person and fight with him. … I decided to stab a co-worker" (respondent F). "To beat somebody, you show her love" (respondent I).

Violence as a construction of manhood

The use of violence as an aspect of manhood was seen most particularly in violent acts against women, acts respondents described as their "power" over women. "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), suggesting that the use of violence and the concomitant fear in the victim enabled respondents to "take" whomever they desired, without recognizing the rights of women to say no. "Getting a girl" also positions a woman as a commodity. "Women don't have the power 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" (respondent I). These comments suggest that sex and violence for the respondents in the current study are linked to power and manhood, with women powerless and passive.

One respondent recalled from prison that such actions were inappropriate. He said that he copied his father's violent behaviours. "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" (respondent H). Van Deventer and Jordaan (1998:765) refer to the identification with the instigator of violence and modelling behaviour accordingly. However, modelling ensured the safety of respondents and gave them a sense of control (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:765-6). "We assaulted people very often. … I would always feel happy" (respondent D), and "We liked to fight" (respondent C), conveys the arousal to aggression noted by Howe et al (1999:231).

Relationships were also associated with money. Money was not only used for meeting basic needs but also linked to sex and happiness. "You deny me sex … I take the money. …If there was no money in the house, [my girlfriend] wasn't happy. … If there is no money, no love, nothing" (respondent G), implying that women and sex are commodities by linking them to money. Wood et al (1998:233) report that the conditions and timing of sex are often defined by male partners using violence, and that the women are expected to submit. "Denying" sex in highly unequal relationships provoked anger, noted in the use of violence in respondents' sexual relationships in the present study. "I come to you and ask you for sex and then you do funny things. Next time [agree] or I will hit you again" (respondent J).

Respondents' continued use of alcohol resulted in "problems", similarly experienced by many South Africans. Parry (2005:426-7) notes that about one in four adult males, and one in ten adult females, have symptoms related to problems with alcohol.

C. (6) Alcohol-related problems

Respondent A initially denied his use of alcohol. Respondent B reported that, "I can drink as much as I can but as long as I want to drink I can stop anytime". The remaining respondents' disclosures about their use of alcohol clearly indicated associated problems, such as medical cautions,

job losses, and dependency on alcohol.[112] However, treatment facilities are not widely accessible to the poor (Parry, 2005:426-7).

Two respondents (F and C) reported receiving medical cautions about their use of alcohol. "The *inyanga* (traditional healer) told me not to drink alcohol because I used it a lot" (respondent F). "The doctor told me no alcohol with the epilepsy medication. But I didn't listen" (respondent C).

Two respondents (C and G) reported that they lost their jobs as a result of their use of alcohol. "I got drunk. They take all my money [I borrowed from my employer]. I didn't go home [at Easter]. I'm supposed to pay [my employer] back. I didn't go back to work" (respondent G). "I lost my job at the garage because they could see I was under the influence of drink" (respondent C). Respondents' use of alcohol also got them into debt. "I used to get credit for liquor … if I don't have money" (respondent I).

Eight respondents (C, D, E, F, G, H, I and J) spoke about their dependency on alcohol. Four of these respondents (D, E, G and J) disclosed their use of marijuana as well. "Sometimes I just wanted to be left alone with my drink" (respondent C). "I was not in the mood for sex unless I was under the influence of alcohol" (respondent D, who used Mandrax and marijuana at work). "Alcohol made me want to have more … I cannot be still in one place and I look for more alcohol … and dagga" (respondent E). "I started drinking when I was ten years old and I haven't stopped" (respondent F). "I became addicted. … I was not living without alcohol. … I was a drunk" (respondent G). "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 I did when I had taken alcohol" (respondent H). "I liked liquor" (respondent I). "I liked alcohol and dagga" (respondent J).

Respondents' sexual practices also had unplanned outcomes.

[112] Betancourt and Herrera (2006:17) report that sexually or physically abused school-going children (N = 1 242) in Mthatha, South Africa were "at a higher risk" of developing a substance-related problem.

C. (7) Unplanned children

Respondents' sexual behaviours resulted in sexually transmitted illnesses and often unplanned children, a possible outcome of the "taboo" about discussions concerning sexual practices with parents (Magwaza, 1997:161). Jewkes and Abrahams (2002:1238) note that economically vulnerable women experience sexual exploitation and coercion, classically noted in the practice of "sugar daddies" or older men with much younger girlfriends. However, relationships rooted in such vulnerability are high risk for sexually transmitted illnesses, pregnancy, and later abandonment (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002:1238), similarly reflected in the current study.

Sexually transmitted illnesses

Two respondents (H and I) reported being treated for "drop" (a euphemism for penile discharge associated with sexually transmitted illnesses), and shifted the responsibility for their illnesses to their girlfriends. "You can't really tell which one of the three or two infected you with this" (respondent H). "I got drop from my first girlfriend who loved the taxi drivers" (respondent I).

Children

Magwaza (1997:163) notes that fertility is a cherished cultural value but an inappropriate practice if applied without consideration of developmental sensitivity and consideration of power relations, and enforces a pseudo-consensual relationship on the part of the female. All of the respondents (except respondent H) have children born out of wedlock. Only one respondent (respondent F) is married and has children in and out of wedlock.

Respondents' involvement with their children varied from never having met their children, to daily contact, a similar continuum of "parental absences" noted in respondents' descriptions of their childhood relationships with their parents. Ramphele (1992a:11) notes that single-parenthood is an element of social disintegration. The ages of the

respondents when their children where born, their contact with their children, and their own fathers, are noted in the table below:

Respondent and age/s when their children born	**Respondents' children**	**Respondents' contact with their children**	**Respondents' contact with their biological fathers**
A 26	One son	Never seen - in prison when son born	Left when respondent aged 7 Intermittent contact thereafter
B 20	One son	Never seen	Never met
C 27, 30 and 33	Three daughters Eldest born to different mother	Oldest daughter last seen about nine years before incarceration Almost daily contact with youngest two daughters, but did not live with them	Regular contact
D 29	One son	Did not live with son, born one month before his arrest	Lived with father
E 28	One son	Did not live with child as in prison for three years	Lived together. Killed when respondent aged about 14
F ages unknown	Two sons and three daughters born in wedlock Three children with different mothers, born out of wedlock	Lived with these five children Visited periodically	Lived with father
G 18, 18	Two sons, born to different mothers	First son seen briefly aged nine months Lived with second son who died aged nine months	Father last seen when respondent aged 7
H	None	-	Lived with his father
I 23*	One daughter	Did not live with daughter	Never met
J 20, 24*	One daughter One son	Lived with daughter	Never met

* These children were born whilst the respondents were out on bail for the rape of very young children.

Table 14: Respondents' children

The respondents' contact with their children reflected the same pattern as their childhood experiences with their own fathers. Children represented manhood to the respondents. "If you don't have children then you are not a man" (respondent A). "I want to be a good example because I didn't have a father" (respondent I), denoting that the respondent wanted to be a better father than his own who had abandoned him. And yet, he did not live with his child.

Despite respondents' varying involvement with their own children, a replication of their own childhood paternal experiences, nearly all of the respondents had the responsibility of caring for children that were not their own. The respondents were unemployed and possibly had the task of caring for children forced upon them.

C. (8) Child care responsibilities

All of the respondents, with the exception of respondent F, cared for children that were not their own. For some respondents, the cycle of caring for children started during the respondents' childhood and continued into their adulthood. The relationships between the respondents and the children they cared for are presented in the table below, with at least one respondent (C) undertaking child care functions as a child and as an adult:

Respondent	Relationship to respondents
C, E and H	Siblings
C, D and J	Nieces and nephews
A	Cousins
B, G and I	No family or marital relationship

Table 15: Children the respondents cared for

Respondents spoke about their responsibilities as care givers to younger children to whom they were related. "I'm the guard for the children" (respondent A, who slept with his four younger nieces and nephews and took them to pre-school). "My sister always asked me to take care of her children" (respondent C). These comments suggest a position of responsibility and trust in the absence of the children's mothers. However,

such responsibilities were seen as functions performed by women. "Looking after a baby was woman's work, not a man's work" (respondent C). "I was always cleaning them, like taking the nappies off … until the children … could teach themselves like two, three, four years" (respondent D), suggesting that the only responsibility associated with child care was keeping children clean.

Respondents who cared for children to whom they were not related said, "I was like her nanny …from her early ages. Her mother was very lazy to clean or feed children. … She was a little bit scared of children" (respondent B). "I did lots of things [for the toddler]. Her mother was lazy" (respondent G). The use of the terms "scared of children" and "lazy" suggests how the respondents' justified their care giving roles, perceived as women's work, and that this made the respondents better care givers. It possibly also rationalized their feelings about unemployment, particularly as the mother who was "scared of children" was a school teacher. "Lazy" could also denote a neglectful mother, and a similar shifting of responsibility for her child, to the other.

SUMMARY OF DIMINISHED CAPACITY FOR RESILIENCE

In the absence of social and personal coping resources, respondents were unable to cope with the setbacks and challenges of their lives (Moen and Erikson, 2001:170). The outcome of respondents' coping in the face of adversity was a diminished capacity for resilience (Moen and Erikson, 2001:170). These outcomes, categorized by the researcher, included: (1)"The situation of the poorest". Respondents' initially experienced optimism about their lives and future prospects. However, factors associated with "the situation of the poorest" eroded their optimism. (2) Respondents experienced attachment difficulties during their childhood and adulthood. (3) Aggressive behaviour became normal. (4) Some respondents were in conflict with the law. (5) The use of violence became normal and was seen as part of the respondents' manhood. (6) Many respondents reported alcohol-related problems; some respondents reported their use of drugs. (7) Nearly all the respondents had unplanned children, and lastly, (8) assumed child care responsibilities for children that were not their own, possibly the result of unemployment.

D. CONTRIBUTING FACTORS: UNEMPLOYMENT AND ANGER

To paraphrase Strauss and Corbin (1990:101), "contributing factors" refer to events or incidents which give rise to a phenomenon. Prior to the respondents' rape of very young children, the researcher identified three factors, or categories, she named as: (1) "I don't have money"; (2) Anger: respondents' recollections of their feelings before they raped, and (3) The "virgin-cleansing" myth. The term used to describe the first category, "I don't have money", was used by respondent J to describe the unreasonable financial demands made on him that he could not meet as a result of his unemployment, common to all the respondents in the present research. The second category "Anger" was an emotion expressed by many respondents as they recalled the events, from prison, leading up to their raping children under the age of three years. Anger is an emotion experienced by many rapists before and during their assaults (Marshall et al, 2006:88). The third category, The "virgin-cleansing" myth, was used in response to first, respondents' comments about HIV/AIDS and second, some media reports that link the sexual abuse of particularly young children to the HIV/AIDS pandemic and that is sometimes "espoused with great conviction by journalists and politicians" (Jewkes, 2004:130).

D. (1) "I don't have money"

When they raped very young children, all the respondents had experienced unemployment for at least two years. Briar (1988:xi-xii) notes that unemployment is one of the most debilitating human conditions, resulting in irretrievable losses, blunted dreams, and shattered social functioning. These outcomes are equally reflected in the current study, and highlight the vulnerability of the respondents, expressed in the following comments: "I didn't get work. … You beg as someone passes you and he says let me give you a job. You go with him. He's not giving me a job. He's gonna make sex with me" (respondent G), "I was trying to make some good living for me. … They [employers] chased me away" (respondent B), "I begged [a potential employer] to make a plan, as I must work" (respondent J), "If I don't have money, my mother gave me money" (respondent C, aged 39), and "It's really hurting or not good for you when as a man you don't get a job" (respondent H). This comment also highlights that a man's

occupation is linked to his sense of masculinity (Wetherell, 1997:327). The respondents experience of the "validating role of economic life" (Marais, 2001:198) verbalised as, "I loved to work" (respondent I), was often limited due to unemployment. Townsend and Dawes (2004:70) note that unemployment may be a risk factor for the sexual abuse of children, as unemployed individuals have free time that might be used to abuse children. Marchetti-Mercer (2003:10), writing about infant rapes, notes that perpetrators who are unemployed may feel the need to exert their power over those who are more vulnerable, and hence, more likely to commit such acts.

Respondents reported being asked for money that they did not have, as they were unemployed. "My pregnant girlfriend came to me everyday, saying give me some money. I don't have money for a child" (respondent J). "My … children wanted money for school fees" (respondent F). Clearly, being unable to meet the financial needs of others noted in, "My mother was not satisfied with the money I gave her but she took it" (respondent E), as well as their own financial needs, reflected in, "I don't have money to eat" (respondent I), the respondents experienced humiliation, powerlessness and tremendous stress, noted in, "Don't push me in a dark place. I don't have money" (respondent J), "It was not a good thing to ask my parents for money and it was never easy" (respondent H), "My mind was always on the money" (respondent I), and "If there is no money, no love, nothing" (respondent G).

In addition, some respondents spoke about their need for clothing. "I always had the best clothes" (respondent C), "Buy my clothes" (respondents B and G), and "I wanted clothes" (respondent J). Unemployment meant the respondents could not buy any clothing. Some respondents' girlfriends asked them for the "best" clothing: "Girlfriends asked me to buy them designer clothing whilst I'm still at school. I don't have money to eat" (respondent I), and "Buy … my girlfriends' [designer] clothes" (respondent G). It is possible that this need for expensive, designer clothing was one small way respondents, and their girlfriends, felt

part of the "most pervasive and ostentatious … consumer capitalism on the African continent" (Marais, 2001:198).

Respondents recalled their feeling of anger immediately prior to committing the rapes.

D. (2) Anger: respondents' feeling before they raped

Common to the respondents before they raped young children was their feeling of anger, directed towards men and women. The feeling of anger, both retrospective and self-reported from prison, is possibly explained by Marshall (1987:491) who suggests that individuals who fail to achieve intimacy in their adult relationships become emotionally lonely, which leads to an "aggressive disposition". As noted, it is highly unlikely that the respondents in the current study achieved intimacy in their sexual relationships. Rape, according to Groth, Burgess and Holmstrom (1977:1242), and Faller (1988:17), uses sexuality to express power and anger, and is therefore a pseudo-sexual act. In all cases of rape, these three factors are present with varying intensity and interrelationship (Groth et al, 1977:1242). In the current study, the persons to whom the respondents' anger was reportedly directed, and their reasons, are reflected in the table below:

Respondent	Person/s to whom anger was directed	Reason for anger
A	Maternal uncle	Fight about living arrangements
D	Five men in shebeen	Crude comments about the respondent and his mother
F	Unknown thieves	Stolen cattle
B	Mother of toddler	Ending of an adulterous affair
J	Mother of toddler	Sexual relationship with toddler's mother
E, G and I	Mother of toddler	Desired sex with mother
C	Sister	Jealousy
H	Unknown	Not disclosed

Table 16: Respondents' recalled anger before rapes

Anger directed towards men

Three respondents' (A, D and F) recalled their anger was directed towards men. "My mind was very cross after a fight with my little father" (respondent A) who wanted to go and live with his father but his uncle (little father) had said no. Clearly, the abusive relationship with his uncle had left the respondent feeling angry, as well as insecure and vulnerable, demonstrated in, "There was no understanding. … He didn't like me. … He was cross with me ... everyday". Respondent A raped his cousin, his uncle's toddler aged 18 months, when "my mind was very cross" after the fight. This suggests that this respondent's anger expressed itself as revenge (Groth et al, 1977:1242) in response to this abusive and debilitating relationship.

Respondents D and F were also angry with men. These men were not related to the children that the respondents raped. This anger was experienced immediately prior to the respondents committing their sexual crimes. Respondent D recalled, "We are with five, drinking in a shebeen. We discussed sex. My penis became erect. The men insulted me, gave me bad names and used crude expressions about my mother's (genitalia).[113] … I became angry as I heard the men say that I never spoke badly about their mothers. … I left the shebeen. I was angry … I went out and saw the child". It is possible that in addition to feeling anger, this respondent also felt powerless and humiliated, more so as the respondent at age 29 still lived with his parents. Respondent D is illiterate and said, "I never left home as I'm used to my mother and that's why I didn't want to move from there. … I was scared … because I can't read". It is possible that the only way this respondent could ameliorate his feelings was by taking revenge, opportunistically, on an unattended toddler.

Respondent F's anger was directed towards cattle thieves. "I raped a child. … The thing that drove me is because they stole my cattle. ... I was angry". This suggests that the rape was a revengeful response against cattle thieves.

[113] According to the respondent, the five men used extremely crude and vulgar words to describe his mother's genitalia.

For respondent F, the loss of his cattle left him financially insecure and therefore vulnerable, more so as he was aged 61 and illiterate with few skills to offer a modern economy.

Anger directed towards women

The remaining respondents recalled their anger directed towards women who were desired or actual sexual partners, except respondent C, who spoke of his jealousy towards his younger sister. It is highly possible that these respondents similarly needed revenge to ameliorate their feelings of anger. In this regard, Groth et al (1977:1242) note that the "anger-retaliation" rapist, or what could be termed a revenge rapist, commits rape as an expression of hostility and rage towards women. The motive for the rape is revenge, and the aim is degradation and humiliation for the victim (Groth et al, 1977:1242). In the current study, it is highly possible that young children were used to degrade, humiliate and "punish" their mothers, as an extremely crude and desperate form of revenge. The motive of revenge was similarly noted by Hesselink-Louw and Schoeman (2003:160), from an "infantophile" in their study who said that his motive for raping an infant was revenge.

Two of the respondents (B and J) spoke about their sexual relationships with, and anger towards, the mothers of the toddlers they raped. "I had an adulterous affair with the wife of my very, very, very, very close friend. Her changing moods left me feeling very disturbed. I sometimes became very funny. … If I allow myself to stay with her at the same time I am angry, maybe I will do something terrible to her. … I decided we leave this thing. She was very angry with me, for almost three weeks, she was very, very, very, very, very angry with me. … She was not the same lady I know … and then she started to come with this issue of raping her child" (respondent B). This respondent lived with the toddler's parents. In return, he said he was the toddler's "nanny". The respondent was unemployed and therefore dependent on the toddler's family. He had an adulterous affair with the toddler's mother. It is possible that she ended the affair rather than the respondent. Ending the affair meant that the

respondent would have to leave the house, and find employment, noted in, "She would say to me you must go and look for a job". It is therefore possible that the respondent was "very, very, very angry" with the toddler's mother, rather than the other way around, and he wanted revenge, highlighted in his phrase, "…I am angry … I will do something terrible to her." This threat of retaliation concurs with Hesselink-Louw and Schoeman (2003:160) and Groth et al (1977:1242).

Respondent J reported his brief sexual relationship with the mother of the toddler he raped. "I felt bad that I had sex [twice] with [the toddler's mother] whilst I was living with another woman" (respondent J). It is therefore possible that the woman ended the relationship after she discovered that the respondent was living with another woman, and had a child with him. It is also possible that this made the respondent angry, more so as he said that he liked sex "too much". Furthermore, the respondent reported that the mother of the toddler had frequently asked him for money. "I don't have money but she [toddler's mother] had money". Surely such continued requests for money must have provoked anger, particularly as the sexual relationship had ended, and the respondent was unemployed?

Three respondents (E, G and I) spoke about women with whom they wanted to have sex. However, the respondents reported that no sex occurred, reflecting their "failed emotional intimacy" (Marshall, 1987:491). The women had very young children whom these respondents raped. "The toddler's mother's face said she wanted sex and I thought I will take it out on the child because of the mother" (respondent E). This suggests that the respondent believed, that based on a facial expression, he was "entitled" to sex. 'Take it out on the child" suggests revenge against the mother and punishing her (Marchetti-Mercer, 2003:10; Hesselink-Louw and Schoeman, 2003:160), as the mother had "withheld" sex from the respondent. Furthermore, two respondents (G and I) spoke of their love for the mothers of the young children they raped. Their love was unrequited. "The time I saw her, I feel love for her. … She already had 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" (respondent G). The respondent raped the child he refers to. It is possible that as the mother "already had a man in her life" this made the respondent angry, as he loved her but she apparently only "liked" him, and he needed revenge for his unrequited love.

Respondent I said that he loved his brother's girlfriend. She had a young child, the father of whom was not the respondent's brother. The respondent raped this child. He explained that his brother's girlfriend, "Teased me for a very long time. … I loved her. … When my brother comes and sees me doing that thing, he will kill me". "That thing" refers to his brother's girlfriend taking off her clothes, and saying to the respondent to feel her private parts, extremely provocative behaviours. On other occasions, according to the respondent, her teasing included putting bananas in her panties, and massaging his shoulders. It is possible that these behaviours made him angry, "as she teased me for a long time". It is also possible that given the extremely ambivalent, and physically abusive, relationship the respondent had with his brother, he felt powerless and frightened to sexually respond to his feelings of love, and the woman's continued sexual provocation of him, noted in, "I thought about having sex with her but thought my brother would kill me. I told her '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". His response to the woman's continued sexual provocation, and to relieve his feelings of fear and anger, was revenge, noted in, "To hurt that person [toddler] I hurt her family" (respondent I). This respondent also indirectly spoke about revenge. He reported that the same older brother, "beat children. … The children, they must fall there, to make the heart of the mother to get hurt".

Another respondent spoke of his feelings towards his sister and her infant. "I didn't feel good that my sister's pregnancy was more acceptable than mine and that's how I always felt – my sister got better treatment. I always

felt that she was the better one in the house. She was special" (respondent C). These comments convey jealousy and sibling rivalry, which could result in anger and the need for revenge taken to an extreme form when the respondent raped his sister's infant, aged three months.

D. (3) The "virgin-cleansing" myth

None of the respondents referred to the myth when discussing their sexual crimes against particularly young children. The researcher asked respondent D if he had heard that "sex with a baby can make you clean". The respondent replied, "No". Similarly, respondent F reported that, "No one ever told me anything to get rid of HIV or AIDS". Respondent E said he had heard about the "AIDS myth" whilst in prison, after he started serving his life sentence for the rape of a toddler.

Five respondents heard about HIV/AIDS about from various sources, including "I heard women talking about it in my community" (respondent F). "I knew AIDS is available … if you make sexual intercourse. I used to live next door to an AIDS clinic and they used to make a show about AIDS" (respondent G). "I saw a programme on television, in prison, about HIV and AIDS" (respondent J). "I heard about AIDS on television" (respondent D).

Two of the respondents, whilst discussing HIV/AIDS, also spoke about their need to protect themselves from contracting the virus. "I used a condom as I was scared of AIDS" (respondent D). "I walked around with a condom in my pocket in case anything gives. … I was always very careful of AIDS" (respondent E). Two respondents, who also discussed HIV/AIDS, did not use condoms, as "I was believing in my life that AIDS is not for me. Because of my beliefs, I didn't even use a condom outside" (respondent G), and "I can't feel [if I use a condom]. … If you eat a sweet, you take off the wrapper first and then eat the sweet" (respondent J). This respondent also disclosed, spontaneously, that he was HIV positive. He watched a television programme about HIV/AIDS, after he started serving

his life sentence for the rape of a toddler. As a result, he consulted a nurse in the prison for an HIV test. The test was positive.

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Prior to the respondents' rape of very young children, the researcher identified contributing factors as: (1) Unemployment, and its associated humiliation encapsulated as "I don't have money"; (2) Anger, and the need for revenge, against men and women, some of whom were related to the very young children the respondents' raped.

Comments from the respondents suggested that (3) the "virgin-cleansing" myth was not a contributing factor in the present study. Not one respondent referred to the myth when talking about his sexual crime against a very young child. In the context of the current research, the myth therefore remains as such.

The final section concerns the core category, or central phenomenon, of the present study.

E. CENTRAL PHENOMENON: "SPONTANEOUS VIOLENT ACTION"

The core category is the central phenomenon around which other categories are integrated (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:116). The other categories, created by the researcher, are: (A) Maltreatment; (B) Coping with maltreatment as children and adults; (C) Diminished capacity for resilience, and (D) Unemployment and anger. The term "spontaneous violent action" (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:768) is used to describe the central phenomenon of the current study. According to the respondents' accounts, their rape of very young children was spontaneous, impulsive, opportunistic and without premeditation, and concur with the features of such rapes noted by Earl-Taylor (2002:3). Furthermore, the rapes discussed in the present research are medical evidence of severe child sexual abuse, in marked contrast to the "syndrome of secrecy" documented by Furniss (1991:22-4) and "grooming" (Travers, 1999:11), often associated with child sexual offenders. This again highlights acts that were impulsive and without premeditation, and further suggest intense anger.

"Spontaneous violent action", according to Van Deventer and Jordaan (1998:768), can be interpreted as follows: Years of deprivation result in aggression and hostility that is initially direct inwards, dulling any sense of improving life, whilst highlighting individuals' complete helplessness and abysmal prospects. A minor provocation results in senseless, violent action and is a way of making sense of a desperate situation, and re-gaining a sense of control, despite the result of the action. The central phenomenon, "spontaneous violent action" (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:768), discusses the following aspects of the rapes: (1) Respondents' relationships with the children they raped; (2) Respondents' retrospective thoughts before and during the rapes; (3) Locations of the rapes; (4) The rape of children under the age of three years, and (5) What could have stopped the respondents, and others, from raping children?

E. (1) Respondents' relationship with the children they raped

The ages of the respondents and the ages of the children when the rapes occurred, as well as their relationship, are reflected in the table below:

Respondent	Age of respondent (in years)	Age of child (in months)	Relationship between respondent and child
A	26	18	Cousin and care giver
B	25	36	Care giver
C	39	3	Niece and care giver
D	29	30	Acquaintance
E	31	13	Stranger
F	61	24	Neighbour
G	22	30	Neighbour and care giver
H	24	24	Nature of relationship unknown
I	19	24	Care giver
J	21	24	Girlfriend's daughter

Table 17: Age of respondents, their victims, and their relationships

Seven of the children were well known to the respondents in the current study. Two of these children were related to the respondents. One toddler was an acquaintance, one was a stranger, and the relationship between one toddler and the respondent is unknown. Delport and Vermeulen (2004:45) found in their study with 48 South African offenders convicted of sexual crimes against children under the age of 18 years that 19 victims were acquaintances of the offenders, 11 were girlfriends, 10 were strangers, and 8 were relatives.

The age range of sexual offenders in the Delport and Vermeulen (2004:43) study, the current study, and sentenced male offenders in custody, are compared below:

Age range of offenders	**Delport and Vermeulen (2004:43) study (%)**	**Current study (%)**	**Sentenced male offenders in DCS custody as at March 31, 2004 (%)**
15 - 18 years	18 (37,5)	-	1 890 (1,4)
19 - 25 years	14 (29,2)	5 (50)	45 446 (34,8)
26 - 40 years	12 (25,0)	4 (40)	83 320 (63,8)
Over 40 years	4 (8,3)	1 (10)	
Total	48 (100)	10 (100)	130 656 (100)

Table 18: Comparison of age range of offenders in Delport and Vermeulen (2004) study, the current study and DCS sentenced male offenders

The table reflects that the majority of sexual offenders who participated in the Delport and Vermeulen (2004:43) study are children aged 15 to 18 years, a figure that could imply about one third of sexual crimes are committed by children. In the current study, and as highlighted in Chapter Five, apprehending and convicting perpetrators who rape children under

the age of three is an extremely difficult undertaking. It therefore cannot be assumed that only men aged 18 or more rape children under the age of three. Half of the respondents in the present research fall into the 18 – 25 year category, and the other half into the 26 years and older category, reflected in the Delport and Vermeulen (2004) study. Furthermore, the respondents' ages at the time they committed their sexual crimes reflect the age groups of all sentenced male offenders, including the respondents, in the custody of the Department of Correctional Services as at March 31, 2004 (Department of Correctional Services, 2003/2004:26).

E. (2) Respondents' retrospective thoughts before and during the rapes

Respondents' thoughts about the rapes, retrospectively from prison, were on a continuum from denial to anger.

Denial

Denial is a characteristic of "some" sexual offenders (Marshall et al, 2006:76), similarly noted in the current study with five respondents (B, C, H, I and J). "I didn't rape this child" (respondent B). "Nothing happened" (respondent C). "It's just an allegation that the courts made against me which I deny altogether" (respondent H). "From my side, I know I can't sleep with that child – she was still young" (respondent J). However, three of these respondents, during the final stages of the last interview, admitted their crimes to the researcher as follows: "I am here [in prison] for my crime I committed" (respondent C), "Today I am a rapist" (respondent F), and as a question by respondent H, "Should I get released because of the crime I committed, [will my family] say I am not welcome at home any more?" A comment from another respondent (J) could be seen as "admitting" his crime, "I feel bad. … I am repenting". These comments suggest that for some sexual offenders, even partial disclosure of their crimes is a process.

Cognitive distortion

Two of these respondents (C and J), who denied their sexual crimes, also made comments that demonstrated their cognitive distortion. According to

Marshall et al (2006:76), cognitive distortion is used by a sexual offender to protect the self. "The baby was laughing at the time" (respondent C). "There was no stress in that child. I was just friendly. I don't know if she felt bad" (respondent J).

Two respondents (A and I), who disclosed their crimes to the researcher, also used cognitive distortion. "I'm not hurting that one" (respondent A), and "The child did not cry during the rape and as the child was not scared of me, she enjoyed it" (respondent I).

Respondent G, who discussed his rape with the researcher, explained, "I dunno what was in my mind while I was doing her".

Anger

Four respondents (A, D, E and F) spoke of their anger during the rapes. When he raped his cousin, respondent A recalled that his "mind was very cross" after he had a fight with his uncle, his cousin's father. So too was respondent D when he left a shebeen, "I was angry … so I went out and saw the child" walking on her own in the street. The respondent took the child by the hand and said he would look for her father, suggestive of extreme betrayal of the trust of the child. The respondent said "I thought other thoughts" as he walked with the child and knew by that time that he would have "sex" with her. The respondent used the word "sex". Respondent E was also angry and said that "I was cross with the mother. … Her face said she wanted it [sex] … and then I thought … I will take it out on the child because of the mother. Respondent F recalled, "I was angry. … I was hurting her … when I didn't get my cattle".

E. (3) Location of the rapes

The location of the rapes varied from the children's homes to public spaces. These are compared with the Delport and Vermeulen (2004) study in the table overleaf:

Current study %	Location of rapes	Delport and Vermeulen (2004:41) study %
30	Shack/house where child and respondent lived	43,8
30	In bushes /underneath bridge / banks of river	33,3
20	House of child where respondent did not live	22,9
20	Shack/house of respondents' family members	-

Table 19: Location of rapes

The Delport and Vermeulen (2004:41-7) study is an exploratory quantitative study with 48 convicted South African offenders of sexual crimes against children under the age of 18 and found that 43,8% of these crimes occurred at the perpetrators' homes, 22,9% at the victims' homes, and 33,3% in public spaces - schools, sports fields, church grounds or the *veld*.[114] In the current study, three rapes occurred in homes that the perpetrators and victims lived, two occurred in the victims' homes, another two occurred in homes that neither the respondents nor the victims lived, and three occurred in public spaces. The locations of these rapes highlight the profound betrayal of children, and the apparent lack of supervision and monitoring of young children.

E. (4) Respondents' rape of children under the age of three years

Five respondents (A, D, E, F and G) discussed their rape of young children with the researcher. The accounts of their crimes reflect extraordinary objectification without any empathy for the very young children. Prior to the rapes was these respondents' use of alcohol, common to "many" rapists (Marshall et al, 2006:88).

Respondent A

Respondent A had been drinking at a shebeen celebrating the birthday of a friend. His pregnant girlfriend was not at the celebration. He returned at about midnight to the two-room shack he shared with his "little father" (maternal uncle), the uncle's wife, and their four children - the respondent's cousins. The respondent went to the room he shared with his

[114] Afrikaans word for open country or grassland.

cousins. Townsend and Dawes (2004:71) note that overcrowding and co-sleeping arrangements, often associated with poverty, increase the risk of sexual abuse, with the link between rape and poverty intricate (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002:1239). The 18-month-old toddler was closest to the door, and last in the row of the four sleeping children. This implies that the rape was opportunistic (Earl-Taylor, 2002:3), noted in the respondent's comment, "I was make it [rape] that one but we have one place to sleep", suggestive of overcrowding. The toddler screamed during the respondent's rape of her. This attracted her father, who rushed into the room, whereupon the respondent stopped "making" the toddler. The respondent did not ejaculate. This suggests that had the father *not* entered the room of the shack, the respondent would have continued. The respondent ran to a friend's house. He was arrested the same day.

Respondent D also used alcohol before he raped a toddler.

Respondent D

Respondent D had been drinking in a shebeen on a Saturday morning. He left before lunch time, after a fight with five men. He saw a 30-month-old toddler walking alone in the road near where he lived. Townsend and Dawes (2004:76) note that a lack of monitoring and supervision leave some children extremely vulnerable to child abuse. The respondent did not know the child's name but knew her as the daughter of a friend of his sister. He took the child by the hand and said he would look for her father. The respondent said he knew by this stage that he would have "sex" with the child. (The respondent used the word "sex"). He took the child into some bushes, far from the road. He laid the child on the ground. She cried as the respondent took off her dress and panties. He left her shoes on. The respondent took off his trousers. His penis was not completely erect so he stood over the child and masturbated whilst he fantasized about sex with her. The child continued crying and said she wanted to go to her house. The respondent did not speak to the child, which suggests an extraordinary lack of empathy towards the child and a profound objectification of her. He did not touch the child before he penetrated her vagina with his penis.

He "struggled" to insert his penis. The "struggle" implies a brutal act and the creation of a common channel (Pitcher and Bowley, 2002:274). The respondent described the penetration as *lekker* (nice). The child cried as he "struggled" but he did not stop his penetration and said, "I must finish here". The respondent ejaculated. He said he enjoyed having sex with the toddler. Thereafter, the respondent did not look at the child or put her clothes on. He left the toddler, alone and naked, in the bushes, and went home. "I was still angry after sex with the child. … I am always angry". Respondent D was arrested on the same day of the rape as "two people saw me going into the bushes with the child".

Respondent E also used alcohol before he raped a toddler.

Respondent E

Respondent E had been drinking with the parents of the toddler he raped. Whilst her parents were "asleep" on an adjacent bed, the respondent took the 13-month-old from behind her mother's back, highlighting the vulnerability of this toddler that resulted in the opportunity for rape to occur.[115] The respondent explained how he raped the child. "I stood in front of the child. The child lay on the bed and I stood in front of the child, on the floor. I held the child firmly with one hand. Yes, I struggled to insert my penis but with the struggle I always pressed more". Similarly, the respondent described an extremely brutal act and the creation of a common channel (Pitcher and Bowley, 2002:274) to achieve penetration. He said the sexual penetration was painful for him until he 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". The respondent ejaculated. He used the phrase "And then I had sex with the child" repeatedly throughout his account of the rape.

When the researcher commented that the rape must have been very painful for the child, respondent E giggled and said, "I don't know lady". Delport

[115] This act also highlights that the responsibility for children also rests with parents, despite conditions that exacerbate child abuse and neglect (Loffell, 2004:250).

and Vermeulen (2004:45) report that 72,9% of the 48 sexual offenders who participated in their study did not experience remorse about the offences they had committed. Similarly, emotion recognition skills are usually deficient in rapists (Marshall, Hudson, Jones and Fernandez, 1995:106).

The respondent was arrested about two weeks after he had raped the toddler, when the mother recalled that he had been at her home. The toddler only received medical attention two weeks after the rape when her parents took her to a clinic, possibly a reflection of the parents' fear of the consequences of what had happened to their child, and their neglect.

Respondent F was also drinking on the day he raped a toddler.

Respondent F

Respondent F had been drinking all day on a Friday. Whilst looking for his stolen cattle, the respondent decided to visit the home of the toddler at about four pm. He accepted a glass of "homemade brew" from the toddler's mother. The toddler was in her grandmother's bedroom with some children, two of whom were aged 14 and 15. The grandmother was in town. The respondent could not remember what he did or said that all the children, except the toddler, left the grandmother's room. "Other children could see me raping the little girl … when they came near the house. Then they called the older children". Thereafter, five women from the community beat the respondent "until … I became sober". The respondent was arrested, hospitalized for a week, and then went to prison.

Respondent G had also been drinking almost all day when he indecently assaulted a toddler.

Respondent G

Respondent G is the only respondent in the current study who was convicted for the anal penetration a child under the age of three. The respondent was convicted for "indecent assault" based on the legal definition at the time (discussed in Chapter Two). "Indecent assault"

included attempted vaginal rape, and the penetration of a penis into an anus (Gallinetti, 2004:213). The respondent committed both of these acts of "indecent assault" against a 30-month-old. The respondent reported to the researcher that he was anally penetrated on three occasions whilst he lived on the streets.

Respondent G had been drinking for most of a Saturday. He returned to his shack in a backyard. The toddler and her family also lived in a shack in the same backyard. The toddler's uncle asked the respondent to buy him an ice cream. As they were about to leave, the toddler cried to accompany them. The respondent, the toddler, and her uncle went to a take away outlet where the respondent bought food which they ate at the outlet. They left to return home. The respondent said he could not remember what he did or said that the toddler's uncle left him alone with the toddler under a bridge. The respondent could recall that he put the toddler "down, lying on her back". He pulled his trousers down to his knees and pulled the toddler's tracksuit pants to her knees. He demonstrated to the researcher how he "positioned" the toddler before "I enter here at the back" (the respondent lifted his buttocks and pointed to his anus). He said the penetration was not painful for him, but when the child cried, "I release". Richter and Higson-Smith (2004:24) note that considerable force is required to prevent a child from crying out, and that the sexual act occurs whilst the rapist restrains the child and simultaneously forces penetration.

The respondent said that photographs presented to the court showed his attempted vaginal penetration of the toddler. According to the respondent, a doctor testified in court that, "The child was seriously injured at the back. In front, there is something that touched her but not enter inside". The respondent did not know if he ejaculated. He fell asleep. When he woke up it was dark. The respondent could remember it was not dark when he went under the bridge. The toddler was still next to him. He pulled up her tracksuit pants. "When she tried to walk, she fell. … Her feet were not moving". The respondent left the toddler underneath the bridge where he

had indecently assaulted her. She was found the following morning by a passer-by. The respondent was arrested shortly afterwards.

The researcher asked the respondents what might have stopped them, and others, from raping children.

E. (5) What could have stopped the respondents, and others, from raping children?

Respondents' comments on what could have stopped them, and others, from raping very young children varied from "nothing" to shifting responsibility for such acts to unemployment, and their use of alcohol. Some respondents gave more than one suggestion.

"I have no answer"

Two respondents (D and F) replied "nothing" or "I have no answer" when asked what might have stopped them, or others, from raping.

Shifting responsibility to others

Three respondents (B, E and G) shifted blame for their crimes to the mothers of the children they raped. "She [toddler's mother] betrayed me. She made me stay in jail for a crime which I did not commit" (respondent B). "I said to myself if the child's mother did what she said she would do then I wouldn't be in prison" (respondent E). This respondent exclaimed, "Yes" when asked if this meant that the rape was the mother's fault. The same shifting of responsibility to the mother was also noted in respondent G who said, "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" (respondent G). Townsend and Dawes (2004:73) note that South Africa is marked by patriarchal ideology. Whilst patriarchy conveys male rights over women and children, it also conveys a responsibility for the protection of them, as well as the potential for abuse (Townsend and Dawes, 2004:66). Since many men do not abuse women and children, it is possible that the former mechanism of patriarchy predominates (Townsend and Dawes, 2004:66).

One of these respondents also shifted responsibility for his sexual crime to his family. “Because even now, I’m here in prison, I think it’s coming from [my family]. They cost me a lot” (respondent B).

Responsibility for sexual acts against children was also shifted to the government by one respondent. “The government are supposed to make harsh punishment”, but felt that the life sentence he received “is not gonna help the children outside” (respondent G), which seems a somewhat contradictory statement.

Limited personal responsibility

However, some respondents (A, E and G) made comments that could be interpreted as acceptance of partial responsibility for their sexual acts. Respondent A said, “I did feel pain … She was a young girl”. The researcher asked respondent E if he knew what he was doing was wrong, why he didn’t stop. He replied, “I wasn’t satisfied … with the mother. If I had sex with the mother, then everything would be much better. … Better in my soul”. Respondent G acknowledged the hurt he had caused and said, “I know I hurt a person outside and to hurt that person, I hurt her family, I hurt all South Africans”. This respondent also expressed his concern to the researcher that the child received counselling.

However, respondent A has been a member of the Zionist Christian Church since a child and continues to follow his beliefs in prison. Since their incarceration, respondent E has been “reborn” into Christianity, and respondent G has converted to the “Muslim faith” (his phrase). It is therefore possible that this partial responsibility is rooted in the respondents’ religious beliefs.

Unemployment

One respondent shifted responsibility for rape to unemployment. “If people are working they are not making problems. There are a lot of things before you rape … you must think first” (respondent A), suggesting that employment would reduce rape. In this regard, Townsend and Dawes

(2004:71) note that unemployment, experienced by the respondents in the current study, creates greater opportunities for abuse.

Use of alcohol

"Blaming" their use of alcohol for their sexual crimes was expressed by six respondents (A, D, E, F, G and H). "I make it [raped] that one but I was drunk" (respondent A). "It is wrong to have sex with a child. … I was under the influence of alcohol" (respondent D). "Alcohol was motivating me to have sex with the child" (respondent E). "I was drunk, very drunk, when I raped that little girl" (respondent F). "The thing that caused this thing to happen, I blame the liquor" (respondent G). "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" (respondent H). Three respondents were sober when they committed their sexual crimes against young children. According to DCS social workers, respondent B was sober. Respondents C and I informed that researcher that they were sober. The possible use of alcohol before respondent J raped a toddler is unknown.

Why do men rape children?

When the researcher asked respondents why they thought men raped children, responses included, "If you can ban the liquor, the drugs. These things cause rape" (respondent G). "You must think first" (respondent A), suggesting that as men do not think, rape is an impulsive act. "The best way to stop people is to talk to the people" (respondent E). "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 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" (respondent I).

The five categories, integrated as the coding paradigm, are represented diagrammatically overleaf.

E. (6) The coding paradigm

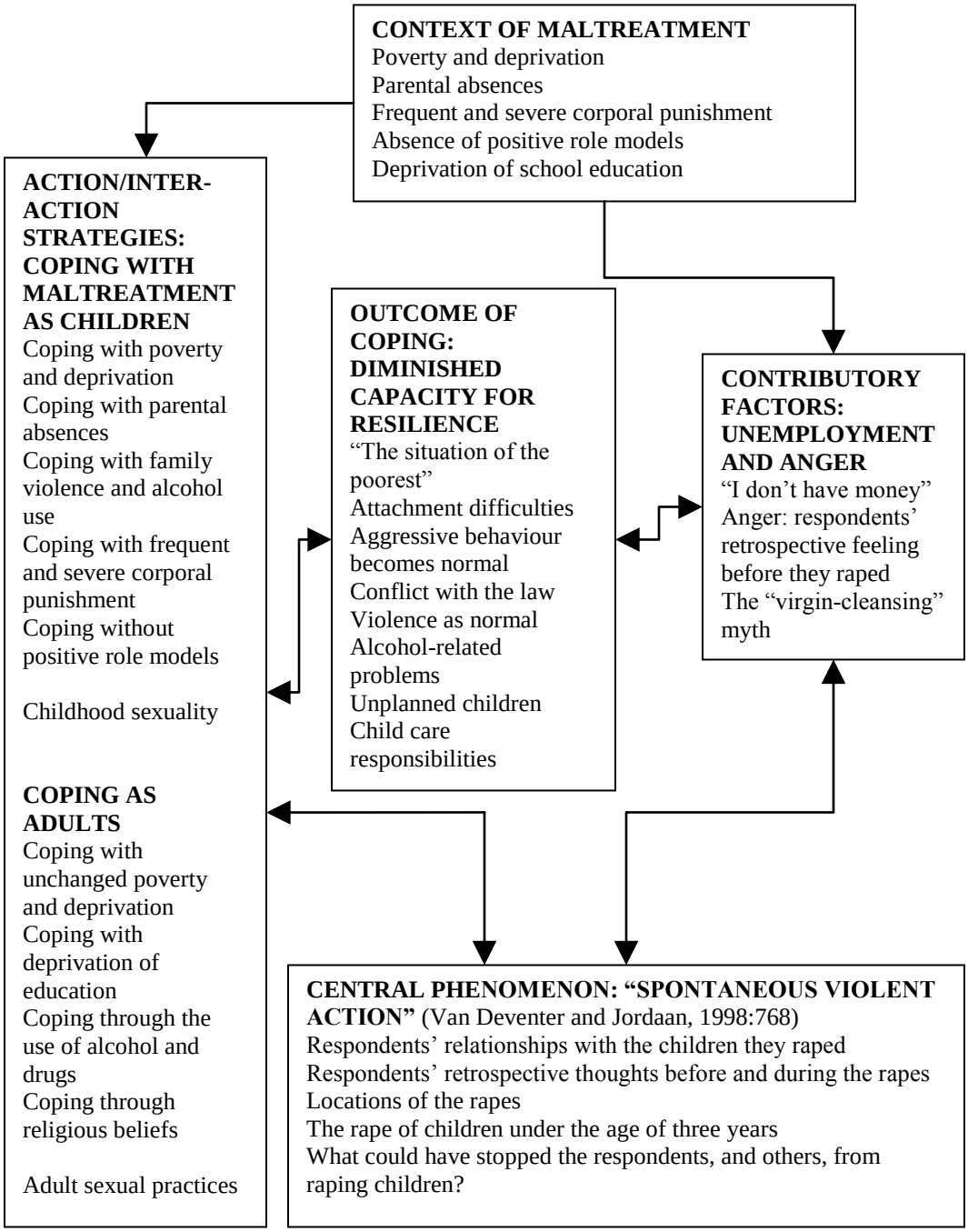


Figure 2: Grounded theory of the rape of children under the age of three years
(The coding paradigm in Pomrenke (2007:365) is acknowledged).

Discussion of components of the coding paradigm

The coding paradigm contains five categories, each with subcategories. All of the subcategories have one dominant feature - violence - that possibly contributed towards the central phenomenon of the present research, categorized by the researcher as "spontaneous violent action" (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:768). The subcategories are discussed in relation to the core category - violence - of the present research.

Context of maltreatment: violence

Maltreatment associated with violence was seen in at least six ways in the current study. First was the profound physical deprivation respondents' experienced, the result of poverty, or what Gil (1992:288) terms "societal violence". The respondents' experience of childhood was marked by overcrowding, noise, no privacy, stress and hunger, noted in, "There were times that we went to sleep with no food" (respondent E), "Everybody had to take a bath in this washing dish in this one room. There was no privacy" (respondent H), "Many, many people lived there" (respondent G), and "The noise coming from my siblings, and their music, worried me" (respondent D).

Second was the violent experience of respondents' frequent physical and emotional abuse from their parents and care givers, noted in, "My mother hit me four times a month with a cane that left blue marks on my body" (respondent E), and "My mother would call me stupid, lazy … and all that" (respondent F). All the respondents reported severe physical punishment from their mothers, "My mother smacked me, on my buttocks, with her hand until I was 15. Then she smacked me with a *sjambok* about four or five times, once or twice, a week until I was 19" (respondent C). Four respondents reported receiving such punishment from their fathers, "Our father punished me … with a wooden stick" (respondent H). The respondents, as children, also experienced physical and emotional neglect from their parents and care givers, reported in, "If we did not undertake tasks, my father would punish us to say maybe we won't have a meal" (respondent H), and "My parents never hugged me but they hugged my siblings in front of me" (respondent D).

Third was the respondents' frequent witness of violence in their homes, their relatives' homes, and in their communities, often associated with alcohol, noted in "My father hit my mother" (respondent A, whose parents drank), "I watched my sister being beaten by her husband" (respondent B), "I saw my relative leave a shebeen. [He was drunk]. This guy killed my relative [by beating his head with an iron rod]. … I could see that" (respondent H), "I can remember that [my community] was sometimes not a very nice place at nights" (respondent D).

Fourth, the respondents who attended school reported frequent and severe corporal punishment – with some descriptions of profoundly violent acts - from their school teachers and principles. "I must stand in my underpants, bend over, hold onto a chair and I would be hit eight or ten times in front of the class" (respondent B).

Fifth, respondents' role models were associated with violence. "When I was six, me and a girl aged 12 or 11 got into an old *bakkie* and pretended to make sex with our clothes on. The girl's father saw us and beat us with his belt. (When my mother was told) she started to beat me" (respondent G), "I got three beatings a week from the school principal with a *sjambok*" (respondent A), "I saw my brother-in-law stabbed to death" (respondent D, aged seven), and "My uncle broke my rib" (respondent G). It is highly likely that respondents, when witnessing, and experiencing violence, identified with many of the aggressors, and used violent behaviours themselves, noted in, "I never realized that the bad things my father used to do to my mother, I would ever do that as well to somebody else" (respondent H).

According to the American Psychiatric Association (2000:96), children with family histories of parental rejection and neglect, inconsistent child-rearing practices associated with harsh discipline, physical abuse, a lack of supervision, large family size and neighbourhood exposure to violence may predispose individuals to the development of Conduct Disorder. All of these factors were present during the respondents' childhood.

The final form of maltreatment was the respondents' deprivation of school education, which resulted in adult humiliation and indignity associated with

unemployment, or further "societal violence" (Gil, 1992:288). "It is really hurting or not good for you when as a man you don't get a job" (respondent H).

Thus, the respondents' childhood and adulthood were associated with structural, emotional and physical deprivation. According to Van Deventer and Jordaan (1998:768), years of deprivation can lead to "spontaneous violent action."

Coping with maltreatment with the use of violence

Deprivation, or maltreatment, results in aggression and hostility that is initially directed inwards (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:768). In the current study, respondents' initially suppressed their feelings when they were treated with violence, such as during and after beatings in the home and the school. "I can't cry when people hurt me. … I cry on my own" (respondent G). Respondents coped with their ever-increasing aggression and hostility by inflicting pain on other children in the form of bullying. "Sometimes I leave the children [who said things that hurt me] or I fight them. I say, 'come! I feel nothing'" (respondent J), and for two respondents, hurting animals. As adults, some respondents reported being violent towards their girlfriends noted in "I corrected my girlfriends … by beating them, disciplining them" (respondent H). Other respondents directed their aggression, and violent behaviours, towards members of their communities, "We liked to fight with each other" (respondent C), and "Other guys hurt me. My friend pinched my father's gun. We were going to pay revenge on the person who attacked me" (respondent G).

At the same time, respondents experienced "utter helplessness" (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:768) in trying to improve their desperate socio-economic circumstances, and coping with their lives, expressed in, "I'm poor but I must do something to get the success" (respondent I), and "It's painful if you can see your family don't like your mother" (respondent G) .

Outcome of coping: the use of violence as normal

The respondents' violent behaviours suggest that the use of violence became part of everyday life, with aggressive behaviour normalised. During their childhood, the respondents' experience of violence in the school was condoned by their parents,

and parental responses suggest that the respondents "deserved" their often violent punishment. "All the parents they gonna agree – why do you do wrong things in school" (respondent G). By adulthood, the use of violence was reported as common practice in some respondents' relationships with their girlfriends, "To beat somebody you show her love" (respondent I). Violence towards women was also seen as part of respondents' manhood, expressed as "When we beat them … that's what makes us men" (respondent I). Their witness and use of violence, often associated with alcohol, continued in shebeens, communities and amongst family members. "I was stabbed in my shoulder. I was drunk" (respondent D), and "We (respondent and his brother) were both drunk. We were fighting for the bed. He took a piece of flesh from my lip" (respondent G). Hence, violence was part of the historical and social construction (Creswell, 2003:8) of all the respondents. The use of violence became a normal as a way to resolve any conflict noted in, "So I decided to stab him" (respondent F, referring to a co-worker), and "My girlfriend didn't want to make sex with me. … I used my belt to beat her" (respondent J).

Contributory factors: Anger and unemployment

Van Deventer and Jordaan (1998:768) refer to "a minor provocation" resulting in "pointless violent action". Such provocations in the current study included the theft of cattle, insults from men heard whilst drinking in an informal tavern, sibling rivalry, and rebuttals from desired or actual sexual partners. The respondents' adult sexual histories were associated with failed attempts to achieve intimacy. It is possible that this produced emotional loneliness that led to an aggressive disposition (Marshall, 1989:491), expressed as " … I am angry, maybe I will do something terrible to her" (respondent B). The respondents verbalized their anger about these provocations, "I was angry. I thought other thoughts. I knew by that time I would have sex with the child" (respondent D). However, the researcher notes that the respondents in the current study were also possibly angry, helpless and humiliated at being unable to meet their own, and others, financial demands, the result of protracted unemployment that left them with "shattered social functioning" (Briar, 1988:xii).

Central phenomenon: "Spontaneous violent action"

Violent action, in the current study, was expressed as rape, and a way of making sense of a desperate situation (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:768). The rapes were also senseless actions (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:768), as reflected in the comment "… I see it's a little child. It's not a girl I can have sex with" (respondent I), but possibly left respondents feeling that they had exacted some form of revenge against those who had offended, humiliated or hurt them, and hence, made sense of a desperate situation (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:768) in a crude, brutal manner and opportunistic crime. Some of the respondents reported their heavy use of alcohol prior to the rapes possibly and it is highly likely that for these respondents, alcohol disinhibited their sexual actions, expressed by one respondent thus, "It was my first time to go with the child while I am drunk. … If I was sober, I was not going to do that thing" (respondent G).

However, as has been reiterated throughout this research, millions of South Africans, and others, experience similar conditions of maltreatment and deprivation but do not rape very young children.

The following chapter compares and contrasts the respondents' psychosocial histories with extant understandings of sexual offenders to try and identify the factors which might have influenced the respondents to commit such acts.

CHAPTER SEVEN:
DISCUSSION

1. OVERALL AIM OF THE STUDY

The overall aim of the current study was to identify and describe the demographic profile and psychosocial history of a group of convicted perpetrators of the rape of children under the age of three years, in order to develop an understanding of factors in the psychosocial histories of these perpetrators which might have influenced them to commit such acts.

2. PROPOSITION

The main findings of the study are encapsulated in a proposition. The proposition was built from the interrelationships within the coding paradigm (Pomrenke, 2007:369) and was used to develop an understanding of factors in the psychosocial histories of perpetrators which might have influenced them to rape children under the age of three years. The proposition is:

Some men who rape children under the age of three years have childhood psychosocial histories associated with maltreatment, including experiences of parental absences, as well as frequent and severe corporal punishment. Such maltreatment affects the development of adequate resilience in the face of adversity, resulting in attachment difficulties, and the use of violence as an approach to solving problems.

3. THEORETICAL DISCUSSION OF PROPOSITION

The departure point for the theoretical discussion of the proposition is that for every act of abuse there is an abuser. Therefore an attempt to understand the abuser is necessary (Pritchard, 2004:viii). The theoretical discussion of the proposition is underpinned by the use of systems theory. As noted, systems theory enables focus on the dynamic and interdependent relationships between individuals and their environment (Compton and Galaway, 1999:28-34), and is one frame of

reference that can be used to understand some of the factors that appear noteworthy among individuals who rape children under the age of three years. According to Payne (2002:133), an important aspect of systems theory is its partial eclecticism, similarly reflected in the current study, with the use of different theories to discuss the psychosocial histories of incarcerated respondents at the levels of the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem.

The microsystem

The microsystem refers to situations in which an individual has face-to-face contact and interaction with influential others (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:22) and was used to discuss common features of respondents' psychosocial histories that have emerged from the study. These features, encapsulated in the proposition, are the first three findings from the current study: first, all the respondents experienced parental absences; second, they were all subjected to frequent and severe corporal punishment, and third, such maltreatment led to attachment difficulties.

Parental absences

The first finding of the current study concerned the quality of the relationships between respondents and their parents. The respondents' experience of face-to-face contacts (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:22), categorized as "parental absences" by the researcher, reflect the continuum of both physical and emotional absences described by the respondents. Emotional absences were reflected in respondents' recalled perceptions of unfulfilled needs for love from their parents: "You need that love from your parents. … I remember my father didn't give me that love, same with my mother. I don't remember she gave me that love" (respondent J). This comment also suggested that the respondent felt a "victim". Feeling a "victim" concurs with Olivier, Roos and Bergh (1998:273-4) with 19 South African incarcerated rapists who similarly experienced emotional deprivation during their childhood. Pritchard (2004:12) refers to parental acts, such as ignoring a child's emotional needs or failing to give affection, as emotional abuse.

Also affecting the quality of parental relationships with six respondents were their recalled perceptions of parental favouritism towards their siblings that Pritchard (2004:12) also defines as emotional abuse. "They got new things and I received

their old shoes" (respondent B). "My younger brother was the most favoured child" (expressed by respondents C and H). "I never did anything with my father but they (siblings) had frequent outings with him" (respondent D). "I was forced to leave school. … The others (siblings) went to school" (respondent E). "I don't remember my father doing something for me" (respondent J). These comments reflect the respondents' feelings as "victims" and again concur with Olivier et al (1998:273-4).

Parental emotional abuse was also reported by rapists studied by Simons, Wurtele and Durham (2008:549) and was similarly noted in the current study. Respondents described their relationships with their fathers as abusive. "My father was an aggressive guy" (respondent G). "My father got cross, very, very, very angry. He was very angry sometimes and then he could kill you if he's getting cross" (respondent E). According to Pritchard (2004:12), parental threats to kill or injure are emotional abuse. McCormack, Hudson and Ward (2002:91) report that early interpersonal experiences for rapists are characteristically most negative with their fathers. Similarly, Smallbone and Dadds (1998:1) found that rapists often had particularly problematic relationships with their fathers. These two sets of findings concur with the present study and are conveyed in, "My father … was interested in the things of the members of his church. … It was not easy to make him see how things were going, what was happening" (respondent B), and "My father was so abusive" (respondent G).

However, the McCormack et al (2002) and Smallbone and Dadds (1998) studies concerned sexual offenders' relationships with both parents and therefore do not address "permanently absent" fathers, the experience of three respondents in the current study. "I don't know my really (biological) father" (respondents B, I and J). Furthermore, five respondents reported that they were not beaten by their fathers/stepfathers, and one respondent lived with neither his father nor a stepfather. However, all the respondents in the current study experienced violence from father figures such as their uncles, and/or mothers' boyfriends, and/or older brothers, reported as, "My uncle fought with me" (respondent G), "When my mother's boyfriend was drunk, he beat me" (respondent E), and "I lived on the streets for six months because my older brother fought me and beat me"

(respondent G). For the respondents in the current study, "negative early interpersonal experiences" (McCormack et al, 2002:91) therefore included relationships with older males possibly experienced as father figures.

Common to all respondents in the current research were the physical and emotional absences in their childhood relationships with their mothers, categorized by the researcher as "maternal absences." The finding that some of these absences were attributable to the young age of some mothers ("She make us while she was still young", respondent I), concurs with the findings from Whipple and Webster-Stratton (1991:279), and Werner and Smith (2001:152). Similarly, that all of the respondents' mothers had no, or inadequate, school education ("My mother is totally illiterate" respondent H), earned extremely low incomes often as hawkers, cleaners or domestic workers ("My mother worked hard … daily as a domestic worker" respondent G), or for three respondents (A, D and J) were unemployed, and that some mothers abused alcohol ("My mother worried with alcohol" respondent E), reflect the characteristics of physically abusive families noted by Whipple and Webster-Stratton (1991:279), and the factors that influence adaptation negatively, reported by Werner and Smith (2001:152).

Violent interactions between respondents and their parents

The respondents' interactions with, and between, their parents, were characterized by the use of violence. Vogelman (1990:121) notes that working class families use more violence to ensure obedience. "My mother always hit me if I did something wrong" (respondent C). "My father was aggressive towards my mother" (respondent E). Vogelman (1990:120-1) also notes that children learn about violence through their own victimisation reflected in, "It was not nice to be beaten" (respondent H), and through observation, expressed as, "My father would beat my mother if she didn't cook him meat" (respondent G). The respondents in the current study frequently observed violence, often associated with alcohol, in the home. "My father hit my mother" (respondent A, whose parents used alcohol). "My father always quarrelled with my mother" (respondent E, whose parents were partially paid under the *dopstelsel*).[116] "My parents fought a lot. They always fight for that beer" (respondent G). These findings reflect Simons et al (2008:558) with

[116] Payment with alcohol.

78% of 137 North American incarcerated rapists in their study reporting witness of parental violence instigated by predominantly male care givers. This implies that not all violence was instigated by males, similarly found in the present study. Violence was also instigated by some respondents' mothers, noted in, "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" (respondent H), and "My mother would smack my stepfather through the face when he was drunk" (respondent C). The parental abuse and violence experienced by the respondents are also features of disorganized childhood attachment behaviour (Smallbone and Dadds, 1998:1) and are discussed further under the "attachment difficulties" section.

The finding of respondents' "negative early interpersonal experiences" (McCormack et al, 2002:91) is linked to the second finding in the current research, that of frequent and severe corporal punishment.

Frequent and severe corporal punishment

The second finding of the study concerned the harsh physical punishment received by all the respondents, rather than discipline. Harsh physical punishment is one practice used as a means of discipline in some societies but is seen by many as abusive, encapsulated in, "At that time, discipline was by beating, not by telling you" (respondent I). Fear was often associated with punishment (Holdstock, 1990:343) reported in, "I was too scared to discuss my problems with my little father (uncle). … He beat me with a big belt" (respondent A), and "I would run away when my mother wanted to beat me" (respondent F).

As noted, only four respondents reported that they received beatings from their fathers/stepfathers. However, all the respondents received, and described their experiences of, punishment from their mothers. "My mother had many frustrations … she was short tempered … if she hit you she hit you" (respondent E), "My real mother … she's a very harsh person for her child" (respondent B), and "My mother punished me while I was still young by pinching my thigh continuously" (respondent H). These comments reflected the recurring administration of punishment, such as frequent or severe hitting, slapping, and beating, by an angry or frustrated mother that Pritchard (2004:12) refers to as physical abuse.

Punishment left the respondents with ambivalent feelings towards their mothers. "I felt that my mother did not like or love me when she hit me" (respondent I), and "It was not nice to be beaten [by my mother]" (respondent H), also showing that "love feels in short supply" for children living in homes with physical abuse (Howe, 2005:72).

That four of the respondents in the current study received physical punishment from their fathers/stepfather, but all received physical punishment from their mothers, differs from Simons et al (2008:558), who found that 68% of the 137 rapists in their study disclosed experiencing physical abuse "mostly perpetuated by their male care givers".

The use of frequent and severe corporal punishment was similarly reported by eight[117] respondents who attended school. "That teacher beat us a lot! I don't know what kind of a mother she was! … Beatings are *painful*. … They beat us like we are donkeys" (respondent G). The respondents reported daily "hits" and "beatings" at school. "That teacher beat me … I was naked" (respondent I). When respondents were punished, some of their behaviour stopped temporarily. "I knew that I was wrong but I continued my truancy from school" (respondent H). "I still didn't want to listen" (respondent C).

These continued behaviours, both in the school and home, despite the use of physical punishment to stop them, concur with Straus (1991:133) who found that punishment in the short term stops certain behaviour temporarily.

Given the punishment received at school by the respondents in the current study, often in response to their truancy and poor scholastic performance, it is highly unlikely that they received positive attention and support from their school teachers. "School was terrible" (respondent G). "The school thing … is taking me away from my hobbies" (respondent H). One finding from Jaffee, Caspi, Moffitt, Polo-Tomás and Taylor (2007:246) was that boys (from the United Kingdom) who are "bright, sociable and self-controlled" attracted more attention and support from

[117] Respondents D and F did not attend school.

their school teachers and other adults, particularly when they knew, or suspected, that these boys came from difficult home circumstances.

The possible association between long-term physical punishment and violent behaviours are suggested by Fergusson and Lynskey (1997:617), Straus, Sugarman and Giles-Sims (1997:161), and Widom and Ames (1994:303). Lee, Jackson, Pattison and Ward (2002:76) note that there are few studies that have investigated the possible relationship between abuse and different types of sexual offenders, but that such a relationship "may be inferred". The present study similarly reflected the possible association between long-term physical punishment during childhood and violent adulthood sexual offending, likewise suggested by Simons et al (2008:549). All of these studies have reported high levels of paternal physical abuse. As noted, in the current study, only four respondents received physical punishment from their fathers/stepfather. However, all the respondents described physical abuse from their father figures, as well as mothers, care givers, relatives, school teachers and principals. It is therefore highly possible that physical abuse is another aetiological factor in particularly violent sexual offending, such as the rape of very young children, since all of the respondents in the current study experienced physical abuse in the home. Furthermore, the eight respondents who attended school also experienced physical abuse from principals and teachers.

Pertinent to the current study was the development of respondents' sexuality and associated behaviours, more so as the respondents reported that, as children, they were unable to discuss sexual matters with their parents/care givers.

Development of childhood sexuality

Marshall and Marshall (2000:253-4) note that children deprived of love and affection will often turn to masturbation as a "way of making themselves feel better" and obtaining temporary relief from difficult problems. Some respondents in the current study, deprived of love and affection, reported that they denied their "sexual feelings" expressed in, "The sexual feelings always came … but I took no action" (respondent E) and "The mind was too cross [to masturbate]" (respondent A). These comments also possibly reflected some respondents' difficulty in discussing their masturbatory practices with the researcher.

Other respondents disclosed their participation in group masturbation. “We gonna play. We lay down, maybe 11 of us, we see who’s gonna ejaculate first” (respondent G), and “I practiced group masturbation often” (respondent D). These findings suggest the “frequent” and “high relative rates of” masturbation noted by Simons et al (2008:557) as well as Marshall and Marshall (2000:250) respectively.

Simons et al (2008:557) found that rapists reported developmental histories that included maladaptive behaviours, such as frequent masturbation, bestiality, and animal cruelty. In the current study, bestiality was reported by one respondent. “No one told me. I saw the donkeys having sex. It’s here I feel to make sex. … I used to like that dog. And that dog, it like me. … It’s here I release myself” (respondent G). However, this disclosure differed from Simons et al (2008:558) who report that child sexual abusers were “significantly more likely” than rapists to disclose their acts of bestiality, commencing at the age of 12. The respondent in the current study, a convicted rapist, thought he was aged 14 when he had sex with a dog.

Animal cruelty was reported by two respondents, both of whom “cook[ed] an egg and … put it inside the dog’s mouth”, and beat their dogs “nicely” (respondents H and I) and reflected Simons et al (2008:557), that rapists report more frequent experiences of cruelty to animals.

Another maladaptive behaviour, voyeurism, was also noted in the current study. “I’d actually go and look through keyholes [at couples engaged in sexual activity]. I masturbated whilst I watched” (respondent D).

Simons et al (2008:557) found that sexual offenders were exposed to violent media and pornography before the age of ten. In the current study, rather than violent media, respondents reported their witness of violence in their homes, noted in, “My older brother would beat my mother” (respondent G), and “I would try and break the fight [between my parents]. My father would tell me to go away, using a swear word” (respondent H). Respondents were similarly exposed to a form of “violent media” in their communities, with their witness of violence. “I saw the gang hit a woman and her head was open” (respondent D, aged eight). Furthermore, rather

than the pornography noted by Simons et al (2008:557), the respondents, as children, witnessed and heard sexual acts between adults at home, demonstrated in, "Why is my father lying on top of my mother" (respondent E). It is possible that witnessing adult sexual activity led to a "heightened sexualized childhood" reported by Simons et al (2008:557), with an outcome of "I started having sex at a young age" (respondent H). Half of the respondents in the present research reported that they commenced penetrative sexual intercourse aged between ten and 16. "We used to play … I was doing sex" (respondent B). However, Simons et al (2008:557) suggest that a "heightened sexualized childhood" was more associated with child sexual abusers than rapists, again a finding that differs from the current study.

The first two findings of the study concerned parental absences, and frequent and severe corporal punishment, or forms of maltreatment. These findings are linked to the third finding of the study, the effect of maltreatment on attachment.

Attachment and maltreatment

Attachment is the "dyadic regulation of emotion" (Howe, 2005:27). Attachment theory, according to Howe, Brandon, Hinings and Schofield (1999:11), facilitates understanding of how social adversity places some children at greater risk of experiencing personal distress, interpersonal conflict, and the development of problem behaviours. The respondents experienced social adversity. Their personal distress was suggested in the comments, "When I want the school fees, I've got to pay them" (respondent A) and, "I often went to school with an empty stomach … but my mind was not there" (respondent G). Interpersonal conflict was conveyed in the remark, "There is nothing I can say that I've done with my brothers" (respondent I). The development of childhood problem behaviours was noted in the current study as bullying, and for four respondents, conflict with the law. "I was always older than the other children. So I'd hit them first. … I got seven [court-ordered] lashes for housebreaking" (respondent D, aged 15).

Feist and Feist (1998:153) highlight that human personality is shaped largely by children's early relationships with their mothers. In the current research, respondents reported that, "I got angry with my mother as she couldn't give me all

the things I wanted" (respondent G), "I asked my mother why she didn't get a divorce" (respondent H), and "She was tough to us, my mother" (respondent J). Object relations theory suggests that the respondents, as children, incorporated images of their mothers, who were important to them and to whom they were emotionally attached (Barlow and Durand, 2005:19) as being "tough" on them, "weak" in their ability to stand up to abusive fathers/partners, and incapable of meeting the respondents' needs. The behaviour of respondents' mothers, as "introjected objects", created conflict for the respondents' identities or roles (Barlow and Durand, 2005:19-20), expressed in, "My father and mother taught me it was wrong to assault people. … I normally felt unhappy when I got hit by my mother" (respondent D), "My mother was always giving me a hiding in the morning if I didn't want to go to school. … My mother took me out of school. … She didn't mean to stab my father to death" (respondent E).

Attachment difficulties are further compounded when children experience maltreatment (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:157). Maltreatment includes physical abuse, experienced by all the respondents in the current research as punishment. The respondents suppressed their feelings whilst receiving punishment. "Even if your mother hits you very hard, you mustn't make a noise or they'll laugh at you" (respondent F). "I can't cry when people hurt me. … I cry on my own" (respondent G). These statements suggest that the respondents, as children, used avoidant patterns of attachment by minimizing affect and failing to process their emotions (Howe, 2005:33). "My mother had many frustrations … she was short tempered … if she hit you, she hit you" (respondent E). "I was very, very scared" (of my stepmother) … I'll never cry" (respondent B). The parental abuse and violence experienced by the respondents are features of disorganized childhood attachment behaviour, similarly reported by the rapists studied by Smallbone and Dadds (1998:9).

The absence of paternal abuse and violence are features of a more stable living situation. Another perspective of a stable living situation, defined by DuMont, Widom and Czaja (2007:269), is a child who lives with both parents, or within a

secure foster placement. These researchers found that a "stable"[118] living situation at least tripled the odds of developing resilience during adolescence for children who have experienced neglect, as well as physical and sexual abuse. A stable living situation, even with both parents present, was not the childhood living situation for the respondents in the current study. Their experiences were of parental absences, violence and "passed around parenting" to relatives, with the latter predicament seen as a form of foster placement for respondents. However, respondents' relatives did not always provide appropriate care for them. Four respondents who lived with their relatives for a while, recalled them as "aggressive" (respondent A), and associated with "fighting whilst drinking" (respondent G). These recollections suggested that relatives' behaviour, often accompanied by the use of alcohol, was unpredictable, violent, and frightening, the same aspects associated with unstable living conditions, and disorganized childhood attachment behaviour (Smallbone and Dadds, 1998:10). Parents, and as noted in the current study, as well as care givers, of maltreated children did not help them to contain and regulate their escalating arousal, resulting in increased feelings of fear and shame (Howe, 2005:38), noted in, for example, respondents running away from violence in their family homes. "When my father was fighting, I don't like that. I would go next door" (respondent J) demonstrated that abusive and hostile parents were frightening for the respondents as children (Howe, 2005:37). Shame is reflected in the comment, "I didn't like that the neighbours could hear my mother crying if there was a quarrel between her and my father" (respondent H).

Similarly, parents who use alcohol are frightening for children (Howe, 2005:37), expressed in "We didn't feel to eat … because we know he (father who drank heavily) is going to start a problem" (respondent G). According to Werner and Smith (2001:145), exposure to parental alcoholism, from early childhood to age 18, has a "strong association" with poor adaptation, particularly if an alcoholic father was present in the household, likewise reflected in the current research. "My father always need *(sic)* to fight for that beer" (respondent G). "At times, it would be my father who was drunk" (respondent H). Respondents also witnessed drunken and

[118] DuMont et al (2007:269) use the word "stable" in quote marks. The current research highlights that some two-parent families live with violence and alcohol abuse.

violent behaviours from their uncles and mothers' boyfriends, suggesting in the current study that poor adaptation was associated with alcoholic male figures as well as alcoholic fathers.

Craissati, McClurg and Browne (2002:909) found that an affectionless control style of parental bonding was "highly prevalent" amongst sex offenders and, according to Rich (2006:14), is an outcome of childhood attachment experiences. "I remember my father didn't give me that love, same with my mother" (respondent J). "Affectionless" was reflected in respondents' feelings during physical punishment from their parents. "I felt that my mother did not like me or love me when she hit me" (respondent I). Similarly, Marshall and Marshall (2000:250) propose that "the origins of sexual offending lie in the offender's experience of poor quality childhood relationships with their parents". In the present study, poor quality relationships between respondents and their parents were similarly noted. "I was very scared of my stepmother and would not show my feelings" (respondent B). Similarly, McCormack et al (2002:91) report that fathers of rapists were less responsive than fathers of other groups of offenders, also noted in the current study as, "I never did anything with my father" (respondent D) and by permanently absent fathers, the experience of six respondents, through abandonment and in one instance, death, in the current research. The comment, "When I get home, my family can't look for me if I'm back or what. They just sleep and see me in the morning" (respondent I), suggested looser parental boundaries similarly noted in the rapists studied by McCormack et al (2002:91). The last comment also reflected an absence of attachment figures to whom a respondent could turn for protection and comfort (Howe, 2008:28), equally expressed in the current study as, "I had no one to talk to" (respondent E), and "If I had an older brother, maybe I wouldn't have got hurt" (respondent G).

The attachment difficulties respondents experienced during their childhood continued in their adulthood. Some respondents' expressed idealized notions of intimate relationships.

Attachment difficulties in adulthood

Respondents expressed their "idealized" notions of supportive partners. "I wanted somebody, a shoulder to cry on, somebody who can't leave you, whether it's rain or storm" (respondent I), and "A girlfriend is like a gift from heaven" (respondent B). DuMont et al (2007:555) note that a supportive partner can promote resilience in young adulthood. However, respondents' actual relationships were in marked contrast to their "idealized" statements and reflected the absence of a supportive partner. Their adult sexual relationships suggested emotional immaturity. "… I wake up in the morning. … I don't like [my girlfriend] today. … I ask her – do you still love me? When she's supposed to answer me, she pause" (respondent G), and "A woman is there for sex" (respondent D). These statements are also suggestive of insecure attachment patterns associated with the fear of emotional abandonment and continual demands (Howe, 2005:34), further reflected in "If there was no money, no love, nothing" (respondent G), and "My girlfriend did funny things, denying me sex … so I'm gonna hit her" (respondent J). Hence, for the respondents in the current study, their relationships with partners did not facilitate the development of resilience during adulthood.

"No money" also reflects the convergence of respondents' socio-economic and attachment difficulties, noted in, "My (pregnant) girlfriend came to me everyday, saying give me some money" (unemployed respondent J) and furthermore, reflected gender power inequalities (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002:1238).

The use of sex as "a primary coping strategy" by sexual offenders (Marshall and Marshall: 2000, 253-4) was also noted in the current study with respondents' descriptions of one-night stands, multiple girlfriends (with the exception of respondent A who said he had one girlfriend), and for two respondents (D and G), their use of prostitutes. "After sex … you find another lady" (respondent J), "I would say, 'can I come and visit you' and they [women] would say, 'yes' and I'd go for it" (respondent C), "I had many, many girlfriends" (respondent B), and "I used maybe eight prostitutes a lot" (respondent G). Marshall (1989:491) as well as Ney, Fung and Wickett (1994:711) refer to the "searching" of individuals amongst similarly deprived individuals, noted in "You make sex, you enjoy yourselves.

Tomorrow, the lady goes from my room. The next day … you get another lady" (respondent I). "And then, after sex, I will leave her" (respondent G).

Some respondents' sexual relationships were also in marked contrast to their "idealized" notions of partners, with four respondents disclosing their use of violence in their sexual relationships. "I hit my wife" (respondent F), and "To beat somebody you show her love" (respondent I). These findings concur with Abrahams, Jewkes and Laubsher (1999:16) who concluded that there was an association between abusive men and their childhood witness of their mothers' abuse, noted in, "For as long as I could remember, my father beat my mother. … I would correct my girlfriends … by beating them, disciplining them" (respondent H). Adult attachment difficulties, reflected in the current study, concur with Smallbone and Dadds (1998:10), who found that rapists could adopt uncaring, unsympathetic approaches to their sexual partners, similarly reported in, "My girlfriend denied me sex [whilst she was menstruating] so I beat her face with the buckle of my belt whilst I sat on her chest" (respondent J), and "I would punch my girlfriend's face for three minutes. … Then she feels hurt and cries" (respondent I).

The relationships between settings, such as the home and school, are discussed with reference to the mesosystem.

The mesosystem

The mesosystem refers to the interrelations between two or more settings, such as the home and the school, in which the developing child actively participates (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:25). For the respondents in the current study, their interrelations with others were adversarial and coincided (Simons et al, 2008:557). Such adversarial interrelations leave children extremely vulnerable, as suggested in, "When you are a child, when your family are messing with you, you don't know right from wrong. But when you grow up, you recognize there's a wrong and a right, that there's problems" (respondent I). The respondents' experience of childhood was associated with neglect, or what Salter, McMillan, Richards, Talbot, Hodges, Bentovim, Hastings, Stevenson and Skuse (2003:476) refer to as "discontinuity of care" - an identified risk for children becoming abusers in later life.

Such discontinuity of care, or neglect, was seen in four ways in the current study. The first were the long hours that the respondents' parents and care givers were away from the family home. This is discussed further in the exosystem. Second, fathers who apparently abandoned their families, "My father just left when I was seven. … He didn't come back no more" (respondent G), or fathers who were reported to have had no involvement with the respondents as children, "I never met my really father" (respondent B). The third way was the shifting of responsibility from parents to respondents that also included age-inappropriate demands. "I helped my grandmother to the toilet and wiped her private parts" (respondent A, aged 14), and "My mother said your father is no longer here and you must now stand as a father in the house" (respondent E, aged 14). The fourth way was what could be termed, "passed around parenting", and refers to the changing care givers of the respondents. "From the age of ten, I lived with my little father (uncle, aged about 17). Between the ages of 14 and 16, I lived with my grandfather and then I went back to my little father" (respondent A). This comment suggests that whilst many respondents, as children in African families, were exposed to extensive networks of family relationships and multiple mothering (Magwaza, 1997:166), it is the quality of that exposure that influences children's development. In this regard, Rutter (1985:598) highlights the importance of family influences on children's development. In the current research family influences were negative (McCormack et al, 2002:11), and childhood adversities coincided (Simons et al, 2008:557) highlighted in, "My father just left when I was seven. … Sometimes I had enough to eat. Sometimes I had nothing. [We had to go and live with my grandmother]. … Me, my three older brothers and our mother were forced to leave our grandmother's home, after quarrels about my brothers' drinking and taking things" (respondent G).

Similarly, the findings of the current study reflect McCormack et al (2002:91) who report that sexual offenders' perceptions of early interpersonal relationships included "low levels of supervision and discipline" reflected in the current study. Low levels of supervision are highlighted in, "I started drinking when I was ten years old" (respondent F), and "I was *los*"[119] (respondent C). Low levels of discipline were the experience of all the respondents in the current study, with

[119] Roaming, up to nonsense.

discipline experienced as physical punishment. "Discipline was beating" (respondent I). Respondents reported being "hit" and "beaten" by their mothers, a situation they sometimes experienced as normal, encapsulated in the comments, "It was like that in the family. When one does something wrong, all of us got a hiding from our mother" (respondent D), and "There was nothing wrong when my mother hit me because I had made a mistake by letting the cows go" (respondent F).

Respondents' early interpersonal relationships with family members were similarly associated with "low levels of supervision and discipline" (McCormack et al, 2002:91). "My uncle beat me with a big belt when I am making a mistake. He was so aggressive" (respondent A). "My brother-in-law broke my rib when I pinched some *liqueur*. … He beat me sore that time" (respondent G), which suggested abusive punishment rather than discipline.

Howe (2002:172) explains that the quality of relationships between children and others has "a direct bearing" on the development of personality and the emotional composition of an individual. The poorer the quality of the history of relationships and social environment, "the less robust" is psychological composition, and the ability to deal with demands from other people, social situations, and emotional issues (Howe, 2002:172). This inability to deal with demands was similarly noted in the current study. During their childhood and adulthood, respondents reported that, "I didn't go to school because sometimes I don't have shoes" (respondent I), despite the likelihood of other barefoot and poverty-stricken children attending the same school, "I'm supposed to pay my employer back money I borrowed. I didn't go back to work" (respondent I), and "I hated that job. I just leave the work" (respondent B).

Resilience in the face of adversity

Ney, Fung and Wickett (1004:705) delineated combinations of child abuse and neglect. They concluded that physical neglect, physical abuse and emotional abuse have the greatest negative affect on children. Physical neglect was noted in the current study as withholding food as a form of punishment, and parents' buying alcohol instead of food. Physical abuse was experienced as disproportionate punishment received by all the respondents, from many individuals, in the current

study. Emotional abuse, including verbal abuse, was also described by the respondents in this research, "He was punching me with his mouth" (respondent B), and "My mother called me stupid, lazy … and all that" (respondent F). These three combinations have the greatest impact on children and affected things such as their optimism, or "enjoyment of living and hopes for the future" (Ney et al, 1004:705). Comments from the respondents suggested that they were optimistic about their lives as children. "I was a good scholar" (respondent B). "I went on a school trip. I enjoyed that trip. I felt like a star. They want me! Heh, I'm important" (respondent G).

As noted, when children are maltreated the development of resilience is unlikely (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:157). The concept of resilience refers to individuals who "have a relatively good outcome" despite suffering a number of risk experiences that are associated with serious sequelae (Rutter, 2007:205). "Resilience" insists Rutter (2007:205) "involves an inference based on findings concerning individual differences in response to stress or adversity" and is not an observed trait. It is therefore possible that millions of South Africans, and others, who have some common psychosocial features with the respondents in the current study, are able to develop resilience.

Jaffee et al (2007:231) conducted research into factors that distinguish resilient from non-resilient maltreated children. These researchers concluded that for children in families with multiple problems, personal resources might not be enough to promote adaptive functioning. Families with multiple problems include family characteristics such as the absence of maternal warmth and the presence of substance abuse problems; social deprivation, or the socio-economic status of the family; maltreatment and adult domestic violence (Jaffee et al, 2007:237-8). These same problems were experienced by the respondents in the current study, noted in poor relationships with their mothers, or a lack of maternal warmth: "I don't remember my mother gave me that love" (respondent J); substance abuse problems, "My father had big problems with wine" (respondent C); socio-economic status, "The shack was not a nice house" (respondent A), and "Food was a problem" (respondent G); maltreatment, "My parents never hugged me" (respondent D); and adult domestic violence, "My father was an aggressive guy … abusing my mother"

(respondent G). The respondents' resilience was "severely compromised" when exposed to the same family stressors noted by Jaffee et al (2007:246). Their findings also suggested that family risk factors had stronger effects on boys. Similarly, DuMont et al (2007:269), in their study concerning predictors of resilience in adults who were abused and neglected as children, cite Rutter who notes that gender differences to trauma may be the result of responses from the event by the child and surrounding adults, as well as an underlying vulnerability to the risk, encapsulated as, "They didn't care for me and I didn't care for them" (respondent I).

Given the respondents' experiences of childhood with overlapping adversities at home, school and their communities (Simons et al, 2008:557), it is highly unlikely that they were able to develop resilience in the face of such adversity. Similarly, DuMont et al (2007:270) suggest that individuals with support in place are more likely to sustain resilience over the life span. However, for the respondents in the current study, there was characteristically a lack of support, "I was forced to go and work because of the situation I was in … to buy my things" (respondent B). The lack of support was further noted in the coercive roles of respondents' uncles as adoptive fathers (Magwaza, 1997:167) and other care givers. "My uncle was so aggressive" (respondent A), and "Somewhere I can feel that this man is not like a real brother to me" (respondent I). Similarly, factors such as completion of school education noted by DuMont et al (2007:270), and personal resources, such as the ability to deal with challenges discussed by Moen and Erikson (2001:170) that could sustain resilience over the life span, were not apparent in the respondents. Not one respondent in the current study completed his school education. "It was up to the children … to push ourselves in school" (respondent H). The inability to deal with a challenge is reflected in, "I hated that job. I just leave the work" (respondent B).

These findings also concur with Werner and Smith (2001:153, 173) who note that high-risk individuals who have caring adults, such as caring teachers and older mentors, are helped to "beat the odds". The respondents in the current study apparently had no such caring individuals or positive role models in their lives, as expressed in, "I had no one to talk to" (respondent E), "My brother-in-law was

punching me with his mouth" (respondent B) and, "I didn't have somebody to ask me a question" (respondent I). These findings likewise reflect McCormack et al (2002:91) who report that the rapists in their study had few positive relationships in their lives.

Respondents' lived their lives within a milieu of poverty, experienced at the level of the exosystem.

The exosystem

These are the external forces that shape development but do not necessarily involve the child as an active participant (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:25). Such external forces in the current study include material deprivation as part of the "societal violence" discussed by Gil (1992:288).

Material deprivation

All of the respondents who participated in the current study experienced childhood within a milieu of desperate socio-economic conditions. Poverty is a situation common to many South Africans (Marais, 2001:7). That the respondents could change their situations through education and employment was unlikely, and again, is common for many South Africans. Londt (2008:97) notes that many sexual offenders in South Africa experience "extreme poverty". Poverty as a contributory factor in the rape of women is similarly noted by Jewkes and Abrahams (2002:1238). This does not suggest that "membership of the working class" or living with poverty cause rape (Vogelman, 1990:200). In this regard, Briggs and Hawkins (1996:221) note that child molesters do not only originate from the poorest strata of society but that such men are more likely to be reported, convicted, and incarcerated. Similarly, Townsend and Dawes (2004:69-71) note that abusers are present in all social groups. However, socio-economic factors "may well increase vulnerability" for an individual to sexually offend against a child (Townsend and Dawes, 2004:69), and is reflected in the current study.

The contentious and complex association, or "conundrum" (McSherry, 2004:727), between poverty as circumstance, and neglect as deliberate acts, are pertinent to the findings of the present research. McSherry (2004:729) highlights that poverty does

not predetermine neglect. Rather, neglect is "strongly associated with poverty" with neglecting parents unable to meet their children's social, intellectual, emotional, and physical needs (Hobbs and Wynne, 2002:144). This was a finding of the current study noted in the inability of respondents' parents to meet respondents' childhood needs at the level of the exosystem.

Respondents in the current study had "physically absent" relationships with their mothers, their primary care givers. Inherent in these absences were "low levels of supervision" that McCormack et al (2002:91) caution is a childhood risk factor for adult offending. This was seen in two ways. First, the working hours of mothers: "My mother returned home at 9 pm tired" (respondent H), and "My mother came home at the weekends" (respondent F). Second, with respondents who did not always live with their mothers: "I was about 12. I worked as a garden boy and came home at the weekend" (respondent F), also suggesting discontinuity of care reported by Salter et al (2003:476) and/or rejection by carers, noted in physically absent fathers (Simons et al, 2008:549), "My father just left when I was seven … He didn't come back no more" (respondent G). The discontinuity of care (Salter et al, 2003:476), or neglect, was also noted in hunger, with three (A, B and H) respondents in the current study reporting care givers withholding food. "If we did not undertake household tasks, our father would punish us to say maybe we won't have a meal" (respondent H). Some respondents also reported that they had inadequate clothing for school, or insufficient clothes and shoes during winter. This is also a form of physical neglect (Prichard, 2004:12). However, the respondents' "discontinuity of care" (Salter et al, 2003:476) becomes complex when located within the "conundrum" (McSherry, 2004:727) of poverty and neglect. Respondents reported that their parents were often unable to purchase sufficient food and clothing for them. "Often there was no food" (respondent A). "I'm wearing trousers that are patch[ed] up" (respondent I).

The respondents in the current study lived in neighbourhoods that experienced crime, domestic, and political violence, or what Jaffee et al (2007:231) term "neighbourhood stressors". "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" (respondent H). "Even my neighbour used to beat his wife" (respondent I). "We couldn't continue with our (school) studies because there was fear that our house (shack) would be burnt down. … So we had to stay at home … and guard our property" (respondent H). DuMont et al (2007:268) found that women and African-American individuals who experienced maltreatment during childhood appeared to be more resilient in adolescence compared to men, as well as white, non-Hispanic individuals similarly maltreated during childhood. To explain their finding, DuMont et al (2007:269) cite Jarrett who explored the strategies used by African-American families to promote resilience, including "curfews" in high crime areas. These researchers' findings contrast with the findings of the current study. Such "curfews" were not reported by the respondents in the current study. Growing up with neighbourhood advantage[120] did not appear to contribute directly to resilience during adolescence in abused and neglected children, but rather characteristics such as cognitive ability and household stability, appear to influence resilience (DuMont et al, 2007:269). However, these characteristics are not necessarily associated with neighbourhood advantage, and were not associated with the childhood of the respondents in the current study.

The violence experienced by respondents was also experienced at the level of the macrosystem.

The macrosystem

The macrosystem refers to "blueprints" of society that define and organize the institutional life of society and have influence at all levels of the environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979:26). In the current study these influences included violence and male domination, male virility and abuse, as well as urbanisation and unemployment (Townsend and Dawes, 2004:63-8).

[120] These researchers explain that "neighbourhood advantage" refers to the positive characteristics of a neighbourhood, including percentage of owner occupied housing, families with above average incomes, individuals aged 25 years or more with four year degrees, and individuals aged 16 years or more working as professionals or managers (DuMont et al, 2007:262).

Violence and male domination

The factors noted by Townsend and Dawes (2004:63-8) at the level of the macrosystem that influence the sexual abuse of children, including male dominance and violence, were also present in the current study. Violence has characterized South African society before and after apartheid (Pelser and de Kock, 2000:80), noted in, "Always I see people killing people … It hurt me a lot. … Sometimes I experience only hard things. It is not a simple thing I see" (respondent I). Witnessing such acts, and the accompanying use of violence, became "normal". "… There's always stabbing and fighting so I'm used to it" (respondent E). Beatings in school were also "normal" and condoned. "All the parents they gonna agree – why you doing wrong things in school" (respondent G). These comments highlight that respondents' experiences of violence, experienced socially and historically, were formed through their interactions with others and were socially constructed (Creswell, 2003:8), and learnt through witnessing, and then using, violence. "When we beat women … that's what makes us men" (respondent I). This statement also concurs with Jewkes and Abrahams (2002:1238), who note that the male control of women features strongly in the dominant social construction of South African masculinity.

Male domination (Guma and Henda, 2004:99) was seen in the current research. "Women don't have the power to say to you 'what are you doing?' … when we beat them. I know she can't beat me. … That's what makes us men. To be like that" (respondent I), and similarly reflected the violent and coercive practices dominating sexual relationships noted by Wood et al (1998:233).

Male virility and abuse

The normalization of male virility and abuse (Townsend and Dawes, 2004:63-8) was reflected in the current study: "If you don't have children then you are not a man" (respondent A). "I loved women. I was having lots of girlfriends. … I was enjoying it because they called me a playboy, because I was having many girlfriends. And my father did the same. He was having many girlfriends, at once" (respondent F). These statements similarly reflect the respondents' status, within their peer groups, as noted by Jewkes and Abrahams (2002:1238). Respondents' abuse of their partners was highlighted in, "I corrected my girlfriends … by beating

them, disciplining them" (respondent H), and "To beat somebody, you show her love" (respondent I), reflected the use of violence as the "normal" way to solve problems in sexual relationships.

Urbanisation and unemployment

South Africa experienced influx control[121] and hence, normal patterns of development did not occur. The abolishment of influx control in 1986 led to extremely high levels of urbanisation, with concomitant unemployment, and few social support networks to assist individuals (Pelser and de Kock, 2000:86). These factors associated with rapid urbanization were similarly experienced by all respondents in the current study: "There were a lot of shacks where I lived" (respondent A); concomitant unemployment, "I saw there were too many adults trying to get work" (respondent J), "I wasn't lucky enough to get hired" (respondent H), and few social support networks to support individuals, "No one … would assist our mother providing for the family financially" (respondent H). Similarly, Londt (2008:97) notes many South African sexual offenders have inadequate support networks, are unemployed, and experience extreme poverty. These situations are common for many South Africans. When respondents tried to find work, they experienced humiliation and scorn (Marais, 2001:198). "So many people told me to fuck off when I asked them for a job" (respondent J). This left respondents unable to establish economically and socially validating roles in their lives (Marais, 2001:198), with associated feelings of emasculation, reflected in, "It is really hurting or not good for you when as a man you don't get a job" (respondent H). Such sentiments would be experienced by other unemployed men in South Africa (Barnett and Whiteside, 2002:154) who do not commit violent sexual crimes.

Summary of findings

The respondents in the current study experienced maltreatment during their childhood. This maltreatment comprised emotional and physical abuse as well as neglect from all the significant adults in their lives, both in the home, and for eight respondents, in the school as well. Some of this maltreatment took the form of severe and frequent corporal punishment. However, the findings from the current

[121] Influx control was a system of controlling where people lived and worked during apartheid.

study have variations when compared to the literature cited in this study. Four respondents were beaten by their fathers/stepfather. One respondent never knew his father. Five of the ten respondents reported that they were never hit or beaten by their fathers/stepfathers. This finding differs from McCormack et al (2002:91) who found that 68% of the rapists in their study reported physical abuse "mostly perpetuated by their male care givers". However, all the respondents in the present study reported high levels of physical punishment from their uncles, and/or older brothers, and/or their mother's boyfriends who were not necessarily their care givers.

Common to all the respondents were their experiences of emotional and physical abuse, as well as neglect, from their mothers. Mothers' reported behaviours and statements were often contradictory: "My mother smacked me … (when I bullied) some children" (respondent A). This finding was also different from McCormack et al (2002:91).

Respondents' accounts of the development of their sexuality are extremely suggestive of a "heightened sexualized childhood", reported by Simons et al (2008:557). This was possibly rooted in respondents' childhood witness of first, violence in their homes, reported as "violent media" by Simons et al (2008:557), and second, adults engaging in sexual activities in overcrowded living conditions, reported as exposure to pornography by Simons et al (2008:557). However, the finding of a "heightened sexualized childhood" in the current study of rapists is in marked contrast to Simons et al (2008:557) who found that a "heightened sexualized childhood" was more associated with child sexual abusers. Furthermore, one respondent in the current study disclosed an incident of bestiality, and two respondents' disclosed cruelty to animals, again in contrast to Simons et al (2008:557) who found that such disclosures were more common in child sexual abusers rather than rapists.

The respondents' constant maltreatment created childhood attachment difficulties (Howe et al, 1999:11), and affected their ability to develop resilience (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:157) more so as many of their adversities converged (Jaffee et al, 2007:231). Furthermore, the respondents witnessed drunken behaviour from

family members and relatives that affected their adaptation (Werner and Smith, 2001:145). Crucially, the respondents' childhood histories highlight the absence of positive role models, or mentors, to help "beat the odds" (Werner and Smith, 2003:153, 173) or a supportive partner (DuMont et al, 2007:555), that might have facilitated the development of resilience during adulthood

4. ISSUES RELATING TO THE RESPONDENTS' RAPE OF CHILDREN UNDER THREE YEARS OF AGE

These issues include sample characteristics, a brief comparison between the respondents and paedophiles, respondents' retrospective feelings before the rapes, cognitive distortion, alcohol and disinhibition, and lack of empathy.

Sample characteristics

The sample characteristics of the current study were compared with those noted in an "infantophile" group, comprised of ten individuals, or "those who reported [sexually] offending against children less than five years of age" from a study conducted by Greenberg, Bradford and Curry (1995:63-71). This comparison is presented in tabular form overleaf. "Total sample" in this table refers to the inclusion of the results from 28 paedophiles, with ten infantophiles, in the Greenberg et al (1995) study:

Sample Characteristic	**Current Study**	**"Infantophiles" in Greenberg et al (1995:63) study**
Median age	29,7	23,5
Age range	19 to 61	Not reported
Age of victim	Average 2,6 years	Average 3,9 years
Ages of victims	All under the age of three years	All under the age of five years
Reported sexual victimization during childhood	One	Two
Employment status at time of offence	All unemployed	About half unemployed
Marital status	Married or "live-in" relationships (40%) Single (60%)	*(Total sample of 28)* Married or "live-in" relationships (21,1%) Single (63,2%) Divorced (15,8%)
History of violence	100%	*(Total sample of 28)* Over 10%
Relationship between victim and offender	One relationship unknown One stranger to victim Acquaintances or friends (60%) Relatives (20%)	*(Total sample of 28)* One stranger to victim Acquaintances or friends (63%) Relatives (5,3%) Stepfathers (10,5%)
Alcohol dependency	Eight	A third
Drug abuse	40%	Almost 20%

Table 20: Comparison of sample characteristics in the current study and Greenberg et al (1995)

Marked differences in the table include that respondents in the current study were all unemployed, had a history of violence, and more respondents reported their dependency on alcohol, and drug abuse.

Brief comparison of respondents and paedophiles

The characteristics of respondents in the present research are compared to the diagnosis of paedophiles reflected in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-IV-TR, American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571), who note that paedophiles attracted to female children usually prefer eight to ten-year-olds. Excuses and rationalizations such as "love", "educational value", or "sexual provocation" are frequently used by paedophiles to justify their sexual

behaviours against children (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571). Some individuals with paedophilia are sexually attracted only to children (Exclusive Type), with others "sometimes" attracted to adults (Non-Exclusive Type) (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571). Paedophiliac behaviour is often associated with "grooming" (Travers, 1999:11), or developing complicated methods in order to obtain access to children, and prevent them from reporting sexual activities (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571). Individuals with paedophilia possibly limit their activities to their own children, stepchildren, or relatives, or children outside their families. The disorder usually begins in adolescence, although some individuals report that their arousal to children began during middle age (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571). The occurrence of paedophiliac behaviour often varies with psychosocial stress (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571).

In comparison, the female children in the current study varied between three months and three years in age at the time they were raped. The respondents had sexual relationships with multiple partners and did not report any sexual attraction to children. One respondent (D) described how he masturbated over the child before he penetrated her. This suggests that his act was not motivated by sexual arousal (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571). Respondents did not use rationalizations, such as love, educational value or sexual provocation, to justify their rape of children under the age of three. The rapes, as reported by the respondents, did not appear to contain "grooming" (Travers, 1999:11) to gain access to the children, reflected in, "The other children could see me raping the little girl" (respondent F). Indeed, some respondents (A, B, C, G and I) were care givers to the children they raped. Furthermore, the locations of these crimes, such as in the victims' homes, or under a bridge, suggest that the rapes were impulsive, opportunistic and without premeditation (Earl-Taylor, 2002:2) highlighted in the comment, "We men, we don't think" (respondent I). The enormous physical damage sustained to the victims, noted in, "The child was seriously injured at the back" (respondent G), meant that such sexual acts were neither secret nor characterized by the "syndrome of secrecy" (Furniss, 1991:22-24). Two respondents (A and C) were related to their victims. The age ranges of respondents were 19 to 61 years, with seven of the respondents under the age of 30

years, neither adolescent nor middle-aged (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571).

What is common to paedophiles, and the respondents in the current study, is "psychosocial stress" (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571). One such psychosocial stress experienced by the respondents in the present research was unemployment.

Unemployment

The respondents in the current study had been unemployed for between two and six years at the time they committed their sexual offences. Even when respondents were employed, "My mind was always on the money" (respondent I), indicating that the wages they earned were not necessarily an "antidote" to their poverty (Marais, 2001:179). The respondents referred to the financial demands made on them that they could not meet. "My mother was not satisfied with the money I gave her but she took it" (respondent E). "I didn't have money for a child" (respondent J). However, unemployment and desperate poverty, or societal violence (Gil, 1992:288), are experienced by millions of South Africans, with the respondents part of the poorest 40% of South Africans earning a mere 4% of the income (Marais, 2001:7). Whilst South Africa has one of the highest rates of male violence against women for a country that is not at war (Wood and Jewkes, 1997:44), and that roughly 10% of all rapes are against children under the age of three (Richter, 2003:395), millions of South Africans, despite their desperate socio-economic circumstances and the "unacceptably high levels" of crimes against individuals (Pelser and de Kock, 2000:86), do not commit violent sexual crimes against children under the age of three. It is possible that for the respondents in the current study, the psychosocial stressor of unemployment, coupled with the respondents' inability to cope with this, and other, adversities, led to "problems", noted in "If people are working … they are not making problems. If they are not working, they are making problems" (respondent A).

Respondents' recollections of their feelings before the rapes

Before their rape of very young children, the respondents recalled their feelings of anger (Marshall et al, 2006:88). "My mind was very cross" (respondent A), and "I

was cross with the mother" (respondent E). Respondents also expressed vindictiveness and revenge towards others. "The thing that drove me to rape is because they stole my cattle. … I was angry … I was hurting her (rape of toddler) when I didn't get my cattle, I decided to do this thing" (respondent F). "We are with five, drinking in a shebeen. We discussed sex. They gave me bad names and used crude expressions about my mother's genitalia. I was angry. I heard the men say that I never spoke bad about their mothers" (respondent D). "I was cross with the mother. … Her face said she wanted it [sex] … and then I thought … I will take it out on the child because of the mother" (respondent E). "I sometimes became very funny (towards the mother of the toddler) … If I allow myself to stay with her at the same time I am angry, maybe I will do something terrible to her" (respondent B). "Something terrible" suggests both punishment and revenge directed towards the mother and concurs with Hesselink-Louw and Schoeman (2003:160) who report that the motive of one infantophile in their study was revenge. Using an infant /toddler to send a message of "revenge" to punish the mother also concurs with Marchetti-Mercer (2003:10). However, in the current study "punishing" and exacting a crude form of revenge was towards mothers and others – such as men who had been crude in a shebeen, cattle thieves and an abusive uncle.

Tweedie (cited in Vogelman, 1990:126) claims that rape is driven, in part, by rage, vindictiveness and revenge, or "repayment in kind for childhood injuries received", experienced by the respondents in the current study as physical and emotional abuse as well as neglect. It is similarly argued in the current study that the motive for the respondents' acts was revenge, based on the findings of Groth et al (1977:1242). Their study included a typology of an "anger-retaliation" rapist, who rapes as an expression of his hostility and rage towards women. Such rapists have a motive of revenge with the aim of degradation and humiliation towards women (Groth et al, 1977:1242). In the current study, the need for revenge was against both men and women, using a young child in an opportunistic and brutal crime. During the interviews, four respondents spoke of revenge, associated with the use of violence, during their childhood and adulthood. "When I had a problem with a neighbour or something like that, I just went to the person and fight with him" (respondent F), "If someone hurt me, I hurt back" (respondent G), "We were going to pay revenge on the person who attacked me" (respondent I), "When somebody's

doing wrong things for me, I don't like it … I will respond by hitting him or doing things for her or him" (respondent B). However, noteworthy is the contradiction between respondents' recollections of their "chivalrous" feelings towards their mothers, recalled as, "They used crude expressions about my mother's genitalia" (respondents D and E), and "When my father beat my mother, it pierced my heart because I don't like to hear to hear the sounds of people crying" (respondent H), and their subsequent brutal acts towards defenceless infants and toddlers. It is possible, therefore, that one understanding of this contradiction is that given the respondents' constant experiences as both victims and perpetrators of violence and abuse, they were "readily activated or at least fail to be inhibited in the context of abuse and violence" (Smallbone and Dadds, 1998:10)

Furthermore, it is possible that the respondents' moral development, as children, was arrested at a low level as a result of their exposure to chronic violence and they therefore applied their morality in terms of a "vengeful vendetta mentality" (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:766). In this regard, Kohlberg proposed that moral development consists of three levels, with two stages at each level (Santrock, 2003:144). The preconventional level is based mainly on punishment (stage one) or reward (stage two) that comes from the external world. At the conventional level, an individual follows the standards such as those from parents (stage three) or society (stage four). At the postconventional level, an individual recognizes alternative moral courses, explores the options and then develops a personal moral code that reflects the principles generally accepted by the community (stage five) or more abstract principles for all of humanity (stage six). It is highly likely that the respondents in the current study applied their morality as punishment, the response to their own moral development, arrested at stage one (punishment) of Kohlberg's proposal of moral development.

Respondents used cognitive distortion when discussing their violent acts against very young children.

Cognitive distortion

The use of cognitive distortion was noted in some respondents' comments. "Nothing happened. It was just me and the one *meisie* (the respondent's infant

niece), the one that was raped. … The baby was laughing at the time" (respondent C). "She enjoyed it" (respondent I), who reported that the toddler did not cry during the rape. "There was no stress in that child" (respondent J). These thoughts were used in a way to "protect the self" for three respondents and concur with Marshall et al (2006:76). Some of the respondents shifted responsibility for their acts to the mothers of their young victims. "I said to myself if the child's mother did what she said she would [sex] then I wouldn't be in prison" (respondent E). "I do a painful thing to an innocent child. But the one who is supposed to protect the child is not there to protect her" (respondent G). These comments might also reflect the respondents' awareness that their sexual acts were unacceptable and their possible feelings of guilt. However, since their incarceration, respondent E is a "reborn" Christian, and respondent G follows the Islamic faith.

Given the extraordinary brutality of these acts, it could be expected that the respondents would use some of the myths associated with rape, as explained by Treger (2002:1), Lewis (1994:113), and Vogelman (1990:62), including the "virgin-cleansing" myth (Jewkes, 2004:130, 134). However, the respondents in the present research did not use any of these myths including the "virgin-cleansing" myth to justify their violent acts.

Alcohol and disinhibition

Respondents' feelings of aggression and/or "feeling good" emotionally and physically that accompanied their use of alcohol concur with Aromäki and Lindman (2001:94). Aggression following the use of alcohol was reported by almost all of the respondents in the present study. "Whenever I drank alcohol, I just go mad … and fight with people" (respondent F). Alcohol helped "feeling good" by taking away the "shyness" (respondent H). Similarly, the need for instant sexual gratification accompanying the use of alcohol noted by Morojele et al (2006:222) was also found in the current study. "If I'm drunk, I go to a prostitute. I don't have the patience" (respondent G). "If I use alcohol, then I always have the feeling to have sex" (respondent E).

Eight respondents' (C, D, E, F, G, H, I and J) statements about their use of alcohol suggest that they were dependent on alcohol. Four of these respondents (D, E, G and J) disclosed their use of marijuana as well, with respondent D also reporting his use of Mandrax. However, four of the respondents (B, C, I and J) in the current research were not under the influence of alcohol when they raped young children. Six respondents (A, D, E, F, G and H) reported that they had been drinking, possibly even binge drinking, prior to their raping very young children. This finding is higher than statistics concerning alcohol and rape from the South African Police Service (2003:12), who report that the incidence of the use of alcohol and associated crime of rape varies between 20 and 30%. The finding in the current research is closer to the finding from Aromäki and Lindman (2001:98) who found that 80% of the two groups of ten men convicted for rape and child molestation reported they were intoxicated when they committed their sexual offences, highlighting the role of alcohol as a disinhibting factor for at least six respondents in the current research.

Lack of empathy

The respondents' descriptions of their rape of very young children displayed a profound lack of empathy, similarly noted by Marshall et al (1995:108) and little remorse, reported by Delport and Vermeulen (2004:45). "I struggled to insert my penis … the penetration was *lekker* (nice) … I enjoyed having sex with her. I ejaculated" (respondent D). "I pushed very hard. … I ejaculated" (respondent E). In this regard, Straker (1992:104) explains that empathy and violence are related, with empathy acting to inhibit violence. The respondents' lives were constantly associated with violence. Straker (1992:104) highlights that the capacity to experience empathy and guilt are crucial to the survival of humanness and compassion. When these capacities are destroyed, the humanity of an individual is destroyed, and a brutalized person the result (Straker, 1992:104).

Those who rape very young children profoundly violate their rights. The present study has demonstrated that the respondents had no empathy for their young victims. Such violation and lack of empathy are essential features of Antisocial Personality Disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:701, 703). The pervasive pattern of disregarding and violating others begins in childhood, or early

adolescence, and continues into adulthood (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:701). However, an individual can only be given a diagnosis of Antisocial Personality Disorder at age 18 following a history of Conduct Disorder. The respondents in the current study reported behaviours that are characteristic of Conduct Disorder before the age of 18. These included aggression to people and animals, destruction of property (reported by respondent D most particularly), deceitfulness or theft, or serious violation of rules, noted particularly in six respondents' conflict with the law (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:93). It is possible that the remaining respondents committed acts associated with Conduct Disorder, or Antisocial Personality Disorder, but they were not disclosed to the researcher, possibly in response to the mandatory caution, or wanting to present their "preferred selves" (Henning, 2004:55) to her. Furthermore, individuals with Conduct Disorder are likely to minimize their conduct problems (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:94). The respondents all experienced childhood associated with child abuse and neglect, unstable and erratic parenting, as well as inconsistent parental discipline - forms of maltreatment that profoundly disrupted their early and adult attachments. The American Psychiatric Association (2000:703) reports that these factors first, increase the possibility of Conduct Disorder, and second increase the possibility of Conduct Disorder evolving into Antisocial Personality Disorder.

Associated features of Antisocial Personality Disorder include a possible history of multiple sexual partners, similarly reported by respondents in the current study, and as parents, irresponsible behaviour and acts towards their own children (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:703). These features are common to all the respondents in the present study. Antisocial Personality Disorder "appears to be associated with low socio-economic status and urban settings" (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:703). Desperate socio-economic conditions in towns and cities were experienced all respondents in the present study. However, there are individuals who exhibit similar features of the patterns of behaviour described that do not result in criminal or antisocial acts against others. Similarly, not all convicted criminals have Antisocial Personality Disorder.

In the context of the present research, that some respondents possibly display features of Antisocial Personality Disorder has implications for their management during incarceration and prognosis.

The final chapter concludes the research.

CHAPTER EIGHT:
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. MOTIVATION FOR CURRENT RESEARCH

The current research was motivated by some inaccurate reporting from local and international media concerning the rape of a nine-month-old infant in the Northern Cape of South Africa during October 2001. Some of the media reports intimated that this form of violence was unique to South Africa (Bird and Spurr, 2004:521), and started after the country's first democratic elections in April 1994 (Bestall and Joubert, 2002). A literature review conducted by the researcher demonstrated that such acts are neither new nor unique to South Africa, and have occurred before and after 1994.

The present study was also in response to some media articles that suggested the rape of children under the age of three was associated with the "virgin-cleansing" myth, similarly espoused with great conviction by several politicians (Jewkes, 2004:130). There was no suggestion from the respondents who participated in the current study that their sexual acts were motivated by the "virgin-cleansing" myth. Furthermore, the "virgin-cleansing" myth is neither new nor unique to South Africa (Tannahill, 1980:364, 370; Davidson, 2001:62).

2. ISSUES RAISED FOR THE RESEARCHER

The rape of children under the age of three years raised two issues for the researcher. The first issue concerned "grooming" that is often associated with how some sexual abusers gain children's trust and coerce them to keep their abuse secret.

"Grooming"

The respondents who participated in the current research did not use "grooming". Furthermore, the respondents displayed different characteristics from those used by child sex abusers listed in the diagnosis of paedophilia (American Psychiatric

Association, 2000:571). These differences include that respondents in the current study did not justify their actions with excuses such as the children were "sexually provocative", or rationalisation, such as the "educational value" or "sexual pleasure" for the child (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:571). The diagnostic criteria for paedophilia include a "period of at least six months [of] behaviours involving sexual activity with a child or children" (American Psychiatric Association, 2000:572). The respondents in the current study who disclosed their crimes to the researcher reflected isolated and impulsive acts, without premeditation.

The second issue raised for the researcher concerned why men committed such acts, and what factors in their psychosocial histories compelled them to behave so brutally towards infants and toddlers. This enabled formulation of the overall aim of the study.

Overall aim of the study

The overall aim of the study was to identify and describe the demographic profile and psychosocial history of ten convicted perpetrators of the rape of children under the age of three years, in order to develop an understanding of the factors in their psychosocial histories which might have influenced them to commit such acts.

Demographic profile

The respondents who participated in the current research comprised three coloured and seven black men. They were all serving lengthy prison sentences for the rape of children under the age of three years at the time of data collection. The respondents ranged in age from 19 to 61 when they raped children aged between three months and three years. None of the respondents completed their school education. Only one respondent in the current study was married. Nine of the respondents had children. Most respondents did not live with their children. All of the respondents had experienced unemployment for at least two years when they raped very young children. The respondents therefore experienced the "slow progress in education" and "economic stagnation" documented in the United Nations Human Development Report (2005:22) that has been attributed to South

Africa's decline in the Human Development Index rankings since 1990. The respondents were part of one of the most unequal societies in the world.

Psychosocial histories

The respondents' psychosocial histories were associated with poverty, maltreatment, and attachment difficulties, or what Simons, Wurtele and Durham (2008:557) refer to as the convergence of many adversities. It is possible that these adversities affected the respondents' ability to develop resilience. However, similar histories are not uncommon to many men in South Africa. Why, therefore, do many men with similar psychosocial histories, not rape particularly young children? The current research suggests that men, with similar psychosocial histories, who do not rape have developed resilience (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:157), and had a "relatively good outcome" despite their experiences associated with potentially serious sequelae (Rutter, 2007:205).

It is also possible that men, with similar psychosocial histories to the respondents in the current study, who have not raped very small children, had caring individuals and positive role models in their lives, such as caring teachers and older mentors to help them "beat the odds", as reflected in the study concerning resilience and high-risk individuals conducted by Werner and Smith (2001:153, 173). In the current study, there was no evidence of such persons having played a mentoring or caring role. Furthermore, the respondents lived their lives with poor social and community cohesion that many believe is at the root of violence against children most particularly (World Report on Violence against Children, 2006:11-2).

Differing experiences of maltreatment

It is also possible, based on the extant understandings of sexual offenders generally, that the respondents' childhood reflected in the current study had some differences in their experiences of maltreatment.

The possible association between childhood physical punishment and violent offending during adulthood has been suggested by various researchers. The first different finding in the current study, in comparison with the literature, was that all the respondents received frequent and severe corporal punishment administered by

their mothers. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that punishment was administered in silence and was therefore accompanied by verbal abuse. This resulted in psychological conflict (Ney, Fung and Wickett, 1994:711).

Only four respondents reported that they received physical punishment from their fathers/stepfather. This finding differs from Smallbone and Dadds (1998:10) as well as McCormack, Hudson and Ward (2002:11) who report that rapists had particularly problematic relationships with their fathers. However, all the respondents in the present research reported problematic, and violent, relationships with older males, such as uncles, older brothers and/or their mothers' boyfriends.

The respondents all reported various forms of neglect, including insufficient food and clothing, and that some mothers and other care givers deliberately withheld food as a form of punishment, actions that are physical neglect (Pritchard, 2004:12). Research undertaken by Ney et al (1994:705) identified "the worst combinations of child abuse and neglect" as physical abuse, physical neglect, and verbal abuse, all of which constituted the childhood experiences of the respondents in the current research, most often received from their mothers. These particular combinations of physical abuse and neglect, as well as emotional or verbal abuse, affect children greatly, and decrease their enjoyment of life and optimism (Ney et al, 1994:705).

Such maltreatment possibly led to attachment difficulties, and compounded respondents' difficulties to develop resilience.

The second difference in the present research, when compared to the literature, concerned respondents' development of a "heightened sexualized childhood" that Simons et al (2008:557) found was more associated with child sexual abusers than rapists. In the present study, the respondents, as children, frequently witnessed violent behaviours (or what Simons et al, 2008:557 refer to as violent media), and witnessed and/or heard sexual activity between their care givers and other adults (that Simons et al, 2008:577 refer to as pornography) in extremely overcrowded, noisy and stressful living conditions. It is highly possible that this led to the

respondents' age-inappropriate commencement of sexual intercourse, also associated with a "heightened sexualized childhood".

3. RESPONDENTS' EXPLANATIONS FOR THEIR RAPE OF YOUNG CHILDREN

All the respondents who participated in the current study recalled their anger, directed towards men and women, on the day that they raped very young children. Some of the children were related to these men and women. Anger is an emotion frequently recalled by individuals before and during rapes (Marshall, Marshall, Serran and Fernandez, 2006:88). The researcher proposes that this anger was the culmination of years of maltreatment and deprivation, the resultant inadequate resilience to cope with adversity, and the use of violence as "normal".

The respondents raped children under the age of three years in an act conceptualized by the researcher as "spontaneous violent action" (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:768). While the act itself was spontaneous, this research suggests it was, partly, an outcome of years of deprivation (noted in the respondents' contexts of maltreatment) that resulted in aggression and hostility that was initially directed inwards (noted in respondents' suppression of their feelings whilst experiencing physical and emotional abuse as well as neglect), dulled any sense of improving life, and highlighted the respondents' complete helplessness and abysmal prospects (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:768), experienced as powerlessness. A provocation, such as stolen cattle, or drunken men in a shebeen using crude expressions to describe a respondent's mother, or rebuttals from desired or actual sexual partners, resulted in senseless, violent action and was a way of reacting to what the respondents experienced as a desperate situation, and re-gaining a sense of control, despite the result of the action (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:768).

The respondents' comments concerning their rape of very young children suggest that the motive for their acts were revenge. Groth, Burgess and Holmstrom (1977:1242) propose that an "anger-retaliation" rapist has a motive of revenge. Similarly, Hesselink-Louw and Schoeman (2003:16) report that the motive for rape from an "infantophile" in their study, defined as an individual who raped a child

aged two years or less, was revenge. In the context of the current study, respondents' anger, and their associated need for revenge, was directed towards desired or actual sexual partners, family members, and in some instances, men who were not related to the respondents.

Eight respondents reported very high levels of alcohol use during childhood and adulthood. In addition, three of these respondents also used dagga, and a fourth both dagga and Mandrax. Prior to the rapes, six respondents reported "binge drinking". Most experienced ejaculation during the rapes. The reported incidence of alcohol usage by respondents in the current study was higher than that reported by the South African Police Service, who notes that 20 to 30% of rapes involve alcohol (Crime Information Analysis Centre, 2001:12). At least three of the respondents in the current research reported that they were not under the influence of alcohol when they raped very young children. The possible use of alcohol by one respondent is unknown.

Mention must be made of how some respondents accessed the children they raped. One respondent "found" a toddler in a street, unattended. Another had been drinking with the toddler's parents who remained "asleep" as he raped their child in the same room. Some of the young children were raped by respondents who described themselves care givers. Clearly, this raises very serious questions about some parental care and the supervision of particularly young, and extremely vulnerable, children.

4. CONCLUSION OF PRESENT RESEARCH

The key issues that emerged from the current study included that:

- The respondents' childhood was associated with harsh physical and emotional deprivation experienced most particularly from their mothers.
- Disruptions to childhood primary care giving relationships led to a lack of opportunities to form secure attachments.
- The respondents experienced frequent and severe corporal punishment. They also witnessed violence that was often associated with alcohol.
- Respondents' poor school education compounded their deprivation during adulthood.

- Factors that might have facilitated resilience, such as positive role models and completed school education, were absent.
- Respondents' sexual relationships were associated with one-night stands and multiple relationships, and marked by emotional immaturity and attachment difficulties. Some of these relationships were reportedly associated with abuse and violence.
- Respondents showed different features to those typical of paedophilia and other more frequently observed patterns associated with child sexual abuse.
- The "virgin-cleansing" myth did not appear to influence the respondents who participated in the present research.
- Unemployment was experienced by all the respondents.
- Many respondents reported individual and family features associated with the development of Conduct Disorder during childhood, and Antisocial Personality Disorder during adulthood.

Thus, the conclusion of the present research is:

Some men experience childhood with extreme forms of maltreatment most particularly from their mothers, the development of age-inappropriate heightened sexuality, and are without positive role models or mentors in their lives, reflecting their lack of social and community cohesion. Such maltreatment possibly affects childhood and adulthood attachment as well as the development of adequate resilience in the face of adversity. The use of violence becomes normal. In response, some unemployed men possibly rape children under the age of three years, spontaneously, and often after "binge drinking", as a need for revenge in response to their feelings of anger directed towards both men and women, not necessarily related to the young victims of rape.

However, these findings, based on a small sample, cannot be generalized to all men who rape children under the age of three.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

Social workers have a clear responsibility for advocacy in relation to social policy and the distribution of resources. In light of the findings from the present research, some of the issues for which advocacy should occur include:

- Provision for employment opportunities for those without skills to offer in the formal economy.
- Provision for decent housing, including accommodation for farm workers.
- Provision for accommodation sufficiently close to the workplace to enable parents to be parents to their children in the fullest sense possible.
- Employment practices that take into account the parental responsibilities of workers.
- A general commitment across government and society to develop structures, policies and practices that facilitate parenting, particularly in view of these findings, and other studies, concerning the possible implications of poor attachment in early childhood.
- The need for more prevention and treatment programmes relating to substance abuse readily accessible to impoverished communities.
- Adequate child care information and provision in impoverished neighbourhoods. This should include information regarding the discipline of children, and awareness about the possible outcomes of age-inappropriate witness of sexual activity and violence.
- The establishment of appropriate treatment and behaviour management programmes, where required, in prisons, and policies which ensure that all incarcerated sexual offenders are involved in such programmes from the start of their sentences, and not only at the time of their release or parole.
- Whilst suggestions for the management of incarcerated offenders who have features consistent with Antisocial Personality Disorder are beyond the scope of the present research, nonetheless there is a need to design interventions that may reduce the possibility of recidivism by such individuals once they are released.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Some recommendations for further research, based on the findings of the current exploratory study, include:

- Systems theory was one frame of reference through which to understand the psychosocial histories of some men who rape children under the age of three years. Other frames of reference could include the psychiatric and psychological.
- Further research could be undertaken with other perpetrators convicted of the rape of very young children to ascertain first, the nature of their childhood maltreatment, and second, from whom.
- The literature review demonstrated that the rape of children under the age of three years is neither new nor unique to South Africa, and occurs in both developed and developing countries. Further research could be undertaken to ascertain what factors might have led men in other countries to rape very young children, thereby facilitating further understanding of the possible association between poverty and child abuse and neglect, and such perpetrators' relationships with their mothers.
- Research could be undertaken with individuals with similar psychosocial histories to those in the current study, but who have not committed sexual crimes against children, to ascertain how they coped with adversity.
- Given the finding of the current study regarding the absence of mentors, research could be conducted with high-risk individuals who have overcome the odds associated with maltreatment and deprivation to ascertain if they had mentors and if so, the influence of such mentors.
- More research could be undertaken to facilitate the understanding of the association between alcohol, sexual arousal, and sexual violence.
- Research could be conducted with mothers of young children who apparently shift the responsibility for their children's care to men with no biological or marital relationship to them.

However, better procedures regarding information contained on court-issued warrants, and the electronic storage of data, would facilitate easier access for researchers who undertake studies with incarcerated offenders.